Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Trajectories of treasured texts: laments as narratives

Book Section

How to cite:

Giaxoglou, Korina (2019). Trajectories of treasured texts: laments as narratives. In: Falconi, Elizabeth and Graber, Kate eds. *Storytelling as Narrative Practice: Ethnographic Approaches to the Tales We Tell*. Studies in Pragmatics (19). Brill, pp. 136–162.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 2019 Koninklijke Brill NV

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Accepted Manuscript

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

Trajectories of treasured texts: laments as narratives¹

ABSTRACT

The present chapter examines lament as a lens on the intersections between narrative, affect, and culture. Laments form an integral part of mourning rituals, and they are also attested in a range of ordinary contexts associated with work and leisure (Seremetakis, 1991) or with the recounting of painful life experiences, more broadly (de la Bretèque, 2013). So far, however, little attention has been paid to the discursive forms and norms that make laments amenable to new contexts beyond rituals of mourning. This study seeks to fill this gap by proposing an approach to laments as narrative practices embedded in other social and cultural practices (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012; 2015). This approach is illustrated in the case of a lament performance in the context of ethnographic fieldwork in Inner Mani (South Peloponnese, Greece) and supplemented by relevant findings from the analysis of a corpus of ‘treasured’ lament fragments, included in an unpublished, manuscript collection of laments from the 1930s. The analysis reveals regularized patterning in the lament performance at different levels – the acoustic, ethnopoetic, and narrative - and points to the conventionalized use of discourse devices for creating intertextual chains of stances, performances, and texts. Importantly, this multi-level patterning is revealing of different social practices in which lament performances are embedded, indexing contexts of telling as well as cueing the degree of affective and temporal distance from the recounted events. Regularized patterning and its associated discourse devices are described, here, as *markers of entextualization*, i.e. as traces of trajectories of lament, revealing of their differential telling and affective positions they make available to (co)tellers and audiences. The proposed approach to laments invites a cross-context and multi-level analysis of verbal art performances and texts as narrative practices connecting past, present, and future affectively. It contributes to the understanding of discourse processes of sharing affect and culture through narrative practices.

¹ Acknowledgements: This research was partially supported by the Greek State Scholarship Foundation and the fieldwork by a Sargeant Travel Award from King’s College London. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Alexandra Georgakopoulou for her insight and expertise and thank the editors of this volume, the anonymous reviewers, and Tereza Spilioti for their engaged feedback on previous versions of this paper. Any errors are my own. Special thanks go to my informants, especially Marigo, for the treasured words and worlds shared in the field and my mother, Yanna, for giving me permission to recontextualize part of our family history.

Opening: *narratives of treasure*

'Treasures are, by definition, traces of the past in the present; they are 'condensations' of history [...]. Until discovered, hidden treasures are like unopened time capsules, putative pieces of the past which have not yet gained the status of data or fact' [...] (Stewart, 2003, p.487).

The starting point for this study was the recovery of a family 'treasure': back in 1999, my mother insisted on recovering a suitcase from the basement of her parental home. The suitcase contained items that had belonged to her father, who had passed away some fifty years earlier, back in 1949. His widow had safeguarded all his personal belongings and valuables, the remains of his life until her death in 1999.

Yagos Strilakos was born in Yerolimenas - a remote coastal settlement situated at the southern end of the Mani peninsula in Peloponnese in Greece. He studied Greek Philology at the University of Athens, before moving to Sparta (South Peloponnese, Greece) to hold a series of posts in secondary education establishments in the area. He had lived through the bloodshed of the Second World War (1940-1944) and the civil strife between leftists and rightists that punctuated the war in Greece (1940-44 & 1944-1949). Having experienced years of persecutions, arrests, and dismissals on the grounds of his leftist political leanings, he eventually fled Sparta for Athens, the urban center of Greece, leaving his wife and three young children behind. Shortly afterwards, he died of typhoid in Athens.

My mother's persistent call to recover the suitcase containing valuable 'findables' was explicitly framed as her late mother's wish entailing our duty to fulfill it. At the same time, the accompanying stories she used to recount about her late father's professional repute as a philologist revalued these objects from the past as objects of broader public interest, treasurizing his personal belongings. By imbuing his textual-discursive remains with meanings of symbolic and affective value, her stories turned into *narratives of treasure*, attesting to everyday forms of *historicization*, that is ordinary ways of feeling and apprehending the past in the context of a family (see Stewart 2003, p.482; Stewart 2016, p. 86).

When eventually the suitcase was recovered from the basement, its opening became an event of *witnessing* by the entire family, consisting of my mother, my father, my two brothers and myself. The fragments of a long lost past took material shape in Yagos's personal items: his shaving set, his identity photo-card, documents relating to his teaching posts and his persecutions, personal letters and postcards, books and notes from his academic study,

translations of ancient Greek works in progress, a personal diary, and a manuscript collection of laments from his native village of Mani that he had started compiling while still a student at the University of Athens. Reading out these recorded stories of revenge killings and death thrust into the present powerful affective voices from the past.

As an onlooker of the event of the discovery of the ‘treasure’ and witness of its recovery, I also became participant to its archival materiality, which triggered a creative space for affective memory to be re-articulated and embodied. Laying bare the artefactual traces of my grandfather seemed to echo the cultural practice of Maniat kin women exhuming the dead’s skull and bones (Seremetakis, 1991, p.220). The presence of fragments and the absence of flesh invited reflection on the dead’s residual identity as well as on my own identity-in-the-making. Captivated by the worn out patina of age of these objects and driven by defamiliarization and distance, I immersed myself in *reflective nostalgia*² (Boym, 2001) connecting myself affectively to these “shattered fragments and ellipses of memory” (pp.49-50).

Importantly, the recovery of the collection of laments raised important questions about the nature and contexts of these textual fragments. Who created these texts, known as *mirolóyia*³ [trans. laments], where, and how? What meanings were encoded in them? And how had they traveled from the past to the present? These are some of the questions motivated the study of these ‘treasured’ texts as narratives with trajectories connecting affectively past, present, and future in different social and cultural practices.

The present chapter is organized as follows:

The first section presents the ethnographic and research context to the study. The second part introduces the Maniat context of culture and the Maniat lament as a speech genre subject to particular conditions of circulatability. The third section provides an analysis of a lament instantiation performed in the context of an ethnographic encounter, supplemented by key findings from the analysis of the lament fragments included in the recovered manuscript collection. Overall, the analysis presents an approach to laments as narratives with trajectories embedded in social practices of embodying, sharing, and authenticating affect and cultural memory.

² Reflective nostalgia is contrasted to restorative nostalgia, which is concerned more with the restitution of cultural symbols and rituals, typical of restorative nostalgia (Boym, 2001, pp.49-50).

³ *Mirológi* or *mirolói* (in common usage is the Modern Greek term that refers to popular laments and connotes the crying of one’s fate (Seremetakis, 1991, p. 3).

1. Background to the study

1.1 Ethnographic context of research

The collection of laments that became the focus of study includes sixty-four texts⁴ labelled as *mirolóyia* [trans. laments] by its compiler, Yagos Strilakos. Entries from the compiler's personal diary as well as his notes on the manuscript texts suggest that the date of its compilation can be situated between 1930-35, shortly after Yagos had returned to his home village Yerolimenas after graduating and waiting for his appointment as a teacher. During that period, Greek intellectuals, including writers, artists, and teachers were showing a strong interest in the collection and publication of vernacular forms with the view to construct a shared language and culture appropriate for a Modern Greek nation in the context of the broader project of constructing modernity in Europe (Mackridge, 2004; Bauman and Briggs, 2003).

The broader study that this chapter draws on has been based on the analysis of a sample of twenty-two texts-artifacts recorded in this unpublished, manuscript collection. The texts are approached as fragments, products of complex histories of discourse, rather than as transparent records of culture that can be straightforwardly branded as 'tradition'. The texts are viewed as artifacts which involve the freezing and framing of past and future in 'canonical' shapes through the compiler's practices of selection, extraction, editing, and resetting (Giaxoglou, 2009). These practices contribute to the construction of a sense of shared local culture and identity.

In order to gain an insight into the social practices associated with the texts included in the collection and collect supplementary data, I also conducted short-term ethnographic fieldwork in Mani (see Figure 1). During July 2003 I was based in *Aeropolis* and from there moved to villages across Inner Mani, either following suggestions of locals about well-known lamenters or looking for participant-informants who could share with me their understandings of laments. I conducted interviews with ten lamenters in total (eight female and two male) in *Aeropolis*, *Yerolimenas*, *Porto-Kagio*, *Lagia*, and *Kita* who recited or sung laments or just talked to me about aspects of local verbal art.

⁴ The total word count of texts making up the collection is 10,180 words with a mean of 159 words per text. The texts have been recorded in thirty-four unbound sheets, with a preference for recto-verso writing (in 58.8% of the sheets).

Figure 1. Map of Mani, Southern Peloponnese⁵

Fieldwork involved the use of contemporary ethnographic practices, and in particular a focus on specific topics for observation rather than the description of the entire culture in the style of traditional ethnography (Johnstone, 2000). In this study ethnography offered a perspective on

⁵ Courtesy of Yagos Yaxoglou.

language and communication from the point of view of a native ethnographer by definition to the people, the culture and the feel of the place (Blommaert and Jie, 2010).

While anthropology has long favored the radical encounter with the exotic ‘other’ far away from one’s home, there has been an equally long tradition of researchers ‘coming home’ and aiming to gain an in-depth understanding of their own culture. Notions of ‘home’ incorporate many meanings pointing to the dynamic, rather than static nature of ethnic belonging and cultural identity. As Rampton and Harris (2003) have suggested, it cannot be straightforwardly assumed that ‘ethnic inheritance provides one with tacit, but distinctive, ingrained dispositions’ or that ‘individuals possess (or belong to) cultures that are relatively discrete, homogeneous and static’ (the *roots* approach to ethnicity) (ibid, p.5). Rather, ethnicity is something that individuals can emphasize differently in particular situations according to their needs and purposes (the *routes* approach to ethnicity). This dynamic, emergent view of ethnic belonging and identity suggests that ‘coming home’ can often be a site of tensions and complex negotiations, presenting the native ethnographer with particular challenges.

There is, for instance, a risk that the ethnographer’s proximity to the local culture can hinder observation or that their already familiar roles may interfere with one’s role as participant observer (Stephenson and Greer, 1981, p.123). In my case, such issues were tempered by the fact that I was somewhat akin to a ‘dormant’ insider: partially acculturated to the Maniat culture through childhood short visits to the locale, as well as through exposure to my extended family’s patterns of conduct, I shared to some extent local norms of communication and behavior but hadn’t developed concrete social roles-relationships with members of the community. This part-insider, part-outsider status created a position of relative proximity to the community, which allowed me to experience the field subjectively taking into account my own and the participants’ multiple social identities (Robben, 2007, p.63), while avoiding the imposition of an ethnographic gaze on participants as indistinct bearers of culture. Upon entering the field, I carried over signs of my ethnic ‘roots’ through my association with the kin of Strilakos, which provided me a route into local lamenters and offered a starting point for sharing stories with them. Taking *ignorance* as my departure point, I was engaged in ethnography as *a learning process* (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). My aim was to gain a contextualized understanding of the ‘treasured’ texts and their natural histories of discourse which is the focus of the next section.

1.2 Natural histories of discourse and narrative

The interest in the natural histories or trajectories of discourse emerged in the study of oral poetics and performance when scholars shifted their attention from the study of how

performance is anchored in its context (Bauman, 1978, 1986) to the study of *how* and *why* discourse is rendered extractable from its context(s) of performance (Silverstein & Urban, 1996). This shift in focus raised the broader question of how texts are created and how they circulate in different contexts through the interrelated processes of decontextualization, entextualization, and (re)contextualization.

The terms *entextualization* and *contextualization* have been put forward as appropriate alternatives to conceptualizations of texts and contexts as products, i.e. as bounded, self-contained structures or entities (Silverstein and Urban, 1996). *Entextualization* can be described as the process of rendering a stretch of discourse into a coherent and cohesive text, concomitantly to extracting stretches of discourse from their setting(s) (*decontextualization*) and inserting them into new settings (*contextualisation*) again and again (*recontextualization*) (Bauman and Briggs, 1990, p.73; Foley, 1997, pp.371-372). These concepts encourage a move away from reified accounts of discourse in communication by foregrounding a view of discourse as a sociocultural process conditioning and conditioned by social agents.

This turn has also contributed to the recognition of narratives “in a trajectory of interactions as temporalized activities but also in networks of practices which they can partake in, represent and reflect on” (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 10). Approaching narrative as social practice (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 2) with a concern for its (re)contextualization(s) opens up the scope of narrative analysis beyond the study of oral narratives of personal experience whose components are embedded in a prototypical structure (Labov and Waletzky 1997 [1967], Labov, 2004): a fully developed narrative typically “begins with an *abstract*; an *orientation* with information on persons, places, times and behaviour involved; the *complicating action*; an *evaluation* section, which identifies the point of the narrative; the *resolution*; and a *coda* which returns the listener to the present time” (Labov, 2013, p. 5). This model of narrative is amenable to the study - as well as the indexing - of largely monologic tellings often elicited in interview contexts, but it has proved less useful for the study of everyday tellings and the study of cross-cultural variation in narrative forms.

Approaching narrative as social practice contributes a more complicated understanding of its forms, functions, and meanings in everyday activities as well as in specific contexts of culture (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, pp.83-85). Oral styles of ‘traditional’ storytelling, in particular, which involve considerable verbal artistry, constitute a rich site for the investigation of how cultural meanings become linguistically encoded in ways that condition their shareability. Ethnopoetic analyses of narrative styles that have been conducted predominantly in pre-literate cultures have highlighted local styles of verbal artistry by identifying patterning at the prosodic, syntactic and semantic level, often lost in written transcriptions, and have

pointed to links of types of patterning to culture-specific meanings and local sociolinguistic repertoires (Hymes, 1996, 1998, 2004). This study is guided by the narrative practice approach, while also combining units of analysis from ethnopoetics and the study of narrative as personal experience in order to offer an insight on culture-specific forms and norms of meaning making.

A narrative practice approach, more specifically, entails an analytic focus on “what participants do with narratives and how they position themselves vis-à-vis each other in the process” as well as “how the telling of stories shapes and is shaped by ideologies, social relations, and social agendas in different communities, times and spaces” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 2-3). Importantly, this discourse and sociolinguistic lens to narrative opens up the study of narrative beyond a single context of performance to storytelling instances across chains of related events that can unfold across time as well as in different media involving different participants (Shuman, 2015). As Shuman notes “stories travel beyond the people who experience they describe” (ibid, p. 42), and this calls for the close examination of “the affordances of different media, the transformation and entextualization processes involved in the creation of narratives in specific contexts, and the power struggles to which telling stories contribute” (ibid, p. 13). The opening account of the recovery of my grandfather’s manuscript collection of laments hidden among other artefactual traces of his personal life furnishes an apt illustration of such natural histories of discourse and trajectories of stories embedded in other social practices discussed in this chapter. But before we move on it is important to introduce lament and the kinds of social and cultural practices it is typically associated with.

1.3 Laments as sociocultural practice

Laments are often described as crying songs performed predominantly by women in a collective ritual context associated with mourning (Wilce, 2009, p.2, p.21). Ritual occasions of mourning make it possible for grief and pain to be publicly expressed, shared, and transformed and help to sustain communities in the face of loss. Understanding laments, however, also requires a close look at its relation with social institutions (Ariès, 1981; Seremetakis, 1991), discourse bodies (Briggs, 1992) and techniques or processes of cultural circulation (Wilce, 2009). Briggs’s (1992, p.338) intricate analysis of Josefina Fernandez’ Warao *sana*⁶ for her stepson Manuel, for instance, shows how relations of gender, power, and hierarchy are constructed in and through this female type of discourse, allowing women a certain degree of social and political power they otherwise lack in public speech events of the community.

⁶ *Sana* is the Warao term for the songs composed and sung following the death of a close relative (Briggs, 1992, p. 339).

In addition, Seremetakis (1991) has discussed the emergence of lament as a predominantly female counter-voice to male-dominated institutions, recognizing the technique of antiphony as a key technique of witnessing in Inner Maniat lamenting (ibid, p.100). For Seremetakis, the acoustic and gestural interplay between the lamenter (*soloist*) and the group of women (*chorus*), who support her in the performative and emotional structuring, reproduce the ethic of helping, which is central in practices of agricultural labour. Her gripping ethnographic account demonstrates how the sociocultural practice of lamenting participates into a complex system of social exchange where performance interlocks with linguistic and other semiotic systems.

Brigg's and Seremetakis's ethnographic studies have expanded our understanding of lament varieties as "stylizations that performatively embody and express complex social issues connecting largely female gendered discourses on death, morality, and memory to aesthetic and political thematization of loss and pain, resistance and social reproduction, and to ritual performance of emotion" (Feld and Fox, 1994, p.39).

Beyond rituals of mourning, however, laments play an important role in people's everyday life as an expressive vehicle for the articulation of painful experiences. Based on the study of melodized speech among the Yezidis, de la Bretèque (2013) has clarified the sonic and poetic dimensions of the aesthetics of suffering. Melodized speech - which corresponds to what Yezidis refer to as *kilame sur* [trans. words about someone or something] – is not only performed in funerals or graveyard feasts, but can also be inserted in daily conversations when the topic evokes sad memories (ibid, p. 198). Arguably, the use of melodization among the Yezidis serves as both a way to regulate distance, so that narration of traumatic events becomes possible, and as a way to enable emotional sharing with others (ibid, pp. 104-107, p. 198).

Ethnographies of lament attest to the practice of lamenting among different communities and complicate our understanding of *lamenting as sociocultural practice*, which also constitutes a culture-specific semiotic sign (Urban, 1988). As such it can furnish a window to local socio-emotional structures and agency constituted in and through ritual and discursive practice. Yet, despite the fact that lamentation is acknowledged as a form of personal experience narrative⁷, little attention has been paid so far to the narrative dimensions of lamenting.

⁷ "The genres of personal narrative found across speech communities are so plentiful that they alone constitute a staggering diversity of formats, including gossip, instigating stories, prayers, lamentations, reminiscences, agendas, plans, parables, jokes, eye-witness testimonies, confessions, reports, broadcasts, toasts, ballads, and certain forms of poetry" (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p. 60).

This chapter seeks to fill this gap by extending the scope of the study of lament as sociocultural practice to its study as narrative practice embedded in other social and cultural practices. This approach invites us to consider not only the thematic and rhetorical techniques used for temporally sequencing events and accounting for them, but also the ways in which lament narratives are imbued with “a moral and aesthetic evaluation of actions, emotions, thoughts” (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p.18) creating a social forum for (co) tellers and listeners to take and share a position on specific events, characters, and experience. In addition, looking at laments as narrative practices allows us to address questions of how laments travel as stories and what participants do with these stories in specific contexts.

The next section provides some necessary background to the context of culture as it relates to lament practices in the region and discusses conditions for the circulation of laments as a speech genre.

2. Laments in Inner Mani

2.1 Mani: context of culture

By ‘context of culture’, reference is made to the wide frame that includes a community’s shared knowledge, conventions of conduct, belief systems, language metaphors, speech genres, historical interpretations, ethical and judicial principles to be distinguished from the local context or context of situation (Ben Amos, 1993, pp.215-6, cited in De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, p.55). An understanding of emergent meaning in local contexts in Mani, as elsewhere, requires some familiarity with key historical, socioeconomic and cultural facets of the region and its people⁸.

Mani is situated in the south of Peloponnese forming the middle of its three highly trident peninsulas shaped by the Taygetus range, which narrows and lowers into the the headland of Tainaro or Kavo-Matapas (Saitas, 2001, p.9). Ancient myths that have survived in modern traditions suggest that the cape of Tainaro was the end of the world where the gate to the underworld or Ades was located. Folk demarcations recognize the arid sector of Mani as Laconian or Inner Mani and distinguish it from the more fertile land covered by Messinian or Outer Mani.

⁸ It is often the case for popular and scholarly depictions of the Maniat community to be characterized by *a priori* delineations of the community in modernist terms that emphasize a static view of the Maniat identity. Nonetheless, as Blommaert (2009) observes, it is not possible to overlook those views or pretend that they have vanished on the basis of our present theorizations. The encapsulation of the wider Maniat context of culture in the present chapter participates in such distilled representations of the community to the extent that at some level groups ascribe to modernist representations of themselves, while at the same time they continuously challenge or negotiate them.

The fundamental unit of socioeconomic settlement and organization in the Maniat community is the clan and more specifically the patriclan (*yenià*), defined by patrilineal lines of blood and fictive kin, conglomerates of which are called *fatrià* or *dhkologià* (Alexakis, 1980). In order to organize effectively the scarce natural and human resources, the local way of life was based on the coherence and particular clan ties, the power of the clan, and the belligerent way of life of the people.

As Seremetakis (1991, p. 115) explains, the revenge code served as a strategy for protecting the clans' claims to their land and status and also act against defamations, offences against women of the clan, such as abduction, adultery, and bride theft or even disputes, offences and crimes relating to property, crops or mutual agreements in the absence of judicial administration. The revenge code was symbolically underpinned by the metaphorical equation of homicide with the stealing of blood from a household or clan, necessitating retaliation by the affected kin. The type of revenge to be effected was a matter of careful planning that included considerations of whether other forms of retaliation were more appropriate, as for instance exile or the destruction of the clan tower that would implicate loss of status. Managing revenge code strategies was the task of the council of elders (*yerondiki*), composed of distinguished male agnates who had to decide on the form of action, the target, and the avenger. Women were expected to continue their daily activities during those clan combats as their role was to endure fate in the form of labour, suffering, and pain in agricultural and domestic spheres.

The revenge code emerges as the key stage where the patriarchal armed clans played out and negotiated their stakes and status, while against that background, mourning practices and lamenting obtained additional meaning as they often served as sites for the reinforcement or challenging of announced forms of retaliation. In cases when the *yerondiki* decided not to initiate a feud, women's laments in the mourning ceremony were used as the appropriate speech genre to address verbal attacks to the men for their failure to restitute their clan's honour (Seremetakis, 1991, pp.38-39). Lamenting forms, thus, a speech genre that implicates participating women in the co-construction and reception of jural discourse and cultural truth (ibid, p.100).

After 1870, the supra-local justice ensuing from the gradual integration of local power to the state system, the expansion of the monetary economy, the wider reach of education to rural areas, the expansion of agricultural activity (in particular the cultivation of the olive) created new conditions for the region and its people. Banditry and local strifes were suppressed, local autonomy decreased and a surplus of labourers migrated to urban centers in search of work. As a result, clan coherence suffered and the old distinctions started to lose their social

function only to be strengthened in local memory (Saitas, 2001, p.28). In the course of the rapid modernization of Greece which unfolded in non-coeval temporalities for the different communities and ways of life, revenge code ethics and practices of mourning came to be substantially suppressed and became relegated to the realms of ‘tradition’ and ‘folklore’ that belonged to the past rather than the present (Bauman and Briggs, 2003). Nonetheless similarly to other times in history laments kept echoing the past in dialogue with the present invoking past contexts at the same time as creating new ones for the performance of laments in both ritual and everyday contexts.

2.2 Dimensions of Maniat lament performance

In Inner Mani, laments refer primarily to the improvised singing of the leading lamenter, part of a multi-voiced performance that includes stylized sobbing, screaming, gestures, chorus refrains, and improvised prose monologues occasioned in the context of local wakes (*klàma*) within mourning ceremonies (Seremetakis, 1991, p. 99). Laments are composed in the trochaic octameter⁹ (locally known as *ochtasyllabo*) and revolve around the life (or killing) of the deceased expressing “the pain of the survivor in the throes of mourning and the pain that the deceased bear during the course of their lives” (ibid, p. 115).

Death is embedded in everyday life in ritualized forms, such as dreaming and appearances, emphasising the permeation between ritual and ordinary life in the Maniat community (Seremetakis, 1991, p.47). Such interpenetration is also characteristic of the Maniat lament (*mirolói*): improvised by a lamenter in the context of a death ceremony it often becomes reshaped into collective oral history for sharing as ‘culture’. Old laments continue to be orally performed long after the death ceremony and in the process they can become subject to alterations often reflecting clan allegiances and enmities (Kassis, 1980).

The acoustic signification in Maniat ritual wailing, locally known as *klàma* has been described in terms of a tripartite structure: sob/discourse/ sob, moving antiphonically from the nonlinguistic (sob) to linguistic media (Seremetakis, 1991, pp.116-117). The acoustic techniques of the non-linguistic expression of pain enables the chorus to confirm, resonate and memorialize the juridical authenticity of the soloist’s performance. The sob in the *klàma* is central to the stylized weeping as an affect intensifier and along with heavy breathing, breathlessness, and syllabic prolongation it also constitutes a device for the lamenter to shift between discourse units. While the acoustic signification in Maniat ritual wailing relies on the structuring and signification of the stylized sob, the aesthetic-acoustic structure of the lament

⁹ In the trochaic metre line one stressed syllable is followed by an unstressed one.

in the social domains outside the ritual presents notable differences that indicate a different style in the encoding of pain appropriate to the social context it is instantiated. According to Seremetakis (1991), the two types of lament stylizations differ in that ordinary laments are not performed with ‘proper pain’ given that the lamenter lacks the support of other lamenters and audience as well as the visual contact with the materiality of the corpse of the deceased.

Maniat laments used to be sung commonly as accompaniments to agricultural activities and exchanged as shared substances among Maniat women in “least bracketed and elaborated” contexts (Besnier, 1991) such as the public spaces of households locally called *the rougha* (see Seremetakis, 1991, p. 105). Laments were also performed in the private space of the inside of the home. A Maniat woman confided to me, for example, that when she lost her mother she used to lament on her own at home, making sure that the windows were sealed as she didn’t want others to hear her and judge her crying. A more recent context for the reconstruction of laments includes the folkloristic and ethnographic encounter: Seremetakis (ibid) reports on how her informants’ engagement in procedures of historical reconstruction, while listening to her fieldwork recordings revealed the extent to which “the *mirolói* as discourse, the *kláma* as social event, and the chorus as a body of record keepers were all linked into a coherent medium for the dissemination and circulation of songs beyond the space and time of death” (p.105). It is argued, here, that a narrative lens into such practices of circulation can shed light on the discourse processes driving the sharing and uptake of laments and clarify the normative shapes they can take as part of performance and text chains. This is all the more important given the general constraints in the potential of laments for circulation.

2.3 Conditions for the circulation of laments

Lament genres offer little scope for replication and wide circulation, especially when compared to myths (Urban, 1996). The main reason for this observed differentiation between the two speech genres in terms of circulatability is the association of laments with the *miasma* (pollution, impurity) of death, which assigns mortuary rites their mystical character on the one hand, at the same time as restricting them to specific contexts. In addition, laments also tend to involve highly personalized content which draws its meaning from its association with local contexts and thus, further restricts their wider circulation.

Urban acknowledges, though, that not all laments circulate in the same way; some seem to travel better than others (Urban, 1996, pp.40-41). For example, among the Yezidis, a small

group in the northern region of Iraq¹⁰, it has been noted that certain types of laments are allowed to be recited outside the ritual (Arakelova, 1999, 2000). These laments are called *sujet* laments, i.e. mourning songs with a plot, or threnodies of the female cycle which are composed on the death of a prominent person especially if he (she) died under specific circumstances (ibid, p. 135). Greek laments called *Songs of the Underworld and Charos* (Saunier, 1979, Alexiou 2002 [1974]. 124-125), which often recount stories of heroic figures also circulate as folk songs outside ritual ceremonies. These songs revolve around typical figures, which they enregister as emblems of local culture (Agha, 2007).

As discussed above (see section 2.2) in Inner Mani, laments circulate both as collective oral history of the community and of specific families, creating a narrative tradition whose impact extends beyond the ritual (Seremetakis, 1991, p.105). The circulation and persistence of laments in Maniat life is not, however, always acknowledged by locals themselves due to issues of shame attached to cultural practices which are thought to belong to the past. For example, at the start of my fieldwork in Mani, when I approached a local acquaintance asking him to bring me in touch with lamenters he told me in a categorical manner that the practice of lamenting has been discontinued (*“den yparhoun pia tetoia pragmata, den asxolountai me tetoia pragmata pia”*; trans.: “there are no such things anymore”, “people are not concerned with such things anymore”). On the same day, the owner of the local bookshop in Aeropoli and local publisher confirmed that laments are still being practised - even if by few lamenters - and suggested the names of a couple of them I could consult. Similar examples of conflicting statements about the current state of lament practice abound in my fieldwork data, indexing the co-existence of two contrasting linguistic ideologies about the value of laments as cultural products associated with shame or pride (cf. Wilce, 2009, pp.118-138). The circulation and replication of these ideologies potentially serve as a guide or template for the reproduction of a certain cultural order (ibid, p.128). Importantly, such ideologies entail the social distribution and regimentation of mourning and lamenting speech genres as inappropriate altogether or as appropriate in only certain forms and contexts.

The above examples highlight that limitations to discourse reproduction and circulation are not inherent to speech genre, but subject to cultural and contextual factors that determine the appropriate or inappropriate conditions of telling and sharing.

3. Forms and norms of circutable laments

Aspects of speech genres’ regimentation can be clarified when we consider laments as circutable cultural products, which rely on narrative affordances and are revealing of different

¹⁰ The Yezidis are known for their unique religious rites, which are considerably different from Islam rites.

entitlements and modes of participation (Shuman, 2005). The ensuing discussion of a lament performance from my fieldwork supplemented by key findings from the analysis of texts from the ‘treasured’ manuscript collection should help illustrate this point more clearly.

3.1 Ethnographic vignette: a breakthrough into performance

On the fourth day of my stay in Mani, I found myself in Kita having spent the morning going door-to-door, asking local women whether I could consult them about the local tradition of lamenting. In one of these encounters, a woman suggested to me that I should return to the area around seven in the afternoon when elder women habitually gather in a nearby shady and cool yard. Following her advice, I found myself later that day among the septuagenarian Ioulia, Marigo alongside one male neighbour, a couple of children playing on the side, and the informant who had led me there. As soon as I was introduced by the female informant as kin affiliated to Mani through my grandfather’s roots in nearby Yerolimenas, Ioulia and Marigo welcomed me to the company and we started to exchange news and updates relating to my extended family.

Having settled in the conversation, I then invited Ioulia and Marigo to tell me more about their lamenting practice and repertoires. Both initially denied remembering any laments and in what appeared to be an attempt to short cut any further discussion on the topic they asserted that “*locals don’t tell laments anymore*” (trans.: “*δε λένε πια μοιρολόγια*”). I then explained them how I had ‘inherited’ a collection of laments from my grandfather that had sparked my interest in laments. By offering part of my family ‘treasures,’ I sought to establish a context of social exchange, where the contribution of lament stories from the past would render the discussion of mourning practices more relevant for everyone present. I started to read out laments from the collection so that Ioulia and Marigo would comment. Both readily classified these stories as ‘old laments’ and either commented on parts of the background story that motivated it or challenged the accuracy of parts of it. It was at that stage that I asked them whether they could remember any similar old laments that I could record in my mini-disc as an illustration of their tempo and rhythm. Everyone turned to Marigo demonstrating respect for her lamenting skills, and called her to perform a lament for me reiterating how far her words and lament would travel. Marigo initially appeared reluctant to get involved in a performance, so she kept insisting that she could not remember any laments and kept asking herself and others “what am I (supposed to) say?” (trans.: “*ε, τι να πω;*”). Then she shouted “you got me into trouble, you fat women!” (trans: “*φακλάνες, με μπλέξατε...*”) and broke through into lament performance (Hymes, 1975) providing no opening contextualizing framing for the lament.

The old lament that Marigo chose to perform in the context of the ethnographic encounter reports Paraski's witnessing of her father's killing. It is locally known as the lament of Yorgatzas (*του Γιωργαντζά*), who is identified in the telling as the person responsible for the reported killing. The lament points to a chain of revenge that relates to the restitution of a female's honour from the clan of Yorgatzas. None of my informants appeared concerned about the historical events that motivated the composition of the lament, but my search in other published collections provided additional background to the story. For the Maniat women present, the lament encapsulated all the historical and social events that needed to be recollected and passed around without the need for further 'historicizing' information.

3.2 Traces of lament trajectories: ethnopoetic and narrative patterning in and beyond performance

The performance of Marigo is made up of twelve lines, punctuated by a lengthy pause for repair in line 7 (marked by brackets in the text below), where there is a shift to direct speech. The repair involves the addition of a formulaic line including two reporting verbs (line 8: "and I told him and I said"), which functions as a frame to the opening of direct speech (line 9).

Text 1¹¹. The lament of Yorgatzas (l. 1-12)

1 Μέσα ήμου κι έψηνα ψωμί	[One day] I was in, bread baking ¹²
2 με τη μικρή μου αδερφή	with my little sister
3 κι αγροίκησα μια ντουφεκιά	and I heard a rifle shot
4 κι αμέσως το κατάλαβα	and there and then [the pain] I got
5 εκεί στ'αλώνι π'εδιάηκα	on my way to the fields
6 απάντεσα τον Γιωργατζά	I run into Yorgatzas
[7 ευγιά ζου βρε παλλικαρά]	well done you and what a brave son
8 και τού πα και του μίλησα	and [then] I told him and I said
9 ευγιά ζου βρε παλλικαρά	well done you and what a brave son

¹¹ In the text, the ethnopoetic patterning is marked by indentation and narrative patterning by double line breaks.

¹² The translation is my own.

10 εσείς την εδικηώσατε	You've taken your revenge for her
11 τη βέργα τη συρματερή	that thin and lean and tall
12 ντην πόρνη ζας τη φανερή	a harlot known to us all.

Despite the apparent fragmentary nature of the text and the repair noted above, the reconstructed lament reveals an overall coherent ethno poetic and narrative organization. The lament is performed on a speech-song continuum in a creaky voice; in articulatory terms 'creaky voice' involves the production of sounds with the glottal chords vibrating at a lower than normal rate (Urban, 1988, p.387). The performance is characterized by the flatness of the musical tone as well as of the intonational contour of the tokens, irrespective of the words uttered, with a noticeable downward intonational fall at the end of each single pulse unit or musical line which is composed in octameter (see section 2.2). In addition, breath pauses mark the end of longer units. In the performance of the lament of Yorgatzas, such pauses are patterned, occurring at the end of two lines and in the case of the concluding section, at the end of three lines, where the lament comes to an end rather abruptly.

The examination of the corpus of laments (see section 1.1) suggests that patterning in twos or threes, depending on the narrative function of the unit, makes up the ethno poetic structure of the lament and forms the compositional basis for organizing micro-events or shifts in action (Giaxoglou, 2008). These patterned sets of lines can coincide with or make up larger narrative units that can be described using the Labovian narrative labels¹³ (see section 1.2). Narrative development in this speech genre unfolds through shifts in action, which are marked off by a set of overt discourse markers. In the case of the lament of Yorgatzas, such markers include adverbs of place (line 1: μέσα; trans. 'inside'; line 5: εκεί; trans. 'there'), conjunctions (line 3: κι; trans. 'and'), verbs of saying (line 9: και του 'πα και του μιλησα; trans. 'and [then] I told him and I said') or tense switches from past continuous to simple past (line 1: ήμου; trans. 'was' → line 3: αγροίκησα; trans. 'I heard').

The lament of Yorgatzas offers a typical example of ethno poetic and narrative organization in that it presents almost all the narrative parts expected in a fully-fledged oral narrative of personal experience: an *abstract*, in this case the name of the revenge killer which serves as a prompt to the story; an *orientation* (lines 1-2) which provides information about the setting of

¹³ Despite the fact that the labels we choose for these narrative units can vary, their boundaries are ascertained by longer pauses and breathing that key the entry of the lamenter to the next sequence of improvisation.

the story; a *complicating action* (lines 3-6) where the main action is reported, in this case the witnessing of the killing at a distance and the encounter with the killer on the lamenter's way to the victim's side; a *resolution* (lines 8-9) bringing the action to a close by acknowledging that the killer has fulfilled the revenge exigency to restore the honour of a female member from his clan; an *evaluation* (lines 10-12) where the lamenter presents the point of the story by first praising the avenged woman's beauty (line 11: "thin, lean, and tall"), before moving on to undermine her as "a well-known harlot" (line 12). There is no explicit *coda*: Marigo returns to the present time by stepping out of the performance frame, switching from a 'creaky voice' and the mode of speech-song continuum back to conversational mode.

Marigo's stylization is a representation of ritual wailing, which serves as a metapragmatic semiotic act that functions less at the denotational and more at the interactional level. The revealed patterning encodes communicable aspects of context that set this stylization apart from prototypical ritual laments in terms both of the sound shapes associated with crying and sadness but also in terms of the functions that such performances serve. In terms of its acoustic structure, this form of 'ordinary' lament employs linguistic rather than non-linguistic techniques for the encoding of pain, embedding affective expression in a regularized ethnopoetic and narrative patterning punctuated by evaluative comments and "icons of crying" (Urban, 1988), such as the monotone musical tone, falling intonation, creaky voice, and ingressive breathing that signal sadness and grief. Taken together, these techniques constitute a strategy for efficaciously performing lament beyond ritual contexts. At the same time, these techniques also index the context of their performance.

In this case, more specifically, these techniques index an ethnographic interview context, largely monologic, which involves an orientation to lament as a narrative practice embedded in practices of cultural performance. This orientation is marked by the use of *double-voicing*. In their examination of oral narrative as a genre, Jane Hill and Ofelia Zepeda have shown "how double-voiced utterances in a personal narrative provide the opportunity for a speaker to split into many presences as it were and so diffuse responsibility among them" (Hill and Irvine, 1993, p.16). The lament narrative is constructed in the first person and it is based on the appropriation of Paraski's pain. This discourse device enables the teller to split into two: (i) the person who *bears the pain* and is responsible for assigning blame for the revenge killing encoded in the first-person voice of Paraski and (ii) the person who *bears witness to the pain*, in this case Marigo, by recapitulating the past and carrying the social event feelingfully into the present inviting further entextualizations. Importantly, the call for entextualization is motivated by the call for distributing a particular stance on the events and those involved them, namely that the reported revenge killing does not ultimately fulfil its

aim of restituting the honour of the clan. By assigning blame not to the killer, whose act is morally dictated by the revenge code, but to the female for being a harlot, the lamenter makes explicit in the concluding evaluation whose blame (and how) is to be registered in public discourse.

Furthermore in this lament instantiation double-voicing encodes specific entitlement claims which involve what Shuman (2015) has described as “speaking others’ words or telling others’ stories [...] [as] a way of claiming authority – the authority to represent, for example, or the authority that comes from insider knowledge” (p. 43). As Sacks has suggested (1992) the entitlement to tell another’s story is also linked with the way affect is articulated: “first-hand, second-hand, and third-hand experiences are narrated differently, received differently, and play out differently in terms of the ‘distributional character of experience’” (p. 246).

In the telling of the lament for Yorgatzas, Marigo plays out another woman’s pain as a proxy for her own and other Maniat women’s life experiences of pain. The mode of narration in the first person allows her to draw in her listeners while regulating her own and her listeners’ proximity to personal suffering in a way that renders emotion intelligible, coherent, and hence communicable in this specific elicited context. In her breakthrough to performance Marigo assumes responsibility to her present and imagined audience for a display of verbal skill in lamenting (Bauman, 1986, 2004) as well as for a display of affect echoing local norms of emotionality which lend authority and authenticity to her telling.

The example suggests that the more the lament performance is distanced from the events that prompted it, the more the expression of affect becomes regularized linguistically, narratively and prosodically, thus enabling the exchange of laments as sung or spoken stories part of a chain where tellers can invoke affect and distribute local stances and positions to events and characters. These stories constitute sites for the formation and negotiation of cultural identities in multivoiced productions which as Koven has shown (2015) result from “participants’ coordinated recognition of, performance of, and alignments toward multiple images of selves and others, across here-and-now narrating and there-and-then narrated events” (p.388).

In performances of ‘old laments’ - particularly in folkloristic or ethnographic encounters - tellers also engage in the metapragmatic cueing of certain co-patternings as valuable indexes of cultural formations subject to communicative processes of circulation (Agha, 2007). Their use of double-voicing is, thus, part of a metanarrative strategy that frames the lament as a cultural product that can represent the local worldview of pain.

The next section supplements this discussion with findings from the analysis of the corpus of old lament fragments¹⁴ from the 1930s included in the ‘treasurized’ manuscript collection (see section 1.1).

3. 3 Traces of lament trajectories: framing devices as *markers of entextualization*

In their written form in folklore collections, laments present a prototypical patterning that indexes a high degree of crystallization. The degree of crystallization is mostly evident in the opening lines or oral poetic formulae and narrative development. In performance-oriented research (Bauman, 1978, Foley, 1997, p.359) introductory formulae are defined in oral-poetic terms as “a group of words regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Parry, 1930, p.80 cited in Beaton, 1980, p.37). They have been described as framing devices that serve to index the genre which the teller is producing or invoking for specific reasons (Bauman 1978; Foley, 1997, p.359). It has been widely acknowledged that “formulaic elements occur more coherently in the laments recorded by folklorists” (Herzfeld, 1986, p.250) which makes the manuscript collection of laments under focus a unique context for their study.

Across the sample studied, the most common opening line is a formulaic opening that denotes the day and part of the day when the reported death (or killing) is said to have occurred. The formula has been found to initiate approximately one third of the lament fragments in the manuscript collection (36%). A similar frequency of occurrence is noted in the case of one of the most well-known published collections of laments, considered to be an authoritative anthology (32%) (Koutsilieris, 1997).

The formula is shaped within the constraints of the octametre and consists of the indefinite article accompanying a proper noun that denotes a day of the week or month and optionally an adverbial of time. Half of the times (50%) the formula occurs in the sample, the day and time of day are set to a Monday morning¹⁵.

¹⁴ In the manuscript collection as well as in comparable published collections the texts-artifacts generically labelled as *miroloyia* are *lament fragments*, which compilers metadiscursively frame as authentic ‘copies’ of lament songs linking them directly to the improvisations of individual mourners in the unique instance of a mourning ritual (see Giaxoglou 2008).

¹⁵ The formula also appears in a range of other forms in the texts-artifacts as laid down by Strilakos encoding other days of the week as temporal frames for the recounted events, such as *Ki-ria-ki* (Sunday) or *Sa-va-to* (Saturday). The three syllables making up these words place these choices in a paradigmatic relation to the choice of the weekday name *De-fte-ra* (Monday).

Μία (indefinite article) **Δευτέρα** (proper name denoting a day of week) **το πρωί** (adverbial of time)

Trans.: One Monday morning

References to time invoked in this type of formula are highly conventionalized. This is foregrounded in the following example where the formula is made up of the merging of two weekday names into a single name *Μνία Τεταρτοπαρασκευή* (trans. *One Wednesdayfriday*) [taken from the lament for Michaleas]. Such formulae may suggest the lamenter's concern for the metrical requirements of distich (i.e. a group two lines) or mark the degree of detachment of the text from its local context and temporal anchoring.

Furthermore, these conventionalized temporal frames serve to initiate larger sections typically recounting a set of ordinary activities just before the onset of narrative action. These sections tend to be articulated in the imperfective aspect (see underlined verbs in the example below). In the case of a female protagonist, such activities take place indoors and often refer to eating and drinking, sleeping, milling, or just standing by the window, while in the case of a male protagonist ordinary activities refer to outdoor activities, such as working in the field, sitting in the council or being away from the village.

[taken from the lament for Perotis & Lefatzis]

Trans.

Μια Δευτέρα το πρωί	One Monday morning
<u>εκάθοντα</u> στο μαγαζί	they were sitting in the shop
και <u>κάνασι</u> γεροντική	and holding the elders' council
στον Μπαλασίδα την αυλή	at Balasida's yard.

In narrative terms (Labov 1997, p. 402; 2004, p.37-39), sections that describe a common state-of-affairs by establishing the time, place, participants and the ordinary activities in which they are engaged are called *orientation sections* and serve not only to provide background information, but also to contextualize and perspectivize the telling (see Georgakopoulou 1997, p.58). Based on the analysis of the texts in which the device 'one Monday morning' instantiates, it is suggested that the device has a narrative function of contextualizing the lament telling as a temporally ordered sequence of events that indexes a relative distance from the time when the events took place. In addition, the coupling of markers of time with markers of space where

everyday activities typically take place allows the synthesis of time and space within the taleworld into a *chronotope*, which “makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins...[functions] as the primary means for materializing time in space” (Bakhtin, 1981, p.250 cited in Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 13).

The identification of the narrative function of such framing devices is reinforced by another relevant finding, namely that the majority of texts initiated by such devices¹⁶ present a fully-fledged narrative structure in the lines of the model of narrative put forward by Labov and Waletzky (1997 [1967]) (see section 1.2). In other words, in these lament fragments the most reportable event of killing is recounted in a narrative sequencing of events that starts with an orientation section providing information on the time, place and the protagonist(s). It is then followed by complicating action episodes that culminate in the reporting of the witnessing of the killing and comes to a close by means of an evaluation where blame is assigned for the killing and in some cases, a coda where warnings for revenge are issued.

In many respects, the start ‘one Monday morning’ resembles the initiating formula often associated with Western fairy tales ‘once upon a time’ or ‘there was once...’ The latter has been found to be one of the additions that Brother Grimms (1981[1816]) made in the process of shaping their anthology of folktales. Briggs (1993) describes it as an index of metadiscursive practices, i.e. methods used in locating, extracting, editing and interpreting discourses that marks the insertion of folk tales into their written collections. In the unpublished, manuscript collection, though, there is no evidence of similar interventions as part of the compiler’s practices of authenticating the recorded texts; rather, it seems that tellers use them to explicitly frame their telling as an ‘old lament’. In this respect such fixed expressions can be referred to as *markers of entextualization*, given that they do not encode denotational meaning but rather tell us something about the context of telling and its relation to past and future performances. These fixed expressions function as metanarrative cues to the type of lament performed and the participation framework involved: listeners are not expected to be immersed in the emotional world of pain and loss, but rather to share in the meanings encoded in communicable and circulable representations of pain.

Such formulae constitute strategies of minimising the intertextual gap (see Foley, 1997, pp. 372-372) between an idealized generic model of laments and the actual text enacted, thus appealing to the texts’ durability. As such, this type of framing device serves as an index of a high degree of lament crystallization and affirms the replicability of certain types of Maniat

¹⁶ Two lament fragments deviate from this pattern; these are labelled as *Anonymous* and appear to be tellings lacking in skill, as evidenced by the lack of a distinctive label and the abundance of oral-poetic formulae to the detriment of event progression.

laments as laments that make for better culture ‘in its classic sense of sharing and transmission across the generations’ (Urban, 1996, p. 42). Such replicability enables the fixing of lament texts in folklore collections as ‘old’ or ‘traditional’ laments in practices of culture-making for supra-local purposes.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of a selection of ethnographic data and a ‘treasured’ set of lament texts foregrounded the value of studying performances of ‘old’ laments along with lament records as traces of the natural histories of local lament verbal art (Silverstein and Urban, 1993). This approach sheds light on lament as narrative practice embedded in other social and cultural practices, such as folkloristic and ethnographic encounters and everyday activities.

The linguistic techniques employed for creating a crystallized version of lament in performance or in writing, are found to include regularized acoustic and discourse patterns, double-voicing, and framing devices, which make a performance recognizable as an instantiation of that particular speech genre. These techniques constitute a linguistic representation of non-linguistic techniques (e.g. sobbing, crying, gestures), which are integral to lament performances as part of mourning rituals, and make possible the (re)contextualization of laments in other activities. At the same time these techniques serve as markers of entextualization or traces of the lament’s trajectories linking each instantiation to a chain of tellings, thus authenticating it. Such techniques, and double-voicing in particular, enforce a detachment from the events that occasioned the pain and indicate to the audience that the lament performed stands for a culture-specific, circulable form of metanarration.

The view of lament as narrative practice presented in this chapter brings to the fore the pervasiveness of lament in local culture. The Inner Maniat lament is drawn upon for the embodying affect in normative ways, as well as for distributing narrative formats and positions in and through which local history and cultural identities are reconstructed and shared affectively.

This study suggests the importance of looking more closely at the complex multi-layered narrativity involved in verbal art and its traces in recorded versions in relation to text trajectories and the negotiation of cultural identities and ‘tradition’. This line of analysis can be extended by investigating how narrative figures and participants’ alignments toward them “travel” beyond particular storytelling events (Koven, 2015). The discussion also opens up an insight on local forms and norms of layering and regulating affect and regulation in narrative practice, which can be a useful lens on the articulation and sharing of traumatic and painful experience, more broadly.

Even though laments in Mani, as elsewhere, may have largely lost the force emanating from their integral implication in patriarchal systems of social organization based on the code of revenge, they continue to hold on to their power as narratives through which tellers participate in encapsulations of experience reverberating local lifeworlds that have emerged from pain. Despite the selective representation and crystallization of such stories in folklore collections that largely erases part of their meaning and power, lament fragments continue to furnish opportunities for bearing witness to voices of pain and for affectively connecting past, present, and future.

REFERENCES

- Agha, A. (2007) *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexakis, E. (1980) *Ta yeni ke i ikogenia stin paradosiaki kinonia tis Manis*. Athena.
- Arakelova, V. (1999) Bayt'ā Gilāvīyē – a lament for a noble woman. Or evidence for polygamy among the Yezidis. *Iran & the Caucasus* 3/4: 135-142.
- Bauman, R. (2004) *A World of Others' Words*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Bauman, R. and Briggs, Ch. (2003) *Voices of modernity. Language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, R. & Briggs, C. (1990). 'Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59-88.
- Bauman, R. (1986) *Story, performance and event: contextual studies of oral narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, R. (1978) *Verbal art as performance*. Rowley: Newbury House Publishers.
- Beaton, R. (1980) *Folk poetry of Modern Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Besnier, N. (1990) 'Language and Affect.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 419-451.
- Blommaert, J. and D. Jie (2010) *Ethnographic fieldwork: a beginner's guide*. Multilingual Matters.
- Boym, S. (2001) *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Briggs, C. (1993) 'Metadiscursive practices and scholarly authority in Folkloristics'. *The Journal of American Folklore* 106 (422): 387-434.
- De Fina, A., and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.) (2015) *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- De Fina, A., and A. Georgakopoulou (2012) *Analyzing Narrative: Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Georgakopoulou, A. (1997) *Narrative performances: a study of Modern Greek storytelling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2007) *Small Stories, Interaction and Identities*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Giaxoglou, K. (2008) *Maniat laments: forms and norms of entextualisation*. [Unpublished PhD Thesis]. King's College London.

- Giaxoglou, K. (2009) 'Entextualizing vernacular forms in a Maniat village: features of orthopraxy in local folklore practice'. *Pragmatics* (Special Issue on Language, discourse and identities: Snapshot from Greek contexts, Edited by Georgakopoulou, A. and V. Lytra) 19 (3): 419-434.
- Feld, S. and Fox, A. (1994) Music and Language. In *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 25-53.
- Foley, W. (1997) *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harris, R. and B. Rampton (2003) *The Language, Ethnicity and Race Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Hill, H. and J. Irvine (eds.) (1992) *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herzfeld, M. (1986). *Ours once more. Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece*. Pella Publishing.
- Hymes, D. (1975) 'Breakthrough into performance'. In Ben-Amos, D., Goldstein, K. (eds). *Folklore performance and communication*. Paris: Mouton, The Hague.
- Hymes, D. (1996) *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Hymes, D. (1998) 'When is oral narrative poetry? Generative form and its pragmatic conditions.' *Pragmatics: Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association* 8 (4): 475-500.
- Hymes, D. (2004) *In vain I tried to tell you: Essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Johnstone, B. (2000) *Qualitative Research Methods in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Koven, M. (2015). "Narrative and Cultural Identities: Performing and Aligning with Figures of Personhood." In De Fina, A. & A. Georgakopoulou (eds.) *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 388-407.
- Koutsilieris, A. (1997) *Μοιρολόγια της Μάνης. Μνημεία γλωσσικά-ιστορικά* (Laments of Mani. Linguistic – Historic Monuments). Athens.
- Labov, W. (1997). 'Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience'. In Bamberg, M. (ed.). Special Volume of *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7:3-38. [Reprinted from Labov, W. & Waletzky, J. 1967. 'Narrative analysis'. *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, ed. J. Helm, 12-44. Seattle: U. of Washington Press].
- Labov, W. (2004). 'Ordinary Events'. In Fought, C. (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Labov, W. (2013) *The Language of Life and Death. The Transformation of Experience in Oral Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackridge, P. (2004) 'Sie sprechen wie ein Buch': G.N. Chatzidakis (1848-1941) and the defence of Greek diglossia. *Kampos*12: 69-87.
- Ochs, E. and L. Capps (2001) *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Robben, C.G.M. 2007. 'Introduction to Part II: Fieldwork Identity'. In Robben, C.G.M. and J.A. Skula (Eds). *Ethnographic fieldwork. An Anthropological Reader*. Blackwell.
- Saitas, G. (2001) *Mani. Traditional Greek Architecture*. Athens: Melissa.
- Seremetakis, N. (1991). *The last word: Women, death, and divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Silverstein, M. & Urban, G. (1996). *Natural histories of discourse*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1996) 'The secret life of texts.' In Silverstein, M. & G. Urban (eds). *Natural histories of discourse*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. pp 81-105.
- Shuman, A. (2005) *Entitlement claims and the critique of empathy*. Chicago: University of Illinois.
- Shuman, A. (2015) 'Story Ownership and Entitlement'. In A. De Fina and A. Georgakopoulou (eds). *Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 38-56.
- Stephens, J.B. and L.S. Greer (1981) 'Ethnographers in their own cultures: two Appalachian cases'. *Human Organization* 40: 123-30.
- Stewart, C. (2003) 'Dreams of treasure. Temporality, historicization and the unconscious'. *Anthropological Theory* 3 (4): 481-500.
- Stewart, C. (2016) Historicity and Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36: 79-94.
- Urban, G. (1988) Ritual wailing in Amerindian Brazil. *American Anthropologist* 90 (2): 385-400.
- Urban, G. (1996) 'Entextualization, replication, and power'. In Silverstein, M. & G. Urban (eds). *Natural histories of discourse* (pp.21-45) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilce, J. (2009). *Crying shame: metaculture, modernity and the exaggerated death of lament*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wilce, J. (2009) *Language and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.