no,but I did.
... [cut for space]

Example (2) becomes (2') with the reported text removed:

(2')   heilsa all,

I was only suggesting that perhaps in order to do seidh, one might need to learn how to think like a woman. However, if you recall, I ended with, "what do you think?" and you have very eloquently pointed out why you think its an invalid argument, and that's fair enough. It is clear that you are very well read in this area, is it a pet subject of yours, or are you equally knowledgable in other areas of the northern trad? If you are, you must be an interesting conversationalist, and its a shame you are in new mexico!

no, but I did.
... [cut for space]

Example of a *simple narrative text*:

(3)   I can only answer this question from a student's point of view. This may a bit different from the situation at work, because you are probably not as dependent on your fellow students' opinions about you. Still, the question does arise whether to be open about your religion or not. I try to be open, but not to the point of going on other peoples nerves. I wear my hammer on the outside of my shirt, as long as it isn't uncomfortable, and if anyone asks me about it, he gets a short answer. If they seem interested they'll get a more thorough answer. If anybody has a problem with my religion, it's theirs. If they want to discuss it, I'm always willing to, as long as it stays a rational discussion. So far, this has worked quite well. Of course it depends on how open minded the people around you are. In the area where I live, there aren't many radical Christians and no one really takes them seriously. Being a pagan is mostly considered strange or funny, but normally you're left alone and that's that.

It is obvious that this message is a response to a question but the speaker did not use it to construct his or her text. This type of text was included in the *cleaned* corpus with no changes.

# Communicating affect in intercultural lamentations in Caucasian Georgia

Helga Kotthoff

## Introduction

Oral lamentation rituals have been frequently studied by anthropologists, ethnolinguists and cultural sociologists, and they play important roles in many cultures (Tiwary 1975; Burke 1979; Chaves 1980; Caraveli 1986; Metcalf & Huntington 1991; Seremetakis 1991). In Georgia, these mourning ceremonies are called *xmit natirlebi* (literally "crying with the voice"); the one who ritually cries is the *motirali*. The women of the family and neighbourhood of the deceased gather around the coffin and in lamenting they repeatedly appeal to the dead person, address him/her or one another using special exclamation formats, eulogise the deceased, those present and those who have died long before. Neighbours, colleagues and distant relatives at some point join in the ceremony and take turns in performing mourning improvisations.

In Caucasian Georgia, mourning the death of close persons is a time consuming and expressive communal activity even today. In most regions, lamentations are performed for five consecutive days during the daylight hours. Nearly all the activities occurring in connection with leave-taking and burial are ritualised: ritual ablutions must be performed in a certain way; the deceased must be prepared for visitation, the room must be decorated, meals provided, and family members must dress in a certain way. In addition, there are restrictive rules for personal hygiene, and social interaction with both the dead and the living must be performed in a particular way. At night, men meet for ritual vigils, which involve the frequent drinking of toasts to both the dead and the living. Throughout Georgia, not only wailings, but also sumptuous mourning meals and nightly vigils are the important components of the mourning ritual.

Only the residents of the capital city of Tbilisi no longer perform the genre of lamentation, although many migrants to the city continue the practice.

Rituals are routinised, value-laden, sensitive to forms, and in their specific enactment emotionally (to a lesser or greater extent) significant for the participants. Rituals have a rich indexicality because they activate additional symbolic layers, and the instrumental-denotative level is of little or no significance (Leach 1968, 1976). The ritual layer we will pay special attention to in this article indexes a regional identity.

The manner in which lamentations are performed provides clues for understanding the social relationships between the living and those between the living and the dead, structured in the transition complex. The state of grieving is in Georgia indicated on many symbolic levels; among these are: black clothing, a stooped, dejected body posture, meals without sweets or meat, personal encounters without greeting, utterance of specific formulae with a falling intonation, and frequent crying sounds. The particular social status of the deceased and the mourning family, as well as the particular quality of the relationships are always expressed in the symbolic process, e.g., in the length and intensity of the wailings, in the investment in the mourning meal, the number of guests, the length of time in which black clothing is worn, etc. When somebody dies in a family we find simultaneous ritualisations in various codes of behaviour and on different levels, and these vary over time. Georgian mourning rituals are always hyper-rituals (in the sense of Goffman 1967, 1981), to which new dimensions of meaning can be ascribed. In agreement with Geertz (1973), I view ritual performances as "meta-social commentaries" which can be interpreted by producers and recipients in all their shades of meaning.

The variety of types and styles of dialogic wailings, meals, and nightly vigils is also used to communicate regional distinction. Regional identity is put on stage in many modalities of grieving, marking especially the distinction between West and East Georgian regions as well as to various mountain areas.

Georgia is in fact a multi-cultural society whose population includes three million East and West Georgians and two million Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians, Greeks, Abkhasians, etc. In this Caucasian land there are also many regional groups (Pshavs, Gurians, Megrelians, Svans, Khevsurs, Tushs, Kakhetians, Kartlians, etc.) who have their own distinct cultural traditions and affirm their regional cultural identities by practising these traditions. Svan and Megrelian are distinct languages, which are not understood by people from other regions, although, like Georgian, they belong to the

Although there are striking similarities across cultures in the genre of lamentation – from Africa (Finnegan 1970) to Brazil (Stubbe 1985; Urban 1988) to the Caucasus (Cocaniʒe 1990; Nakašiʒe 1993; Kotthoff 2002) –, regionally specific, minimal differences in performance can be decisive for successful participation. Those who mourn "incorrectly" can be seen by others as not having "true" feelings. At the same time, expression of grief is strongly influenced by an ideology of the natural.[1] On the one hand, there are culture-overarching icons and indices, e.g., crying, sobbing and prostrating oneself which are cross-culturally identified with grief (Feld 1982). On the other hand, many semiotic forms of grief are culturally quite diverse. The variety is already evident in the simple existence of specific genres (lamentations, night vigils, obituaries, mourning dances, head huntings, etc.), in the ways of expressing affect (e.g., singing, praying, speaking, keeping silent), in the temporal and spatial location of the emotional activities, in their performance and social norms (who must/may participate, to what degree, and what does it mean). Local culture shapes, i.e., changes, intensifies, suppresses and stylises elementary expressive abilities and also invents codes independent of the body. In the domain of expression and interpretation of feelings there are significant intercultural potentials for conflict, which arise from different conventionalisations.

Because the direct physical expression of grief is always shaped by cultural standards, the interpretation of feeling is an interesting field for studies of intercultural communication. Cultural differences in affect expression are sensitive matters, for one thing, because they are often interpreted in the frame of one's own behavioural system. In addition, misunderstandings in this domain are seldom clarified. If, for example, a mourning appears to an observer from a different region too ostentatious, and in the observer's behavioural system this would suggest hysteria, she will not ask whether these forms are conventional in the mourner's region. This would all too clearly communicate doubt about the "authenticity" or "sincerity" of others' feelings, a doubt that could seem disrespectful.

It is therefore especially instructive for a theory of communicative misunderstandings to see what consequences follow from the fact that in Georgia mourning must often be shared with others whose lamentation styles and other mourning practices differ according to region. And in fact, people from culturally different parts of Georgia do often come together for common mourning. It is regarded as normal, for example, to undertake a difficult journey in order to participate in the funeral of a distant cousin. It is seldom the case, however, that the different mourning styles of those present are jointly performed. One

interactively employed. Usually, however, mourners who belong to a cultural minority at a funeral remain silent. If potential mourners have the impression that their style is inappropriate in a particular village, they may choose not to perform dirges there and remain silent. Their silence is a significant silence then and can only be grasped by an ethnography which not only observes the ritual process, but also the ways in which participants talk about it later, evaluate the performances, and pass on the entire event. Rituals are seldom explicitly evaluated during their performance, and when this does occur, only positive evaluations are made. Active wailing is normally appreciated as a form of social involvement. But there are lamentation features, which are positively interpreted as expressing high involvement in one region, and as exaggerated and unpleasant in another. For example, wailers in Western Georgia often faint. Fainting is seen as being beside oneself with grief. In Eastern Georgia, however, it is interpreted as hysterical. East Georgians do not accept fainting as a natural expression of grief. At East Georgian wailings they urgently request their West Georgian relatives not to faint while lamenting.

The concept of culture favoured in this study is based not on nationality, but rather on community of practice and on member-specific practices of inclusion and exclusion (in an ethno-methodological sense). Culture is thus placed in a continuum with other constructs such as "nation" or "ethnic group," "region," "sex" or "age." With the aid of these concepts people can manage "we-group construction," an "extremely variable procedure not needing necessary and ideal dimensions of territory or quantity"; they can be maintained and, from case to case, be devalued (Leggewie 1994).

### On the communication of grief

Grief is a human affect found in all cultures, which is not to say that only human beings are capable of experiencing this emotion.[2] While some ethnologists and psychologists have identified universals in the area of feelings, others are more interested in cultural differences in their expression. For the *conditio humana*, there is no choice between the natural and the cultural. In social interaction, feelings are not only experienced, but also communicated, i.e., transmitted in a form understandable to other persons. The acquisition of culture begins at the moment a child is born. Whatever a child does is interpreted by adults and assigned a meaning which at least codetermines the child's own understanding of her affects. Thus body and culture are bound together

through communication in a manner, which makes it meaningless to ask which came first: the chicken or the egg.

### A social constructionist perspective

In this article, I take a social constructionist perspective, which attempts to understand social life as a steady stream of interactive performances and dramaturgical accomplishments (Hitzler 1998).

In the sociology of emotions, it has been assumed since Durkheim that an emotion, e.g., grief, can become a meta-affect for others, or can be amalgamated with other emotions and evaluations (Kotthoff 1998b). Grief can, for example, be associated with aggression (cf. in particular Rosaldo 1984/1985), with religious concepts of transcendence, with anxieties of different sorts, with the need to join a community, etc. A comparison of contexts and cultures shows that combinations of affects differ. Thus mourning itself becomes "correct mourning" – with standards of appropriateness for the expressive repertoire. All feelings, even if their mere existence is anthropologically constant (and this constancy in the occurrence of grief when close persons are lost has been proved by ethology and ethnology), must be communicated – and the form of communication varies from culture to culture. For some people, black is the colour of grieving (Western cultural areas), for others white (in parts of Africa and Russia), or red (in some Mediterranean areas) or blue (North Frisian islands). Every colour symbolism has its respective history. Some mourners let their hair grow while grieving (a form of letting oneself go), others shave their heads (a rudimentary form of self-sacrifice). The symbolism is often close to the natural expressive repertoire of grieving, which according to psychologists includes both letting oneself go and self-flagellation; it is usually adapted and integrated into the ritual process. The common feature found across cultures is that the mourner loses vitality. The icons and indices of grieving are connected with this loss of vitality, with despondency which can be expressed directly through mime and pantomime. Crying and lowering one's head in combination are everywhere seen as an expression of sadness. Plessner (1941/1961) has pointed out that natural, organic givens are taken as the material of mankind's habitualised or intentional language of gestures. Thus, in particular with laughter and crying, we can usually only decide whether these are intentional or unintentional on the basis of additional information. To interpret feelings people look out for the co- and context of their expressions.

## Approaches to the analysis of emotive communication

The conventionalisation of emotions, which often has a thoroughly situation-bound, obligatory character, has nothing to do with doubt about the authenticity of feelings. We manipulate our feelings in accordance with cultural expectations – but we do actually have them, as Hochschild (1983) has pointed out. In every culture, degrees of intensity and also, to a limited extent, degrees of authenticity of feeling can be distinguished. The mediate, and, within the culture, understandable authenticity of a feeling depends on the congruence of multi-modal behaviour. Timing also plays a role. If someone grieves (cries, looks depressed, wears a serious expression, has stooped shoulders, or slow, brooding motions, etc.) only on the first day after the death of a sister, those around her will regard her grief as less profound than if this expressive complex continues for a longer period of time. If others are to be convinced of the sincerity of expressed emotions, the verbal level must correspond to the para- and nonverbal levels.

Analysing the communication of affect is thus difficult. Feelings can be named ("I am angry," "I am mad" ... as examples of annoyance or other aggressive affects) or can be shown in a conventionalised way. Terms of abuse, specific exclamations and interjections, stylistic variants ("Get lost" or "Beat it" instead of "Go away") express definite feelings of annoyance and anger (for example). Prosodic patterns also communicate affect but make it more difficult to be certain about the affective message. Depending on the degree of overlap of different expressive modalities, the emotive message can, however, be rather clearly recognisable: if a wrathful facial expression, a louder voice, exclamatory intonation and physical turning away occur jointly, a lexically unmarked "Let's go" can sound quite angry. Since the communication of emotions often leaves the domain of denotation and is meta-communicatively contextualised, even ethno-theories do not necessarily assume intentionality. It is precisely "negative" affects like aggression and grief that can unintentionally slip into a speaker's expression. In most societies the expression of both emotions is contextually limited. We follow Plessner (1941/1961) in assuming the "eccentricity of the body"; not only do we possess it, it also possesses us. Since emotions always have a body-based dimension, they are not completely controllable. We try to read from general body posture whether people feel inhibited, free or self-assured, e.g., expressions which are normally not in the centre of intentional communication. Thus, the presentation of affects should not be studied by asking people what they feel, but rather by recording them in situ in order to subsequently reconstruct their affective messages with the help of ethnographic information found in the original context.

The unintentional appearance of affect is much more difficult to analyse than terms for affects. Thus it is not surprising that many linguists are above all interested in naming affects. For example, Wierzbicka (1992, 1995) studies "human emotions (or any other conceptual domain) from a universal, language-independent perspective" (Wierzbicka 1995:236). However, the topics of her studies are actually not independent of language: She regards emotions as a domain of semantics which can be described in terms of universal "semantic primitives": feel, want, say, think, know, good, bad, etc. (Wierzbicka 1992). Furthermore, in her view, all languages impose their own classificatory system on emotions, so that concepts such as "anger" or "sadness" become cultural artefacts of the English language and not culturally independent tools (Wierzbicka 1992:456). She directs her critique at the psychological tradition of James Langer, who assumes that emotions are bodily states, each categorically distinct from the others. Wierzbicka criticises what she views as the ethnocentric universalism of this traditional theory of emotion. With Bamberg, (1996:211), we ask whether the search for semantic universals underlying cultural concepts can help us to better understand what emotions mean for people from different cultures and how they are displayed. Bamberg finds Wierzbicka unclear about how language imposes its classificatory system on human experiences of emotions, "i.e. how the experiencer in actual settings transforms 'the culture-independent psychology of human cognition and emotion' (Wierzbicka 1995:236) into language – and culture-specific concepts of 'how-to-think' and 'how-to-feel', and how these more specific concepts turn themselves into situated emotion talk in which participants are held accountable, and where blame is attributed" (Bamberg 1996:211). Wierzbicka imagines the expression of emotion in a simplifying manner, so that feelings are simply said. Other communicative procedures are not considered.[3] In the analysis of affect communication, the relationship among verbal, para- and non-verbal aspects must be of central concern.

Roman Jakobson located the emotive and phatic functions on different levels of speech (Sebeok 1978; Bally 1970):[4] the phonetic, grammatical and lexical. Péter (1984) and Besnier (1990) also find different loci of affective meaning at different levels of communication. In the last few years increasing numbers of studies in anthropological linguistics and sociology of communication have dealt with various levels of affective interaction (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989; Fiehler 1990; Christmann 1993; Günthner 1997; Irvine 1990).

It is thus safe to say that the expression of grief is not limited to the verbal domain. From the presentation of the body, of space, the face, activities, on up to the verbal utterance, everything is included in the performance of grief. The dramatological perspective, to which I referred above, does not view people as actors dissimulating feelings they do not have. It simply assumes that human actions are interpreted and are not determined by instincts. People have developed symbolic repertoires of expression, which also provide information about their inner states.

## Elements of Georgian grief semiotics

In the domain of mourning, dejectedness is indexed simultaneously on several levels (bodily and facial expression, verbal, prosody, dress and other social signs). The house in which a death has occurred is immediately designated as special by the placement of a photograph of the deceased above the door. Everyone can immediately see what emotional state awaits them in the house. All festivities come to a standstill in the neighbourhood. Black clothing throughout Georgia symbolises that a close person has died. Laughter and smiling are avoided. The women who arrive to lament do not greet others. Forms used for expressing joy are regarded as incompatible with mourning. The mourners lament even while descending from the bus, acknowledging no one, and approach the coffin with lamenting exclamations (e.g., "Marina, Marina, you have left your beautiful children behind. Your pain on me. Marina, are you not happy with us anymore? What have we done to you? Your pain on me. Marina, now you are together with your aged parents again. Vaimeh, vaimeh, your pain on me."). Men and non-lamenting women greet each other only with few words. People speak softly. Specific formulae and interjections expressive of pain are frequently uttered. The interjection "vaimeh" can be translated as "woe me" because of the similarity in sound and function. Also omnipresent is "deda" (mother), used as an interjection,[5] often in combination with "vaimeh." The formulae "genacvale" (approximately: I take your place) and "šeni čiri me" (your pain on me) are also quite common and semantically express the wish to assume the pain of another. All these formulae are often spoken with a sigh and a falling intonation contour, sometimes interspersed with sobs. People sit quietly on benches and chairs, converse in soft voices, some hold their heads in their hands.

The chief room for mourning is dimly illuminated. Only women are seated

to the coffin, strokes the deceased and addresses her lament to him or her. The wailers sigh, make exclamations, lean against the coffin, practically throw themselves on it, etc., employ dejected bodily positions.

## West and East Georgian differences in the communication of grief

### Differentiation of styles

Although mourning is carried out in rather similar ways throughout Georgia, there are considerable regional differences. The differences between the East and the West of Georgia penetrate nearly all levels of action in everyday life, and they have various historical origins. From the sixth century BC until the eleventh century AD there were two empires in the West and the East, Kolkhis (later Lazika) and Iberia (later Kartli). The West was more strongly influenced by Greece, the East by Persia. Historical differences are, however, only relevant for the life world so long as they are still performed. To the extent that the historical relations survive in the ritual mourning complexes, the forms of mourning index regional identities. In the West and the East, there are also more subtle intra-regional differences. Bolle-Zempe (1997), for example, describes the dirges of Svanetia, a region situated at a high altitude in the Caucasian mountains. Participant observation of mourning rituals in West and East Georgian regions, tape recordings and above all conversations with participants have clarified how it is that in grieving relevance is ascribed to regional differences. In general, we often encountered the following stereotyping: From the East Georgian perspective (above all in Kartli and Kakhetia), the West Georgians (especially from Guria and Megrelia) are often said to be ostentatious, artificial, dishonest and snobbish. From the West Georgian perspective, the East Georgians (above all the Kartlians and Kakhetians) are seen as arrogant, cold and egoistic. The stereotypes carry over to the perception of the other region's expression of grief. Thus, in lamentation, women from Megrelia and Guria scratch their faces (this gesture is found in many cultures); in East Georgia these forms are regarded as exaggerated (gadačarbebuli) and artificial (ar namdvili). In West Georgia, fainting is an expression of a woman's extreme grief. In East Georgia it is strongly rejected, as was already pointed out above. Fainting is a physical practice in which one is "outside oneself," and not everyone can achieve this state voluntarily. In East Georgia, West Georgian relatives who participate in mourning are asked not to faint. The West Georgians expe-

self-control requiring great effort. Thus, it is no surprise that they regard East Georgian mourning on the whole as highly disciplined. They say it demands more effort not to faint than to faint.

In East Georgia, only women close to the deceased lament, in Megrelia and Guria lamentation can also be delegated to very competent outsiders to whom the grieving family will afterward feel obligated. In West Georgia, lamenters let their hair down and tear at it constantly; they scratch their faces and cry loudly. This is regarded in this region as a strong expression of pain – in East Georgia it is also regarded as completely inappropriate exaggeration. In East Georgia, the background crying of the others present must be soft, in West Georgia loud. In East Georgia the wife of a deceased man is free to choose not to lament; there is tolerance for the idea that people can be made speechless by pain – in West Georgia there is little or no tolerance for this.

Not only background music, but also lament melodies, are regionally different. The Gurian or Megrelian lament melody does not fall at the end, but is rather maintained on a middle tone level. In the middle of a line, the melody either remains steady or there are tone leaps, which are lacking in East Georgian laments. Voice modulations also play a different role. We have recordings from Guria and Megrelia (West) in which mourners cry with a trembling voice for long periods; that is not done in the Eastern parts. During their lamentation, other mourners frequently utter interjections, e.g., the exclamations "deda" (mother) and "švilo" (child). Such interspersed exclamations are less common in East Georgian laments. In addition, Gurians slur their sounds; they probably achieve this effect by singing with an open lip position and maintaining the position of their lips. Words often sound as though the lamenters suffer from toothache.

### Evaluation of lamentation styles in an ethnography of communication

In every lamentation there are participants and non-participants. If a potential but silent lamenter is present for several hours each day at a lamentation, the reasons for her non-participation are difficult to determine. One important reason for non-participation is that participants may feel that their style of mourning is situationally inappropriate.

I obtained insight into such a decision to refrain from wailing by accompanying an East Georgian lamenter to a wailing in West Georgia. In 1996, an East Georgian in Guria invited me to attend the mourning for her nephew Beso Tevsaʒe. Although it is almost obligatory for an aunt to lament, she re-

style of mourning terrible and felt that her own Eastern style was out of place. Furthermore, the West Georgian "tirili" (crying) did not make her sad. Thus I discovered that lamenters mutually reinforce each other's grief. Each woman encourages and frees the grief of others. However, this stimulation is successful only when a woman listens to a dirge style to which she is accustomed and practices herself. How a style affects a person depends on her/his own acquired style. Another wailer's style needs to infect oneself to be reinforcing.

This episode and others like it convinced me that for the study of cultural communication we need an ethnographical procedure, which is open in principle to accepting non-standardised data collection. Only in natural conversation with lamenters could I get access to the unperformed performances, i.e., to the lamenters' reasons for participating or not. In addition, the research process, which entailed listening to the tapes, transcribing, and interpreting, in which, among others the East-Georgians Elza Gabedava and Manana Matcharadze and I worked together, gave me important further clues, which must rightly be considered part of the ethnographic results. While listening to the tape recordings from Guria (West), my East Georgian co-workers made critical comments,[7] which I mention here because I see them as examples of how unaccustomed lamentation styles are typically evaluated. Becoming very irritated, they criticised that the grandmother continually cried "švilo, deda, švilo" (child, mother, child) – they commented that if she was obviously exhausted she should then keep silent. She would be producing empty phrases. They objected that apparently mourners must have constantly been saying something in West Georgia. To my East Georgian co-workers the lament was therefore exaggerated. Since we had just listened to parts of a lamentation which consisted of repetitive interjections, I concluded from these comments that too many repetitions of vocatives and interjections are not perceived as natural and authentic in the East. They suggest disproportionate effort, an effort, namely, to continue lamenting contrary to one's own affective need. My colleagues said that people should only lament when they have something beyond formulae to say. Only such lamentations would be authentic.

Concerning the daughter, who lamented with a high, vibrating voice and slurring sounds, they criticised: "She is an adult, married woman and yet she laments like a child. She makes her voice tremble and probably believes that she is giving the impression of being helpless and tortured by grief. It is not appropriate for an adult woman to sound like a child." My East Georgian colleagues gave the daughter's lament no credit for naturalness. They attributed deliberateness to her expression of grief, which is rated lower than feelings, which

appear to be expressed spontaneously. The attribution of authenticity plays an important ideological role.

Gurian mourning music is also too cheerful for East Georgian tastes. To underline the strong differences separating East and West Georgia that will be summarised at the end of this article, I again cite a comment by an East Georgian co-worker: "In recent times the Westerners [from Georgia] have sometimes added odd ideas to the mourning ritual. They play cheerful music during funerals. Under West Georgian influence this is even happening in Tbilisi. Do not ask me where this unnatural tradition comes from, and thank God there are still people who resist it."

West Georgians also express reserve in regard to East Georgian wailing styles. In questioning West Georgians in the East Georgian village of Muxrani, we were told that they find the lamentation there quite moderate and too controlled. They themselves would prefer to scream in pain and faint. Again we were told that Westerners were explicitly forbidden to faint at the funeral. If West Georgians do choose to lament in East Georgia, they usually do so in groups; thereby taking charge of the overall dialogue and choosing their own style for this short period.

The spectators' evaluation of the expression of feelings is not disclosed in the ritual situation, but rather is expressed in other situations in which people speak about the lamentations. Mourning is always made the topic of conversation on a later occasion. For example, people offer their evaluation of whose lament was the best. The contents of laments are also discussed, and people often learn new things about the deceased. In lamentation, the cultural memory is organised, insofar as specific characteristics of the deceased or experiences with her/him are presented in the lamentation. An important criterion for the evaluation of the lament is the extent to which the spectators are moved to tears. "Incorrect" voice technique, body technique, and volume, "incorrect" melodies and interjections discourage crying.

Procedures which are viewed as exaggerated (volume shifts, voice manipulation, scratching the face, fainting, loud interjections) are suspected of being artificial. Outside the ritual situation not only the style of lamentation is evaluated, the overall performance is also judged: What can one conclude from the quantity of flowers? How many people attended the funeral and what does this imply? How good was the food, service, etc.?

The participants seem to attribute the differences in style, on the one hand, to an ethno-theory of feelings. But on the other hand, they also assume that culture-bound feeling work takes place. The attribution of spontaneity and sin-

cerity also often follows the model of one's own accustomed practice. And in fact people are sometimes well aware of the cultural relativity of practice.

Differences in affect performance can always be used to construct a "we" and a "you," thereby creating cultural distinction (Hahn 1994).[8] Mourners can, however, likewise perform a joint lamentation, ignoring linguistic and stylistic differences, and thus stage cultural togetherness. Both practices can be observed in Georgia. We will discuss the latter case now.

## Combination of styles: Code switching and style switching

The following section analyses an intercultural lamentation, which was held in 1997 in Tbilisi. The two chief mourners, the mother and the aunt of the deceased, adapted their performance to the Kartlian main culture, where the lament took place (Tbilisi belongs to it).

The deceased Akaki Danelia took his own life at the age of thirty-two. The Danelia family is Megrelian (from Samegrelo/Megrelia in West Georgia) and lived in Abkhasia, before all the Georgians were driven out in a military conflict. They now live as refugees in Tbilisi.

The family's first language is Megrelian. All Megrelians speak Georgian at a first language level, but Georgians from other regions usually do not understand Megrelian. In the lament there is a continual code switching between Megrelian and Georgian, and beyond this there is also style switching between the Megrelian and the East Georgian lamentation styles. Akaki's mother was the chief mourner for longer periods of time. She laments in the Georgian language, which is a gesture of consideration for the guests from the capital city. Stylistically she often laments with the typical West Georgian high, hoarse voice, which is hard for East Georgians to bear. The aunt, to the contrary, speaks chiefly Megrelian, but refrains from using a high voice register and does not scream. Those present understood this as a sort of division of labour, with the style adjusted to the recipients. The explanation we were given for this interesting mixture was that the mourners were showing consideration for the mixed Megrelian-East Georgian public. The mother lamented with a voice, which differed, from her normal voice. In the extended vowels (indicated with a colon in the transcription lines) at the ends of the lines, we hear a sort of rising and falling whining tone, which is not integrated into the transcription conventions. In the transcript we mainly see the shifts in language rather than the shifts in style, since this is chiefly indicated using the voice.[9] Therefore I

ters, the Megrelian in Latin characters because Megrelian has no writing system of its own.

## Mourning for Akaki Danelia, Tbilisi 1997

M (mother), ? (unidentified person), A (aunt), W (wife Tamuna), F (father), s (several persons).[10]

The mother, the aunt and the deceased's wife Tamuna sit directly at the head of the coffin. Tamuna continually strokes Akaki's hand, the mother his head. The aunt is not in the picture of the video.[11]

1  M:  [ᲛᲔᲝᲚᲘ ᲛᲔᲝᲚᲘ
        švilo švilo:::::::::::
        child child

2  ?:  [(?

3  M:  [ᲓᲔᲓᲘᲡ ᲘᲛᲔᲓᲝ
        dedis imedo::::::::::::::::::::::
        mother's hope

4  ?:  [(?

5  ?:  [o:::::::::: o:::::::::

6  A:  skani guluapiro, nana:::::::
        I should assume your suffering, mother

7  M:  ᲓᲔᲓᲘᲡ ᲜᲣᲑᲔᲨᲝ
        dedis nugešo:::::::::::::
        mother's consolation

8  A:  [mu moxvaru, skua, nana (?        ?)
        what is my help, child, mother

9  M:  [%%%%%%%%%%

The passage reproduced here contains numerous formulae.[12] The mother expresses appeals typical of laments. Above all the appeal "dedis imedo/mother's hope," which is continually cried, is completely in contrast to the real situation in which there is no hope – and thereby underlines that. She and the aunt cooperate closely in the exchange of fixed phrases and to this degree share a style level. Both employ appeal contours, but the mother, as already mentioned, uses a drawn out tremolo in the extended vowels at the ends of the lines and an essentially higher voice register. The use of line structures and the recurrence of the formulation poeticise the text of both. The deceased, Akaki, is the addressee of their appeals. In line 6 the aunt speaks in Megrelian, using a formula

Georgian. The mother responds in Georgian, the aunt in line 8 again in Megrelian. The coherence of this discourse is far removed from everyday discourse and is similar to a group prayer, in which the various participants take turns in appealing to God.

The lines 6 and 8 contain examples of address inversion. In address inversion, one can speak to addressees in one's own role or using one's own name. This is also regarded as a very strong expression of feeling in Georgia (Boeder 1988). The aunt cries the interjection or inverted address "mother" in Megrelian (nana) and in lines 13 and 15 also Georgian (deda); occasionally she integrates Georgian words into her basically Megrelian dirge. Since address inversion is so common in West Georgia, we cannot determine the meaning of "deda" and "nana" because both words are also used as interjections in the sense of the Italian interjection "mama mia." Both mourners in this transcription are mothers; therefore it makes sense to address the deceased as mother in order to indicate greater involvement.

?:   [čkim coda, deda[13] ::::: mu vkimina
      my sins, mother, what should I do

10  A:  [vo skan didas, deda,[14] Merabi
        woe to your mother, mother, Merabi[15]

11  M:  [ᲓᲔᲓᲘᲡ ᲘᲛᲔᲓᲝ
        $ dedis imedo::::::::::::::::::%%%:::::$
        mother's hope

12  A:  vai skan mamidas, Akaki, skua, nana
        woe to your aunt, Akaki, child, mother

13      mu možčir skua, deda[16]
        what has happened to me, child, mother

14  ?:  a:::::::, a:::::::::

15  A:  [mu možčir skua, deda, Akaki, deda::::
        what has happened to me, child, mother, Akaki, mother

16  ?:  [a:::::[:::::::::::::::::

The aunt addresses line 10 to her deceased son Merabi. In the lament it is always possible to address another deceased person, whereby a community of the deceased, and of the living with the deceased, is symbolically created. Line 12 is nearly identical to line 10; only the addressee is different and, correspondingly, the self-reference of the mourner. Typically, mourners put themselves in the perspective of the deceased addressee. Lines 13 and 15 also repeat the same phrase. Repetition is functional in the genre and increases its pathos.

17  M:  [მოდიან, დედა, სტუმრები და შენ [არავის არ ხვდება, შვილო
        %modian, deda, stumrebi da šen [aravis ar xvdeba, švilo%
        guests are coming, mother, and you are receiving no one, child

18  s:                                [(?

19  A:                                [mučom čivil vorek, skua, nana
        how burnt I am, child, mother

20      [mučom dugil vorck, deda::::
        how overheated I am, Mother

21  M:  [ჩემო საყვარელო ბიჭო
        $ čemo saqvarelo bičo (?          $
        my dear son

22  s:  [(?

23  A:  o: Merabi [skua
        oh Merabi [child

24  M:            [ჩემო იმედო, დედა
                  [$ čemo imedo, deda:::$
                  my hope, mother

25  s:  (?

26  A:  o: Akaki deda, nana
        oh Akaki mother, mother

27  M:  ჩემო იმედო, დედა
        $ čemo imedo:: deda::$
        my hope, mother

28  ?:  (?

29  A:  [mu važkcepi, deda
        what men, mother

30  M:  [ჩემო სიცოცხლე, დედა
        [$ čemo sicocxle, de::da$
        my life, mother

31  A:  [mu bošepi, nana
        what boys, mother

32  M:  [დედის იმედო, დედა
        $ de:dis imedo:, de::da$
        mother's hope, mother

33  s:  [(?

34  A:  udrood[17] dinapilep, deda
        lost too soon, mother

In line 17 we see another strategy, which is quite common in lamentation. The
motirali pretends normal everyday reality. Naturally, the occasion is far away

from an ordinary visit. The creation of the fiction of normality makes it pos-
sible to repeatedly perform Akaki's death as a break of normality. The silence
and lack of action on the part of the deceased is repeatedly metaphorised as in-
tentional action (You receive no one, you do not help me, etc.). In lines 19 and
20, the aunt expresses her pain in two similarly structured lines. Lines 21–27
consist of appeals to Akaki. Again the aunt cries "mother" in line 26 in both
Georgian and Megrelian. In line 34 there is also conspicuous code switching
between Georgian and Megrelian.

35  ?:  [(?

36  M:  [(?

37  ?:  [(?

38  A:  [čkim skua ʒalit nadinep-re, nana, do
        my son was killed violently, mother, and

39  M:            [(? ჩემო პატარა ბიჭო, დედა
                  $ čemo patara bičo, deda $
                  my little boy, mother

40  A:  [si skan xet, mušen ivili dudi, deda
        you with your hand, why did you kill yourself, mother

41  M:  შენ ხომ კაი ბიჭი ხარ, დედა
        $ šen xom kai biči xar, deda%%%%% $
        you are a very good boy, mother

42      დედა შვილო, დედა
        $ de::da švilo, de:::da $
        mother, child, mother

43  ?:  (?

44  M:  მოგიკვდეს დედა, დედა
        $ mogikvdes de:da, de:da%%%%% $
        mother should die for you, mother

45      უშენოდ როგორ უნდა გავძლო, დედა
        'H $ % ušenod rogor unda gavʒlo, de:da %%% $
        without you how can I bear it

46      შენ აღარ მომეფერი, [დედა
        'H % šen aŕar momeperi, [de:::da%%%%%%%%
        you will never caress me again, mother

47  ?:                         [a::::::::::::::::::::::

48  M:  შენი თამუნა დაუბარე, დედა
        $ % šeni tamuna daubare, de::da % $
        your Tamuna, tell her, mother

49    და უთხარი, დე::და: $
      'H $ da utxari, de::da: $
      and tell her, mother

50    ასე როგორ გაიმეტე შენი თავი, დედა%%%%
      $ ase rogor gaimeṭe šeni ṭavi, deda%%%%
      how could you do something like this to me, mother

51    არ გტკივა, დედა
      'H $ % ar gṭkiva deda%%%%%% $
      does it not hurt you, mother

52    მოგიკვდეს დედა, დედა
      'H % $ mogiḳvdes deda, deda%%%%%% $
      mother should die for you, mother

53  F: (?

54  M: დედა მოგიკვდეს შვილო, [დედა
      'H $ deda mogiḳvdes švilo [deda%%%%%% $
      mother should die for you, child

55  F: (?                    [mu vkimina, deda
                              what should I do, mother

56    o, deda (?             o:: mu vkimina, deda
                              oh what should I do, mother

57  ?:  a:::::::::::::::::::::::::::

58  A:  (? incomprehensible song ?)

59  M: დედა, თამუნას ბიჭები (? ?) ბიჭები იმას ეხვეწებოდნენ, დედა
      deda, tamunas biçebi          biçebi imas exvecebodnen, deda:::::
      mother the boys, the boys asked Tamuna

60    რომ ჩვენ თამუნას ბიჭი ეყოლებოდესო
      rom čven tamuna biçi eqolebodeso
      that our Tamuna bring a son into the world

61    ღმერთსა ვთხოვოთო, დედა
      rmertma vtxovoto, deda
      we ask God for this, mother

In line 38 the aunt remembers the sad occasion of her son being killed. The rate of murder is generally very high in Georgia, especially among young men. The aunt also explicitly asks why Akaki killed himself (line 40). The mother praises him and tells him, how she misses him. The deceased is the main addressee of the lines. In line 48 she mentions Akaki's young and pregnant wife Tamuna who also sits at the coffin. Also the father expresses two lamentation lines (53, 55). Men seldomly lament. The mother wishes Tamuna to give birth to a son. A

wish might express continuation of life similar to how as it was. The grandson might remind her of her son.

Mother and aunt produce stylistic similarity, chiefly in that both address short appeals to the deceased and variants of "mother." The aunt uses chiefly her own language, but nevertheless integrates brief switches into Georgian. She adapts to the East Georgian style: she laments with her everyday voice and normal voice register. The mother, in contrast, cries in a high voice, screams, slurs sounds, produces many sound extensions and uses a vibrato.

The two chief lamenters produce, despite the code and style switch, a coherent lament. One common feature is the structuring of their utterances as short appeals. The intercultural presentation reflects the special situation in which the participants find themselves. The whole extended family has only guest status as a refugee family in Tbilisi. In the lamentation to her dead son the mother expresses reverence to the Tbilissians. Being a guest and being a host are connected with a special ethic in Georgia. Georgia, with its poor infrastructure, is not able to manage refugees bureaucratically and thereby guarantee their material security. Much more strongly than in Western Europe, refugees depend on help from neighbours and networks of relationships. Many Tbilisians are present and must be treated with respect. Their presence is seen as an expression of respect for the Danelia family. This expression of respect is acknowledged in that the mother uses the language of the guest's culture. Thereby she pays back the respect her family receives. They are not only in an East Georgian region, but also in the capital city, where natives have for decades ceased to practice lamentation. Therefore, we cannot assume that women from the host culture will participate in the discourse of lamentation. Thus the necessity is greater for the refugee women themselves to perform symbolic integrative gestures.

## Conclusions

Both lamenters have endowed their expression of grief with a specific recipient design by using features from both the Megrelian and the East Georgian cultures. Both groups are present at the wailing. Thereby the two lamenters manage an affect presentation, which draws in the culturally heterogeneous public as much as possible. The shaping of emotions does not, as stated above, imply doubts about their sincerity *per se*. In lamentations, not only private feelings, but also purported group feelings are given expression. The

mouthpiece for the mourning community is felt by the mourners themselves as a personal need, as they themselves report. "Second nature," in the sense of Plessner (1941), is practically indistinguishably interwoven with first nature. Whether rules of displaying affect are experienced as an obligation or a need depends on complex preconditions. Normally, members of a society are competent in reading affect presentations and can distinguish fine nuances. In this domain, however, we must expect idiosyncrasies, exaggerations, faulty transmission and intercultural irritation.

Hyper-rituals – including the Georgian dirges discussed here – are complex indexical systems, which mutually comment on each other. Currently in Georgia one can observe symbolic distancing from ritualisations practised under Communist rule. Thus great mourning meals were, until recently, viewed as ritual indications of material well-being and were morally highly-valued initiatives for the sake of the deceased, as in the Georgian religious world view, life on earth parallels life in the hereafter: with the same meal, "new souls" are to be received by "old souls." Today, an ideology of returning to simplicity is observable in Georgia. Only a few Georgians can afford the once common provision of mourning meals for 200 persons at present. Simplicity is, however, not identified with poverty, but rather with going back to original versions of mourning customs and thus also with genuine "being Georgian." The communists offered ostentatious mourning meals, as I have often been told. One meta-social dimension of the rich tables is now being revalued: in former times, a generous mourning meal was seen as typical for the Georgian culture, now it has been reinterpreted as characteristic of communism. Thus the societal change from the socialist system is also acted out on the level of everyday rituals and presentations of emotions.

## Notes

1. A topic issue of the journal *Pragmatics* (Vol. 2, No. 3, Sept. 1992) deals with "Language Ideologies" as mediating authorities between social structures and speech forms.

2. In particular, Eibl-Eibesfeld (1964) and Ekman (1984) have shown the pan-cultural status of some emotions.

3. For a critique of the pan-cultural status of grief see Rosaldo (1984/1985:375–402).

4. Jakobson (1960:354), in contrast to e.g. Bally (1970), does not assume a clear separation between cognitive and emotive activities. The same speech activity can perform different functions simultaneously.

5. In other articles I have translated this interjection as 'Mama mia', because this Italian interjection is expressed with an equivalent function in English.

6. On the particularities of cultural gender politics in the domain of grieving see Kotthoff (2002).

7. At that time Elza Gabedava and Manana Mačaraʒe were working on the project, e.g., transcribing tape recordings of lamentations.

8. Hahn (1994:140–167) has shown that foreignness can be socially constructed and made plausible through arbitrary differences.

9. Conversational analysis does not have forms of notating different voices. My own training in perceiving voices does not suffice to make exact statements.

10. These transcription conventions are used only in the transliterated lines: % =crying sound; if the % sign is placed at the beginning and end of a line, it is spoken with nearly continuous crying sounds. $ designates a very high voice register, which, here, is very breathy and contains a sort of tremolo. Overlapping speech parts are preceded by brackets [ and printed one above the other. A colon symbolizes the extension of a sound, 'H stands for audible inhalation, here often sighing. Commas divide phrase units in which the tone does not fall, full stops end phrase units in which the tone falls. (?) indicates indecipherable speech. Megrelian is only transliterated in the Latin alphabet, since it is not a written language.

11. The video of the mourning was generously made available to us by the Danelia family. A co-worker of the project, Manana Mačaraʒe, was present at the mourning.

12. In Kotthoff (1998, 1999a and b) passages from other lamentations are presented which contain fewer set phrases.

13. The word "deda" is Georgian for "mother"; but can also be translated here as an interjection such as the Italian "Mama mia" which is used in many languages.

14. Georgian.

15. Merabi is a son of this aunt who had died previously.

16. Georgian. After this "deda" will be repeated without a note.

17. Georgian.

## References

Bally, Charles (1970). *Traité de stylistique francaise* (5th ed.). Geneva.

Bamberg, Michael (1996). "Emotion talk(s): The role of perspective in the construction of emotions". In Susanne Niemeyer & René Dirven (Eds.), *The Language of Emotions* (p. 211). Amsterdam.

Besnier, Nico (1990). "Language and affect". *Annual Review of Anthropology, 19*, 419–451.

Boeder, Winfried (1988). *Über einige Anredeformen im Kaukasus* (pp. 11–20). Georgica 11.

Bolle-Zemp, Sylvie (1997). "Rhétorique et musique: un ritual funéraire svane 8sud Caucase". In *Musique et cetera* (pp. 165–182). GHK Neuchâtel: Musée d' ethnographie.

Burke, William L. (1979). "Notes on a Rhetoric of Lamentation". *Central States Speech Journal, 29,* 109–121.

Caraveli, Anna (1986). "The bitter wounding: The lament as social protest". In Jill Dubisch (Ed.), *Gender and Power in Rural Greece* (pp. 189–194). Princeton, NJ.

Caraveli-Chaves, Anna (1980). "Bridge between worlds. The Greek women's lament as communicative event". *Journal of American Folklore,* 129–157.

Christmann, Gabriella (1993). "'Und da hab ich wirklich so einen Zornesausbruch gekriegt...'. Moral mit Affekt: Die moralische Entrüstung am Beispiel von Ökologie-Gruppen". *Moral-Projekt, Working Paper* No. 6. University of Konstanz.

Cocaniȝe, Giorgi (1990). *Giorgobidan giorgobamde.* Tbilisi.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Irenäus (1964). *Grundriß der vergleichenden Verhaltensforschung.* Munich.

Ekman, Paul (1984). "Expression and the Nature of Emotion". In Klaus Scherer & Paul Ekman (Eds.), *Approaches to Emotion.* Hillsdale, NJ.

Feld, Steven (1982). *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression.* Philadelphia.

Fiehler, Reinhard (1990). *Kommunikation und Emotion. Theoretische und empirische Untersuchungen zur Rolle von Emotionen in der verbalen Interaktio.* Berlin, New York.

Finnegan, Ruth (1970). *Oral Literature in Africa.* Nairobi.

Geertz, Clifford (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York.

Goffman, Erving (1967). *Interaction Ritual.* Garden City, NY.

Goffman, Erving (1981). "The Interaction Order". *American Sociological Review, 48,* 1–17.

Günthner, Susanne (1996). "The Contextualization of Affect in reported Dialogues." In S. Niemeier & R. Dirven (Eds.), *The Language of Emotion* (pp. 247–277). Amsterdam.

Hahn, Alois (1994). "Die soziale Konstruktion des Fremden". In Walter M. Sprondel (Ed.), *Die Objektivität der Ordnungen und ihre soziale Konstruktion* (pp. 140–167). Frankfurt.

Hitzler, Ronald (1998). "Das Problem, sich verständlich zu machen". In Herbert Willems & Martin Jurga (Eds.), *Inszenierungsgesellschaft* (pp. 93–107). Opladen.

Hochschild, Arlie (1983). *The Managed Heart.* Berkeley.

Irvine, Judith (1990). "Registering affect: heteroglossia in the linguistic expression of emotion". In Catherine Lutz & Lila Abu-Lughod (Eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (pp. 126–162). Cambridge.

Jakobson, Roman (1960/1978). "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics". In Thomas Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in language* (pp. 350–377). Cambridge.

Kotthoff, Helga (1998). "Trauern in Georgien: Zur Theatralisierung von Emotion, Religion und Moral". In Herbert Willems & Martin Jurga (Eds.), *Inszenierungsge sellschaft* (pp. 143–163). Opladen.

Kotthoff, Helga (1999). "Affect and Meta-Affect in Georgian Grief Rituals". In Juergen Schlaeger & Gesa Stedman (Eds.), *Representations of Emotion* (pp. 149–173). Tübingen.

Kotthoff, Helga (2003). "Gender and Meta-Affect in Georgian Grief Rituals". In Helga Kotthoff & Bettina Baron (Eds.), *Gender in Interaction* (pp. 283–329). Amsterdam.

Leach, Edmund (1976). *Rethinking Anthropology.* New York 1968. *Culture and Communication.* Cambridge.

Leggewie, Claus (1994). "Ethnizität, Nationalismus und multikulturelle Gesellschaft". In Helmut Berding (Ed.), *Nationales Bewußtsein und kollek tive Identität. Studien zur*

Metcalf, Peter & Huntington, Richard (1991). *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual.* Cambridge.

Nakašiȝe, Ketevan (1993). "Gruzinskie Plači". *Working Paper of the Javaxišvili Institute* Tbilisi.

Ochs, Elinor & Bambi Schieffelin (1989). "Language has a Heart" (pp. 7–25). Special Edition of *Text.*

Péter, M. (1984). "Das Problem des sprachlichen Gefühlsausdrucks in besonderem Hinblick auf das Bühlersche Organon-Modell". In A. Eschbach (Ed.), *Bühler-Studien,* I (pp. 239–260). Frankfurt.

Plessner, Helmuth (1941/1961). *Lachen und Weinen. Eine Untersuchung nach den Grenzen des menschlichen Verhaltens.* Berne: Munich.

Rosaldo, Renato (1984/1985). "Der Kummer und die Wut des Kopfjägers. Über die kulturelle Intensität der Emotionen". In Eberhard Berg & Martin Fuchs (Eds.), *Kultur, soziale Praxis, Text* (pp. 375–402). Frankfurt.

Seremetakis, Nadia C. (1991). *The Last Word. Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani.* Chicago and London.

Stubbe, Hannes (1985). *Formen der Trauer. Eine kulturanthropologische Untersuchung.* Berlin.

Tiwary, K. M. (1975). "Tuneful Weeping: A Mode of Communication". *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, 27.*

Urban, Greg (1988). "Ritual Wailing in Amerindian Brazil". *American Anthropologist, 90,* 385–400.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1992). "Defining Emotion Concepts". *Cognitive Science, 16,* 539–581.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1995). "Emotion and Facial Expression: A Semantic Perspective". *Culture and Psychology, 1,* 227–258.