

## INTRODUCTION.

*A moment of revelation: “the ideal event”*

February 2005. On a very cold mid-week evening, at kiria Sula and kirios Makis’ house in Argostóli, capital of the Greek island of Cefalónia, a group of people come together. I rush to get there early so I can see all the people arriving and experience what would later become my moment of revelation; I did not want to miss anything. I had been looking forward to this gathering for a while now. I first met the group in 1999, when I was invited to join their performances and had immediately ‘fallen in love’ with the atmosphere. This time, however, things were different as I was attending the event as an ethnographer, participating, observing and recording it.

This group of people is what Cefalónians call “*a maskaráta*”, a carnival masquerade group. Comprising some thirty men and women in their forties and late fifties, they have been performing for twenty around years. Ties existed prior to the establishment of the group with some folk having known each other since high school. They have remained good friends since and these people constitute the nucleus of the *maskaráta*: kirios Makis is founder and leader of the group, together with his wife, kiria Sula. The second important couple are Kirios Makris and kiria Erithra, with kirios Avgustatos and kiria Maria completing the nucleus of the *maskaráta*.

They were all at kirios Makis’ house that cold February day along with the other members of the group. Kirios Avgustatos sat next to me and teased me. I had been working with him for five months and ongoing teasing relations had been established. He knew I was always in the mood for teasing and that I would laugh. He would make me laugh and attract the attention of other members when they heard me.

He keeps talking with a deadpan expression on his face and points to something on a piece of paper: “what is this thing on the drawing, my lady? Is it a spot (bAfa<sup>1</sup>)? Do you honestly want to have this as your carnival costume? Maki, come have a look at this! Here! She says she wants this dress for Carnival!” He sounds like a reprimanding father, yet I know he is joking. Kirios Makis turns his head, smiles and says nothing; or, at least I can’t hear anything because I am laughing loudly, and I can’t see anything.

As soon as kirios Makis and kirios Makris ask us to sit down and discuss ideas on costumes, kirios Avgustatos moves to another seat. He sits across from me, next to kirios Makris. Other people sit around the big sitting room. During the discussions and the final decision on the subject, kirios Avgustatos keeps silent. Kirios Makris elaborates on costumes, colours and textiles and the ladies add comments according to their tastes, as do the men when it comes to their costumes.

I try observing everyone while enjoying the festive atmosphere where there is no room for seriousness. Besides, the chosen topic is for more laughter: “...it can

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<sup>1</sup> I use capital letters here to convey the performer’s special tone. Kirios Avgustatos stressed both As making the vowels sound very open.



I thought this to myself and was unable to follow the progress of the discussions. I was struck by the event and my thinking about the event made me realize that I had experienced my own striking revelation.

This thesis regards ‘satire’ as a local construction and thus the term ‘satiricity’ (*satirikótita*) is advanced with a view to setting the stage towards what I call “the anthropology of ‘satire’”. ‘Satire’ is treated not as “a literary genre” but as an event. Here, it is examined through a speech event and is called teasing event –*píragma*- in Greek and this occurs at rural and urban sites. Further, local people interpret, respond and frame the teasing, occupying different positions or shifting between positions in the teasing. Finally this is circumscribed firstly as their own exclusive feature and then to differentiate themselves from other Greeks. From this perspective I examine the main components of a teasing event and present the talk that either precedes or follows the event and this is termed metacommunication. The role of metacommunication is thus an indispensable part of satiricity.

Fieldwork on the Greek island of Cefalónia lasted some fifteen months with Argostóli, the capital of the island, and Kondogenada, a small village to the north west of the island, as my main field sites.

In order to incorporate ‘satire’ in ‘satiricity’, participant-observation was the main research method and this oscillated from simple observation to full participant-observation, depending on the situations and the people I worked with. I also used semi-structured interviews and transcribed parts of the recorded events as well as consulting a small part of the special collection that the Korgialenios Library in Argostóli. Part of this collection is presented here as well as an extensive separate bibliography.

This attitude to the object of study is integral to anthropological research which is where I situate myself. Following Mannheim and Tedlock in that “cultural events are not the sum of the actions of their individual participants, each of whom imperfectly expresses a pre-existent pattern, but are the scenes where shared culture emerges from interaction<sup>6</sup>”, I thus situate myself in dialogic anthropology. As such this research contributes to studies on Cefalónia and forwards the contribution of anthropology to local studies. This thesis, then, attempts to include dialogues among different categories of local people (migrants, ‘natives’, local scholars, villagers and urbanites) as well as between locals and the ethnographer, between the ethnographer and her ‘self’, and between an anthropological approach to local practices and other approaches, like philology, folklore and history. As a result, satiricity as language and culture arises as a constellation of voices.

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<sup>6</sup> Mannheim and Tedlock 1995:2.

## CHAPTER OUTLINES

### CHAPTER ONE

#### **Cefalonia: an introduction.**

Chapter one introduces the island of Cefalónia from the perspective of an outer landscape.<sup>7</sup> I present the island according to people's views and follow particular features mentioned about the island. The same applies to the description of the town and the village where research took place. This is the point of departure for the subsequent chapters in reconstructing the people and the island by means of the teasing event.

"Anthropology at home" is important in this chapter, given my status to the 'culture' studied. I consider myself as a 'partial insider' and highlight the role of "sensitivity" in "anthropology at home".

I refer to issues concerning the study of islands, borrowing partly from contributions in the edited volume on "regional variation in modern Greece and Cyprus". Despite the fact that this was published early in the development of anthropology on Greece, the volume remains useful with regards to the ethnography of islands and to regions, both of which concern me here. My point of departure is Dimen's<sup>8</sup> contribution to the volume titled "regional studies of Modern Greece" and Bernard's "introductory remarks to the ethnography of the islands"<sup>9</sup>.

#### *Regions.*

The problem of regions is neglected by anthropologists working on Greece, despite the focus given to this in the edited volume. Studies on Greek villages, either on islands or in mainland Greece, attract attention yet the role of region, is barely discussed and then only in passing<sup>10</sup>. Where villages are concerned, anthropologists relate these either to the larger administrative unit (*nomós*) to which they belong, or to the larger area in which the *nomós* belongs.

Bernard<sup>11</sup> holds that regionalism is not important in the study of islands insisting rather on the importance of 'topos', of the particular village to which one belongs. While this is true and people in Cefalónia hold on to their villages or towns, yet, regions cannot be ignored. On the contrary, they are important, especially in the study of 'satire'. Perceptions on regions, in this way, contribute to the complexity of 'satire' on the island. They also invite for a thorough investigation of the use of the landscape and its impact on satirical speech.

Hence, I advance the role of constructed perceptions on regions that I recorded during my research in Argostoli and in Kondogenada alike. Given these

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<sup>7</sup> Here I follow Stewart and Strathern 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Dimen 1976:3-9.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard 1976.

<sup>10</sup> Cowan 1990, Herzfeld 1985.

<sup>11</sup> Bernard 1976a: 289-290.

observations that will be explored in this thesis, I disagree with Bernard's remarks on regions being less important than the place, the topos.

From this perspective, I share some of Dimen's concerns regarding regions, as they appear in her article in the same volume mentioned in the previous page. Dimen suggests that regions are economic and administrative units and hence a way of managing the island and relating it to the Greek Nation State. However this view is limited. The new perspective on regions linking them to 'satire' is not the view from the centre to the margins or vice versa; it is more complicated and forged by people on the island: it brings villages and regions together in various relations as well as the town and various regions, when referring to intra-island divisions and differentiations. Regions are important for the reason that talk about them becomes marginalised when people move off the island; in this case regions are substituted with references to the whole island.

In Cefalónia, any search for a village in which to conduct research is inextricably linked to discussions about regions. In view of this, then, the topic of regions needs to be reconsidered from the perspective of intra-island variation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Satiricity.

Chapter two introduces the main topic of this thesis: a new view of 'satire' as a construction and how it is used by Cefalónians. The starting point is a review of 'satire' as approached by literary critics and it is from this perspective that I borrow the basic elements of 'satire'. The work that most informs this chapter, however, is that of Freudenburg on Roman satire<sup>12</sup> and Anderson on "imagined communities."<sup>13</sup>

Freudenburg initiates an interesting turn in the study of 'satire' and proposes the view on satire as 'performance'. He thus advances the role of the audience: their contribution to the construction of the script. He sees satirical works in relation to the specific moment of Roman 'culture' and unfolds the main principles that led Romans to construct satire as 'theirs', hence marking themselves off from influences of Greek culture. Despite this, there are several limits generated by the exclusive study of such 'texts'. Firstly, satirical works carry a double function: as 'satirical works' and as language about these works. Secondly, 'satire' remains a privilege of some people only and an urban phenomenon. 'Satire' is the practice and the symbol of this practice at the same time.

The anthropological contribution to this new turn in the study of 'satire' that I would like to introduce is epitomised under the term satiricity (*satirikótita*). Material comes from observation of everyday life situations which are here called teasing events (*pirágmata*) as well as all talk and published works about these events and about 'satire' on the island.

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<sup>12</sup> Freudenburg 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson 1991.

Satiricity breaks with the double function of ‘satirical works’. The study of teasing events allows for investigation of roles, for linguistic and paralinguistic elements (not available to literary criticism approaches). Surrounding talk, on the other hand, and publications demonstrate the uses of these events. Further, surrounding talk reveals the extent to which ideas on ‘satire’ and teasing events are shared among local people, so breaking with satire as an ‘elitist phenomenon’. In addition, the claim to the ubiquity of ‘satire’ on the island refutes the argument of it being an urban phenomenon only.

The study of surrounding talk draws from Anderson<sup>14</sup> and his reference to the role of language. He means the language used by the intelligentsia with an aim to forge the Nation. While I find reference to the language of kin useful, I disagree with the exclusive role of the intelligentsia. Satiricity as a local construct derives from everyday people as well as from scholars. ‘Middle-ground’ is covered by locals who not only participate in teasing events but publish extensively on ‘satire’ and advance claims on its exclusivity. Further, I focus on local people and the metaphors they use in order to claim ‘satire’ as theirs only. A presentation of these metaphors shows that Cefalónians invoke images from the body and the natural environment signifying exclusivity and these images are attached to the main performer.

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **The social geography of ‘satire’**

Chapter three discusses the spatial dimension of context and addresses the problem of social geography: “who goes where”. ‘Public places’ and in particular the marketplace are the main research areas in the town. The rural version of ‘public places’ is presented through the village coffeehouse and the village grill-house. Here I observe the need to focus on the rules that draw villagers together to either of these locales and consider these ‘settings’ as well. Each setting relies on different principles which go beyond kinship or friendship ties and economic activities. I include the marketplace and village ‘settings’ in the social geography of satire.

#### *The marketplace.*

A starting point for studying the marketplace is “Rabelais and his world” by Bakhtin. The image of the marketplace in the Middle Ages is connected with “a special kind of speech that was heard, almost a language of its own, quite unlike the language of church, palace, courts and institutions.”<sup>15</sup> Here this kind of language stands for the marketplace itself and he calls this language “marketplace” observing types of speech, tracing the ways in which they penetrate literature.

My purpose is not to follow this through and investigate how the marketplace is seen as language. Focusing on marketplace as language only, means that we ignore other significant aspects that are part and parcel of everyday market activities, the most crucial of which are spatial dimensions and the ways people relate to this during teasing events. My aim, then, is to trace the processes through which the *agorá* is managed in its spatial dimension. In doing so, the marketplace is reconceptualised

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<sup>14</sup> Anderson 1991.

<sup>15</sup> Bakhtin 1984:154.

and seen as social geography of satire. Thus several emerging problems are summarized in two sets: the first refers to management of 'space' and the second to activities and relations at the marketplace and their role in the construction of the social geography of satire.

Firstly, in describing, the Argostólian marketplace, the *agorá*, it is noticed that this covers a large area. Even though the term includes all divisions of the *agorá*, it is impossible to manage all of this during research. The problem can be summarised in the relation between the marketplace as a "whole" and its parts. The marketplace that Bakhtin describes appears difficult to conceive as a whole clear picture as "space".

Further, when focusing on the parts of the *agorá*, the problem refers to the choice of the most appropriate locale. As opposed to Bakhtin, who talks about a variety of genres and forms, wants to reveal a lively place and he is eligible to see the marketplace as a whole with no emphasis on specific locales, I was looking for one kind of speech event. I therefore had to choose the proper locales and focus on these.

Specific locales are seen as 'settings' here and this is the outcome of the 'distant' view and the view from 'within'. The 'distant view' corresponds with language people use to refer to locales and performers including it in the study of teasing events. Contribution of this language to the perception and orientation in the *agorá* is thus significant; on the other hand I exposed that this language was driven by my status as a 'local' and so condensed.

The view from within is the view of a 'setting' that the performers and audience members produce when being there, and complements the 'distant' view. The view from 'within' highlights the role of physical movement which is interpreted by local people accordingly and binds the 'settings' to specific performers and to audience members.

The second set of problems refers to economic activities taking place at the marketplace, at the 'market' of the marketplace in other words. The available literature on the market of the marketplace, that is, on trade, exchange, prices, politics and power, is growing. Yet, in studying the marketplace as social geography of satire, economic activities are secondary. Concurring with Kapchan, who in her study on Moroccan marketplace, argues that "the marketplace involves exchange but it is also more than that"<sup>16</sup>, I deviate in that the events I studied did not require payment.

### *The village coffeehouse and grill-house.*

The rural 'setting' where performances take place is the village coffeehouse. I present the Kondogenaditian coffeehouse and compare it to the village grill-house, the second 'public place' where research is conducted. The construction of a rural social geography of 'satire' in this case, is based on the relation between the need for sociality and villagers' relations that influence sociality either in the form of disunity or unity. The question of "who goes where" in other words is answered by looking at villagers' relations. Here I rely on Goffman's<sup>17</sup> work on the front stage and backstage. Backstage is understood in two ways depending on the viewpoint: first, as concealed relations: this is the ethnographer's viewpoint. Secondly, I see backstage as displayed relations and a part of which is further given secondary role in the

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<sup>16</sup> Kapchan 1993:308.

<sup>17</sup> Goffman 1959.

creation of the social geography of ‘satire’. This viewpoint refers to the grill-house owners and their way of selecting people with whom to engage in a teasing event. As a result, the rural social geography of ‘satire’ depends on the relations between the coffeehouse and grill-house patrons and their fellow villagers.

## **CHAPTER FOUR.**

### **The Cefalónian audience.**

Chapter four discusses one of the core components of a teasing event: it focuses on the Cefalónian audience and presents the ways through which participants at a teasing event establish themselves as an active audience, in other words, ways of being an audience. Here I follow Barber’s<sup>18</sup> point of view on the audience: how people come together as audience members and how they relate to the main performer. Barber proposes self-selection as the main method of convening audiences and also advances the competence in the genre that people must have in order to participate in performances.

Cefalónian audience members are self-selected: people choose to attend teasing events and participate. I differentiate my understanding, in that Cefalónians, even though they are aware of the applied teasing frame, do not always comply with the rules of the frame.

What distinguishes active audience members from unsuccessful members is that the former are inextricably linked to the observation of the rules of the frame. Through this they relate to other audience members as well as to the performer. Cefalónian audience members appear ready to shift between the teasing and the frame. Given this, any study on teasing events, needs to consider the role of communication that we see lying outside of the teasing event and is called “the metacommunicative message”.

Successful audience members, then, through metacommunication admonish those who break the rules and attempt to constrain the performer, if he breaks the rules as well. If there is any sense of “competence in the genre”, in the case of teasing events studied here, it is considered as a close relation to the rules of the frame.

In order to reveal this function of the Cefalónian audience, I look at disruptions I often recorded in the study of teasing events during my research in Argostóli and Kondogenada. From this perspective, the two field sites do not appear different. What establishes a difference, however, is that village people are stricter in observing the rules. It is because of this that the argument in favour of the ubiquity of ‘satire’ finds its best application here.

## **CHAPTER FIVE.**

### **Literacy and encouragement.**

Chapter five is concerned with the ways through which the audience engages with the performer and also highlights his cleverness with reference to the resources

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<sup>18</sup> Barber 2007.

he employs in a teasing event. Given that ‘satire’ claimed as Cefalónian relies on the praise of cleverness (the elements of which are presented in chapter seven), there is the need to perceive the performer as a very clever Cefalónian. In order to emphasise his cleverness, people manipulate the topic of literacy and engage with him through encouragement, which will be coined as *simasía*.

The topic of literacy is approached through one aspect of the performer that local people and local sources forward. This refers to the illiterate (*agrámatos*) folk I came across and this was particularly stressed among villagers. Literacy practices are understood to be embedded in everyday practices shaping social relations: how people relate to the performer and how such relations reveal attitudes to literacy. Kulick and Stroud approach the topic suggests that it is not how literacy affects people but how people use literacy, the main argument being that attitudes to literacy are shaped by groups and “cultural concerns in much more far-reaching and subtle ways than has formerly been appreciated.”<sup>19</sup> Following this, I look at ways through which people “creatively adapt reading and writing activities to pursue certain goals and achieve particular effects.”<sup>20</sup>

It is argued that ‘the illiterate’ does not signify lack of reading and writing skills. Rather, ‘the illiterate’ is a particular attitude to formal and informal literacy practices and further includes a web of relations among these practices. This web is often illuminated by locals. “The illiterate” seen as such is invoked and downplayed in order to advance the role of ‘the mind’ and of cleverness in particular. The “illiterate” comprises of conceptions on the relation between the performer, literacy practices and his attitude to life, to lived experiences and his own skills, like cleverness and memory.<sup>21</sup>

The second topic of this chapter refers to the process through which people come to initiate the teasing event and experience his cleverness in relation to literacy practices and spontaneous talk. In order to present the process of “giving *simasía* to the performer”, I borrow from Herzfeld<sup>22</sup>. I concur in that *simasía* seen in action can be extended to cover all aspects of practices. I however differentiate my view on *simasía* in that it is the process itself, hence the difference in the verb included in the expression: to give *simasía*, as opposed to “something has *simasía*” that Herzfeld mentions. From this perspective, *simasía* is given and taken or rejected, either before the event or during the event. So long as *simasía* is given and taken, the teasing event is set at ‘the setting’.

## CHAPTER SIX.

### Laughter and sounds.

Chapter six refers to the development of a teasing event and, in particular, to the reaction that audience members are expected to develop. I here mean laughter and I shall focus on sounds. The starting point has been Bakhtin’s work on “Rabelais and his world”. I single out two points: the first refers to the cry. Cry, according to Bakhtin, has laughter. Bakhtin refers to the quality of loudness as a liberating element

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<sup>19</sup> Kulick and Stroud 1993:31.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> I here attempt to include myself in what B.Street has named “the ideological model” for the study of literacy.

<sup>22</sup> Herzfeld 1981a, 1985b.

from the constraints of official culture. This means that we can read sounds as symbols of people's attitudes and emotional reactions. As such sounds are seen in this thesis. Setting out to investigate this, attention is paid to performers keeping a deadpan expression during the delivery of their teasing and, further, to a close inspection of particularities they employ when speaking. I examine the ways in which performers make sounds, that is how they stress some words more than others or create an in-word sound hierarchy.

In this chapter I see sounds of laughter as an individual matter. I thus differentiate myself from Bakhtin's second point: he talks about a laughing crowd but not of laughing individuals nor of different ways of expressing laughter.

Based on individual laughter, I attempt to delineate what I call the *laughterscape*<sup>23</sup> of a teasing event. *Laughterscape* should be seen as an aspect of the human soundscape that is the acoustic field of study. I here agree with Schafer in his approach to the study of the soundscape. Schafer suggests "the soundscape is not an accidental by product of society. It is a deliberate construction by its creators."<sup>24</sup> Thus *laughterscape* is constructed by people and I investigate some of the principles that should apply to it.

This approach to the study of laughter is emphasised, given the number of studies that approach this from other perspectives, presented by Zidjerveld's<sup>25</sup> analysis and also in Apte<sup>26</sup>. In addition, studies on Greek laughter are very few. They are verbocentric and some of them focus on ancient Greece<sup>27</sup>. The starting point for the study of laughter, then, should be the close attention to sounds and the particularities that each performer develops, as a way to access their own laughter and share it. It allows for acknowledgement of the subtleties of a teasing event. I see sounds of laughter as the best way to manifest cleverness and invite the audience to locate and share it. This is one of the most difficult aspects of a teasing event and for this reason it is worth studying.

## CHAPTER SEVEN.

### **Evaluation and belonging.**

The last chapter of this thesis, staying with the progress of a teasing event, refers to the last comment that audience members speak. I focus on this comment as a final circumscription of 'satire' and, as already mentioned, an indispensable part of satiricity. While people comment on the performer or his words, they employ specific terms. Such terms accomplish several aims: they transform the participants into par excellence "Cefalónians" and verify the high quality of the event so that it is deemed as Cefalónian. At the same time, these terms, in circumscribing 'satire' as Cefalónian, serve to exclude all other people.

My conviction is that people prove themselves Cefalónians by evaluating the event using these local terms, but, furthermore, in stating their ability to present the meaning of each term that best fits the event. Being a Cefalónian, that is belonging to

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<sup>23</sup> The term was suggested by Dr. Stephanie Bunn, who I thank for this position.

<sup>24</sup> Schafer 1977:237.

<sup>25</sup> Zidjerveld 1983.

<sup>26</sup> Apte 1985.

<sup>27</sup> Halliwell 1991 and pseudo- Ipcrates 1989.

this group of people, means not only evaluating the event but also knowing what term to use and what meaning to include in the term. It is suggested this be used when referring to the role of the local terms included in the metacommunicative message.

The terms are no other than madness and the Devil. I have deliberately avoided referring to the performer thus, because I wanted to follow the event unfolding. From this point, then, the Cefalónian performer is called madman (*kurlos*) or Devil. I depart from madness as mental illness, a symbol of marginalisation and special treatment that Foucault suggests. I agree with the performative aspect, though. I see this as a polysemic term, the meaning of which depends on the context and is always negotiated by locals with the help of emotions.

Concerning the Devil, I depart from the religious meaning of the term or the Devil as an object of ridicule and fear. The devil, in the teasing event, compiles certain mental qualities that reflect peoples' attitudes to life and comprise Cefalónian standards for local wit and hence difference.

Seeking the ways with which Cefalónians exclude all other people, I note they refer to "all other Greeks", with no further comments. I present the main methods employed in order to differentiate between themselves and other Greeks. Difference appears important as it is seen as superiority. I concur with Said<sup>28</sup> in that difference is more of a construct than a 'real thing'; however no hostilities among Cefalónians and other Greeks were observed, as experienced by Said in his research. Superiority is constructed on the basis of concealment of the rules of the teasing event, some of which have been displayed in this thesis.

The main topics of this thesis emerged during my engagement with a group of people in my hometown of Argostóli. Laughter and teasing represent a constant during their gatherings. Such evident attitudes made me wonder: why am I not like them? Am I not a Cefalónian as well? Why are they 'different' from me? What is 'different' in them? Why do they call each other "mad" with no offence? What is the relation between 'satire' and 'madness'?

My presentation starts with the island as I saw it before 2003, and proceeds to study of the topics mentioned here with the overriding desire to carry the reader through a transformation of Cefalónia to "Cefalónia" as I now see it.

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<sup>28</sup> Said 1985: 38-58.

CHAPTER ONE  
Cefalónia, an Ionian island: an introduction

PART ONE  
The island

*Returning 'home'*

The boat enters the port of Argostóli, the capital town of Cefalónia, early one afternoon in September 2004, after a trip from the port of Kilíni which lies north-west of the Peloponnese. I am familiar with the landscape of the island and with Argostóli in particular. I was born and grew up in Argostóli and have only been away while studying.



Plate 1: Argostóli: a partial view of the town from Milos location.(photo by A.Fotinatu. Reproduced by permission).

So I do not need to observe the Argostólian gulf, the surrounding mountains and hills or the spit of land along which Argostóli stretches. It is a well-protected port, a 'natural port' as people told me some years earlier when proudly proclaiming it as one of the 'natural ports' of the Mediterranean.



Plate 2: The port of Argostóli and another view of the town.

The boat has just passed Lixúri, the capital town of the province, at the entrance of the gulf, to the left. Looking at Lixúri, I recollect my previous brief research on the relationship between Argostóli and Lixúri. Again I notice ‘the open horizon’ which Lixúrians boast about. The town has views to the open sea and the mountains, while Argostóli by contrast is a ‘closed place’.

Yet, in returning to the island and to my hometown in particular, things now seem different. I am terrified as the boat anchors and we disembark. I feel that my own place rises ‘chaotic’ and threatening in front of me. My terror is justified by my aim: I return ‘home’ to begin fieldwork among fellow Argostólians for the first part of my research.

This reflection generates endless thoughts and reactions which overwhelm me. Where is the starting point? How should I start? Who should I approach and how will I explain my research to them so as to be taken seriously? Where am I to find all these people who laugh and those who are good performers? Will people think that I have exploited them? Should I turn to members of the carnival group and ask for help? How much time should I spend in the local library?

I would have to be vigilant and aware of such questions and dilemmas during my research ‘at home’. The end result of my research did not suggest “home can survive fieldwork, though not entirely unchanged”, as suggested by Dyck after his own experience with research ‘at home’<sup>29</sup>. Rather, ‘home’ is no longer the same for me as it was before embarking on research.

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<sup>29</sup> Dyck 2000:49

In this chapter I provide an introduction to the island and my field sites and suggest some perspectives for consideration when studying islands and ‘satire’.

### *The island in numbers*

This section gives some elementary information concerning the island as an administrative unit. Using statistics as the main source of information, I present ‘the island in numbers’<sup>30</sup>: this is but one way through which Cefalónia is related to the Greek Nation-State and is managed from the seat of the Greek government in Athens. At the same time, it presents my own course to ‘knowledge’ of the island. Visiting the Statistic Services local branch as a researcher, I developed a general image of Cefalónia: classifications, categories and numbers.

The Greek island of Cefalónia lies 53 nautical miles to the west of Pátras. It belongs to the geographical and cultural area of the Ionian Islands<sup>31</sup>. As such it is a part of the western border of Greece, a nodal point (*komviko simio*), as people on the island told me.<sup>32</sup> The island of Lefkás is to the north of Cefalónia, Ithaca lies to the east and the island of Zákynthos is to the south. The Ionian Sea forms the western border of the island.

Cefalónia is the largest of the Ionian Islands and the sixth largest of the Greek islands covering an area of 781m<sup>2</sup>. The capital, Argostóli, will be given special reference in this chapter. The spoken and written language of Cefalónia is Modern Greek.

According to the 2001 census, the population of Cefalónia is 39.488.<sup>33</sup> Of these, 3.545 people are reported as non-Greeks, the vast majority of whom are Albanians, Americans, British, Australians, and Bulgarians.<sup>34</sup> The same source, the Statistics Service, suggests that occupations vary significantly. Most of the work force comprises skilled labourers, craftsmen, salesmen and various employments in customer services.<sup>35</sup> Fewer people work in the civil service, banking, and education or the rapidly expanding tourist industry. There is a considerable number of people who run their own business, are farmers, shepherds and fishermen.<sup>36</sup>

Cefalónia and Ithaca compose the administrative centre of the Prefecture of Kefalínia (Nomós Kefalinías) with the seat in Argostóli. The island is divided into eight municipalities<sup>37</sup> administratively following the Greek project ‘Capodístrias’<sup>38</sup>,

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<sup>30</sup> This title is borrowed from the last census: Greece in numbers.

<sup>31</sup> See maps, pages ix-xiii.

<sup>32</sup> See the relevant section on the history of the island.

<sup>33</sup> Here I note some important information concerning the census. Consulting the local branch of the Statistics Centre an employee informed me, that there are three figures presented in the census: the real (*pragmatikos*), the legal (*nomimos*) and the permanent (*monimos*). The employee told me that the real number responds to the number of people who were on the island when the census was compiled. The legal responds to people registered as Cefalónian citizens. The permanent refers to people who live on the island. The real number of people is presented here. The permanent number is 37 756.

<sup>34</sup> Being a ‘native’, I can also attest to having met women from Belgium, Poland, Mexico, Columbia, Italy, Canada, Russia and African countries. Since 2004 Chinese people began living on the island and in Argostóli in particular. A number of Pakistanis and Indians also live and work on the island.

<sup>35</sup> This sector includes lawyers, doctors and engineers: civil engineers, architects and mechanical engineers.

<sup>36</sup> More information on production will appear in the description of the town and the village as well as in the history of the island.

<sup>37</sup> See map. Municipalities coincide with ‘regions’ (*periohés*). Apart from regions, Cefalónia is divided into three wider areas known as eparchies: from West to East they are: Paliki, Kranjia and Sami. Paliki

which was initiated in the mid-1990s. All mayors and the Prefect of the island are elected every four years and the same applies to the one and only Member of Parliament.<sup>39</sup> Each Mayor works with a council: the Municipal Council, members of which are also elected. The Prefect works with the Prefecture council and also co-operates with Mayors. Municipal councils (Dimotikó Simvúlio) and the prefecture council (Nomarhiakó Simvúlio) hold regular meetings<sup>40</sup> which are open to the public.

Education on the island complies with the standard Greek system, with the relevant table from the records of the Statistics Service referring to 20 primary schools, 10 junior high schools (gimnásia) and eight high schools (líkia). To these we should add the National Merchant Marine Academy as a higher education institution and the recently founded National Technological Educational Institutes (T.E.I) which specialises in biological agricultural studies, the technology of musical instruments and management studies. The first institute is based in Argostóli, whereas the second and the third one are based in Lixúri. It is worth noting, with regard to education, that the census recorded 1041 illiterate people on the island, the vast majority of whom are elderly.

Having given this kind of image of Cefalonia, it is time to see how the island looks. It is time to turn to “the landscape” as it appears to an outsider.

### *The “landscape”<sup>41</sup>*

Cefalónia, as mentioned earlier, is divided into seven<sup>42</sup> regions and one ‘historical community’, all of which are administrative and ‘cultural’ areas. Here I divide this “landscape” into coastal and inner-island regions to provide a general image of the island.

The coastal “landscape” is extensive and striking, with the weather carved rock face, the colour of butter-milk full of cracks, and the famous turquoise and baby blue coloured waters stretching as far as the eye can see lapping at crescents of sandy

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includes the area of Paliki only. Kranjia includes the regions of Argostóli, Livatho, Omala, and Elios-Proni. Sami includes the regions of Pilaros and Erisos.

<sup>38</sup> Named after the first governor of the Modern Greek State, I. Capodistrias (1830), the project aimed at the coiling of villages into municipalities within each Prefecture of the Greek State for the purposes of a more efficient administration. Exceptional historical or religious reasons have led to the exclusion of certain villages in every Prefecture. Such villages are called ‘historic communities’ and as such their representative reports to the Prefect.

<sup>39</sup>The distribution of Members of Parliament throughout Greece depends on the population of each Prefecture. For Prefectures where the population is less than 60.000 only one Member of Parliament is elected. Drawing from the recent elections, the current Member of Parliament belongs to the right wing party (Nea Dimokratia), while mayors and the Prefect belong to the Greek socialist party (PASOK).

<sup>40</sup> I attended several meetings of the Prefecture Council and one meeting of the Argostóli Municipal Council. Meetings were usually announced in local newspapers in advance. They last from two to five hours and there is tension and arguments, based on members’ political allegiances and different views on the discussed topics. Issues concern the island (Prefecture Council or the Municipal Council). Citizens bring issues to the council’s attention and attend these meetings in order to support their claims. Such meetings are also regularly attended by local reporters, owners of newspapers and websites. Reports on these meetings are promptly presented in the local media.

<sup>41</sup> Borrowing a biologist’s eyes is an efficient method when describing a ‘place’, thus, this section benefits from Sarah Marley’s eye for detail and vocabulary concerning ‘the landscape’ of the island. I would like to thank her for her contribution.

<sup>42</sup> The eighth region is the island of Ithaca; however, here I refer to Cefalonia only. It is worth noting that during my research I did not hear people talk about people from Ithaki, Ithakisians (see maps, pp.ix-xiv).

or pebbled beaches. On other parts of the island one can see the equally striking brown cliffs, and such features can be seen from every direction on the island, even though the north boasts the more intense coastal features.



Plate 3 :Mirtos beach to the north of the island.

The interior offers different views. Speaking in general terms, Cefalonia is mountainous, with Enos being the highest mountain at 1628m above sea level and located at the centre of the island.<sup>43</sup> Apart from Enos, a number of ever green mountains and hills rise out of Cefalonia quite often creating dales or glens where villages half cling, half sprawl in and on the edges and clefts between mountains and hills.

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<sup>43</sup> It is worth mentioning here that Mountain Enos was called Black Mountain because of the fir trees that grow on it (*Abies Cefalonica*). During the Venetian occupation, the mountain was called Monte Nero. Local people use the name Aenos, or “the big mountain” when referring to it, while they use “Monte Nero” as a name for restaurants. Aenos is the mountain people see when sailing to Cefalonia.



Plate 4: The intra-island landscape is mountainous. Dilinata village to the north of Argostóli.

Scrub land interspersed with pockets of olive or cypress trees grow on the mountain and hill slopes. Quite often the land smooths out into pasture, even though this is scattered with rocks. In other parts and along this mountainous coastline, little coves create pockets of calm.



Plate 5: pockets of calm...

Rocks and boulders are a common feature on the island and the variety of shapes and colours is worth noting. Scree slopes line the roads interspersed with tough, wild bushes, and pebbles of every colour, from rosy pink to grey, scatter the hillsides. On the bend of a road, slate grey sheets shot through with different coloured veins and robust patches of grass forcing its way through and feeding out to whiten places.

Thus, farm land is limited and lies to the south and to the west of the island. Livathós and its surroundings offer the most fertile land of Cefalonia, (see plate below) while Pilaros, Erisos, Sámi and Omalá are in mountainous areas.

An important element of the mountainous “landscape” is its relation to the sea. As the photograph below shows, mountains disappear into the sea: the heights merge with the depths, or, as Cefalonians put it: “the base of the mountain is the sea” (I ríza tu vunú íne i thálasa).



Plate 6: Antisamos beach: Heights merge with depths.



Plate 7: Fertile soil and farming activities: Anogi area in Paliki.

In all my wanderings around the island during my fieldwork and soon after, there was nowhere on the island that we could travel without being intercepted by flocks of sheep. While these crossed the main road or ruminated under the watchful eye of the shepherd, restless goats of black, white and brown appear to throw themselves off cliffs or stand on top of the steep rocks. Such photographic moments became precious memories.



Plate 8: Goats throwing themselves off of cliffs. Pilaros area.

“Cefalónia”: special features.

*Cefalónians and foreign rulers*

The history of Cefalónia is replete with European rulers, seafarers, and ‘mad’ Cefalónians: ruthless men whose achievements took place all over the world. What follows is a brief presentation of this history, the part of it to which locals refer only.

Its “strategic position”, according to local historians, has turned Cefalónia, as well as the other Ionian islands, into a most sought after place for occupation. Ever since the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Cefalónia has been occupied by Normans, Franks and Turks (1484-1500), even though Turkish occupation was brief. The longest occupation was

that of the Venetians (1500-1799) and the shortest by the French (1797-1799). French occupation was followed by a short period during which the Ionian Islands formed a State known as the “Heptanisos Politia” (1800-1807). Following the fall of the Heptanisos Politia, the last rulers of the island were the British (1815-1864). Cefalonia, along with the rest of the Ionian Islands, was ceded to Greece as a gift from Britain to the Greek King in 1864.<sup>44</sup>

Cefalonians are still proud of their ‘cultural resemblance’ to European culture and emphasise the scarcity of Turks on the island. While on a bus to my second field site, I was addressed by a local, retired school teacher, who had not seen me in the area before and asked the reason for my presence there. I engaged with him and explained my research; he proudly admitted that “we have another culture than all other Greeks. We are like the Italians,<sup>45</sup> the Venetians: our music, our dancing, everything”. Pride was evident in his voice and on his face.

Local dialect, which is now reduced to a few words that middle-aged and elderly people use, is composed of Italian and French words. They have been adapted according to the rules of Greek grammar and used as such. The only English word in the vocabulary, as the Argostólian kirios Niforatos told me, is the word trousers (tráúza).

Despite such ‘proximities’ however, Cefalónians consider themselves Greeks. The utmost manifestation of attachment to Greece came under British so-called “protection”. Cefalonians expressed the wish to be incorporated into the Greek Nation-State and began a long-lasting fight against the British. Radicalism and socialism emerged and soon spread to the rest of the Heptanese as well as to Greece and persevered until the British finally decided to cede the Islands to Greece.<sup>46</sup>

Migration is a continuous phenomenon on the island. Yet, not as a common feature observable on most Greek islands<sup>47</sup>. It is a further issue on which published material and local people focus. Reference here is to individuals classified as ‘exceptional’ because of their achievements all over the world.

The list of names of Cefalónians who have achieved high distinction in politics and in science since the 15<sup>th</sup> century until contemporary times is long and esteemed.<sup>48</sup> The most frequently mentioned names in local literature, are those of Phaulcon,<sup>49</sup> Juan de Fuca (Ioanis Fokas Valerianos was his Cefalónian name) and Harburi: men who, adventurous as they were, reached as far as Thailand, Canada and Russia respectively; Phaulcon became the king’s Prime minister, de Fuca discovered a strait in Canada which is named after him and Harburi designed a special machine to move a boulder from Finland to Russia. On top of this boulder stands the statue of Peter the Great.<sup>50</sup>

Apart from these famous Cefalónians, there have been a number of others who have migrated and managed to succeed in business no matter where in the world they may be. Local people evoke these folk as well, adding to their pride but also showing that Cefalónians are very clever people and they succeed in all aspects of life.

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<sup>44</sup> Moschopoulos: 1988.

<sup>45</sup> It is no wonder Cefalonia attracts so many Italian tourists during summer time.

<sup>46</sup> Moschopoulos: 1988. Vol 2.

<sup>47</sup> Sutton 1998, Kenna 1976, 1972, and Dubisch 1993

<sup>48</sup> I. Tsitselis, a Cefalónian amateur folklorist compiled all the names under a volume titled Cefaliniaka simikta. (miscellanea on Cefalonia) Vol 2.

<sup>49</sup> The first epigraph of this thesis is a description of his personality.

<sup>50</sup> Here I draw my information from a variety of published material: Lukatos 1930: 267-269, Apostolatos 2007: 52-55, special issue (no 172) on Cefalónia from the series ‘Istorika’ included in the Greek newspaper “Eleftherotupia” (2003).

Cefalónian merchant marine companies, for example, were among the pioneers in Greece and contributed to the development of maritime business.<sup>51</sup>

The issue of seafarers is the last worth mentioning from Cefalónian history. On the one hand this is related to movement to and from the island, with communication with other people, the exchange of ideas, and hence the ‘opening of the mind’, as most Argostólians told me. Note that the emphasis is on an active mind. Yet, on the other hand, seafarers are directly linked to the notion of mental illness in Cefalónia.

Mental illness on the island is a much talked about topic, and there are references to the causes of illness, to its side-effects in terms of anti-social behaviour and to its treatment, namely, mental asylums and psychiatrists. Further, having discussed this with Dr. Pentogalos, a local pathologist and retired professor of the history of medicine at the University of Thessaloniki, I found that ‘mad’ people on the island are classified into three categories. Dr. Pentogalos talked about ‘major madness’ (mízones trelí) and ‘minor madness’ (elásones trelí). Included in the first category are all people who have been diagnosed as mentally ill. The second category, however, includes people who show ‘a slight diversion from the normal’ and who constitute ‘types’. A third category encompasses people who can be called ‘idiorrythmic’: they are not ill but have their own eccentricity of life.

Mental illness is understood to be generated by sexually transmitted diseases and as such people on the island talk about syphilis, which the returning seafarers transmitted to their wives in centuries past. I was told that the development of syphilis and lack of treatment eventually led to mental distortion, and talking further with people from different villages on the island I established that this view was extensive. Furthermore, several villages were named where the number of syphilitic people was said to be high.

Syphilis is but one cause of mental illness on the island. Social-psychological causes account for another. Closed village communities and strict rules concerning behaviour are another reason for madness, as kirios P. Dendrinós explained to me. Having lived in the village of Fiscardo and experienced the strict rules and limits to behaviour himself, as well as recalling other people’s experiences with tough villagers, Dendrinós claims that these practices could easily lead people to mental distortion.<sup>52</sup>

A ramification of these reasons leading to mental illness is that of ‘heredity’. I heard Argostólians and villagers talking about mental illness as running in the family and I noted that people could not avoid bringing up the subject of ‘genes’ when in conversation about mentally ill people. Some people went so far as to narrate stories concerning the mentally ill father or mother and their moments of crisis.

Given this, one might expect that local psychiatrists and neurologists would be a valuable source of information. On the contrary, the current psychiatrist in Argostóli, kirios Analítis, refused to disclose such information. His reactions are particularly important and I shall return to them in more detail in the last chapter of this thesis.

Before concluding my reference to mental illness, I would like to mention the Argostólian mental asylum. Known as Vegion Psihiatríon after the main sponsor, it

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<sup>51</sup> Harlafti: 1994. Special chapter on Ionian maritime companies.

<sup>52</sup> Newspapers such as “Telonio” and “the Observer” (Paratiritis) published in Argostóli during the first decades of the twentieth century provide plenty of examples of mentally disordered individuals, men and women alike, who committed suicide. There are no details as to the cause or type of mental illness these people suffered from.

was established in Argostóli in 1928 and functioned until 1953,<sup>53</sup> however, many years before this, patients were transferred to mental asylums on Corfu. Elderly people in Argostóli remember the location of Vegion Psihiatrion<sup>54</sup> and they emphasise the fact that not all inmates suffered from severe mental illnesses, and as such they were therefore allowed to circulate through the streets of the town, engage with the locals and even do certain chores for shop owners. As people told me “society was tolerant of such people”.

I presented a brief image of mental illness (madness) on Cefalonia not only because it is well known to islanders. Further, I talked about mental illness, in order to construct a point of departure when later defining ‘madness’ in relation to satire. The next section presents one more feature of local culture: the patron-saint of the island.

### *Saint Gerasimos: a “special Saint”.*

The majority of Cefalónians belong to the Orthodox Church. The archdiocese (arhiepiskopí) of the island is situated in Argostóli and deals with ecclesiastical matters concerning Cefalónia exclusively. Ithaca comes under the archdiocese of Lefkas. There is a small number of Catholics and also a number of Jehovah’s Witnesses on the island. Catholic Cefalónians, Argostólians in particular, attend liturgies in the Catholic Church of St. Nicolas on Lithóstroto Road in Argostóli.

Cefalónia’s own patron-Saint is Saint Gerásimos (1509-1579).<sup>55</sup> His relics are meticulously kept in a church bearing his name, in the area of Omalá.<sup>56</sup> The church also accommodates a nunnery<sup>57</sup> (see plate below). Saint Gerásimos, ‘the Saint’ (O Agios) or ‘Our Saint’ (O Agios mas) as Cefalónians call him, deserves a special mention.

Shortly before starting my research, I knew that the Saint was used as the point of reference for Cefalónians all over the world. What I came to see and realise during my research, however, was that islanders engage with the Saint in a variety of ways, most of which refer to ways of speaking. In doing so, they express their familiarity with the Saint to the point of him ‘being theirs’. Further, Cefalónians draw

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<sup>53</sup> Skiniotatos in his “PanKefalonian Calendar of 1937” (266-269) and Debonos (1994:123-150) refer to the Argostólian mental asylum. They mention the construction, function and closure of the asylum.

<sup>54</sup> People also refer to it as Vita Psi, from the initials. During a joking session at Argostóli marketplace, I was ‘advised’ to go and see the iron gates, which is all that remains of the institution. These were kept at the side of a hotel owned by an elderly Argostólian, who insisted on their preservation.

<sup>55</sup> Saint Gerásimos was not of Cefalónian origin. He was born Peloponnesian and his original name was Gerásimos Notaras. He travelled to different parts of Greece as well as to Jerusalem and ended up living in Cefalónia after being expelled from Zakinthos. The name Gerásimos means to praise. During my research I found that his presence on the island functioned to form a symbolic wall against Catholicism and protect Greek Orthodoxy. People added that the same is observed for Saint Spyridon of Corfu and Saint Dionysios of Zakinthos. All three Saints form this symbolic wall.

<sup>56</sup> See map presenting the areas of the island. The area is constituted of the villages Fragata, Valsamata and Panohori. The word Omalá means smooth land and indeed this is the only area where arable land is found and this is surrounded by mountains. Villagers have recently introduced a wine co-operative a few metres behind the Church.

<sup>57</sup> The nunnery used to house 40 nuns and the number 40 is a major feature in the ‘lore’ of the Saint. People talk about 40 wells that the Saint himself created and also 40 maple trees that he planted.

limits between acceptable and non-acceptable ways of speaking about their Saint on the basis of being or not being local. Most important of all, they show that they invoke superior beings, as the Saint is, in order to cast the intruder out, that is the Devil. I shall attempt to illustrate these points here.

The area of Omalá where the Saint lived and ‘slept’<sup>58</sup> is excluded from all island municipalities and is classified as a ‘historical community’ (istorikí kinótita), with inhabitants of the area voting for their own representative.



Plate 9: The “old church” of St.Gerasimos (Omala area).

Cefalónians celebrate their patron-Saint twice a year, on August 16<sup>th</sup> and on October 20<sup>th</sup>. Religious feasts on both occasions attract all Cefalónians from every corner of the island, as well as other Greeks who happen to be on the island. In recent years liturgies are held in the ‘New Church’, the new building in other words, which is bigger. Celebrations are pompous and litanies draw together local politicians, representatives of the Greek Nation-State and Bishops from other Greek places despite the large number of people.

Cefalónians over the centuries have developed multiple relations with the Saint. Apart from believing and praying, children are baptised with the name Gerásimos (male) and Gerasimúla (female) in the church of the Saint. Further, men curse and swear against him in an exclusive way: Cefalónians claim to be the only people who have such a right because this is ‘their’ Saint and because ‘you curse and swear against whatever you believe in the most’. Besides, such cursing quite often takes a humorous twist that people are proud of and which they refer to as their

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<sup>58</sup> Following proper Orthodox terminology, I translate ‘ekimithi’ as ‘slept’. According to the Orthodox faith, Saints do not die: they ‘sleep’ until the Second Presence of Christ on Earth.

‘creativity’. An example of this which I discovered is that Cefalónians curse the slippers of the Saint (ta pasumákia tu Agíu).

The most distinct feature of the Saint, however, is what I describe earlier in this section as ‘using their own excellent figures to cast foreign things out’. This feature of the Saint is what has made the island popular<sup>59</sup> among the Greeks and what has made Cefalónians proud of their Saint.

Saint Gerásimos performed ‘miracles’ that have been recorded<sup>60</sup> and refer to a single event: the casting out of the Devil<sup>61</sup> from demonised people, men and women alike. ‘Miracles’ happen at the end of long sessions of fasting, praying and demonstrating faith to the Saint. Saint Gerásimos has been exclusively associated<sup>62</sup> with demonised people to the extent that kirios Niforatos talked about ‘a Saint with a specialisation’. Cefalónians also call him ‘The one who burns’ (Kapsális), because he ‘burns’ the Devil. We can now interpret the Devil as being ‘the foreigner’ who comes from outside of people, is replete with disastrous qualities<sup>63</sup> and is cast out by means of the evocation of the excellent quality of a local figure. What prevails in the struggle between the foreign and the local is the local and this is further enhanced here.

Yet, I was surprised to find that some Cefalónians have developed a more ‘distant’ attitude towards the Saint, that is a disengagement from religious faith and the adoption of a more ‘materialist’ view. While talking to kirios Tzilianos, a migrant first to Africa and then to New York, I listened to him describing the Saint as a ‘mummy’ (múmja) and further talking about a mummy trade during Venetian times. I was shocked at these words but remained composed. Asking how he had come to adopt such a standpoint, I saw that his migration from the island and communication with other people had led kirios Tzilianos to reach this view. This attitude should be seen as one that helps distinguish Cefalónians living on the island from those who have been absent for a long time, even though this does not apply to all Cefalónian migrants.

Finally, Cefalónians refer to their Saint during teasing events. It is not only in published poems and anecdotes that I could see how people face the Saint, his

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<sup>59</sup> P. Hartocollis published an article in which he describes the celebrations and miracles from a psychological perspective. He correctly indicates the “mystical nature of the relationship that exists between the population and their Saint” (1958: 372).

<sup>60</sup> Accounts of these miracles are fairly elaborate. I came across some while browsing through local newspapers dating from the early twentieth century, like ‘Telonion’ (issues no 614, 638 and 639 of 1931 in particular). The biography of the Saint, however, includes some miracles that date back to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The miracles have ceased in the past three decades or so. Summaries of some of these miracles have been incorporated in the Divine Liturgies that are sung during special celebrations. Dr. A. Rosso’s PhD thesis (2006) deals with this aspect of the Devil and demonised people. Currently in press, it has not been easy to access and consult this material. I would like, however, to thank Professor Ch. Stewart, who, through my supervisor, brought this thesis to my attention.

<sup>61</sup> Here I have very briefly reported the negative side of the Devil and implied his association with Evil. I do not provide more comments, as this is not the topic of this thesis. I shall however, return to the subject of the ‘Devil’ in the last chapter of this thesis. Given this, reference to the Devil in his religious elements only serves as a basis on which to introduce the ‘Cefalónian Devil’.

<sup>62</sup> This is not to say that other saints do not cast the Devil out of demonised people. The above mentioned newspaper ‘Telonion’ also reports a ‘miracle’ performed by saint Dionisios of Zakynthos and refers to a demonised young man: Telonion 1932, issue no 662: p.2.

<sup>63</sup> The small prayer book (mikro EFhologio), under the section of exorcisms, has a full list of all the negative and disastrous qualities of the Devil. Here I would like to thank Father Ioanis Mesoloras who provided me with all my information on the Devil and Saint Gerásimos. His politeness was manifest in giving me a copy of the small prayer book as a gift. Ch. Stewart (1991) also mentions these and the ‘black’ side of the Devil.

miracles, the Devil and demonised people from another perspective<sup>64</sup>; further, it is in everyday teasing interactions that I could hear people urging each other to ‘go to the saint’, ‘pray to get his Grace’ and get well. A good example appears in text B.2 of the appendix which I quote here as I consider it a ‘classic’ example: it is the most often encountered when teasing.

With this I wish to close this section after having briefly presented different levels of relations that Cefalónians develop with their patron-Saint and my new view of the Saint not only as a religious figure but also as a ‘symbolic’ representation’ of Cefalónians’ relation between ‘their’ and ‘foreign’ things: in thinking of the Saint as ‘theirs’ they allow for different levels of engagement with him; at the same time Cefalónians evoke the Saint in order to cast foreigners out.

This recording took place in the village of Kondogenáda (where I carried out part of my fieldwork) in 2005, more of which will be said in this chapter. The men talking are Vaggelis (V), a Kondogenadítian migrant to New York who was in the village for a holiday during June and July, and Gianis (G) the Kondogenadítian farmer. Gianis teases Vaggelis and tries to make him perform his pranks on Kondogenadítians. Gianis assures Vaggelis that he will not be driven to a mental asylum, because:

G: No\ why did they\ they bring saint Gerásimos over here for us?

V: Yes.

G: Why?

V: Why? Because we are all mad<sup>65</sup> and we need him to cure us.

G: Bravo.

V: So | first take me to the Saint/

G: Every location\ every island has its own curer.

V: Its curer.

G: Us. Due to our madness, they brought Gerásimos here for us.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

G: So, | there is no↑ fear.

V: No.

G: No fear for Tripoli | no fear for Corfu<sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> I came across such an example when reading all of Vunas’ works on Cefalónian culture (see bibliography). In his Cefalónian satirical calendar of 1966:5, Vunas turns against himself and, in trying to justify his sudden idea to publish a satirical calendar before Christmas and in mid-November, he confesses “his mental... distortion. He must be strongly tied to the candlesticks of the church of the Saint and indeed, this happens using very big ropes and ... chains!” Note how the ‘iconography’ is taken from real events of demonised people and the process of healing them.

<sup>65</sup> We should note an important dimension of the view on the Saint: he is associated with mad people as well as demonised people. Madness and the subject of the Devil will be explored in the last chapter of this thesis.

<sup>66</sup> Tripoli (in Peloponnese) and the island of Corfu (north of Cefalónia) are well known to Cefalónians because of their mental asylums. Here Gianis refers to these mental asylums using the place-names.

## The field- sites.

### *Argostóli: the town.*

Argostóli stretches along the east side of the Argostólian peninsula to the south of Cefalonia towards the cove of the Argostólian gulf and it boasts a port. It covers an area of 157.670 km<sup>2</sup> and is ‘a well-protected area’ being surrounded by mountains and hills. As a result, the Argostólian port is considered a “natural port” (fisiko limani) of the Mediterranean. One of the main features of the town is the 900m long bridge, known as De Bosset Bridge, after the Swiss resident De Bosset, who implemented its construction in 1813. The bridge links Argostóli to the rest of the island and is currently used only by pedestrians.

According to the 2001 census the population of Argostóli is 9 522. Taken as an administrative unit, as with Dímos, it comprises of 15 additional settlements and villages, with a total population of 12 589. As mentioned earlier a number of these people are non-locals: they either come from other parts of Greece or from abroad. As other anthropologists have observed, such people are thought of as xeni, as foreigners.

The town is the point of arrival for all islanders and non-islanders. It is also the point of departure to all the other islands and also to other Greek destinations and abroad. Young people walk along with elderly people, villagers and urbanites engage in economic transactions, Greeks and non-Greeks alike come and go. During my research I was fascinated to discover that many non-Greeks living and working on the island, originate from distant places such as Mexico, Colombia, China, and India and their presence in the marketplace does not go unnoticed.

Argostóli<sup>67</sup> is the capital of the island, and also the administrative, educational and commercial centre; thus it is connected to all the villages and towns on the island and as such is related to Athens. It offers a wide range of products and services to the people and these goods and services are found around the marketplace. The Argostólian marketplace covers a wide area in town and because it became my main field site, I shall describe it and refer to it in chapter three (see map p.xiv).

The town is considered “new” from two points of view: the first has to do with its function in relation to the island as the capital. As a result of this, Argostóli is seen in juxtaposition to Lixuri and for Cefalónians as well as non-locals, this is well-known. When stating that Cefalónia is my birthplace the following question is usually: “Are you from Argostóli or Lixuri? I know these two places are opposed to each other”.

Argostóli, then, was appointed capital of the island in 1757 under Venetian occupation. According to historians, Argostóli was a fishermen’s settlement in 1757 and an immediate implication for the town was rapid development: people started flowing to the new capital once Civil and Government buildings were erected and following this hostilities broke out: people from the town of Lixuri at the other end of the gulf, saw their suggestions being turned down: Lixuri was not selected as the seat of the new capital for a variety of reasons.<sup>68</sup> The authorities managed to suppress the

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<sup>67</sup> When I was in primary school we were taught the etymology of Argostóli: because fleets of ships prolonged their stay in the port (argun I stoli), the place was named Argostóli. More recent etymologies, however, (2001) analyse the name to mean the sparkling sea and deriving from the ancient Greek words. (argos t’alos).

<sup>68</sup> As opposed to Lixuri, Argostóli was preferred for its ideal location as a well protected port, with safety guaranteed for inhabitants and ships. In addition, Argostóli was thought to be the geometrical centre of the island. Geography and politics prevailed over Lixurian’s’ claim to their own ‘culture’.

Lixurian revolts, the last one being in 1801-1802. No matter how many years pass by, Lixurians and Argostólíans continue to engage in constant teasing and the “rivalry” between the two towns has acquired a fame which extends beyond the island.

The second way to understand Argostóli as a new town is by its architecture. From this perspective, construction in Argostóli is the result of rulers’ political decisions and, later, of ‘natural catastrophes’. As opposed to other Greek islands, there is no ‘new’ and ‘old’ town<sup>69</sup> demarcated in space. “The earthquake” as people refer to the catastrophic earthquake of August 1953, reduced all buildings to debris and dust. Memories remain vivid and the literature surrounding this event is growing<sup>70</sup>.

Buildings continue to be erected and the town now spreads in all directions. Argostólíans have enmeshed themselves in an ongoing ‘competition’ as the locals say and the tendency is towards the most expensive goods and entertainment and increasing numbers of cars cause constant traffic congestion on the narrow roads of the town.

Argostólíans keep up with ‘modern ways of living’ as people complained to me. They rush around in their cars and they are in a constant hurry so do not spend time with each other in the neighbourhoods. I heard many such comments among the locals with whom I worked. People no longer stay at their houses, they do not sit and talk on their verandas, and they do not laugh as my next door neighbour, Kiki, would tell me. This is how people are seen by their fellow Argostólíans and also by Cefalónians who hail from villages. Lixurians in particular hasten to stress Argostólíans’ lack of laughter and praise for themselves.

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<sup>69</sup> Here I am reminded of the towns of Corfu, Rhodes and Rethemnos, all of which have ‘new’ and ‘old’ parts of the town.

<sup>70</sup> Tzaganatos 1996: 27 refers to Argostóli and gives detailed information, some of which is provided here. He also refers to the Earthquake (vol 2, p.752). In the most recent conference on the folklore and ethnography of the Ionian Islands (2005), kirios Debonos’ presentation focused on the “Earthquake” and its destructive effects on the culture of the island. In the same year some of the Korgialenios Library staff published a photographic essay (leukoma) with literary texts in which they present the “chronicle of the Earthquake”. The work is titled “Cefalonia: an endless August”. (Kefalonia: enas ateliotos Avgustos.)



Plate 10: Young Argostólians engage in “modern ways of entertainment”: entering a café in Argostóli.

Yet, behind these views of the capital town of the island, there are many “different” people. There are people who come out of their houses and take a long time to do their shopping, who stop and chat with each other along the main roads and who laugh. Argostóli is not completely ‘modernized’. It is exactly this that caught my attention and made me acknowledge my lack of knowledge in local culture. It is this part of Argostóli that I shall look at and to those people I shed some light on in the chapters that follow.



Plate 11: Some Argostólians keep with the “old way”: chatting along Lithostroto road in Argostóli.

### *Kondogenáda: the Lixurian village*

The drive from Argostóli to Kondogenáda, my second fieldsite, lasts less than an hour. The road is at once narrow, at once wider, now straight, now descending, and then ascending and through this it is twisty, always twisty. The Argostólian gulf is the view to the left, while hills and rises constitute the view to the right. When the gulf disappears from view and Paliki province comes to sight, more hills and rises compose dales which suddenly break and open the landscape to Petani beach on the right. I only get a glimpse of that beach, the way to which is again twisty and goes down into a dip. The hills and vales continue to mark our snaking course to the village. Vineyards and olive groves indicate a change in the “landscape” just before we drive into the village. The place is quiet. Having left behind the hustle and bustle of Argostóli, the lack of sound is striking as is the total lack of people on the street.

My second field site then, is the village of Kondogenáda. Built on the slope of a rise to the north of Palikí area, and to the west of Cefalónia, it is the last in a series of villages called Anogí (upper land). The south of Paliki region is called Katogí (lower land) and according to villagers, the name Kondogenáda means the place where Counts were born (gená kóntides).

The village numbered 64 people in 2004, according to Babis, a 40 year old man who lives in Kondogenáda and is a friend of Panagis. Babis’ knowledge on village issues is considered thorough and previously he had counted people himself,

regardless of village statistics.<sup>71</sup> The vast majority of these people are elderly and there are five children and about five young men and women aged below 30.



Plate 12: Kondogenada seen from Vuni rise.

Some Kondogenaditian middle-aged men are active farmers and shepherds while some of them were approaching retirement during 2004. Those who have retired and those who worked as seafarers, teachers, instructors or taxi-drivers in Athens and abroad, now grow their own vegetables or gardens and keep domestic animals. Pasture and farm land extends beyond the village and covers a wide area all around Kondogenada.

There is no schooling in Kondogenáda any longer and so primary and secondary education is offered in the nearby villages. The municipality of Paliki provides a daily taxi to drive the children to school and back. The Kondogenaditian school building, however, recently became a controversial issue and is now under foreign ownership for the next ten years.

The bus service to the town of Lixuri runs twice daily on week days. In addition the Municipality of Paliki provides extra bus services three times a week in the evening. This bus service takes longer to reach Kondogenáda as it passes through all Anogi villages. A constant problem for drivers is the narrow roads and blind turns. “These roads were made when people used carts, before cars, therefore roads are so narrow” (karopiiti dromi) the retired school teacher, who had expressed his pride in

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<sup>71</sup> According to the 2001 census, the real number of people in the village is 154, while the permanent is 103. Babis talked about people living in the village all year round and also about people who live in Athens or Patras during the winter but return to the village for spring and summer time. Thus this is the way the number of Kondogenadites rises from 64 to 103.

Cefalónian culture resembling the Venetian era explains while we were all waiting for the bus driver to negotiate a difficult turn.

The village has one coffee house which opens everyday and a grill house, which operates during summer time only. Villagers have to go to the nearest town of Lixuri for their shopping or paperwork and health services.

Kondogenada has two churches: The church of Agios Ioanis Theologos and the church of the Virgin Mary. Liturgies are held once a month with the lack of people and priests leading to the use of a rota system. One priest caters for several villages and so delivers a Liturgy in every one once a month.

Villagers hold big celebrations for saint Ioanis Theologos on 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> September and for the Virgin Mary on 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August. Apart from a funeral that took place during my stay and where I saw all Kondogenaditians together for the first time, it is these religious feasts that draw all villagers together.



Plate 13: Agios Ioanis church. Preparing for the feast.

More churches, like Agios Vasilios and Agios Georgios are “rabbit warrens” (kunelotripes) as an elderly villager, kirios Haralabos, the permanent warden (epítropos) for Agios Ioanis Church, told some young people and me while showing us round the churches. I found the comment very clever and laughed at this, while the young people remained silent and puzzled. Kirios Haralabos, however, was accurate: the two churches are dark, small and abandoned. Kirios Haralabos and his wife, kiria Hriso, taught me many things about the ways Kondogenaditians closely observe people and judge them.

I spent four months in Kondogenada. When the time had passed and I had to leave the field, I looked back. Instead of a beautiful village I saw something else: I

saw Kondogenada as a concept, as “their own” Kondogenada. This I shall sketch in the next section.

*Kondogenada: the concept*

Turning a village into a “concept” is a matter of looking at the principles people use to come together as a village community and which they employ in order to differentiate themselves from all other people, all xeni. In doing so, they conceal all hostilities and conflicts that take place in the village so that a positive image of the village is perceived and reproduced: this was the main concern for Kondogenaditians regarding my research and my thesis. On the other hand, they downplay the importance of other villages, areas or regions of the island. In this way, Kondogenada appears as the centre of the world to them.

In this section, then, I shall sketch the principles that draw Kondogenadites together and make them “Kondogenadites” with a view to preparing the ground for the descriptions that follow in the next chapters. In doing so, I follow J. Campbell’s essay on “regionalism and local community” in which he talks about the general characteristics of a “traditional community.”<sup>72</sup> I, however, do not share his aim: “why political regionalism has been relatively weak in Greece”<sup>73</sup>.

Despite the fact that I am Cefalónian, I had never been to this place. I was captured by the “landscape” and my eyes sparkled with enthusiasm. “The eye never gets tired, this is why it is an ‘open horizon’” my next door neighbour in Kondogenada, kirios Andonis, explained to me when talking about the “landscape”. Kirios Andonis became my mentor in the village. He treated me in different ways and never spared my age, gender or status when it came to speaking and thinking.

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<sup>72</sup> J. Campbell 1976: 18-27.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*: 26.



Plate 14: The view from the village: “an open horizon”.



Plate 15: “Open horizon” : on the way to pasture land and farm land.

Kondogenaditians are very proud of their village: the inhabited area and all fields around it. Showing me around their pasture and farm lands and narrating stories from their childhood, I distinguished a basic value: the love for the place. Love goes as far as becoming pride over the “landscape” and its beauty. When I dared talk about the village of Kaminarata, which is further north, and the splendid view from that hill, kiria Marjioleni, kirios Andonis’s wife and the owner of the unique coffee house in the village, demonstrated an offended face. She immediately rejected this opinion and placed Kondogenada at the top of the list of beautiful places.

“Kondogenada”, as a concept, includes the village and all farm and pasture land, despite the clear distinction in space. It is the combination of people’s lived experiences and attachment to their land no matter the hardships they may face. “Kondogenada” is a part of their selves, it is their extended selves. As such villagers love and feel for it (tin poname).

It was not only villagers’ detailed narratives about their lived experiences, the tears in their eyes or the sorrow in their voices that manifest such feelings. It is also the fact that the village numbered some 500 people until 50 years ago. All Kondogenadites easily recall such information and add that the village school had some 100 children. Migration in different directions has brought the population down. Kondogenadites reach as far as Australia and the USA or as close as Patras and Athens.



Plate 16: “It used to be farm land and people used to spend their summer here”. Kirios Spiros Frangiscatos recalls while showing me to his plot of land and spots the debris of their summer house.

Yet, migrants return to the village for holidays or they resettle after they have retired. Through this resettlement values of rootedness, (i rizes mas) of strong

attachment to the place are manifested and ‘memory’ proves to be detailed. “A vivid memory” is a highly appreciated value for people. Kirios Memas Kondogianatos left me speechless when displaying his wisdom in few “strong words”. Kirios Memas talked about rootedness and showed me the role of observation and memory through his poems. “Kondogenada” seen as such, is what Dubisch has called “the extended village”<sup>74</sup>. It includes migrants and returnees, but only so long as they display these values.

Related to the topic of the population is villagers’ perception of each other. Much like what most anthropologists of Greece have reported, I found that Kondogenadites have a strong sense of xeni, of foreigners. Xeni, according to Kondogenadites, are all people who were not born and grown up in the village and whose parents are not Kondogenaditians, regardless of whether or not they are Cefalónians. Long-term residence in the village by means of marriage does not guarantee a change in someone’s status as xenos or ‘one of us’, dikos mas. Kiria Marjioleni made this evident to me from the first day we met. During the days that followed and while being introduced to other villagers or listening to them talking about xeni, I saw that there was a considerable number of women who were seen as xenes. It can easily be inferred that marriage is virilocal. Most women come from other Cefalónian villages or from outside the island.

This introduction to Kondogenada would have been insufficient if I omitted the role of “archaeology” in the village. Kondogenada is the birthplace of Spiros Marinatos, a professor of archaeology at the University of Athens who is famous among the Greeks. I was shown around his house by his sister, Thia Efterpi, who is in her nineties, is talkative and composes verses. Marinatos conducted excavations around Kondogenada and discovered important tombs and objects. Villagers are aware of this and they all talk about the excavations as well as of all Greek and non-Greek archaeologists who have visited the area.

Their biggest secret, however, is the claim that the palace of Odysseus is hidden underneath Krikelos rise, just outside of the village. They have also attempted to identify toponyms and site, as Haralabos told me, having spent some time talking about this topic. Curiosity and an eye for detail are essential values in Kondogenada and go beyond issues of ‘the past’.

To summarize: in this section I have attempted to sketch some of the principles that bring people together as “Kondogenaditians”. These principles refer to the “landscape” and their lived experiences in it, the result of which is their love for the place, whether or not migrants or permanent residents settle in the village. As such “Kondogenada” is an extended village. Yet, in studying ‘satire’ as an event, “Kondogenada” will acquire an additional meaning and become another place, in relation to Argostóli. The chapters that follow will describe this in detail.

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<sup>74</sup> Dubisch 1993: 277.

## PART TWO.

### The ethnography of the islands.

#### **Anthropology of Greece: a note**

Ethnographic accounts of Greece have proliferated in the past decades. Written by Greeks or non-Greeks, field sites are located on mainland Greece or on Aegean islands,<sup>75</sup> studies of which abound.<sup>76</sup> Each account presents different challenges faced by the ethnographer in the pursuit of different research interests. Such studies focus on the role of the Nation-State<sup>77</sup>, or religion<sup>78</sup>, gender<sup>79</sup> and the negotiation of identity<sup>80</sup>.

Despite a large number of studies, there is lack of intensive research and publications on the Ionian Islands. Indeed, very few people have shown an interest in these islands.<sup>81</sup> The first Conference on the “folklore and ethnography of the Ionian Islands” took place in Cefalonia in May 2005 and contained presentations from folklorists. Good ground was covered and a variety of topics were presented concerning all the islands. Yet, there was a serious lack of direction towards the ethnography and anthropology of the islands in general and of the anthropology of the Ionian Islands in particular. Anthropological presentations at this conference could be easily counted.

In studying the Ionian Islands, several points of view need consideration. The rest of this section draws from Dimen’s work, with the following sections advancing possible diversions of Dimen’s suggestions.

In an early edited volume on “Regional variation in modern Greece and Cyprus”<sup>82</sup>, Dimen’s article suggests a course to follow as well as some of the particularities that the study of Greece poses to anthropologists. Her remarks were proved valid by those who conducted research in Greece in the decades that followed. Two points are worth mentioning here. The first particularity is the voluminous bibliography and the second is the issue of region.

Dimen notes that “we have not only the ancient literature but the work of historians, economists, political scientists and linguists; we have travelers’ reports and the amateur but informative descriptions by classicists, resident foreigners and other philhellenes. We have the ethnographic or folklore studies. Especially for Greece and Cyprus we must add to our professional skills the ability to work with voluminous historical records”<sup>83</sup>. As we can easily discern from ethnographic accounts on Greece,

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<sup>75</sup> See bibliography. The bibliography here does not exhaust the topic but is rather indicative of ethnographic accounts of Greece and the islands in particular. I use the Aegean Islands as a collective term to encompass all the islands that are scattered along the Aegean Pelagos, from Thasos to Crete, even though all these islands are divided into smaller clusters.

<sup>76</sup> It is not within the scope of this thesis to examine the reasons why people have preferred the Aegean over the Ionian Islands. Such an examination would prove useful however.

<sup>77</sup> See Herzfeld 1982 and 1985b.

<sup>78</sup> See Stewart 1991, Dubisch 1993, Danforth 1989 and Kenna 1992.

<sup>79</sup> See Dubisch 1993 and Cowan 1990.

<sup>80</sup> See Sutton 1998.

<sup>81</sup> I am aware of several articles and books concerning the Ionian Islands, even though the identification of all possible publications on the Heptanese can be a task in itself. By October 2004, I had confirmed with the departments of Social Anthropology in Athens and in Mitelene that no PhD thesis had been written on Cefalonia.

<sup>82</sup> Dimen and Friedl, 1976 : 3-9.

<sup>83</sup> Dimen, 1976:5.

anthropologists had to consider diverse literature and manage records, thus adopting her request for revising sources of data.

Dimen's second point concerns the significance of regions in Greece. She mentions the need to explore relations between a region and the Greek nation –State in terms of administration or economy. This concerns the nation-State and the way it can be analysed in terms of regions. She is also aware of the questions and problems that such analysis might raise.

These two remarks are particularly useful in the case of Cefalónia. When conducting research in Cefalónia it is impossible to avoid local literature as a source of data. The Korgialenios Library in Argostóli, for example<sup>84</sup>, holds a special section on the 'Heptanesian culture' and of 'Cefalónian culture' in particular. Books and articles are stored separately from local newspapers. In addition, the Local Historical Archive Centre (Topiko Istoriko Arhio) is rich in documents dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Such data poses further questions for the researcher. It is not only the fact that we have to deal with the voluminous bibliography and co-operate with historians, as Dimen suggests. It is also the fact that we have to explore their contribution to the construction of local images and their relation to local people: most of the authors are not academics; rather they are local, everyday people.

An important dimension of this is that we can explore the researcher's relation to the place being studied as well as her relation to local, non academic authors. This factor of anthropology 'at home', then, is crucial. Dimen found Greece a familiar setting and thus called it "our own kind of society" although she is not Greek. Yet, we need to include researchers who are 'natives' and who conduct ethnography within and about their own society, 'at home'. The difference in the researcher's status denotes differences in standpoint and capabilities.

The concept of the region, finally, is useful in the topic of 'satire'. We, however, need to approach notions of region through the ways in which islanders themselves construct regions and make these significant to the study of 'satire'. We can thus, move beyond economic or political approaches to region and its relation to the Greek nation-State.

To summarize: in this section I have sketched the main orientations which I follow in the study of 'satire' on Cefalónia. I suggest the importance of anthropology 'at home', of available literature and of the concept of region. In the next chapter I shall give the various regions their proper space in the study of 'satire'. Meanwhile I will sketch the basic approach to the topic in the next section.

### **Regions and regionality**

A good starting point for the study of Cefalónia and its differentiation from Aegean Islands is the importance of 'region' (periohí). 'Region', then, in Cefalónia is a cluster of villages that spreads along a part of the island and is separated from other 'regions' with physical boundaries, particularly mountains and hills.<sup>85</sup> What, however, makes each region different from others on the island and gives it its distinct character is the way people see the impact of the quality of land on people and on their ways of speaking. I shall refer here to the topic of regions drawing from H. R. Bernard's

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<sup>84</sup> The Iakovatios Library in Lixuri also holds a number of books, newspapers and rare documents as well as numerous Private collections.

<sup>85</sup> I give more details on 'regions' in previous sections of this chapter.

“introductory remarks on the ethnography of the islands”<sup>86</sup>. This edited volume constitutes the basis on which the role of ‘region’ is supported.

Bernard expresses his surprise at the emphasis on “regionalism”. He advances “the specialness of topos, the place where people live rather than some undefined region”<sup>87</sup>. He understands ‘region’ as it applies on mainland Greece and therefore rejects such a concept in the case of islands, as “too sweeping a generalization”<sup>88</sup>. Further, when talking about the Aegean island of Kalymnos, Bernard supports localism instead of regionalism. We note that regions and regionalism as a topic of investigation are absent from other accounts in the same volume and also in later works on islands.<sup>89</sup>

Here however, the term ‘region’ should not simply be taken as a large area to which the island belongs, namely the Heptanese, nor should it be conceived as only a geographical province or administrative unit. ‘Regions’ are not undefined either, as they have physical boundaries and unique characteristics. What advances the importance of ‘region’, then, is the existence of intra-island ‘regions’ that should be noted. Looking at the term ‘region’ from this perspective, we can no longer think of it as a sweeping generalisation.

This brings us to another issue: Bernard presents ‘regionalism’ as being the point of departure for researchers: “some have held that regional variation is sociologically important”<sup>90</sup>, especially when mainland Greece is under study. Yet, this is not simply about whether researchers grant regions significance or not. We need to listen to local people and their own views on ‘regions’ on their islands. We need to look at how people construct ‘regions’ and why they use these constructions.

During my observations and discussions, I encountered local people talking about ‘regions’ on the island in relation to my research interests. Such conversations emerged more potently when I needed to find a village where I could move to as my research base. Any questions regarding villages in Cefalónia are inextricably linked to ‘regions’, and without this understanding the implication is that attachment to villages is ignored. If ‘localism’ can, in a sense, mean attachment to a village, then, in the case of Cefalónia, ‘localism’ and regionalism partly co-exist.

‘Regions’ are an important issue for Cefalónians, and they insist on referring to regions in terms of differences, thus making the research approach to the island more complex and indeed more interesting. The map on page xii of this thesis presents the ‘regions’ of the island. The fact that this features prominently on a local website speaks for itself.

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<sup>86</sup> H. R. Bernard 1976:289-90.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid*: 289.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>89</sup> Sutton (1998), Dubisch (1993) and Kenna (1976) for example, do not emphasize ‘regions’ in their work.

<sup>90</sup> H. R. Bernard 1976:289-90.

## Anthropology ‘at home’

Anthropologists studying their own communities argue for the need and the importance of ‘anthropology at home’.<sup>91</sup> They have employed different terms, like ‘native’ anthropology and ‘anthropology at home’ to denote researchers’ relations to the place and the ‘culture’ under study.<sup>92</sup> They list the advantages and disadvantages that such an undertaking reveals. They also mention the range of people studied from family members to community members<sup>93</sup>. Finally, the different methodology employed in the field is presented. In describing the role of clothes and accessories, for example, Mascharenas-Keyes employs the term “chameleon-like virtuosity” to signify the importance of wearing the proper outfit and using the correct language to approach different groups of people so as to be accepted by them. Panourgia, conducting research among her family members in Greece, adopts what she calls an “anthropologically informed composure”<sup>94</sup>, retaining her composure and controlling her emotions when collecting material at peoples’ deaths and funerals.

It is not my aim, in this section, to analyse the advantages and disadvantages that I experienced or to discuss the terminology concerning the position of anthropologists. Rather, in adopting a ‘subjective’ point of view on local culture, I advance the role of “sensitivity” which can be seen as a method of managing the ‘self’ and distinguishing the passage towards the assumption of the ethnographic role. This is related to the ‘emotions’ required in studying ‘satire’ and constructing strong teasing relations with local people on the one hand, while constraining ones emotions thus disengaging from any previous roles in the place under study on the other. The approach to individuals and elderly people in particular<sup>95</sup> is vitally important in this situation. “Sensitivity” in other words is related to the chameleon-like virtuosity and to the ethnographic posture, as seen from new perspectives.

Anthropologists studying ‘at home’ have referred to the role of ‘emotions’ during research with many researchers relying on emotions and using this as a starting point for research<sup>96</sup>. Emotional reactions experienced by anthropologists who attend everyday events seem to play a leading role in the stimulation of interest in local practices when seen retrospectively. Further such emotions are talked about in detail, while others refer to them only in passing in their studies<sup>97</sup>.

It is important to note in the case of emotions that these are used during research and, further, they are recorded. Mascharenas-Keyes presents the use of her own anger to generate data, thus acquiring insight into aspects of local culture as well as self-knowledge<sup>98</sup>. She has to control her emotions and adopt a ‘professional attitude’. In a similar way, Panourgia remains composed at the sight of dead kin people.

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<sup>91</sup> Jackson: 1987, Mascharenas-Keyes: 1987, Al-Torki: and El-Solh: 1988, Narayan: 1993, Panourgia: 1995, Dyck: 2000.

<sup>92</sup> Narayan provides a detailed analysis of the content of terms, which I shall not repeat here.

<sup>93</sup> Dyck: 2000, Panourgia: 1995.

<sup>94</sup> Panourgia 1995: 1.

<sup>95</sup> Even though this might point to the issue of decorum and to gender roles in particular, I am reluctant to endorse the validity of such ideas. Being a hot-tempered person myself, I was often admonished by my parents and meticulously guided by them “if I wanted to collect material and not miss important things”.

<sup>96</sup> Panourgia 1995.

<sup>97</sup> Narayan 1993.

<sup>98</sup> Mascharenas-Keyes 1987.

Here I use the term anthropology ‘at home’ to denote my relation to the place and justify my interest in ‘the culture’ under study.<sup>99</sup> A. Jackson, in his introduction to the volume on “anthropology at home”, writes that one of the reasons people might decide to undertake research at home is their lack of knowledge of their ‘own culture’<sup>100</sup>. Thus, I do not claim to be an ‘authentic insider’ but rather consider myself as a ‘partial insider’. By this I mean that, when embarking on research, I have a certain degree of ‘knowledge’ about ‘local culture’ by virtue of the fact that I have lived on the island and practiced aspects of ‘local culture’ since my childhood. However, I acknowledge<sup>101</sup> my lack of thorough knowledge in many cases. Narayan similarly argues that “as insiders or partial insiders, in some contexts we are drawn closer, in others we are thrust apart”<sup>102</sup>. Panourgia also admits that a native anthropologist can be included in a group in some ways although not fully<sup>103</sup>. Acknowledgement of ignorance on aspects of local culture justifies my practice of anthropology ‘at home’. This acknowledgement generates excitement in the discovery of more and deeper aspects of local culture, I might add to Jackson’s comments mentioned above.

Above all, I hold that research ‘at home’ can be strongly influenced by the expression, control and use of ‘emotions’ which is what I call “sensitivity”. Before embarking on research, I was advised to depend on my own sensitivity<sup>104</sup> and thus approach people on the island, giving my status as a ‘native’. Taking this on board, I found that “sensitivity” is not only about developing emotional reactions but also about controlling their expression ‘in public’ or in the house, depending on the nature of the emotions on my interlocutors and the choice of the most effective way to communicate such emotions. In other words, “sensitivity” as such became my version of “the chameleon –like virtuosity” that I had to adopt in order to meet the challenges of the field. This is what differentiates me from Mascharenas-Keye’s version of the ‘chameleon-like virtuosity’. It is not about clothes and accessories; it is about managing a part of my ‘inner self’.

Positive ‘emotions’ include joy, enthusiasm, excitement, pride and surprise in my case. These should be publicly expressed when evoking or participating in teasing events. Negative emotions, on the other hand, need to be constrained and expressed among family members, apart from writing them down.

The expression of emotions temporarily suspends the use of the ‘anthropological composure’ as suggested by Panourgia. If the study of death requires the adoption of this posture in order to observe all the details and people, the study of teasing events requires the suspension of this posture and a greater participation in the event. This suspension, in addition, raises questions of the relation between the ‘real self’ and the ‘professional self’.<sup>105</sup> As I do not deal with this topic here, I consider my ‘professional self’ to incorporate my ‘real self’.

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<sup>99</sup> Narayan 1993: 678 has very correctly pointed this out. She urges us to examine “the ways in which we are situated in relation to the people we study”.

<sup>100</sup> A. Jackson 1987: 6.

<sup>101</sup> This realisation came in 1999 when I first joined the carnival group described my introduction. I could not but notice how striking the differences between these people and me were; even though we supposedly share the same culture and live in the same town.

<sup>102</sup> Narayan 1993: 676.

<sup>103</sup> Panourgia 1995: 6.

<sup>104</sup> I owe this suggestion to Professor Nigel Rapport who, in a gentle way, put this issue to me in May 2004.

<sup>105</sup> This topic was brought to my attention during the postgraduate writing-up seminars and for this position, I wish to thank all students who contributed in this discussion in 2006.

The ‘anthropological posture’ is useful in the case of negative emotions. It is remarkable that this was also suggested by local people when advising and convincing elderly people of the importance of my research. Local people talked about ‘taking each individual on his/ her own terms and that I should follow the vagaries (lóxes) each one carries within’.

This ‘posture’ is also useful when trying to introduce my role as an ethnographer to locals. Frequenting different parts of the town, from the pitch to the Prefecture of Cefalónia and attending all events, I was mistaken for belonging to various roles which I was not playing. People would come up to me and ask me what my purpose was in these places. I had been taken for a reporter, an archaeologist, a philologist and a folklorist. People spoke either of their own role as reporters or because folklorists and philologists had previously been a prominent presence in the town.

Thus I found these associations frustrating. I wanted to present my new role as anthropologist to people and to be taken as such. Frustration and anger expressed in my notebooks and endless conversations with my parents allowed me to reflect on my position, “what I am studying as opposed to what I am *not* studying”. I accelerated my own disengagement from my previous roles and from roles which people thought I was acting out. While talking to people, however, I had to remain composed and calmly explain all about my research.

In constraining my emotions, however, I found that I was able to acquire a good degree of insight into local practices. I was able to understand things, observe gestures and record responses. In this way I concur with Al-Torki and El-Sohl<sup>106</sup> both of whom claim to have gained such access to and an understanding of local practices and their subtleties which other researchers would not have been able to achieve.

In employing ‘emotions’ as a research strategy, I use different verbal and non-verbal ways to express them.<sup>107</sup> Choice of the most successful way and the degree to which I could express my ‘emotions’ depended on specific variables, this being the last aspect of “sensitivity”. Such variables depended on the place, the people, the event and the aim I wanted to achieve. Thus, I found myself limiting my expressions when in the company of elderly people or people I had never met before. On the contrary, I openly communicated my emotions to people I had known or with whom I gradually constructed strong teasing relations. I also limited my reactions when in the church or attending meetings of the Council of the Prefecture but would be loud when on the street or when being teased by the President of the Council of the Prefecture along the corridors of the Prefecture building.

To summarize: anthropology ‘at home’ is justified by the lack of ‘knowledge’ of aspects of local practices. Yet, most significant, it centres around “sensitivity” as defined here. A successful manipulation of emotions does not only guarantee people’s appreciation of the researcher and their contribution to the project at hand; the practice of the chameleon-like virtuosity and the anthropological composure help turn one’s own hometown into an exciting place to study.

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<sup>106</sup> Al-Torki and El-Sohl 1988 (see bibliography).

<sup>107</sup> See chapter on laughter for an analysis of non-verbal ways.

## Conclusions

This chapter introduced Cefalónia from the perspective of an outer landscape: that is a visitor's view. It presented its main features as well as the need to study regions and to deal with voluminous local literature as a source of data. My two field sites, the town and the village, have also been sketched here. It suggested that anthropology at home relies on "sensitivity" seen as a combination of two postures in the management of the 'self'. In the case of the town it was demonstrated that no matter if someone is a 'native' to a place, there is always something to discover, thus justifying the importance of anthropology 'at home'. The case of the village demonstrated that in turning the village into a concept we start with people's principles. The chapters to follow deconstruct this outer landscape by using some of the presented features in relation to the research topics. The aim is to gradually construct a new image of the field sites and of Cefalonia in terms of 'satiricity'.

## CHAPTER TWO.

### ‘Satire’ and ‘Satiricity’.

This chapter initiates another aspect of the island and the transition to an understanding of ‘satire’ which represents a major indulgence for Cefalónians with the content of ‘satire’ being explored beyond “literature” and “genre”. The starting point regards satire as examined by literary critics. We further discover that such researchers themselves leave the ground open for further investigation and expansions of the concept. The contribution of anthropology is significant here and this is the perspective I present, while at the same time, establishing a foundation towards anthropology of ‘satire’.

I propose adopting the term satiricity (*satirikótita*) in order to signify a new approach to ‘satire’ and its uses as a local construct. Cefalónians claim ‘satire’ as belonging to them and further, it is employed in finding themselves: to differentiate themselves from other Greeks as well as admitting to the influences of foreign occupation on the island.

Satiricity goes beyond “written texts” and ‘satire’ is therefore to be determined as performance<sup>108</sup>. As such, satiricity will include everyday events which are coined here as ‘teasing events’ (*pirágmata*). As teasing events unfold, we observe the axioms to which people adhere and which lead to hierarchical relations among participants, with the final outcome being the emergence of the performer, who is called a satirist or madman. Such axioms and relations will be presented in later chapters.

Beyond the teasing event, satiricity includes all talk that circumscribes ‘satire’ which is traced at different levels and through different people from local scholars to everyday folk, and this should be understood as fabrications for the exclusivity of ‘satire’ on the island. A first<sup>109</sup> example is presented here as it precedes the teasing event and is invoked at any time outside of it. Reference is made to the methods local people employ in order to claim ‘satire’ as their own with metaphors related to parts of the human body and the ‘landscape’ being invoked and these too, will be presented here.

Such a local construct, claimed to be exclusively Cefalónian is based on a variety of principles, which are also presented here. One such principle refers to the distribution of ‘satire’ on the island from two perspectives. The first refers to ubiquity: forms of teasing events are experienced all around the island, refuting the argument of satire being an urban phenomenon. The second refers to a new view of the “landscape” of the island, which will be seen as an “inner landscape”. A brief examination of this supports the argument regarding the role of regions, and shows that ‘satirical’ speech is not perceived under equal terms all around the island.

Material comes from discussions with local people and also from published articles or books about Cefalónia. Satiricity encompasses local studies and acknowledges the role of historians, philologists, folklorists and non-scholar locals who have bolstered local claims on ‘satire’.

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<sup>108</sup> Bauman and Briggs 1990: 59-88.

<sup>109</sup> The second speech event appears in the last chapter, and is directly related to the teasing and understood as complementary to the event presented here.

## Reviewing approaches to satire

### *The literary approach*

Satire is a compelling topic which commanded attention in the past and a number of recent studies bear testament to its enduring interest and investigation.<sup>110</sup> Dictionaries<sup>111</sup> tend to consider satire a “literary genre”: “a mode of writing that exposes the failings of individuals, institutions or societies to ridicule and scorn.”<sup>112</sup> Most theorists of satire have an inclination towards a normative or classic approach. Considering satire under such terms, the focus tends to be on the purpose of satire and the role of the satirist<sup>113</sup>: “satirists are chroniclers of the corruption in which they themselves participate”<sup>114</sup> and “satire attacks, studies an ugliness”<sup>115</sup> with a view to improving society.

This same point of view is found in Greek studies on satire<sup>116</sup>, with the satirist deploying satire as a weapon to attack vice and folly. This can be expressed directly or indirectly and in addition, theorists present different means which the satirist employs in order to reach his aim. They refer to forms of satire: prose or verse, oral or written and they include strategies and techniques like invective, wit<sup>117</sup>, humour, laughter, fantasy and reality. Topicality is also emphasised as an exploration of the wide range of themes covered by satirists. Finally, they concentrate on linguistic means with literary analyses on satire exhausting such topics. Further, references are made about the role of readers and the reactions of satirized people: the satirist aims to arouse feelings and thoughts: “repugnance at the evil and complicity in the guilt”<sup>118</sup>, “satire can sharpen our perceptions and get rid of the false values”<sup>119</sup>. In particular, Test<sup>120</sup> insists the audience engage with satire on a mental level.

The aim of satire requires that the recipients develop different stances towards the satirist with the satirist often being “feared and respected”<sup>121</sup>. The satirist creates victims and looks down on them while people think of him as “abnormally sensitive, disillusioned, alienated, prejudiced, detached”<sup>122</sup> and “not an ideal person to spend a life with”<sup>123</sup>. Others comment on skill and playfulness as well as the role of public benefactor performed by the satirist.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The most recent work, I am aware of is Quintero 2007.

<sup>111</sup> Hammond, N.G.L, Scullard, H.H. (eds) *The Oxford Classical dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, s.v. Satire, pp. 953-954. Also: Gray, M. 1992 *A dictionary of literary terms*: York Press: Longman, s.v. Satire, pp 255-256. Baldick, C. 2004 (1990) *The concise Oxford dictionary of literary terms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, s.v. Satire, p.228.

<sup>112</sup> Baldick 2004: 228.

<sup>113</sup> Knight, C, Paulson, R., Nilsen, D, Hodgart .M, and others share this opinion(see bibliography).

<sup>114</sup> Knight 1992: 23.

<sup>115</sup> Paulson 1967: 3.

<sup>116</sup> Here I refer to Cefalónians writing about satire (cf. bibliography) as well as scholarly approaches.

<sup>117</sup> Here I acknowledge the problematics of the terms wit and humour as well as their central position in satire. However, I do not deal with them here. I return to these in subsequent chapters.

<sup>118</sup> Paulson 1967: 3.

<sup>119</sup> Hodgart 1969: 75.

<sup>120</sup> Test 1991.

<sup>121</sup> Paulson 1967:44.

<sup>122</sup> Pollard 1970: 74.

<sup>123</sup> Agelatos 1997: 7.

<sup>124</sup> Pollard, A., Griffin, D. and Test, G. share these views.

For many theorists of satire, the satirist expresses his feelings. Quintero notes that “satirists express their dissent and do not wither in despair.”<sup>125</sup>, and this is remarked on by other theorists of satire.

This is a brief description of the classic approach with a focus on the satirist, the audience, strategies, forms and techniques, topics and the role of emotions and judgement. These represent core elements singled out by theorists and are the foundations for a further development of satire.

### *Satire: slippery ground*

Some studies already indicate the slippery ground of “satire”. Noting the challenge presented by this term for any researcher I thus focus on other aspects. This slippery ground was diagnosed early in the course of satire studies.

D. Nilsen, for example, states that satire is not easy to write and that “some people see it everywhere, and other people don’t see it anywhere at all”<sup>126</sup>. While investigating the minimal requirements for a composition to be classified as satire, he does not provide anything definite to denote minimal requirements and/or test pieces as satirical or not.<sup>127</sup> He concludes that “I was able to find no sufficient condition of satire. Furthermore, I found that all of the necessary conditions might be present without forcing us to conclude that a particular piece is indeed satirical.”<sup>128</sup> This demonstrates how “fluid” satire as a label can be.

R. Elliott, G. Test, D. Griffin and more recently Quintero, among others, comment on the polysemy of the following statement: “satire is notoriously a slippery term, designating, as it does, a form of art and spirit, a purpose and a tone.”<sup>129</sup> Thus we are urged to appreciate satire beyond an exclusively literary approach, because “literary forms have not been able to confine or define satire, nor can satire be restricted by or to any other medium.”<sup>130</sup> This plea, therefore, refers to “a broadening of the concept of satire itself and the use of ideas that are not exclusively literary.”<sup>131</sup>

Apart from the polysemy of the term, a further problem makes for slippery ground; that of the relation between ‘satire’ and what belongs to ‘satirical spirit’ without being satire. Steele has noted this distinction which allows for more endeavours to be included while others might be excluded<sup>132</sup>. In a similar vein, Freudenburg refers to the verb *satyrizo* (literally *satyr-ize*) and satire in order to demonstrate “how far removed we are from Roman “formal” thinking about what constitutes a satire.”<sup>133</sup>

Thus the view on satire from a literary perspective is the view on fixed position, meaning the relation between the satirist and his readers which can be understood as a top to bottom relation. The satirist manoeuvres his position to appear

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<sup>125</sup> Quintero 2007: 1.

<sup>126</sup> Nilsen 1988: 1.

<sup>127</sup> This point of view is based on the fact that each requirement is not followed by any criteria on which to base a safe judgement on the quality of the text. Thus it becomes difficult and it is left to the reader to deem a text satire or not. : “But although it is true that satire is always distorted, it is not true that all distorted writing is satire” (Nilsen 1988:4). This is not a sound presentation of the requirements.

<sup>128</sup> Nilsen 1988: 8.

<sup>129</sup> Elliot 1960: viii.

<sup>130</sup> Test 1991: 9.

<sup>131</sup> *ibid*: 8.

<sup>132</sup> Steele 2007: 436.

<sup>133</sup> Freudenburg 2005: 21.

on top; he constructs his own role and has certain expectations of his readers yet does not engage with them.

Most important of all, however, the readers' responses cannot be heard. It is impossible to access peoples' possible uses of 'satirical works'. This is the exact starting point of a new perception of satire and complies with appeals to broaden the scope of satire. It is not my purpose to indulge in any of the difficulties mentioned in this section; rather, I proceed to examine a new perception of satire and to develop this idea.

*Recent trends: "satire as social discourse"*

The title of this section is borrowed from *The Cambridge companion to Roman satire*<sup>134</sup> which attempts a new approach to 'satire'. Hence the volume refers to 'satire' as literature and 'satire' as social discourse. The material comes from Roman satire and is 'written'. The novelty lies in the fact that researchers examine the use of satire in the construction of Romaness as they call it: the construction of Roman identity that has to incorporate "the new, the threatening, the alien."<sup>135</sup>

To be more specific, Freudenburg's point of departure is well known among theorists of satire: the claim that the Roman poet Quintilianus phrased as "satura tota nostra est."<sup>136</sup> Through this claim, Freudenburg explores the ways in which Quintilianus and other Roman satirists invent satire as exclusively Roman. He contextualises this invention in the framework of Romans' struggle to differentiate themselves from the Greeks to demonstrate their own practices and to disentangle themselves from any enthusiasm for all things Greek<sup>137</sup>. In this way, Freudenburg attends to the way Quintilian constructs a list of Roman satirists who stand for this attitude and excludes those who demonstrate enthusiasm for Greek modes of writing satire. Thus Freudenburg's most important contribution to the study of satire is the perspective in relation to issues of identity: "to find what is uniquely one's own is to find oneself."<sup>138</sup>

A second contribution concerns the writing of satire as performance. Introducing the contributions to the volume, Freudenburg quotes Habinek: satire "can thus be studied as much as for what it does as for what it says."<sup>139</sup> Freudenburg has correctly understood satire as performance and it is worth quoting the following: "writing as performance has to be taken the whole way, not just to the point of the author's person, the 'scene' of satire and its 'plot', but as far as the reader's/critic's/audience's own role in the production of the script. For, as mentioned above, the satiric act on the page floats a set of judgments that oblige us to commit ourselves as judges, critics and fellow performers. Satire's 'enactment' happens there, at the point of reception, always there and not before."<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Freudenburg (Ed) 2005.

<sup>135</sup> Habinek 2005: 191.

<sup>136</sup> Freudenburg 2005:1. The phrase translates as: All satire is ours.

<sup>137</sup> Freudenburg 2005: 6.

<sup>138</sup> *ibid*: 23.

<sup>139</sup> *ibid*: 9.

<sup>140</sup> *ibid*: 29.

This new perspective broadens the scope of satire by going beyond strict literary approaches and analyses on techniques or strategies, scenes and plots. It is now possible to investigate how satire is invented by people who then rank each other based on compliance to specific standards or not and notice how people identify themselves through satire and how others are excluded. Above all, multiple relations now exist between the satirist and his audience that happen at the moment of ‘enactment’.

The representation of satire as performance however, still relies on ‘written texts’. The literary critic draws on texts, from history and ‘satirical works’. He examines the role of satirical works in relation to the specific historical moment and uses them both as a speech event and as ‘a discourse’ about the event. Yet, this interpretation of satirical works allows only for the voice of “authorities”, that is to say, poets. Satire becomes an urban phenomenon, a phenomenon experienced among specific people, thus we cannot see or hear the audiences’ reactions: that is the reaction of those other than the poets themselves. Habinek eloquently phrases this drawback accordingly: “We, of course, have no way of knowing in any real sense how the satirist or his targets felt about each other.”<sup>141</sup> The contribution of anthropology to the study of satire from this new perspective starts at this point.

### Introducing: Satiricity

Literary approaches to ‘satire’ have gradually presented an extensive lexicon which corresponds to the topics studied. The best illustration of this lexicon is presented by Seidel<sup>142</sup>. He was preceded by Aden<sup>143</sup>, who made a plea for a uniform satiric terminology. However he only reduced this task to a few umbrella-terms.

The anthropological contribution to the study of ‘satire’, which broadens its scope, will be coined as satiricity (*satirikótita*). Satiricity is added to the lexicon and stands in a complementary relation with all other terms. In addition, it encompasses and goes beyond these. As a term satiricity does not appear in any work reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter. It does not appear in the relevant Greek or English dictionaries I consulted.

It does however appear among people on the island. I first recorded it during an interview with an Argostólian gentleman called kirios Niforatos. He is a retired chemist who was educated in Italy and has a special interest in local culture. Kirios Niforatos talked about Christoforos Vunas another Argostólian performer and an important figure in the town in the 60s and 70s and thought that “*satirikótita* fitted Vunas” (*i satirikótita tu pígene*).

The way in which the character of Vunas was presented by his daughter kiria Anthula and kirios Niforatos, as well as by other Argostólians, suggests the practice of the core principles of ‘satire’ on the island, which will be sketched here. It is important to note that kirios Niforatos referred to Vunas’ works and advised me to read these. I later found out from kiria Anthula that Vunas had material, which he collected himself from all around the island, and later printed in 33 publications.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Habinek 2005: 188.

<sup>142</sup> Seidel 1979.

<sup>143</sup> Aden 1964: 30-32.

<sup>144</sup> As well as this, Vunas is seen as an ambiguous figure. This means that some other local folklorists express a reluctance to trust his works and even suggested I should ignore these. The argument being that Vunas had invented much of the content included in these publications. Regardless of such

The figure of Vunas condenses all that satiricity can include: the practice of teasing and reflections on this through published material and the way people talk. Kirios Niforatos phrased all thus: “Vunas revived and enlivened ‘myths’.<sup>145</sup> (anaviose mithus). After the earthquake, he managed to pull all Cefalónians together”. This is the function of satiricity.

### ‘Satire’ as performance

As already mentioned, current turns in the study of ‘satire’ view it from the perspective of performance. This means that questions of genre or literature are removed and the focus is on what people do with ‘satire’ and how they do it. Here I differentiate myself from Freudenburg in that anthropological research allows us to move beyond the double role of the text as previously mentioned. We need to examine the talk that circumscribes ‘satire’, which is the way local people comment about the speech event or the performer or themselves. We can demonstrate how people treat ‘satire’ and how their interpretations construct their sense of themselves.

Here I agree with Ch. Stewart, who in his study on nereid stories in Greece, holds that “the idea of ‘genre’ as well as that of ‘literature’ are unnecessary importations, not only because they remain ill defined in our own tradition, but because they suggest too narrow a framework for our purposes.”<sup>146</sup> This statement breaks with an exclusively literary approach to stories and his investigation leads to a discovery of “richness and diversity of what would otherwise have remained frozen in the mind.”<sup>147</sup> Apart from Stewart’s study on stories, there are a number of studies on other forms of talk or writing<sup>148</sup> that go beyond the ‘text’. These pay attention to the interaction of performer and audiences, in much the same way as Freudenburg noted.

Performance studies are particularly helpful in satiricity for a variety of reasons with only one aspect of the term being presented here. I follow the idea of performance as defined by Bauman and Briggs that performances “are not simply artful uses of language that stand apart from day-to-day life. Performances provide a frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes. A given performance is tied to a number of speech events that precede and succeed it. An adequate analysis of a single performance thus requires sensitive ethnographic study of how its form and meaning index a broad range of discourse types, some of which are not framed as performance.”<sup>149</sup>

Bauman and Briggs suggest further an emphasis on the role of the audience: they scrutinize speaking which has been put on display. Performance, they write, licences the audience to evaluate the skill and effectiveness of the performer’s accomplishment. To the extent that the performer’s accomplishment is a ‘text’,

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comments, I noticed that young Argostólíans and middle-aged people alike still seek out these publications to read.

<sup>145</sup> I questioned kirios Niforatos about myths. He said that “myth is whatever I most believe in”. From this perspective, Vunas revived ‘myths’ on Cefalónian ‘satire’ and, as we will see in the last chapter, ‘madness’.

<sup>146</sup> Stewart 1985: 242.

<sup>147</sup> *ibid*: 245.

<sup>148</sup> Herzfeld 1985, Sherzer 1983, Kapchan 1996, Cowan 1990.

<sup>149</sup> Bauman and Briggs 1990: 60.

“texts<sup>150</sup> may be valued because of what you can use them for, what you can get for them, or for their indexical reference to desired qualities or states.”<sup>151</sup>

Here I am concerned with the content and the importance of talk that is not framed as performance and which I divide on two levels: the first exists independently of a speech event and can be invoked when talking with people or consulting local sources. The second so long as it appears and with some frequency, is directly related to a performance and refers to the performer, or the teasing event. Through such forms it is possible to note how Cefalónians manipulate ‘satire’. Both levels function so as to circumscribe Cefalónian ‘satire’ as such.

The focus in this chapter is on the first kind of talk with the purpose of showing the variety of people and ideas that have been involved in recreating ‘satire’ as Cefalónian and demonstrating the different views adopted. The underlying principle for ethnographers dealing with Greece (chapter 1), stated by Dimen is to deal with a voluminous bibliography and demonstrate its role in satiricity. The last chapter deals with the second kind of talk, that which emerges at the end of a speech event.

## PART TWO

### **Satiricity: the components.**

#### **The “landscape” of ‘Cefalonian satire’.**

Chapter one describes the landscape of the island with a description of the coastal landscape and the intra-island landscape. Following Stewart and Strathern, this refers to the outer landscape: what an outsider sees ; what a visitor sees. Stewart and Strathern, further, distinguish between this kind of landscape and what they call the inner landscape. The inner landscape as a construct “encompasses environment plus relationship to it and the cross-cutting ties of relationships that emerge from or exist in a place.”<sup>152</sup> The underlying principle here is to agree with the argument that ‘satire’ “can appear at any place and any time.”<sup>153</sup>

This section presents the inner landscape of the island with the intention of constructing the landscape of satire, in the first instance, as a path towards the ubiquity of ‘satire’, thus examining the island in a different light with a focus on region. Within the framework of ‘satire, then, each region is not limited to peoples’ views on themselves, but it is rather other Cefalónians’ views on the inhabitants of that region.

I consider this a ‘symbolic reading’ of people’s ‘satirical’ speech which relies on the physical landscape of each region, the features of which are understood to be reflected in people’s speech. It also relies on peoples’ relations with inhabitants from other regions. When Cefalónians present their self- views, they tend to refer to such

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<sup>150</sup> *ibid*: 73.

<sup>151</sup> In the chapters that follow I shall return to performance and the role of further concepts analysed by Bauman and Briggs.

<sup>152</sup> Stewart and Strathern 2003: 8.

<sup>153</sup> Griffin 1994: 3.

elements and further, they mention relations between sub-divisions of regions, to the extent that these sub-divisions exist.<sup>154</sup>

### *Re-assessing regions*

This section refers to the ways in which Cefalónians construct and verbalise their sense of ‘regions’ on the island by evoking features of the physical “landscape” as presented in chapter one. The examination of this topic, even in passing, serves to contradict Bernard’s argument, namely that ‘regions’ are not important in the study of islands; rather it is the ‘topos’. In refuting this argument, the contribution of the study of ‘regions’ in the anthropology of satire will be demonstrated. I argue that constructions and uses of ‘regions’ create a web of intra-island relations and make the satirical speech event in all its subtleties appear more complex to study. This new view on regions leads to a constructed landscape<sup>155</sup> of satire on the island.

In addition, Bernard<sup>156</sup> describes the island of Kalymnos, referring to the relations that Kalymnians develop with people from Kos. He presents the ways these islanders talk about each other and how they rely on the quality of land and the role of tourism. This is a significant dimension for the study of islands, small islands in particular. Larger islands, however, are more interesting when looking at the construction of the regional images which apply.

Here I also draw on Herzfeld’s partial references to the role of ‘regions’ on islands, like Crete, mentioning ‘groups of villages’,<sup>157</sup> and zones. Setting to look at the relation between the island and the Greek State, the role of the “landscape” is incorporated. However the role of intra-island ‘regions’ is undermined for the sake of an analysis of a broader area. Herzfeld mentions highlanders and lowlanders and is aware of the role of “natural differences that define cultural ones”<sup>158</sup> supporting this in terms of character differences among communities. Still, the role of ‘regions’ is not given adequate importance.

The main guideline, then, concerns the reflection of the features of physical landscape that each region presents onto satirical speech. Cefalónians highlight “landscape” features to relevant regions and subsequently include in the region all the people who live there. Very rarely would people mention village names to me, being more likely to talk about regions, narrating their experiences when engaging with people living in these regions. The place-name, then, reflects the inner landscape.

An important attribute refers to the value of ‘roughness’ (*agriō*) and backwardness (*protogoni*). This is important for two reasons: firstly, because it presents ‘nature’ above ‘culture’ and sets backwardness on top of a hierarchy of values and, secondly, because it is presented by urbanites. People of Argostóli understand distance from the town and from ‘modern ways of living’ as a safety-valve which conserves ‘authentic practices’ (*to ehun djatirísi*). Kirios Debonos, thus, advised me to seek remote villages, which cannot be seen from the main road, on the basis that these villages retain ‘authentic practices’. He suggested the area of Xomero, which lies within Elios-Proni, and stretches up towards mountainous villages.

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<sup>154</sup> To my knowledge, some regions of the island bear sub-divisions; however, I am not aware of all sub-divisions on the island.

<sup>155</sup> Here I agree with Bender’s view on the landscape as created by people and as polysemic (1993).

<sup>156</sup> Bernard 1976( as in chapter one).

<sup>157</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 4.

<sup>158</sup> *ibid*: 6.

Based on these perceptions, the region of Lixuri is thought to stand for a witty manner of satirical speech based on subtlety. Pilaros and Erisos stand for a rough approach, an ‘authentic one’, since people have preserved the ‘original ways’. Omala is also seen as an area in which villagers use rough, backward and hence ‘authentic’ ways of ‘satirical’ speech. Livathos region (covering the Elios-Proni as well) is thought to be more ‘civilised’ (*pjió politizmeni*) because the land is different and people used to be seafarers. Recording people’s suggestions, I saw that Pilaros, Erisos and Omala are the regions referred to most. Lixuri is the second preference and Livathos, placed last on this list. This is epitomised by Vaggelis, a Lixurian shepherd who composes verse. When talking to him about this he told me that: “each place makes its people” (*o káthe tópos káni tus anthrópus tu*). “The Other” among Cefalónians is the result of such perceptions<sup>159</sup>.

I came across these perceptions at different moments throughout my fieldwork and noted the importance of the topic while in Argostóli searching for a village where I could conduct research. Yet, as soon as I moved to Kondogenada and started talking with villagers, I found myself hearing similar things. The view from “the margins” was identical to that from “the centre”.

Taking a short walk around the village with kiria Marjioleni one June evening, she asked after my parents’ village of origin. My reply was met with her view on mountainous villages: “oh, this is a mountainous village. It is close to Dilinata and they are wild. Not so?”

What is more, Kondogenaditians, create a further rendition of regions. Not only do they look down on people from Pilaros and Erisos on the assumption they are wild (*ine agrianthropi*), they also refer to the relation between the two sub-regions of Lixuri: Anogi(upper land) and Katogi (low land). Kondogenada belongs to the Anogi area and as such people claim to be more social and talkative<sup>160</sup> than people from Katogi, who do not like socialising and talking but focus more on their work: “the spade” (*tu tsapjú*) as an image that kirios Andonis invoked in Kondogenada does not only refer to fertile land that is easy to cultivate; it also refers to people’s exclusive focus on their tasks with no intention of spending time together. Fertile land, then, reverses values: instead of people being relaxed<sup>161</sup> because of the good soil quality and easy labour, people of Katogi appear hard working and focus on making money.

Contrary to this, people in Katogi think of people from Anogi as less mild. Vaggelis, the shepherd, thinks of Kondogenaditians as the most ‘authentic’ throughout the Lixuri region but they are not mild (*ipii*) as he and his fellow villagers are. Vaggelis’ village lies in between the two sub-divisions of Lixuri which is surrounded by good quality farm land.

Each ‘region’ is placed in an important web of relations vis-à-vis all other and their own sub-regions. From the previous examples, it is noted that different qualities

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<sup>159</sup> During the early stages of my fieldwork in Argostóli, I was told “Cefalónians are people who are divided into different regions”. I was advised to consult prof. D. Lukatos’ work on Cefalónian proverbs. Here I noted that Loukatos had classified proverbs from all over the island not only in terms of topics, but, further, there was special reference to regions in which the proverbs were recorded. These references note versions of proverbs that converge in different regions of the island.

<sup>160</sup> This attitude has similarly been observed by Herzfeld (1985:6). He refers to highlanders who despise lowlanders for their way of living and the work being less laborious than the highlanders’.

<sup>161</sup> Bernard (1976), notes that people of Kos appear relaxed compared to Kalymnians because their land is easy to manage.

apply to each region and each region given its own importance, thus comparison appears difficult but no less exciting to undertake<sup>162</sup>.

Therefore, when people refer to regions, they temporarily suspend their strict attachment to their own particular villages and as a consequence of this perception 'satirical' speech is not seen as a homogeneous cultural practice on the island. Rather it is thought to follow the "landscape" variation described in the previous chapter and is thus invested with diverse qualities. Given this, Cefalónia can be reviewed in terms of regions and the particular kinds of 'satirical' speech and as such we can talk about the landscape of satire. 'Regions' constructed under these terms are easily achieved all around the island and are compelling to include in the anthropology of satire.

### **Circumscribing 'satire': agents and vocabulary.**

As mentioned, talk preceding 'satire' in Cefalónia and its inclusion in the study of 'satire' is vitally important. What follows, throws light on the agents of the construction and the verbal means they employ to refer to 'satire' as exclusively Cefalonian. Analysis draws from Anderson<sup>163</sup> and his work on the agents of the construction of nation and nationalism as well as the processes involved.

Anderson, then, refers to the nation as a construction. More specifically, he names this "imagined community" because an image is fostered of people's communion even if they never meet each other<sup>164</sup>. Examining the processes that have contributed to its creation and further development, he emphasises the central role of print-languages and print-capitalism: "print language is what invents nationalism."<sup>165</sup> Within such works, Anderson examines the role of the language of kinship and home so as to render the nation something natural to which one belongs.

Concerning the agents of the construction, Anderson focuses on professional intellectuals- the intelligentsia- whose "energetic activities were central to the shaping of nineteenth century European nationalism."<sup>166</sup> To be more specific, the published works of historians, lexicographers and philologists serve to instil national consciousness to people in European countries. These works, printed, distributed and read by people all around the country, helped them come together as "imagined communities."

Herzfeld<sup>167</sup> also investigates the construction of the nation and focuses on the Greek case in depth. He examines the Greek intelligentsia and in particular the categories of philologists and folklorists who struggled to create the Greek nation and consciousness. The published works of scholars and their struggle against those who refuted their arguments led to the establishment of folklore studies in Greece. The aim was that of preserving Greek culture and its continuity with the ancient Greeks, given

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<sup>162</sup> Bender (1993) suggests an ego-centred landscape depending on point of view. The view from Argostóli does not leave me with this impression however, the view from Kondogenada does.

<sup>163</sup> Anderson 1991.

<sup>164</sup> This is roughly the definition of an imagined community. Anderson presents the term in detail 1991: 6-7.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid: 71.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid: 134.

<sup>167</sup> Herzfeld 1982.

the new political circumstances, that is, the end of the war of Greek Independence and the creation of the Greek State.

Both studies, however, give little if any space to peoples' voices and this is justified, given that their main source is printed material. Studying 'satire' in Cefalónia, the role of professional intellectuals is clear. To this we coincide with Anderson and Herzfeld. Still, the strong part is played by local, everyday people and their practices and printed works. To this we shall return in the following pages.

In relation to the language used to circumscribe 'satire' there is concurrence with Anderson's observation on the language of kinship and home in order to exclude all 'foreign' elements, that is elements that are taught or imposed to locals. Moreover, we will add the role of metaphors – thus departing from Anderson's remarks- that refer to the body or the natural environment. In circumscribing 'satire' through such means, Cefalónians insist on the centrality of the performer, who they usually call madman (*kurlós*).

Before moving to present these aspects of the construction of 'satire', two events in Cefalónian history that have influenced local studies should be mentioned. These events will help us understand the need to present 'satire' as Cefalonian, in a similar way that Herzfeld has defined the role of the Independence of Greeks from the Turks.

People in Argostóli, thus, refer to these as "hallmarks" (*stathmi*). The first is the Second World War and the second is 1953. When Cefalónians say 1953 they mean the disastrous earthquakes (*I sizmi tu 53*) that brought everything down. It is common knowledge that the island was devastated with people migrating in all directions and the "culture was buried under the dust" as some people told me. The island had to recover, resume and progress. The work of local intellectuals and the use of the language served in the emotional recovery and the preservation of local features, satire being one of them.

Consulting local sources, further differentiation is noticed among the professional intellectuals concerning the viewpoint they adopt on satire. Cefalónian historians, in their published works, as well as through my discussions with them, appear different than philologists and folklorists. By this I mean that their works do not convey their own emotional attitudes, such as philologists have displayed. They adopt a more distant view on the topic. 'Historical approaches' to satire, then, indulge in the presentation and interpretation of information found in archives. Historians attempt to reconstruct Cefalónian communities through the study of archives. To paraphrase Anderson: historians' language does not result in creating particular solidarities<sup>168</sup>; they only provide the necessary context for 'satire', thus coinciding with literary approaches.<sup>169</sup>

The contribution of philologists and folklorists to the study of 'satire' on the island, however, follows interesting trajectories. Some local scholars, in commenting on local 'satirical' works imbue them with their own emotions. They also aim at conveying these to local people<sup>170</sup>. Other philologists and folklorists, however, aim at sparking emotions without conveying their own<sup>171</sup>. Such achievements were either published in local periodicals or professional journals and some were delivered as lectures to Greek and non-Greek audiences. Both territorialize 'satire' in Cefalónia in their own ways and special use of language. Two examples follow.

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<sup>168</sup> Anderson 1991:133.

<sup>169</sup> Griffin 1994:188 for example states the need to situate 'satire' in its particular contexts.

<sup>170</sup> Tzaganatos is the best example.

<sup>171</sup> Kalogiras 1939.

Tzukanatos, a Cefalónian philologist<sup>172</sup> who published on Cefalónian history and folklore, conveys his feelings for the place and people and admits the difficulty in writing about ‘your own place’. He shifts pronouns from third person singular to second singular to first plural indicating how he includes himself when talking about Cefalónia. His reactions are directly delivered and become emotionally stronger when using the first person singular: “I am now writing about Argostóli, that unforgettable old Argostóli. I feel as if I am commemorating an immemorial time that has disappeared from the face of earth because of the earthquake”<sup>173</sup>.

For my second example, I refer to Kalogiras. He published three volumes on Cefalonian satirical poems and refers to local satirists. Yet, what is more prominent in his work is the fact that he praises the Cefalónian satirical works. He stresses the importance of “saving the satirical Cefalónian diamonds<sup>174</sup> which ... have revealed and keep revealing the immortal Cefalónian spirit to all over the world.”<sup>175</sup> In a similar way, Anderson notes, while quoting a passage from Marco Polo praising the Chinese emperor, which it is not so much the character (the man who is praised) as the attitude to language<sup>176</sup>. Kalogiras’ attitude to language is followed by other philologists and folklorists,<sup>177</sup> and can still be easily observed.<sup>178</sup> It comes to sharp contrast with the historians’ view.

As a final note, I include some Cefalónians who can be said to occupy “the middle ground”. An example is that of Vunas as presented earlier in reference to local “amateur” folklorists (*erasitehnes*) so-called, who are everyday people and performers as well. They lack professional training but have collected a considerable quantity of material, revealing a thorough knowledge of the island and its particularities and publish this while investing their emotional reactions in their writings.<sup>179</sup> These people, as kirios Niforatos commented, managed to “reunite Cefalónians” after the War and the Earthquake. It is not only the consumption of printed material that revitalised Cefalónians’ sense of exclusivity of ‘satire’; it is important to remember that the main difference between the intelligentsia discussed by Anderson and the Cefalónian *erasitehnes* is that they appear in everyday life, at different places and participate in events.

With this in mind, I turn to examples from professional intellectuals and everyday people.

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<sup>172</sup> Most Cefalónian philologists and folklorists served as primary or high school teachers. Anderson (1991:120) refers to the role of school in promoting nationalism. The case here is somewhat different. Regardless of whether some of these teachers urged pupils towards folklore material, as far as I am concerned, I did not investigate the issue of them promoting ‘satire’ as a Cefalónian feature only, or, in a broader perspective, if they promoted local ‘culture’ as Anderson puts it.

<sup>173</sup> Tzukanatos 1980 :27 and 698.

<sup>174</sup> Referring to Cefalónian satirists.

<sup>175</sup> Kalogiras 1939: 7 & 10.

<sup>176</sup> Anderson 1991: 17.

<sup>177</sup> See Alisandratos G 1966 and Alisandratos I 2002. While consulting the Folklore collections archive in the department of Byzantine and Modern Greek studies, Athens University, I recorded similar language used by Cefalónian students of philology who had composed folklore collections, especially those who studied philology in the 1970s.

<sup>178</sup> Recent publications: Moschona-Maragkaki 2004 and Apostolatos 2007. They use similar words when talking about satirical poets or Cefalónians. For example Moschona-Maragkaki, about the satirical poet G.Molfetas: “the poet reveals a rare poetic talent and an unfailing satirical mood” 2004: 7.

<sup>179</sup> Because of such eminent presence of folklorists, I was taken for one both in Argostóli and Kondogenada.

*Scholarly views on 'satire': forms and functions.*

Given the multiple content of satiricity, peoples' familiarity with the 'past' of 'satire' must be included. My enquiry into the reasons for the presence of 'satire' on the island, led to conversations with men and women, of different educational backgrounds. The history of satire for Cefalónians comprises two levels both being valuable for the degree of knowledge and research they reflect and because the ways that people construct their views on 'satire' as a local phenomenon are made visible.

The first level refers to a plurality of forms and a number of people whose published material is available from the local library or private collections. Most of these are 'written' poems thus they are in opposition to 'orally composed' poems. There was implicit and explicit reference, depending on the person, to the role of 'satire' as attack. People mentioned the distinction between scholarly satire (*logia satira*) and popular satire<sup>180</sup> (*laiki satira*) with scholarly satire on the island referring to Cefalónian satirical poets of the nineteenth and twentieth century and Kirios Tzilianos spoke of sharp 'satire' (*diktiki sátira*) in this case.

Popular satire on the other hand is different in form. Kiria Anthula suggested I should also look at an old oral form of 'satire', called *rimnes(pl)*. Rimna or rima, as the singular form has it, is a couplet. The content could be drawn from a variety of sources of everyday life. We will see in the following page the place that rimnes occupied in the 'history' of satire.

Kiria Anthula had helped her father publish the material he had collected concerning the rimnes, hence her advice to me. I received the same advice from other Argostólions and village people. Argostólions mentioned people like Vunas, who had published diverse forms of 'satire' and were concerned with the preservation of 'satire' on the island.

The second view presents 'satire' in its classic approach, as 'attack'. This, view is more elaborate and includes all views mentioned on the first level and, attempts to explain the use of 'satire' by relating it to socio-political conditions of the island. I refer to this as the role of the 'intelligentsia'<sup>181</sup>: that is the viewpoint that local scholars and knowledgeable people of the island adopt. This may not convey the same enthusiasm as that of everyday people when talking about 'satire', yet, it brings with it strategies of constructing 'satire' as a local practice.

The second view, though elliptic due to scarcity of material, is similar to Bakhtin's reading of Rabelais. Here Bakhtin refers to the presence of 'satire' and festivities among folk as a way of objecting to the gloomy seriousness conferred by State and Church authorities. Bakhtin creates the concept of carnival on the basis of mass participation, liberation, the feast of becoming and temporary suspension of hierarchies and fears through laughter. People come together, participate and "become aware of their sensual, material bodily unity and community."<sup>182</sup>

In Cefalónia 'satire' is not used against seriousness and lack of laughter. People told me that it is about channelling emotions of anger and frustration cleverly and is liberating. It represents a suspension of hierarchies and class struggle. Thus,

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<sup>180</sup> The many forms of satire are a well-known idea among theorists. Griffin, for example (1994:98) refers to the Protean quality of satire: to take many different forms.

<sup>181</sup> Here I agree with M. Holquist's (prologue Bakhtin 1984: 13) definition of intelligentsia as "social groups whose special task it is to provide an interpretation of the world for that society". He quotes Mannheim.

<sup>182</sup> Bakhtin 1984: 255.

Cefalónians recognise the historical perspective of ‘satire’ concerning the manifestation of ‘their being’ as a way of displaying their mental qualities ‘in public’.

Rimnes,<sup>183</sup> then, according to the first and the second view is a form of ‘satire’ no longer used other than a few written examples occasionally published in local newspapers. Rimnes used to appear in a specific context and as text<sup>184</sup>. Thus, rimnes as couplets were sung (*tragudjiontusan*) while people danced at feasts (*panigírgjia*) or during the Carnival and were produced on the spot. They were ‘dialogic’ in the sense that versifiers had to reply to each other. The versifiers, known as *rimnadori* (*pl.*), became famous in their villages as well as over a wider region. Studying the available material in the local library, I saw that every village on the island had its own *rimnadoros*, some of whom were called to nearby villages to participate in feasts and compose verses.<sup>185</sup>

Apart from the Argostólions who provided me with such information, *kirios Bekatoros*, the president of the Union of Cefalónians in Athens, emphasised the *rimnadori* to me. He praised those illiterate people (*agramati anthropi*) who composed verses from their minds and expressed his questions on the origin of rimnes, referring to foreign occupation and the 12th century in particular. This represents the second view of the history of ‘satire’ on the island.

People emphasise a temporal dimension regarding this second view of the history of ‘satire’: *kirios Tzilianos*, for example, talked about the public expression of satire on the island since 19th century. He established connections with the state of the island under the British occupation, saying that things were looser than during the Venetian occupation, so people could express themselves. People used ‘satire’ as their weapon against the landlords and the State thus; public expression was necessary and occurred where landlords and State Officials were not seen.

*Kirios Pentogalos*, the doctor and professor of history, has conducted extensive research at the local archive, agrees with the first use of ‘satire’ as a weapon of the poor (*oplo kata ton ishiron*) against powerful people. He attributes the emergence of ‘satire’ in Cefalónia to social conflicts and class divisions which appeared on the island since the Venetian occupation.

*Gallant*<sup>186</sup>, a non-Greek specialist of Cefalónian history has written about encounters that villagers experienced with Officials during British occupation. He argues that villagers were not passive receptors of occupation, rather they expressed themselves. Further, he attests to what *kirios Pentogalos* and *kirios Tzilianos* mentioned. In his article on peasant language and resistance in Cefalónia he reveals meanings of words used by villagers as a mode of resistance to British occupation.

From these interpretations, we can see that Cefalónians talk and write about ‘satire’ in terms of its forms and the socio-political conditions under which it was practiced. Its rimnes form demonstrates a hierarchical relation with the dominant figure as that of the versifier, the *rimnadoros*.

In addition, we see that ‘satire’ is presented from the perspective of local people who were suppressed under foreign occupation and class divisions. There are no references to ‘powerful people’ using ‘satire’. This is attached to the lowest class of people on the island suggesting there must have been a distinction between classes of people in terms of practicing ‘satire’ during festive moments.

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<sup>183</sup> The word *rimna* also appears as *rima*.

<sup>184</sup> Herzfeld 1981b: 44-57.

<sup>185</sup> Material comes from interviews with *kirios Bekatoros* and *kirios Tzilianos* as well as published articles on rimnes. See bibliography: *Skiniotatos*.

<sup>186</sup> *Gallant* 1991, 1994, 2000

It is striking that people I talked to did not attempt to trace ‘satire’ as purely Cefalónian or Greek or even Italian. This was never explicit, more like hints at similarities with Italian culture and there was no clear point in time when people situated the beginning of ‘satire’ on the island.

The historical view on ‘satire’ which here includes in satiricity appears fragmentary, even though it leaves us with good ground on which to see how Cefalónian intelligentsia in its own way implies ‘satire’ as being Cefalónian. It starts with an anonymous crowd back in time and gradually moves to specific people and situations. Much work is needed in this area<sup>187</sup> which will eventually allow for a more thorough image of the forms and functions of ‘satire’ on the island.

*The ‘popular’ view: metaphors of exclusion.*

Having presented the view of the local intelligentsia on ‘satire’ I now examine the ways in which everyday people sketch ‘satire’ as being theirs. This is integral to satiricity and the source of the figure of the Cefalónian satirist, known as madman (*kurlós*). For this reason, significant space is devoted here.

My main questions are an attempt to explain the reason(s) why Cefalónians are so inclined to ‘satire.’ Aside from history and the past of the island, any satisfactory answers are not recorded here. Dr. Analitis, the local psychiatrist, brought this to my attention during one of our discussions. He told me that “there is no satisfactory explanation” and he talked about the different occupations of the island and their influence and about a possible explanation with reference to different people moving to and from the island.<sup>188</sup>

Here I focus on parts of recorded discussions that best encapsulate peoples’ claims on the presence of ‘satire’ on the island in the forms of tropes. It is not my purpose to explore the kind of trope that people use when talking about ‘satire’. Here I consider metaphors in line with Sapir<sup>189</sup>.

Metaphor, Sapir suggests, denotes equivalence between terms taken from separate semantic domains thus, a proper study of metaphor includes five constituents: “the two terms (continuous and discontinuous) and their shared features, the topic and the commonplace knowledge that respectively embraces or places the continuous and the discontinuous term”<sup>190</sup> suggests the extent to which a “new entity” is formed so long as these constituents are considered. He attends to the “simultaneous likeness and unlikeness of the two terms” (which are brought together)

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<sup>187</sup> I discovered a long satirical poem dating back to 1688 written in Italian by an anonymous Cefalónian awaiting translation and explanation. It will enhance our knowledge on many levels and here I wish to thank the Lixurian schoolteacher, Gerasimos Galanos, without whom I would not have sought this document. Original information on this forgotten document appears in the English version of Cefalónian History by G. Moschopoulos. (see bibliography). By the time I asked about this document and its potential location, kirios Moschopoulos had no clear suggestions.

<sup>188</sup> This argument about the Cefalónian wit based on different peoples settling on the island while others moved away is supported by historians and geographers, see for example Parsch 1892. Parsch devotes a chapter on history and another on the topography of the island. In these chapters he talks about the movement of Greek and non-Greek peoples to the island and thus attributes, in the “mixture of population”, the high quality of intellect in Cefalonia.

<sup>189</sup> Sapir 1977: 3-33.

<sup>190</sup> *ibid*: 12.

and discusses two types of relations. The first concerns “the reduction of the terms to their shared features” and “this gives metaphor its specificity”, with the second referring to “the transference from one to the other of what they do not share- of what makes them unlike”. This gives metaphor its colour whether or not it stresses specificity or colour, the interaction of the two terms results in a “new entity”<sup>191</sup>.

Here metaphors used by Cefalónians are analysed according to Sapir’s directions and it is noted that some of the metaphors stress specificity, while others stress colour. Those stressing colour refer to the difference between mental illness and satire establishing ‘satire’ as a local feature. Common knowledge is crucial to the understanding of these differences; thus this section is understood in connection with some information from chapter one.

### *The naturalness of ‘satire’.*

Reference has been made to Anderson’s work and the role of professionals in the creation of the nation ( and of nationalism) as a construct. We need to be reminded of his exact words: “Nationality” Anderson writes “or, as one might prefer to put it in a few of that world’s multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind.”<sup>192</sup>

Returning to Anderson I present a second point of interest. This concerns the ways in which language is used to denote the nation (or nationalism) as something ‘natural’. Anderson refers to “the vocabulary of kinship or that of home” suggesting that both “idioms denote something to which one is naturally tied. In everything ‘natural’ there is always something unchosen. [...] Because such ties are not chosen, they have about them a halo of disinterestedness. [...] In this way nation-ness is assimilated to all things one cannot help”.

Because of all these, he uses the term naturalization<sup>193</sup> as an organising principle which people accept concerning the construction of the nation. Anderson traces the conception of nations through language. He also argues that in conceptualising the nation in language everyone can be ‘invited into’ this “imagined community.”<sup>194</sup>

In similar vein, ‘satire’ as a construct is traced in language, in the vocabulary that Cefalónians use to circumscribe it. Such a vocabulary can come under a concise term: naturalness ( *fisikotita*)<sup>195</sup>. The term refers to a fixed viewpoint, to a given quality which Cefalonians employ when claiming ‘satire’ as exclusively ‘theirs’.

The naturalness of ‘satire’ is invoked through images drawn from the ‘landscape’ as well as from the human body. The main aim of these metaphors is to situate ‘satire’ in the performer’s body and hence emphasise an inextricable link between the performer and the possession of ‘satire’. Any possibility of scepticism or doubt against possession of ‘satire’ must be eliminated.<sup>196</sup> This is the aspect of the

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<sup>191</sup> ibid 9 and 12

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid: 145.

<sup>194</sup> Anderson 1991: 143 through 145

<sup>195</sup> The term was not provided by any of the people on the island. I wish to introduce the term and use it to give a coherent term to all vocabulary that marks the exclusivity of satire on the island on this level.

<sup>196</sup> Replies to my questions were obscure with no further details. I take this as a strategy to legitimize ‘satire’ on the island.

unchosen, the phenomenon to “which one is tied and cannot help”. Nevertheless, in such a situation, the unchosen phenomenon is seen as desired by other members of the audience and the community: it is distinguished from other phenomena to which one is tied and does not really want, like mental illness.

Cefalónian perceptions of the naturalness of ‘satire’ demonstrate some characteristics that people require from the performer. Thus, naturalness relies on the idea of possession of ‘satire’ as given. It is something that exists: it is there. Furthermore, ‘satire’ as a given is located inside the performer. As we will see, through metaphors people imply that not everybody can have and use ‘satire’ and so contrary to what Anderson suggests, ‘satire’ does not ‘invite into’ everybody. In this way, it refers to a closed community and circumscribes it; we can suggest that ‘satire’ through metaphors works as an “imagined community” by encompassing a limited range of people and by not encompassing a whole nation.

Another important dimension on this view of ‘satire’ is how it has to spring out of the performer, so following a course from the inside to the outside and this course is unforced, unconstrained, governed by its own rules. Lack of constraints characterises naturalness and for some people, like the Argóstolian performer kirios Dragonas, ‘satire’ written in verses has flow, it flows like a river. I consider flow as a lack of constraints and freedom.

What is inside the person is thought to be passed down through generations. This is the spirit and the mood, while what springs out of the performer is the product, a piece of ‘satire’, whether in verse or prose. Naturalness then is connected to atemporal heredity.<sup>197</sup>

Freedom can be associated with naturalness in satire, with people saying that “freedom” is lack of limits and boundaries, not belonging to any parties, of willing to speak ‘in public’ and doing so. Kirios Niforatos explained this to me and kirios Galanos insisted on speaking freely in public. Kirios Floratos expressed it as: “let me speak” (*ase me na to po*).

An important aspect of the function of such metaphors is that of inspiration. Elliott refers to the poet, who “can hardly be said to compose verses; rather, as the more or less passive instrument of divinity, he transmits them. He is inspired, ‘breathed into’, by the god.”<sup>198</sup> Such inspiration can be investigated in the etymology of the Greek term spirit, *pnevma*. Theories on magic, religion, rituals and poets, mention the presence of a god or a spirit that turn the poet into a means of transmission.

Here the importance of talk about satire demonstrates the autonomy of the human mind and also shows the total lack of supernatural powers outside the human realm. The continuous emphasis on the naturalness of satirical spirit and mood singles out the human. Despite the absence of supernatural powers, there may be some objections to the autonomy of mind in the sense that satiricity is associated with other issues, like heredity. From this point of view, the performer is not entirely free but carries a quality which has been passed on to him.

Finally, the issue of naturalness is something that incorporates an individual tempo, a rhythm of thinking, feeling and talking about things. The final product of the speech event can be seen from the perspective of a successful combination of emotions and thoughts, or, better, a domination of thoughts over emotions. Because

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<sup>197</sup> Anderson here talks about fatality as embedded in history: 1991:145.

<sup>198</sup> Elliott 1960: 10.

this is highly individualistic, the person differs from others and can be called idiorhythmic, or, mad (*kurlos*), as kirios Niforatos explained.

Local publications stress the fact of the naturalness of satire on Cefalónia in a temporal sense. I found agreement on this through the local library with satirists themselves and also other people and early twentieth century local philologists in particular stressing the presence of satire, as something natural. Ch. Vunas and Kalogiras mention this too. Ch. Vunas, confirms the eternal presence of satire, while the island has never ceased to produce satirical works.<sup>199</sup>

Returning to Cefalónians, Argostólians and Kondogenaditians, people replied to the above question by telling me that “satire is in the Cefalonians’ nature” (*to ehi i fisi tu Kefaloniti*). They explained that they meant the Cefalonian’s ‘character’ (*o haraktiras tu Kefaloniti*).

Some other people used the term innate/inborn (*emfito*). Cefalónians emphasise the independence of such a quality in the sense that no external factors can make the person a satirist. They say Cefalónians are born with it. Kirios Djionisis said “you are born with it; you do not become a satirist” (*me tin satira genjiese, den ginese*). ‘Satire’ then is not an acquired skill over the years of one’s life. Cefalónians emphasise, this innate quality is developed through lived experiences as a state of being and not of becoming. Kiria Ravani, a retired philologist, insisted on the inborn quality and told me: “satire is not taught. You cannot learn it at school, anywhere” (*i satira den didaskete. den tin mathenis sto sholio, puthena*).

The innate factor is linked to heredity (*klironomiko*) with many people commenting on this. Kirios Debonos told me that satire is something that is practiced in the family and this is where a child can practice satire. Kirios Makris told me that “it runs in the family” (*ine ikogeniako*), his family being a good example. I noticed that his son spoke in a ‘satirical’ way as did his grand-daughter.

The family, then, plays a dual role. First (in a temporal sense) it is a means of transmitting qualities from parents to children, and secondly, it provides a good place in which to practice ‘satire’. Maria, an Argostólian chemist in her late thirties, referred to her own practice of ‘satire’ and freedom while speaking. She said her mother used to speak freely, so she followed her example. She added that her first born daughter takes after her and she can see her turning into a great satirist. The first signs of this kind of speaking are really good, she told me. She did not suggest the same for her second daughter.

Some people, like kiria Anthula, do not agree that heredity is important as not all children, whose parents perform satire, succeed their parents. Her example refers to herself and her siblings, none of whom take after their father. She said her father would be happy upon hearing something witty from his children and reward them.

Early childhood is considered important too. Even though this is not a metaphor, it is still an image, a way of talking about ‘satire’ with relation to one’s self. Most of the madmen I talked and laughed with, told me they had been behaving this way since early childhood. Maria had mentioned the first signs of her daughter’s satiricity and anticipated her child’s progress and she keeps practicing ‘satire’. It is particularly interesting that old people could remember and talk about their childhood and beginnings of ‘satire’. Retired people like Kirios Gerasimos, captain Djionisis and Kirios Haralambis, stressed the importance of childhood: “I have always played jokes on people, ever since I was a child” kirios Haralambis told me, after playing a joke on

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<sup>199</sup> Vunas, Ch. and Grekousis, G. 1966 : 6-7: “Γιατί στην Κεφαλονιά μας, από...αιώνων και από...προγόνων οργιάζει η Σάτιρα.” (Original Greek text, the translation of which appears above).

a child during a wedding reception. Childhood is the starting point for the practice of ‘satire’ in time and ‘place’ with people referring to childhood when tracing the endless presence of ‘satire’.

Another metaphor some people use is that of instinct (*pigéo*): ‘Satire’ is instinctive. The original Greek term refers to a spring of water and suggests movement from inside out (or, from bottom up) and insinuates the hidden origins from which water springs. The previous two images are somewhat static, while the spring image is fluidly dynamic; distinguishing both autonomy and lack of divine presence while ultimately arriving at an end result of superlative quality: a public demonstration of ‘satire’. However, Cefalónians, made no other suggestions to springs of water or other water sources in relation to ‘satire’.

I turn now to metaphors regarding the human body. It was surprising to note that Argostólions, Kondogenaditians, and other Cefalónians I talked to, all referred to DNA. “The DNA of the Cefalónian contains satire” (*to DNA tu Kefaloniti ehi satira*) most people told me. Further, words like genes, vein and blood (*gonidia, fleva, ema*) were also used. “It is in our blood” Bambis told me while I was in Kondogenada. Kirios Dragonas used the term vein when commenting on some poets: the poet has a ‘satirical vein’ he said (*satiriki fleva*).

The use of such metaphors is not unusual among the Greeks. L. Danforth, exploring the ritual of firewalking (Anastenaria) in the village of Kosti in northern Greece, notes similar ideas. People who perform the Anastenaria wish to express “the belief that Kostilides are uniquely privileged by virtue of their special relationship to Saint Constantine”. In order to do so and “define who can become an Anastenaris” they talk about participation in the Anastenaria being hereditary (*klironomiko*) and that it is “inherited in the blood”.<sup>200</sup>

Cefalónians situate the locus of satire, the “place” where satire is inscribed and thus transmitted in parts of the human body. While these terms are used in kinship studies and medicine, they are metaphorically used in order to describe the naturalness of satire. Veins, genes, DNA and blood are ‘natural elements’ of the human body; so is ‘satire’. They are all given, they exist and cannot be denied or doubted, and so is ‘satire’ on the island, according to Cefalónians.

A number of anthropological studies on blood and blood symbolism exist. Du Boulay, for example, writes about symbolic relationships through blood, i.e. marriage and spiritual kinship in Greece<sup>201</sup>. She uses blood to examine the ways people forge belonging to kindred. While this is one way to understand blood, ‘satire’ reveals another meaning for it. Though family and heredity are central to ‘satire’, people do not employ this word when discussing issues of kinship and kin ties regarding ‘satire’. Contrarily, they suggest something existing inside the person, thus the idea of ‘satire’ existing in the blood (*mesa sto ema*) calls for more attention and examination suggests looking at the history of the island from another perspective.

Approaches to blood, genes and DNA, convey a quality that is usually publicly demonstrated and inherited and can invoke references to madness. This means that Cefalónians use the same words when talking about mental disease, focusing on ideas about genes and heredity.<sup>202</sup> Thus, people say that madness runs in the family, it’s in someone’s genes, implying something inevitable and impossible to be freed from. I heard such talk regarding mental illness in Argostóli and

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<sup>200</sup> Danforth 1989: 126-129.

<sup>201</sup> Du Boulay 1984: 272-287.

<sup>202</sup> Chapter one provides an outline of mental illness on the island and its powerful presence may be why it’s talked about like ‘satire’.

Kondogenada. An ill man or woman would be spoken of pitifully: they are seen as passive receptors and transmitters of a situation, especially in the case of married women whose children had ‘inherited’ madness.

Where ‘satire’ is concerned however, receptiveness and transmission is desired and praised. The performer is not a passive victim with ‘satire’ deviating from madness here and the performer belonging to a special category of people. We can begin to see deviations from the medical content of the term madness. I will return to this in detail in the last chapter.

Two terms remain to be presented with reference to metaphors and ‘satire’. Kiria Roza, an elderly, sharp minded Argostólian, took pleasure in providing me with information on two well known Argostólians: Kirios Dragonas and Kirios Mazarakis. They too are elderly and have been close friends for many years. They satirise each other at every opportunity, kiria Roza told me<sup>203</sup>. “This is in their skin, to tease each other” (*to ehun sto petsi tus na pirazun o enas ton alo*). There is no reference to blood or genes, with this comment being substituting skin, thus a body image demonstrates that satiricity is inseparable for both men.

The most powerful term for satiricity has been left for last. There is no metaphor here, nothing coming from the human body, the natural environment or other sources, yet, it is a powerful expression I recorded while gathering information and looking for performers. I asked one of my aunts for good performers, she expressed a preference for kirios Djionisis, the civil servant. Her choice rested on the basis that “he is himself” (*ine o eautos tou*). Another person was rejected because he was not himself.

Being oneself epitomises all aspects of naturalness, demonstrating naturalness as highly valued, when referring to ‘satire’, directly associating it with satiric performance. However, questions emerge from this comment: when do people think that someone is ‘natural’ in his ‘satirical’ speech? Do they impose limits or accept ‘satirical’ speech in all forms and dimensions? Is this not also a construction? This suggests the role of the audience in a speech event and the question of judgment. This follows in chapter four.

To conclude, this section has looked at ways of presenting ‘satire’ as Cefalonian. The material collected pointed towards metaphors and their role regarding the presence of ‘satire’ on the island as exclusive. In an attempt to present them all under a concise term, I suggested the term ‘naturalness’ (*fisikotita*). This shows that ‘satire’ is taken for granted, is seen as ‘natural’ among Cefalonians. Naturalness, however, advances a focus on performers rather than on ‘satire’ itself. Through analysis of metaphors, then, the Cefalonian performer arises as the carrier of innate features which are preferred over those that are taught or imposed.

The following section introduces the teasing event, in which these innate features are best displayed.

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<sup>203</sup> See plate 17 as an example of the mens’ teasing.

## ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ



Το πρωί σήμερα 1η Απριλίου μπήκε στο Νοσοκομείο άνδρας μεσήλικας, ψηλός, αγνώστων λοιπών στοιχείων και του οποίου άγνωστη μέχρι στιγμής γυναίκα, του απέκοψε με τα δόντια της, μέρος του ανδρικού του μορίου, κατά τα ολονύκτια σεξουαλικά όργια.

Όπως ανακοινώθηκε, το ως άνω περιστατικό, δεν έχει καμία απολύτως σχέση με το παρόμοιο, που συνέβη στην Καρδίτσα με θύμα νεοσύλλεκτο στρατιώτη.

Του Ανταποκριτού μας

**ΤΟ ΘΥΜΑ**

**ΤΙΜΟΥ ΑΓΩΝΑ**

Plate 17: “It is in their skin to tease each other, they live in order to tease each other” kiria Roza said of Kazamias and his friend, kirios Dragonas. This is a copy of a flier that Kazamias (who appears in the photograph) and his friend, kirios Dragonas, prepared and distributed to Argostóli shop owners and old friends. The message talks about a middle-aged man whose personal details are unknown and who had to be hospitalised. The reason is the result of a night full of sexual orgies during which a woman cut a part of the man’s penis using her teeth. The reporter holds that the event has no relation to a similar one that happened in Karditsa (mainland Greece, Thessaly). The reporter’s name is deliberately distorted, even though easily deciphered by those who know the two men.

### **Introducing the teasing event.**

Studies on teasing events cannot only draw from perceptions on 'satire'. They can further draw from studies on different oral expressions of 'satire' in everyday life, such as jokes (joking events) and joking relationships. It is not the task of this section to explore similarities or differences between jokes and teasing events. What on the contrary I shall deal with in this section, is a description of the core features of teasing events, borrowing from studies on jokes and from the ethnography of speaking.

Studies on jokes and joking relationships in Greece tend to be limited. To my knowledge, it is a neglected area of study and it is only recently that people started studying jokes, humour and laughter in Greece from an anthropological perspective. R.Hirschon, for example, has published on Greek adults' verbal play and pointed to the hierarchy of relations constructed in verbal play<sup>204</sup>. Recent contributions to "humour" journal refer to the role of jokes among Greek young people in the constitution of their group solidarity<sup>205</sup>. Such studies focus on linguistic devices and relations forged through speaking.

This thesis adds to these studies. In what follows I shall introduce the Cefalonian teasing event. Further, in subsequent chapters, I analyse the components of the teasing events and emphasise other aspects included in the interaction. I thus refer to sounds of laughter and the metaphors used to circumscribe the event, something which is missing from the mentioned studies.

Before presenting the teasing event, it is important to briefly note that the perception and analysis of aspects of teasing that will follow this chapter rely on the principles of the ethnography of speaking, as set by Bauman and Sherzer<sup>206</sup>. As such, the teasing is an event: it will be described in terms of the rules of speaking and the roles that are defined, accepted or rejected in a teasing. I thus suggest that the outcome of a teasing event is the verification of a hierarchy of relations among the main performer and audience members. As we will see, the main performer is distinguished, even though people do not clearly talk about such a differentiation. Rather, they express it through local terms which are presented in chapter seven.

My starting point, then, is language: the use of language as a means to reach social relations as they emerge through the teasing. Let us remember that it was the whole event that I described at the introduction of this thesis that allowed me to investigate meanings and, through them, reach the relations that Cefalonians construct at the end of a teasing.

In relation to this, I also pay attention to the frame. Even though local people do not name it, they refer to it in a variety of ways. Bauman and Sherzer have highlighted the role of the frame "which signals the interpretive context within which a message is to be understood<sup>207</sup>". As we will see, the frame allows a 'partial insider' to notice the rules, use them and participate in the event and acquire deeper knowledge of local practices.

The speech community, then, that is here presented relies on the sharing of rules of speaking and the manipulation of roles. Bauman and Sherzer, as well as Hymes, emphasize the speech community as an element of the ethnography of

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<sup>204</sup> Hirschon 1992: 35- 56.

<sup>205</sup> Archakis and Tsakona 2005: 41-68.

<sup>206</sup> Bauman and Sherzer: 1975:95-119.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid 106.

speaking<sup>208</sup>. As I hope it will become evident, the Cefalonian speech community comes together as such by following the rules and participating in a teasing. It is this sharing of rules that they employ in order to differentiate themselves from other Greeks. For this reason I think of a speech community as forged through sharing ground rules.

During my research I witnessed teasing events that developed and reached a positive outcome, which is laughter. I also witnessed events that were disrupted. Each kind of teasing event proves helpful to the understanding of rules of speaking and roles. In fact, it is through disruptions that rules are brought forward and the ethnographer can acquire insight into them.

I also pay attention to what Bauman and Sherzer but also Hymes<sup>209</sup>, in his work on the ethnography of communication, have forwarded as “a salient feature of speech event”. That is ‘the setting’, the location at which the event happens. The ‘setting’ is analysed in the next chapter.

The teasing (piragma) on Cefalonia, then, to describe its core features, varies in length. Teasing events that I witnessed or recorded varied from few seconds to several minutes. The event also varies in the number of audience members that become involved in it. It is initiated either by the main performer or by an audience member. It develops and climaxes fast. To the extent that the main performer ‘passes by’<sup>210</sup>, a location and delivers his teasing for a few minutes, there is no sequence in teasing. If, however, the performer joins people sitting at a coffeehouse or prolongs his stay, the initial teasing is followed by others. The quantity and the length of the teasings depend on responses as well as stimuli. The outcome cannot always be anticipated, as it rests on audience members to keep with the teasing or break the rules and dismiss it.

Audience members are expected to participate in different roles. They invite the teasing, challenge the performer, encourage him to speak more, side with the performer and oppose to another audience member or vice versa. Most important of all, they are expected to laugh. Theorists of ‘satire’ have demonstrated that laughter is an integral aspect to ‘satire’. So is for the teasing. For this reason, I have given laughter its special place in chapter six.

Behind such roles, people must negotiate their wit and emotional reactions and have to prove witty. This is the core element that differentiates a teasing from classic satire, meaning that there cannot be a satirist –and- victim relation. People who retreat to emotional reactions turn the teasing to satire: this means that they turn themselves to victims and subvert the relations required to a teasing.

This is a thin and easily destroyed line that divides the teasing from satire. It further points to the importance of interpretation of spoken words and the management of the ‘self’. Cefalonians, to some extent, agree that satire has teasing and that teasing includes satire. They thus blur the boundaries.

Cefalonians also distinguish the teasing (and satire) from comedy. The ground for this distinction refers to wit and to hidden meanings. Talking with Argostólians, I found that they perceive comedy as easy to produce and easy to trigger laughter. ‘Satire’ on the other hand relies on concealment and on complex thinking that people have to produce in order to engage with each other and laugh.

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<sup>208</sup> Bauman and Sherzer 1975: 113.

<sup>209</sup> Hymes 1972: 35-71.

<sup>210</sup> See relevant section in the following chapter.

From this perspective, the teasing is seen to fit Cefalonians because it reflects their high appreciation for the demonstration of wit. In addition, requires speed and flexibility in order to follow the performer's way and respond to his wit.

Transcribed recordings that appear at the end of this thesis give a clearer image of these remarks. In transcribing some of the recordings of my research, I have entered summaries concerning other kinds of talk, to show not only peoples' physical movement to and from the 'setting' but also to give a rough image of the duration of the teasing.

Cefalonians touch on a variety of topics as the appendix shows. They draw from already available topics concerning each other's life or from topics related to the town, the village, Greece, religion, the past and the present. Sexual insinuations are a constant reference. They further draw from the stimuli that appear to them on the spur of the moment.

I observed that most performers brought a variety of 'oral' and 'written' 'texts' in the teasing events. This alludes to their literacy practices and the collection of material to fit their own purposes of teasing others. The issue of 'literary' appears in chapter six.

Apart from the 'textual' elements, paralinguistic features play a crucial role too. Performers keep with deadpan face and do laugh but only rarely. They sprinkle their speaking with gestures and facial expressions. Some of them do not stand still but move around the place, walk back and forth, in and out. This thesis does not examine such elements but only with regards to laughter and sounds.

I would like to think of a "successful teasing" the one that includes all these elements and comprises of a series of short teasing events. Further, a successful teasing leads the performer to compose his verses, as we saw at the introduction of this thesis. To the extent that I witnessed such events or challenged performers to compose their verses, I saw this happening at the end of a series of exchange of teasing and after the performer had used a large part of his material.

In this section I have outlined the features of a teasing event, drawing from transcribed recordings and also from observation and participation in them. The section that follows presents Cefalonians' views on a teasing event. Their views highlight the "code of relations" that applies to a teasing.

#### *Cefalonian views on the teasing "code of relations".*

This last section presents to local peoples' views on 'satire' as a practice of everyday life. Following claims on the exclusivity of 'satire' on the island, Cefalónians' perceptions are examined.

I call this "code of relations" (*kódikas shéseon*), as used by kirios Niforatos. This code must be followed in the practice of teasing in everyday life, and is a sign of the sophisticated ideas Cefalónians hold about their practices indicating how Cefalónians themselves go beyond 'genre' and 'literature'. These views coincide with the main aspects on performance, and presenting this code of relations reveals the principles through which Cefalónians must place themselves in a teasing event

According to Cefalónians, the daily speech event that happens and functions on the basis of this code of relations is called teasing (*piragma*). The dialectic variant

is the verb *tsigkláo*. It is rarely used and by elderly people in particular. Cefalonians that I studied did not regularly mention the term “to joke” as they did for ‘to tease’.

For Cefalónians, the code of relations stresses peoples’ need to communicate with each other (*ehun anagki na epikinonun*). Kirios Floratos explained that communication is about setting your mind to work (*na valis to mjialo su na dulepsi*), communicating the content of your mind, expressing your emotions (*sinesthimata*) and pulling someone towards you so that he listens to you.

Kirios Floratos, an elderly performer said “satire wants company, (*I satira theli parea*) it is not a solitary task. The performer needs to externalise all that he carries inside, he is not a monk who must close himself up in his cell”. Others confirmed that satire requires peoples’ presence. Teasing, then, requires active engagement with the performer: audience members must engage, reply to his words and challenge him, thus the audience assumes a variety of roles and kirios Niforatos expressed that “man must be present” (*o anthropos prepi na paristate*).

The extent, to which an active audience is required, is admitted by performers themselves. Performers tease in order to receive a reply; teasing is reciprocal in a way; it is a sort of an exchange. Performers cannot do without reply. “Otherwise the teasing fails and they suffer” (*ipoferun*), kirios Floratos and kirios Niforatos told me. ‘Satire’ from this perspective must be loud (*prepi na akugete*): it must be heard in public and people experience ‘satire’ (*ti satira ti zis*).

The word *piragma*, however, is problematic and people are aware of its duality. This duality displays the ambivalence of the interaction and the role of participants. Cefalónians know this as well as that nobody can anticipate an audience reaction. Hence, people accept the teasing, with a positive meaning being highlighted. At other times, people might not accept it, so a teasing turns out to be a bad experience for participants. Thus a thin line exists between the two meanings as illustrated through the role of the reply (*apantisi*).

Kirios Floratos talked about the role of the teasing saying that teasing points to the role of the spud (spade), as it is best encapsulated in the dialectic variant, the word *tsigklao*: “we dig (*skalízume*) into someone’s self. We want to see some of the other aspects of someone’s self, his limits, his mind, his heart. We see the way he accepts or rejects and how he replies”.

The success of a teasing event, as kirios Niforatos, elaborated further, depends on tolerance (*anohí*) and on what people call resonance (*sintonizmós*). Kirios Niforatos referred to people who do not reply to each other, do not “get each other’s words” and thus the teasing fails. For this reason, he said, in order for a teasing to keep going, people need to leave their selfishness aside and participate in the event.

In the following chapters, these principles and the ways they are applied to or diverge from this code are examined.

## Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the introduction of satiricity as a way of studying ‘satire’ from an anthropological perspective. Drawing from literary criticism, the need to expand and explore other approaches is noted. Thus ‘satire’ is perceived as a local construction with performance defining speech events as well as the way people talk about these. Further, we need to look at ways people engage with performers and this is integral to the success of the event, as defined by Bauman and Briggs.

The focus on different categories of local people who present ‘satire’ as a Cefalónian feature and the rationale behind such a focus is prominent here. In addition Dimen’s statement was worked upon regarding anthropological studies of Greece, as presented in chapter one: i.e. dealing with Greece means dealing with a voluminous bibliography. I show that we need to deal with professionals who approach a topic from different angles and contribute to its construction in their own ways.

Also presented are local peoples’ views on the exclusivity of ‘satire’ on the island in two ways. I delineate their perceptions on the practice of ‘satire’ and the metaphors used when talking about it. The first case composes the principles of everyday speech events.

The second way presented a shared view on ‘satire’ and it is this that fosters solidarity among islanders. Metaphors belonging to this second way were presented in this chapter. They were recorded in the town and village alike. The term naturalness (*fisikotita*) was suggested to encompass all metaphors. Naturalness aims at establishing ‘satire’ as Cefalonian through a focus on performers.

The following chapters focus on everyday speech events (*piragma*) and attend to the ways in which participants establish a variety of relations with the main performer. This will eventually lead to a circumscription of ‘satire’ as “ours”.

## CHAPTER THREE.

### The social geography of satire.

During the first days of my research I encountered the problem of turning my hometown into an exciting place to study. Even though I had chosen the marketplace as my main urban field site, I still had no clear orientation within it. My first attempts at approaching people and asking for help had failed. In addition, I had to manage my family's reports: they had been to the marketplace, they had heard someone performing and people laughing and "you cannot imagine what was going on". This was enough to make me feel frustrated and disappointed. There was the question of context in its spatial dimension.

This chapter tackles the question in terms of teasing events. The spatial dimension is deemed indispensable when studying teasing events and given the claims on the "everywhere ness" of those events, I decided to put the issue of "the setting" to people in Argostóli. Where in the market-place do teasing events take place? During the course of my research, I did not have to ask this question: people kept suggesting "places". I recorded this and include it in the study of satiricity as it should be.

I then noticed that talk takes a specific form which reproduces the context and thus transforms the urban and rural setting under study. Through this talk, context in its spatial dimension is to be seen as the setting. Each setting is connected to a specific individual and establishes him as performer and the result points towards a social geography of 'satire'.

By analysing people's talk, we can sketch the principles according to which the social geography of 'satire' is created. The urban aspect of it should be seen as a combination of two viewpoints: the 'distant' and 'from within'. The 'distant' view is verbally reproduced on an assumption I call specificity. Specificity is achieved through a series of disconnections that people draw and which are all to be understood as implied in the use of proper names. The reconstruction of context in this way is a result of people's relation to the ethnographer on various levels. Implicated in the collaborative task of reconstructing context, people treat the ethnographer as 'native', thus requiring "knowledge" of the place. This requirement leads to the use of specificity. The view 'from within', on the other hand, refers to physical movement as passing by and stopping at a setting. I consider this a 'staging cue'.

The rural social geography of 'satire' includes two field-sites: the village coffeehouse and the grill-house. Looking at the question of who goes where, I find that people visit either of these places depending on the relation between back stage and front stage. Backstage alludes to relations that exist but are hidden from the ethnographer. These relations refer to the patrons of the coffeehouse or the grill-house and villagers and go beyond kinship or friendship ties.

This chapter, then, will look at the main principles of reproduction of context through language in an urban and in a rural field site. It observes differences and similarities that exist between field sites. An analysis of this verbal representation of context and its observation in practice leads to the social geography of 'satire'. Because of these relationships, the concept of the context as setting is indispensable to any study of teasing events and makes the researcher's place interesting to study.

## The urban social geography of satire

### *The Argostólian agorá*

“One must go down” (*páme káto*): Argostólians describe the direction they follow towards the marketplace in this way, towards the agorá, when off shopping and engaging in economic transactions. Stretching along the three parallel main roads of Argostóli<sup>211</sup>, with a number of smaller streets cutting through across, the agorá lies at the lower part of the town: hence the expression “*páme kato*”.

The marketplace covers a wide area<sup>212</sup> and it is not completely separated from the ‘inhabited area’ of the town. Shops are located one next to the other on the ground floor of the buildings. Very often, the first and second floors of buildings serve as accommodation for people who are not related to the shop. People run their own business or work as employees. Employers, Greeks and non-Greeks, either own the business or the business and the building. However, this is not always the case and many businesses rent their premises.

The Argostólian agorá is a mix of open-air places and shops. The vegetable marketplace and the fish marketplace are open-air markets, even though there are a few shops selling vegetables (*manávika*) and fish (*psarádika*). These are to be found at the left and right end of the marketplace respectively. At the vegetable market in particular, they talk about the “Kokolades” or the “Lixuriotes”: these are the village or town names marking the origin of the farmers. Even a small area like the vegetable market is distinguished further. Recently the vegetable market moved to a new location and the agorá thus extended to another part of the town.

In Argostóli, every market road has a distinct series of shops. The vegetable market and the fish market, for example, are to be found along the sea shore, on A. Tritsi Rd. Bakeries, pharmacies and butcheries line the road, as do the grill-houses, carpentry workshops, cafés and banks. Taxi drivers occupy their own part of the road and constitute the taxi *piátsa*. While waiting to be called, they stand in front of their cars and chat with each other.

Some of the civil services (*dimósies ipiresíes*) are also located in and around the marketplace. The recently relocated Town Hall services are now accommodated within the marketplace. The Internal Revenue Service (Eforía) too recently relocated within the agora, while other services moved away.

Smells add to this atmosphere of the marketplace and to our sensorium. Daily I would smell baked bread and pastry as soon as I left my house and turned the corner to walk down to the marketplace. Freshly ground coffee attracts my attention along Sitebóron Rd., and the fragrance of perfumes makes me stop in front of a beauty shop along Lithóstroto Rd across from the Catholic Church. Such smells contrast sharply with that of wet paint, varnished wood and seaweed<sup>213</sup> that I experience along A. Trítsi Rd.

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<sup>211</sup> These roads are: A. Tritsi Ave. [By the shore named after a prominent Cefalónian politician in the Greek Parliament] Siteboron Rd., Lithostroto Rd., and Vergoti Rd. These roads were named after the people selling wheat the paved areas and a Cefalonian shipowner respectively.

<sup>212</sup> See map p.xiv according to the roads named in footnote 207.

<sup>213</sup> Here I refer to A. Tritsi Ave and the smell of seaweed. As mentioned in footnote 207, this avenue is by the sea shore. The sea breeze quite often carries the smell of seaweed to the marketplace and the upper parts of the town.



Plate 18: The Argostólian Marketplace: Siteboron Road. The taxi piatsa is to the right.

The narrow roads of the town and the newly installed traffic lights accelerate the town's recent traffic problems with cars, motorbikes, bicycles and pedestrians moving in all possible directions. Hooting is integral to the loud, bustling ambience of the marketplace, impatient drivers pressing their horns, shouting and gesticulating blending with the equally cacophonous, careless pedestrians and the perpetual din from the street and shops.

This is the “heart of Argostóli” and the economic capital of the island. Argostólians of all ages, occupations and educational background engage in all sorts of economic transactions, walk and queue, have coffee, window shop and drive along the main marketplace roads every day. They engage in this busy, noisy routine alongside a wide range of people: other Cefalónians from the nearby villages or hailing from villages to the north or the south of the island; returnee migrants, other Greeks and non-Greeks<sup>214</sup>, some of whom I talked to occasionally during my fieldwork.

R. Dilley<sup>215</sup> in his introduction to the edited volume on the market defines the term “aggregate market” as follows: “a market is a description of the trajectory or flow of a single item, thing, and service and so on as it passes from hand to hand, from place to place.”<sup>216</sup> Given this definition and the description concerning the local market, the Argostólian agorá becomes the central place to where people and products

<sup>214</sup> The 2001 census provides us with an exact number of non-Greeks living on the island (see ch.1). Most prominent are the Albanians, much to everybody's complaint. During the past sixteen years they have become an added feature of the marketplace occupying their own places and waiting to be called for manual labour.

<sup>215</sup> See also: Kapchan 1996: 29.

<sup>216</sup> Dilley 1992: 9.

flow. At the same time where people and products flow outwards in different directions.

It is in such an area that I set about my research looking for a specific kind of people and a specific kind of event: the satirists and teasing events. To achieve this I would have to manage the large market area and face several challenges which I refer to now.



Plate 19: Lithostroto Road on a busy summer day. Market activities, locals and non-locals.

### **The market and the marketplace: a review.**

The term “marketplace” conflates two meanings: the physical location and the activities that occur in it: the marketplace and the market respectively. To most theorists it is the activities - the economic transactions - that represent the most important aspect of study hence the voluminous bibliography on such pursuits. Yet, it is not only economists who write about the market; other disciplines also show an interest, anthropology being one of them.<sup>217</sup> This confirms what Humphrey and Mandel have written in their introduction that there can be “no simple and no common understanding of the market”<sup>218</sup>.

A number of anthropological studies suggest alternative perspectives of the marketplace, presenting Dilley’s idea: “the notion of the market is attractive, compelling and irresistible. The commodities status of the market depends on its

<sup>217</sup> See the edited volume on *Contesting markets: analyses of ideology discourse and practice* where a number of contributions employ different angles in the perception of the marketplace.

<sup>218</sup> Humphrey and Mandel 2002: 2

context and once the concept is transplanted into new contexts it takes on new constructions, different symbolic aspects and is located into different social discourses that change its meanings<sup>219</sup>. Such work acknowledges the presence of economic activities but does not focus on them entirely allowing other issues and activities to come to the fore. Within this framework, it is the purpose of this section to review such perspectives and, after exploring the relation between economic transactions and teasing events, to suggest a new meaning for the marketplace: that of the social geography of satire.

Anthropological contributions to the study of the “market”, then, examine factors influencing economic decisions, as stated: “a part of the explanation must lie with the everyday practices of ordinary people participating in the economy according to their own priorities, social pressures and values<sup>220</sup>. Thus cultural factors, like ethnicity and religion that influence the ways in which people set their prices, how they address and encourage the customers are examined.

This means that in looking at the marketplace, we need to turn to other issues and representations and examine the relations between two or more activities occurring in the marketplace. In other words we need to distinguish between what Goffman has termed “back stage” and “front stage”. Laying the ground for performances and team mates, Goffman distinguishes between front stage and backstage in terms of location<sup>221</sup> and in terms of things concealed and revealed respectively. “Front stage” refers to “the place where the performance is given<sup>222</sup>, and ‘backstage’ is “where the suppressed facts make an appearance<sup>223</sup>. He is cautious enough however, to recognize that there are many locations which can at one time function as front stage and at other times as backstage.

Two problems emerge with this distinction when we think of stages as locations where proper and official performances happen. Firstly, Goffman holds to this rigid distinction in terms of “space” with each stage having a clear location where there can be no overlap. The second problem arises as a consequence of the first and refers to the fact that each stage behaviour relies on specific kinds of activities and talk. Thus backstage is related to familiarity and talk that cannot be presented to an audience at the front stage. If, however, we think of performances as happening in everyday life and at mundane locations, such as the marketplace, we need to redefine the locations of front stage and backstage and rearrange the kind of talk and relations accordingly.

Bakhtin’s<sup>224</sup> contribution is helpful at this point as it shows an extreme relation between the front and the back stage. Using Rabelais’ stories, Bakhtin refers to the role of the marketplace. According to Bakhtin, the marketplace is the locus of the unofficial culture, the culture of the people. It is opposed to the official culture of the Church and Institutions. Bakhtin emphasizes the particular language and speech genres spoken in the marketplace and in this way brings backstage activities and behaviour to the front while keeping the front stage activities (official culture) at the back. The extent to which the backstage dominates over the front stage is demonstrated by the fact that the “marketplace” comes to stand for the language spoken in it.

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<sup>219</sup> Dilley 1992: 17 & 19

<sup>220</sup> Dilley 1992:12

<sup>221</sup> Goffman 1959:113

<sup>222</sup> *ibid*: 107

<sup>223</sup> *ibid*: 112

<sup>224</sup> Bakhtin 1984

Following Bakhtin's ideas on the marketplace and the language, a recent study by Kapchan throws light on performances given by women and refers to audiences at a Moroccan marketplace. She suggests that "because performance takes place in the space of buying and selling, it is subject to immediate commodification"<sup>225</sup>. She explains how a commodified performance has its own rules: its own distinct space within the marketplace – thus flattening out the homogeneous space called "marketplace"- and its methods of attracting an audience as well as payment. The marketplace, then, is a realm comprised of economic exchanges and more than that: it is a genre of a public event and social process. It is "a metaphor of hybridity and cultural transmission"<sup>226 227</sup>. While Bakhtin emphasises the backstage, Kapchan manages to strike a balance between two activities at the marketplace: economic transactions and performances of different kinds of speech.

There are, then, diverse angles from which to refer to the relation between front stage and backstage at the marketplace in terms of activities. Here we can agree with Dilley in that "the market is a polysemic symbol: the term conflates three referents: market principles, aggregate markets and market-places. Through the process of slippage between referents, the image of the market performs ideological functions by standing for various forms of abstract relationship at one and the same time"<sup>228 229</sup>.

Such tendencies in the conceptualisation of the market, then, leave us the problem of the "place". The term is used in a general way, with no further distinctions, as Kapchan implies. The term marketplace covers a wide "geographical area" and encompasses all possible events and interactions. It is a homogenizing term that allows for a general view of the "place" that best conveys the "atmosphere" that Bakhtin identifies in Rabelais' work.

We then need to reconsider the term marketplace. How can we redefine it and what meaning should it take? Is it possible to totally escape the economic exchanges that take place in the marketplace?

In order to redefine the marketplace and its role in teasing events economic transactions need to occupy the backstage<sup>230</sup>. Most performances I attended on an everyday basis occurred while performers worked in their shops or offices, but they did not ask for payment. While working, performers teased their clients or other performers to the extent that people focused on spoken words rather than on the money and objects traded. Thus I differentiate my study from Kapchan who looked at "performers who pass the hat... and stories are given a price"<sup>231</sup>.

Looking at the relation of the marketplace to teasing events, we can distinguish two inextricably linked levels and compose what Argostólians call 'the teasing place' (*pirahtrio*). The term is an adjective and can refer to a 'setting' and a person. It can also refer to the act of teasing and being teased back. Taken in this broader sense, the term conflates all elements of a teasing event. In this chapter I

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<sup>225</sup> Kapchan 1996:40

<sup>226</sup> *ibid* : 40

<sup>227</sup> A brief account of the ideas included in this book appeared earlier: Kapchan, D. 1993:303-326.

<sup>228</sup> Kapchan follows Dilley's suggestion about the three referents. She analyzes the market principles of Morocco, the flow of products and also distinguishes between market-places. Yet, there is no clear reference to the edited volume .

<sup>229</sup> Dilley 1992: 21

<sup>230</sup> This note on backstage has benefited from the PhD writing up seminar sessions and students' comments. My thanks for bringing this up and drawing my attention to the topic. Back stage here should be understood in terms of importance and not in terms of "space".

<sup>231</sup> Kapchan 1996 :40

consider the term to refer to the ‘setting’ and the social geography of ‘satire’ in order to present a new meaning of the marketplace.

“Social geography focuses on the relationships between societies and the spaces they occupy and use. Space has an important role in actively constituting society: space and place are important means by which societies and social groups organize themselves, distribute resources, come into conflict, are given meaning or create meaning for them”<sup>232</sup>. The editors of the volume on ‘introducing social geographies’ provide us with this definition of the term.

The first aspect on the *pirahtirio*, concerning the marketplace, suggests a focus on specific locales and the verbal means that people employ to distinguish them from the whole of the marketplace. This language regarding ‘settings’ is epitomized as ‘specificity’. It suggests a ‘distant’ view of the marketplace as social geography of ‘satire’.

The second level refers to the role of these ‘settings’ as social geography of ‘satire’, which implies a view of the marketplace ‘from within’. The practice of ‘specificity’, thus, reveals the dilemma of going to a ‘setting’ and observing teasing events and includes the observation of people who are present as well as absent.

The following sections present the construction of the *pirahtirio* on these levels.

### **Constructing the ‘setting’ : Specificity.**

In introducing the main problems of studying context, Dilley presents the construction of context through connections and disconnections between the object or event and its surroundings. It is interesting to note that disconnections apply to things which are thought off as irrelevant<sup>233</sup>. Emphasis is on connections and their relevance to the object under consideration.

“Context involves making connections and, by implication, disconnections. A phenomenon is connected to its surroundings: contexts are sets of connections construed as relevant to someone, to something or to a particular problem, and this process yields an explanation, a sense, an interpretation for the object so connected. The context or frame also creates a disjunction between the object of interest and its surroundings on the one hand, and those features which are excluded and deemed as irrelevant on the other.”<sup>234</sup>

In this chapter I am concerned with the spatial aspect of the context and the relation this phenomenon has with its surroundings: if the context surrounds a phenomenon, this then, “suggests a range of synonyms such as environment, milieu, setting and background.”<sup>235</sup> The term ‘setting’ is referred to by Hymes<sup>236</sup>, Bauman and Sherzer<sup>237</sup> in their publications on the ethnography of communication and ethnography of speaking respectively. While ‘setting’ has been included as an element in their introductions to the study of speech events, it has been granted little

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<sup>232</sup> Pain et alii 2001: 1-11.

<sup>233</sup> Kapchan 1996:40

<sup>234</sup> Dilley 1992:2

<sup>235</sup> *ibid*: 5

<sup>236</sup> Hymes 1972:60.

<sup>237</sup> Bauman and Sherzer 1974:7

importance. Goffman<sup>238</sup> attends to setting and has considered it part of what he calls the front stage.

Given the plurality of the terms mentioned by Dilley above and the diverse associations each one invokes, I consider the term ‘setting’ as the most appropriate to describe the ‘context’ of teasing events that I studied. I adopt Goffman’s definition of the ‘setting’: “furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it. A setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking, so that those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it”<sup>239</sup>.

I find this definition fitting to my case-study as it is not the physical layout and background items that Goffman suggests as helpful. This fixed point and the relation that people develop to this fixed point that transforms it to a ‘setting’. Thus the ‘setting’, and its function are constructed by people, and this is the reason for which I choose to use the term in this thesis. In addition, the fact that people need to bring themselves to this point makes the definition appropriate to my study. This alludes to the potential of studying the people who go to this point and how this physical movement is seen or anticipated by others. In other words, Goffman’s definition is open to examining the urban social geography of ‘satire’ from within each ‘setting’.

How is a locale seen as ‘a setting’? What are the verbal means through which people present locales as ‘settings’? Facing the problem of locales where I could attend teasing events, I invoked talk about them. I put this question to my fellow Argostólians. In recording the variety of answers, I saw how these represent perspectives on the town and how their speech provided me with their sense of the social aspect of it<sup>240</sup>.

The kind of speech local people use to point to ‘setting’ depends on the degree to which local people and ‘native’ ethnographer share knowledge on locations and performers. Based on this, my main point is that by seeing a locale<sup>241</sup> as a ‘setting’, an important role is played by disconnections that people draw in order to distinguish a location from a wider area as well as from adjacent and immediate locales to it.

Specificity is the method that people used to direct me to locales where teasing events took place. People, then, disconnect a locale from its surroundings and from the main activities that take place. Thus all features of a locale are silenced.

People further link the ‘setting’ to the main performer who could be seen and heard there. This means that an individual is seen in terms of his performance as a satirist and this is disconnected from other qualities he may have, even from financial or other relations existing between himself and audience members. I will call these disconnections which have been pointed out by Dilley, specificity.

Specificity arises from regular interaction between people and a particular performer at a locale. It is the result of lived experiences and marks a sense of place for people. As Dilley has written “we must never lose sight of the fact that a claim about context is precisely that – an articulation concerning a set of connections and

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<sup>238</sup> Goffman 1959

<sup>239</sup> *ibid*: 22

<sup>240</sup> Goodwin and Duranti: 1992: 4

<sup>241</sup> I use the term ‘locale’ to refer to the relation between a ‘spot’, a locality to which it belongs (the marketplace, for example) and to a location (a town or a village).

disconnections thought to be relevant to a specific agent that is socially and historically situated and to a particular purpose.”<sup>242</sup>

Specificity is also a reflexive attitude. People employ narratives as a form of speech in which they display their experiences with performers. I consider this a more ‘esoteric aspect of specificity’, which I shall not deal with in this thesis.

When audience members refer to performers with whom the ethnographer is familiar, there is an emphasis on peoples’ names, that is, anthroponyms, and toponyms, the names of locations. Reference is always to a male performer. Let us now turn to an example that I think most encapsulates these remarks.

During the early days of fieldwork in my hometown, I visited my friend Kula and her parents, kiria Kostula and kirios Bambis, in a village called Sulari, a few kilometres away from Lixuri. Kula’s parents had both worked in Argostóli as civil servants and were now retired and had returned to their village of origin. While discussing my research interests with them, kiria Kostula, a cheerful and helpful lady said to me: “You should go to the Court offices (*dikastirio*). Hristos works there. [...]. And you can also go to Makris’ (stu Makri) [...]”.<sup>243</sup>

The following section approaches the study through the use of proper names as specificity.

#### *Anthroponyms: the epitome of specificity*

A number of studies have recently appeared concerning Greek proper names and naming practices. M.Kenna, M.Herzfeld, R.Just, C.Stewart, P. Bialor and D.Sutton have all looked at the significance that proper names acquire in mainland Greece as well as on Aegean Greek islands. These tend to consider how a name positions its bearer in social relations<sup>244</sup> and inheritance patterns.

Further, the religious aspect of a Greek name is emphasised by ethnographers. They refer to naming practices and the access the baptised person acquires to the category of Christian people, to the Greek nation-state, while, at the same time, the baptised is then thought of as “a human being”<sup>245</sup>.

Such issues may be very important for the communities studied. Ethnographers have noticed that peoples’ names in Greece do not actually mean anything<sup>246</sup>. To put it in other words, “baptismal names are not thought to suggest idealized qualities in the bearer: an Andreas is not more “manly” (andras) or a George more of a “farmer” (yeorghos) by virtue of his name.”<sup>247</sup>

These approaches to the meaning of names allow for views on uses of proper names. Herzfeld notes the use of proper names among the Cretans only in passing and Just,<sup>248</sup> as already mentioned, complains about the confusion that arises from the lack of larger repertoire of names. Most of the ethnographers note how people prefer other

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<sup>242</sup> Dilley 1999:39.

<sup>243</sup> I use this sign to show that Kiria Kostula kept talking and delivered more information about these people. She also provided me with some of her experiences and the teasing she used to hear of kirios Makris.

<sup>244</sup> Bialor 1967: 95-108.

<sup>245</sup> Kenna 1976:21-34.

<sup>246</sup> Herzfeld 1982a: 288-302 and Stewart 1988: 151-159

<sup>247</sup> Herzfeld 1982a: 290.

<sup>248</sup> Just 1988:140-150.

modes of address or reference and thus employ kin terms, informal forms of the proper names or nicknames.

My view is that we can use peoples' names as indices of an urban social geography of satire. This is the 'distant' view and is constructed by people who are either performers or audience members. From this point of view, a proper name acquires another role; it goes beyond the bearer, beyond religious issues or inheritance patterns and connects a 'setting' to a performer. A proper name serves to distinguish one locale out of all at the marketplace: it does not include it in patterns of the market and the economy but moves away from these creating a 'setting' for performances for the ethnographer. In constructing these 'settings' in this retrospective way, people communicate their views and experiences and then turn these into expectations for the researcher.

Such use of proper names instead of place-names is in sharp contrast to place-names as studied by Basso<sup>249</sup>. Basso refers to Apache inventions of place names after events that happened at certain locations. Once the events have been explained to him, Basso looks back at these locations and examines them from a new perspective: "the name seems suddenly fuller, larger somehow, endowed with added force"<sup>250</sup>. Besides, use of place-names in everyday talk aims to "call up thoughts of fabled deeds and the singular cast of actors who there had played them out"<sup>251</sup>.

There are two ways in which peoples' names are used to convert a locale into a 'setting'. These show how people view the locale in the sense of the performer's relation to it. The first refers to a 'direct' relation that the performer holds with the locale, in terms of its ownership as well as his performance there. Kirios Makris owns the business but not the building, for example.

The second refers to an 'indirect' relation that performers hold with locales. We note two divisions here: the first division points to a performer frequenting a place without working there or owning it. The second division refers to civil services: in this case we need to think of the number of offices occupying buildings of two or three floors. People single out an office in a building and mention the name of a specific civil servant who works there and is also a performer.

What is of particular interest is the way people express these relations. A locale in the first case, the 'direct relation', has a name. It is named after the performer who is found at that locale. To be more specific still, people use the performer's surname. It is not about proper names and their function as indices of social linkage<sup>252</sup> but about surnames and their function as indices of 'settings'. From this perspective there is no confusion as Just complained in his explanation. Even though surnames can create confusion given that many people bear the same surname, yet, when used to refer to a locale, there is specificity, particularly when referring to a small town.

In all these cases, the performer holds yet another relation with the locale if he happens to own the building or run his business from it. People however do not use the word 'shop', so they disconnect the performer from his main occupation. This is evidenced in the case of 'at Makris' (stu Makri), while the complete phrasing should be: at Makris' pastry shop. As noted previously kiria Kostula phrased it thus and I observed that fellow Argostólians put it similarly. Stu Makri, then, means that a

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<sup>249</sup> Basso 1996: 53-91.

<sup>250</sup> *ibid*: 66

<sup>251</sup> *ibid*: 66

<sup>252</sup> See Herzfeld and Ch.Stewart on names.

specific shop is made distinct from other nearby shops by virtue of the performer and owner of the shop and thus the locale and the performer are made into one.



Plate 20: At kirios Makris' pastry shop (stu Makri). Siteboron road, Argostóli.

When referring to a village, people use a proper name to talk about the unique village coffeehouse or grill-house. There is no confusion here either. On the contrary, there is absolute specificity. People talk about 'going to Marjioleni's' (*pao stis Marjiolenis*) in Kondogenada. This means the village coffeehouse. When talking about the grill-house, they use either the name of the grillhouse (*sto keli*, 'The cell') or, less often, the owner's wife's name: *stis Regginas*. What remains the same between Argostólians and Kondogenaditians are the use of the possessive case and the use of the main person's name to specify the locale.

However, when, a performer frequents or works at a locale which he does not own, then the locale is described either by type or by the name of the civil service immediately followed by the name of the performer, thus in this case no possessive is used only the accusative. Both divisions of the 'indirect relation' can show the causal aspect of specificity: a locale is turned to a 'stage' because a performer occupies that locale as a client. In this case, the shop owner is also removed from focus.

Kirios Platonas, an accountant who worked in Argostóli until the end of 2004, advised me to go to the 'Rock café'. This is a café situated on the sea-shore, close to the fishermen's locale in Argostóli. "Go there", he said "and you will find Vallianatos and Tzukanatos sitting and talking". He added that Vallianatos and Tzukanatos were regular clients at the café. Note that Kirios Platonas focuses on these two men and this specific café thus disconnecting all other clients and cafés from his view.

The second division is that of the civil services. Kiria Kostula mentioned the Court buildings (*dikastírio*) and that Hristos works there. She had disconnected him

from all other people working there. She also ignored all other offices the building and related one office to one performer: to dikastírio and o Hristos. To kiria Kostula, the Court building stood for a specific office, the one which Hristos occupied and in which he teased people.

In summary: this section has focused on the use of proper names to signify the linguistic representation of a 'setting'. People refer to a performer and his main 'setting' around the marketplace. This is the first approach to the urban social geography of 'satire' and marks what I call the 'distant' view. Taking the advice I was given and visiting these 'settings', however, I discovered another view: the view 'from within'. This completes the urban social geography of 'satire' and offers a more detailed approach to the issue and it is to this that I now turn.

### **The view from 'within'.**

#### *Passing by as a staging cue.*

The previous section described the 'distant' view which relates one performer to a 'setting'. The setting has been defined by Goffman, as we saw, "a setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking, so that those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it."<sup>253</sup>

This definition suggests there should be more people than the main performer who use the 'setting' as part of their performances. By visiting some of the 'settings', I discovered the problematic of specificity or implicit meanings. When referring to 'settings' and performers, people did not specify who would use the 'setting' and relate to the main performer. In other words, a broader perspective on the social geography of 'satire' at the marketplace was to look for the 'whole' starting from this 'part'.

This task was facilitated by attending to what Goffman has coined as 'staging cues' the definition of which I follow here: 'staging cues' are described as "secret signals which performers can surreptitiously receive or transmit pertinent information, requests for assistance, and other matters of a kind relevant to the successful presentation of a performance. Typically these staging cues come from or to, the director of the performance, and it greatly simplifies his task of managing impressions to have such a subterranean language available. Staging cues often relate those engaged in presenting a performance to those who are offering assistance or direction backstage."<sup>254</sup>

In these 'settings' with performers and audience members, these people present the 'whole'. The main principle of a view from within locales is the relation between the fixed 'setting' and performers or audience members through movement. Locals express this movement as "to pass by" (*pernáo*) rather than "to walk" or "to go to the marketplace" as the most appropriate verbal representation for this relationship.

This interpretation of the verb is comparable to what M. De Certeau suggests about 'walking in the city'<sup>255</sup>, where the walker lacks a place and is searching for this

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<sup>253</sup> Goffman 1959: 177

<sup>254</sup> *ibid*: 177

<sup>255</sup> M. De Certeau 1988:91

in a city. This searching allows the walker to appropriate the topographical system, to act out the place in its spatial dimension and to create relations among differentiated positions. Thus the walker selects and transforms each spatial signifier into something else actualising various possibilities.

However in addition to De Certeau's analysis, the framework of the social geography of 'satire', 'to pass by' can additionally be understood as subterranean language. On behalf of the walker it intentionally incorporates and acknowledges this intentionality on behalf of the people who are at the 'setting'. It includes expectations and the fulfilment of these as soon as performers bring themselves to the 'setting'.

I deciphered the meaning of 'pass by' as a 'staging cue' after kiria Erithrá told me that "whoever passes by this shop is asking for a teasing". Here it means the physical movement towards a 'setting', of specific people and their short or long stop there, that is the happening of a teasing event and their final movement away from it. The 'passing by' practice completes the principles of an urban social geography of satire as 'fluid' given that not all performers practice on a daily basis.



Plate 21: Walking around the town: Kazamias walks and stops at specific 'settings' in order to engage with people he knows. In his white hat, he talks with a shop owner.

*"Passing by": some vignettes*

The overarching principle, as Argostólians emphasized, is the act of 'passing by' (*na perasis apo eki*). Such a principle is what establishes some people as "the tricksters of the agora" (*ta pirahtíria tis agorás*) or the types of the agora (*tipi*).

The act of passing by takes different forms, depending on the performer. Some people like G.Mazarakis, known to everyone by his nickname Kazamias, walk

from one end of the agorá to the other and back again<sup>256</sup>. He stops at various shops and different parts of the roads, where he teases people and is teased back. Kazamias still sells lottery tickets even though he is in his late eighties and he spends more time talking with people and teasing them than actually selling the lottery tickets.

Other people, like kirios Georgopulos, pass by shops and stop for a while on the way to do their shopping. Alternatively they carry their shopping bags, stop at some point along the road when they see familiar people and exchange a teasing.



Plate 22: The point is to ‘pass by’: kirios Georgopulos passes by Makris’ pastry shop and stops in order to deliver his teasing to us.

The shorter version of this refers to people who pass by a specific locale. A benefit of running a business is that it can be left from time to time in the care of the wife or employees. It is not unusual for people like kirios Stamatelatos for example, to take time out and make his way to someone he knows, engage in a short event and then walk back to his shop.

Another example refers to people who extend their stay at a locale. They usually keep company with the main performers, engage in teasing events (*pirágmata*) between breaks and after a while they walk off and continue with their business. They often offer (*kernane*) each other coffee, soft drinks or snacks. Kirios Spiros, a friend of kirios Djionisis and Kostas used to visit the men, sit and talk and buy coffee or snacks for them at the Cashier’s office. I found myself subject to the rules of the *kerasma*: spending time at the Cashier’s office, I was offered a soft drink.

It is important to note that most people practice a combination of these socialising activities, depending on their age and occupation. Retired men or people

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<sup>256</sup> See plate on previous page.

running their own shops spend more time practicing the principle of “passing by”. With civil servants and bank clerks having fewer opportunities during week days they catch up on Saturdays when the civil service offices and banks are closed.

The importance of walking past a locale and teasing people or being teased is noticed if the performer has been absent for a while. Very often performers do not follow any regular pattern of passing by a locale, even though they are expected by audience members and other performers. Thus, with a few exceptions, a performer’s presence cannot be deemed ‘regular’ as in happening on a daily basis.

Joining kiria Erithrá and kiria Sula at Makris’ pastry shop on Saturday mornings I would hear kiria Erithrá complaining: “Georgopulos did not pass by this Saturday” (*den pérase*). We would deliberately sit in front of the pastry shop just to see kirios Georgopulos pass by and then challenge him to tease us.

In a similar way, kirios Makris would comment on the absence of Gerasimos, the bank clerk: “Gerasimakis did not pass by today”. We all looked forward to these people showing up and waited to engage with them. Kirios Gerasimos would finally show up and often he would be joined by his colleague, kirios Diakatos. They enjoyed being called to join the group sitting in front of the shop on the chairs provided by the owner, or standing on the pavement and indulge in their favourite topics with the rest of us.

When, on the contrary, someone passes by a locale without stopping to talk, others would call out and make him stop and talk. The Lixurian fisherman, captain Djionisis, while selling fish from his boat, would call to men walking by without stopping: “hey, you pass by and you do not talk to us” (*pernás ke den mas milás*). The passing man would turn around, stop and briefly engage with the smiling captain.

At other times, though, during winter in particular or when there were road works going on, we would sit inside the shop. When I first encountered this change I found it awkward as I felt it would deprive me of observing people and recording events. However, this adjustment proved particularly interesting as performers passing by would walk in and engage with us.

If shops provide perfect opportunities to practice the principle of “*pernáo*”, civil services and offices fare no less. One of my fieldwork locations was the Argostólian Inland Revenue Service (*Eforía*), the Cashier’s office (*to Tamío*) in particular. Located on the first floor of the building situated on one of the streets of the marketplace, the Cashier’s office is visited by all Cefalónians with economic transactions being the main activity. Numbers, forms, documents and money are on permanent display. Kirios Djionisis is the main figure and shares the office with kirios Kostas. They have been working together for more than 15 years.

Among a queue of complaining clients and people counting money or filling out forms, other Argostólians make an appearance. Kirios Stamatelatos, a book shop owner whose shop is at the end of Lithostroto Road, would occasionally appear, stand by the office door, make eye contact with either of the men and immediately start chanting part of a wedding ceremony<sup>257</sup>. Kirios Kostas joins in and the piece is repeated. It is addressed to kirios Djionisis because he is a bachelor. Kirios Stamatelatos then begins a description: “Nionio mu take care of the pram and the baby. And you are pushing it while your mother-in-law keeps an eye on you and your wife walks at your side”. At this point I had burst out laughing as had kirios Kostas.

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<sup>257</sup> The wedding passage chanted is: “Our God, the Lord, crown them in honour” (Kirie o Theos imon doxi ke timi stefanoson aftus).

Without stopping his work, Kirios Djionisis looks up from behind his glasses, and either he says nothing or replies: “go to hell” (*trava sto djiaolo*) or “I am not getting married even if the crow turns white”<sup>258</sup> (*pu n’ asprisi o korakas*). On another day kirios Djionisis displays a gesture known as *mútza*,<sup>259</sup> an open palm projected towards someone. Kirios Stamatelatos walks away and the civil servants keep working.

## PART TWO

### The rural social geography of satire

#### *The kafenío: a review*

The Greek kafenío has attracted the ethnographer’s attention from as early as the 1960s and occupies a prominent position among published accounts on mainland and insular Greece. Greek and non-Greek ethnographers have examined its role in village social life in general or with reference to particular issues, such as gender and kinship.

Common themes appearing in these accounts point to the specificity of gender in the coffeehouse, to its location and position in the village and to a number of different activities taking place in the kafenío. Thus, based on the rules of offering and accepting or sharing, men express their agnatic solidarity or friendship to each other. They talk, circulate news, display their manhood, listen to each other, play cards or drink coffee.<sup>260</sup>

Ethnographers writing on Greece compare and contrast the coffeehouse to other ‘public places’, so as to accord it with distinct meaning. Different criteria apply each time a comparison is made. The kafenío is compared to the neighbourhood, the Church Square and cafeterias. It is also compared to private spaces like the household or the basement of the house, the *katóí*, in terms of gatherings, limited space and gender issues.

The kafenío, however, as such is not an exclusively Greek phenomenon. There are reports on the Turkish coffeehouse<sup>261</sup> and the English coffeehouse<sup>262</sup>. Both cases bear striking similarities to the Greek institution even though emphasis is on talk about politics. Bars in Spain, as described by Gilmore<sup>263</sup> and Mc Donough<sup>264</sup> are also comparable to the concept of the kafenío by virtue of the social activities taking place there and the emphasis on gender issues. A different version of the coffeehouse is the ‘gathering house’ which is the ‘public place’ among the Kuna people of

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<sup>258</sup> Kirios Djionisis invokes this image to demonstrate the impossibility of his getting married as impossible as a crow’s plumage turning white.

<sup>259</sup> In other contexts, *mutza* “is decoded in the invocation for misfortune and disaster, as well as a practical curse” as Panourgia (1995: 79) notes in her analysis on peoples’ ideas on death. On the occasion described here, kirios Djionisis does not invoke cursing or bad luck. Within the context of a teasing event, a *mutza* is a non-verbal reply.

<sup>260</sup> Sanders: 1962, Photiades: 1965, Dubisch: 1976, Cowan: 1990 and 1991, Herzfeld: 1985, Papataxiarchis: 1991.

<sup>261</sup> Beeley: 1970

<sup>262</sup> Pincus: 1995

<sup>263</sup> Gilmore 1985

<sup>264</sup> Mc Donough 2003

Panama<sup>265</sup>. This is used for gatherings where talking and chanting are the main activities but no buying or selling of coffee or drinks takes place here.

Such sources give detailed references of the activities people undertake and we can form a clear image of these places. We can so understand their importance and their prominent role in social life and politics in particular. Such images, however, are general and homogeneous. By this I mean that ethnographers refer to “men” or “women”, “insiders” or “outsiders” and uses of such broad categories overshadow differences, deviations and particularities.

This tendency stems from the will to emphasize the broad spectrum of activities happening at the coffeehouses or regarding gender roles and politics. It also stems from the need to stress the role of another ‘public place’ in contrast to the kafenió, for example, the basement (*katóti*) as Gefou-Madianou describes in her article on Greek wine<sup>266</sup>. Another reason contributing to a generalised image of the kafenió concerns the size of the community being examined and most research mentioned here refers to large communities.

Cowan’s research on the coffeehouses and cafeterias of Northern Greece holds that “social meanings of the kafenió can vary regionally and individually.”<sup>267</sup> During my stay in Kondogenáda I visited the unique kafenió on a daily basis and spent time with the owners and regulars at different times of the day. I came to realize the implications of the suggestions to visit a coffeehouse and how a new meaning could be ascribed to it. What I want to suggest, then, is that a kafenió is one of the rural ‘settings’ for teasing events.

To be more specific, this view of the kafenió requires the marginalisation of economic transactions and emphasises physical movement as well as social relations. Physical movement to the kafenió is not presented through the verb ‘pass by’ but by the verb ‘to come’ (*érhome*). In addition, different rules apply, other than the Argostólian agorá ‘settings’. The rules are set by the owners. The Kondogenaditian kafenió as a ‘setting’ for teasing events is shaped by the audience and is the result of the quality of the backstage and ongoing social relations among villagers. Even though these backstage relations are concealed from the researcher, they must still be discovered and examined because they are inextricably linked to the meaning of the kafenió as the ‘setting’.

### *The Kondogenaditian kafenió*

The sign on the wall before the main entrance to the Kondogenaditian kafenió gives elementary information. It is a coffeehouse and a grocery store; it is called “love” and is owned by kírios Andonis Frangiscatos. Thus, it complies with village coffeehouse rules: it is not just a kafenió as other products are also sold here. While the sign refers to the owner being male, the person who primarily runs this establishment is his wife: kiria Marjioleni.

The kafenió is located along the main road, across from Agios Ioanis church and the main bus stop. It offers an excellent sense of the “open horizon” notion the villagers suggested to me. Above all, it has an ideal view of peoples’ comings and goings.

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<sup>265</sup> Sherzer 1983

<sup>266</sup> Gefou-Madianou 1992

<sup>267</sup> Cowan 1990: 71 and 1991:188.

For the older villagers, the building the kafenio occupies triggers happy memories as it used to be the school building fifty years ago. Presently, the two-story building houses the Frangiscatos family on the upper floor with the kafenio being located in the basement.

The walls are thick and strong, according to kirios Andonis, so it is warm during winter and cool during the summer. The interior of the kafenio is one big room: close to the one and only window are few wooden chairs and round green metal tables to the left. There is a long counter at the back where the owners receive money, write notes and place sold items. The shelves behind the counter have a few products such as sugar, Greek coffee, refreshments, kitchen tissues, sprays and detergents. The shelves occupy the wall from one side to the other and in the right end corner of the wall is a door leading to the interior of the house and the family's dining room. A big fridge is against the wall to the right of the entrance of the kafenio, in which kiria Marjioleni stores water and refreshments during the summer. On top of the fridge, by the wall, a wooden base supports the television set.



Plate 23: The Kondogenaditian kafenio.

The outside provides a good sitting place that Kondogenadites occupy during their gatherings. However, this does not imply a strict temporal dimension to the gatherings and Kondogenadites use this place throughout the day, while waiting for the bus or for the baker boy to deliver the daily baked bread to them. Other people pay short visits to kiria Marjioleni and other people, older ladies and men take brief rests on their way up or down the village.

The aesthetic of the outside is satisfactory with a vine tree, thick with leaves allowing people to enjoy morning and early afternoon interactions. When the grapes are ripe, they are kindly offered to regulars and friends by kiria Marjioleni and her husband.

Having a room next door, I was able to access the kafenio quickly, so as not to miss a minute of any gatherings. The kafenio proved an endless source of ideas, events and discussions...

### *Discovering the conventions of the kafenio*

Previously, I referred to the kafenio as a part of the social geography of satire and the village 'setting' for teasing events. Such a meaning of the kafenio is constructed so long as we go beyond an exclusive focus on the activities taking place there. The conventions that apply refer to relations between villagers and the owners of the kafenio. These relations are reflected in the people who are allowed to access the kafenio. To put it another way, the kafenio as an example of rural social geography of satire then, is about the connection between the backstage<sup>268</sup> and the front stage. The Kondogenaditian coffeehouse is of particular importance here because it is the only one in the village and because its owners spend time with the few clients who visit.

In order to trace the relation between back stage and front stage at the kafenio, I suggest that we take the kafenio activities for granted. We can take for granted the rules of offering and accepting. Soft drinks and coffee were offered and at the Kondogenaditian coffeehouse among its regulars. I was no exception to the rules of being offered soft drinks and not being allowed to offer back<sup>269</sup>. Fruit, like grapes and figs, were occasionally shared among regulars and the owners and so was grapa (*tsipuro*).

We also need to take gender issues into consideration. As Cowan, Papataxiarchis and Herzfeld report, coffeehouses are male dominated areas. The Kondogenaditian coffeehouse is no exception and from this perspective it maintains the distinction between male and female spaces<sup>270</sup>. During my evening visits to the coffeehouse I would observe the men who were regulars to this establishment. No women visited it themselves unless they were escorted by their husbands. Even so, women appeared rarely at the coffeehouse.

Papataxiarchis<sup>271</sup> study of Lesvos and Herzfeld<sup>272</sup> looking at the poetics of manhood on Crete, both elaborate on sociability and on male commensal solidarity in particular. Both studies also examine long-term relations and ties pertaining to the kafenio regulars. Such relations extend in other activities outside of the kafenio.

'Friends of the heart' is the pattern that Papataxiarchis examines. Such a concept definitely refers to the manifestation of mutual cordial feelings and of equality: men sitting at a specific coffeehouse table, sharing their common favourite drink and engaging in their favourite activities. Such people have further more shared other moments: they have been friends for years and might have been colleagues too.

Herzfeld looks at kin people. Further, Herzfeld notes a ramification of these ties that bring people together in coffeehouses: "a man will try to visit his affines' and

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<sup>268</sup> Definitions on back stage and front stage are in keeping with those stated at the beginning of this chapter. Back stage refers to concealed matters with front stage being what is shown to people. In the case of concealed disunity among villagers, the standpoint for considering things as hidden is that of the researcher.

<sup>269</sup> Herzfeld 1985 and Cowan 1990 report similar experiences. Herzfeld, however, managed to convince Cretans on the importance of his reciprocity while I did not.

<sup>270</sup> Cowan 1990: 71.

<sup>271</sup> Papataxiarchis 1991.

<sup>272</sup> Herzfeld 1985.

uterine kinsmen's kafenia as well as those of his agnates"<sup>273</sup>. This refers to relations between patrons and clients on the basis of kin and hence obligation to visit the coffeehouse.

It is important to note that these ethnographers refer to the large number of coffeehouses present in the places they studied. This allows for a better distribution of clients and the affirmation of ties. Even in cases of villagers' disunities, people can use other coffeehouses so that sociability is not disrupted in a village. Attending to the way a gathering is formed at the Kondogenaditian kafenio, we need to bear in mind that this is the only kafenio in the village that operates on a daily basis. Additionally we need to bear in mind that 64 people live in the village and that some migrants return to Kondogenada during summer.

By employing the verb "to come" (*érhome*) the kafenio owners work as a 'staging cue' of special importance. The verb refers not only to physical movement but alludes to the role of backstage social relations between the owners and villagers. Herzfeld has similarly noted that "Glendiot spatial symbolism, and more especially the idiom of movement, can be approached most effectively through its various embodiments in language."<sup>274</sup> This significance of physical movement is similar to that noted for the Argostólian marketplace where specific people occupy specific locales. In Kondogenada only specific people are allowed to walk to the kafenio and join others sitting there. Contrary to what happens at the marketplace, however, the kafenio is not a matter of passing by and teasing people. The uniqueness of the kafenio, in terms of quantity, makes it the only 'setting' and hence a matter of turning it to one's destination.

During my stay in the village, and talking with kiria Marjioleni, I was able to establish the connections and positions between some of the regulars' and the owners. Contrary to what Herzfeld, Papataxiarchis and the other ethnographers suggest in their research, I noted that only one or two of the regulars were kin to kiria Marjioleni or her husband and these people were not seen on a regular basis and the other people, the regulars, were all fellow villagers. Here I imply a reluctance to accept the existence of strong 'friendship' ties as outlined by Papataxiarchis when sitting at the kafenio and engaging in various activities. Kondogenaditians did not talk about being 'friends'.

Apart from there being only one kafenio in Kondogenada, it displays an additional feature that differs from the studies by Herzfeld and Papataxiarchis. People who frequent the kafenio are few and they do not occupy different tables, as these ethnographers report. They usually sit together in one group.

Movement to the Kondogenaditian kafenio, then, is a result of ongoing good backstage relations with the owners. Disrupted relations, disunity and disjunction in other words, occur on the basis of land disputes and over pasture land in particular. Other reasons refer to arrogant or stubborn behaviour and arguments concerning village issues. Disunity happens among siblings or kinspeople or among fellow-villagers who are not kin.

In Kondogenada, it is easy to notice people who are in discord. Sitting at the kafenio and being fascinated by the fact that villagers greet each other when passing by I could not fail to notice those who did not greet each other. Such people never visited the kafenio at the same time. From this perspective, Kondogenada corresponds with Campbell's layout of characteristics of Greek "traditional communities."<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 59.

<sup>274</sup> *ibid*: 66.

<sup>275</sup> Campbell 1966: 18.

Every time that Kondogenadites come<sup>276</sup> to the kafenío, they confirm their unity with the owners and their wish to engage with them. Kiria Marjioleni and kirios Andonis are more audience members, than kafenío owners and besides. The small number of clients allows for more social interaction and less kafenío related chores and making money.

As observed in the Argóstolian ‘settings’, good relations between the owners and Kondogenadites are emphasised by somebody’s absence from the kafenío, especially if the person is a regular. What is sought after is someone’s company (*i paréa*). The term “he did not come tonight” (*den írthe apópse*) signifies the unfulfilled expectations of someone’s presence at the kafenío of an evening and this alludes to a sense of unity.

A more robust verb expressed by kiria Marjioleni in referring to Vaggeli’s absence after he returned to the USA, was *apozitáo*. This can be roughly translated as ‘to miss someone wholeheartedly’. Other people also admitted missing Vaggelis (*ton apozitáme*). The verb *apozitáo* is stronger than ‘to go’ and does not strictly refer to someone’s presence at the kafenío. It rather emphasises the need for sociality and the good company that people hold dear, but it is not always used for various reasons. Babis, a Kondogenaditian man who is well informed on village issues, had emphasized this to me since my first days in the village: “we are only a few left in Kondogenada so there is the need for us to see each other” (*miname ligi kai ehume anagki na blepume o enas ton alo*).

Kondogenadites have thus been tested and accepted or rejected at the village coffeehouse.<sup>277</sup> Kiria Marjioleni, commented on Kondogenadites thus: “Vasilis is a nice person and Vikentios is a good man, whether he is my cousin or not. Vaggelis is warm-hearted, but his brother is not.” Unlike Spanish bars and the English coffeehouse, where the patrons set the political tone for these institutions, the kafenío owners allow for the presence or absence of villagers at the kafenío.

By virtue of this being backstage, it was not revealed to me by the kafenío owners. While on other occasions, kiria Marjioleni had passed me off as “ours” (*diki mas*) in this case, she treated me as a foreigner, as a *xeni*.<sup>278</sup> Her rationale could be justified: foreigners need to perceive the village at its best, so intra-village issues must be concealed. Yet, as much as such attitudes exist, so do those to the contrary: other Kondogenadites were willing to disclose information on congenial and ruptured relations among villagers. Soon after this, I was able to reconsider kiria Marjiolenis’ comments on her fellow villagers.

To summarize: I have described the Kondogenaditian kafenío as one of the rural ‘settings’ for teasing events and as such I have included it in the rural social geography of satire. The kafenío as ‘setting’, the front stage in other words, relies on the relations between the kafenío owners and villagers, the backstage. Thus the back stage appears to construct the front stage. The next section looks at the second ‘setting’ in the village, that of the grill-house.

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<sup>276</sup> Herzfeld talks about the verb “enter” and the act of entering a public space: “is thus a symbolic affirmation of one’s membership in the community, with all that this entails” (1985:66).

<sup>277</sup> This is another reason why I do not refer to “friends” here as Papataxiarchis describes 1991:167.

<sup>278</sup> Dubisch 1993:273 observes similar events.

*The grill-house: movement and prolonged stay.*

The Kondogenaditian grillhouse (*psistarjiá*) is the second ‘public place’ in the village and my second field site. It is called “the Cell” (To Keli) because in the past it served as extra facility space for the church of Virgin Mary, and has been recently renovated. It has been functioning as a grill house for some years and it is located in the village square, next to the church of Virgin Mary and its adjacent cemetery. The Cell functions as the grill-house from mid-June until late September, even though during my stay in the village the owners extended opening until the end of October.

Kiria Reggína and her husband, kirios Haris,<sup>279</sup> run the grill house with Babis helping with serving and billing customers and Panagis, another Kondogenaditian whom we will meet later, also helping kirios Haris. The *psistarija* has a limited menu of grilled meat, salad and fries. Kirios Haris is devoted to preparing and grilling meat, while kiria Reggina prepares the salad and fries with Babis carrying out the waiting duties. Drinks include beer and soft drinks.

The Cell uses the village square as the main outside seating area with white plastic tables and chairs where people sit and eat. The interior comprises one room which is used during September when the weather gets colder. The grilling area is smaller and to the left before the entrance to the grill house.

Clientele increases during July and August when migrant Kondogenaditians return for their holidays with their families. Families or small groups of people meet and enjoy their dinner while looking at the view that stretches before them. Children play around the square and run in and out of the grill-house. Kondogenaditian women appear only to order food to take home and as soon as it is handed to them, they leave. Most women seen were accompanying their husbands and younger women were in the company of their male friends. I saw no women sitting by themselves and eating or drinking.

All the customers have left before midnight and there remains a small gathering: Panagis and his parents, Babis, kiria Reggina and kirios Haris are the main figures. Other Kondogenadites, like kirios Dimitris, kirios Aggelos and kirios Menelaos would also join this gathering.

Kondogenadites use the grill-house to celebrate birthdays or name days during summer time. Big meals are also served after the religious feasts of Agios Ioanis Theologos, and Virgin Mary, mentioned in chapter one. During such meals, more and specialised food is prepared.

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<sup>279</sup> Kirios Haris is Marjiolenis’ brother and kiria Reggina comes from the village of Agia Thekli.



Plate 24: The Grill-house. The main entrance.

The grill-house is also included in the rural geography of ‘satire’ based on certain rules, some of which are similar to those applying to the kafenío. The first similarity is the element of disunity that occurs among the grill-house owners and other villagers. I noticed that some people who turned up at the kafenío did not visit the grill-house and vice-versa with some of the grill-house regulars not visiting the kafenío at all. When talking with my landlady and her daughters, I was proffered much backstage information on all the incidents that led to disunity with the grill-house owners and villagers and therefore to their absence from either of these ‘public places’. It should be noted however; that a small number of Kondogenadites visit both the kafenío and the grill-house so maintaining unity with the owners of both locations. From this perspective then, Herzfeld’s view that “Glendiots use the village spaces to express both unity and discord”<sup>280</sup> applies to Kondogenadites as well.

The need for coming which is regularly expressed by the owners, kiria Reggina in particular is another similarity between the grill-house and the coffeehouse. Kiria Reggina would ask me to “come” and forget about buying food or a drink. However, in the grill-house, the ‘idiom of movement’ as Herzfeld calls it, is not enough. Coming is but one of the requests people express.

The need for sociality, talking and listening, is expressed further through verbs that propose a prolonged stay to people. This is one difference between the grill-house and the kafenío. The Greek verb “sit”, (*kátse*) used by the grill-house owners, expresses their wish for their fellow Kondogenaditians to postpone moving from their seats and the *psistarjiá*, consequently participating in the small gathering and talking.

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<sup>280</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 68.

I noticed that this plea was addressed to specific people. They would accept kiria Reggina's or kirios Haris' request and stay well past midnight, after they had finished eating at their separate tables. These people then, myself included, would prolong their stay and wait until all other clients and fellow Kondogenadites had gone. Kirios Haris and kiria Reggina would finish their work and assume their chairs around the table joining the company. Much like what happens at the kafenío, the grill-house owners turn themselves to audience members and thus suspend their role in economic transactions with other Kondogenadites.

The verb '*kátse*' then includes something more. It expresses kiria Reggina's and kirios Haris' wish to include certain people in the 'setting' and engage with them. The verb functions to lay the ground for the roles that people will later assume.

The use of '*kátse*' in this selective way draws some Kondogenadites together apart from all the other clients in the grill-house in another way. I mean that '*kátse*' when addressed to specific people reveals feelings of intimacy and contentment that people feel towards each other. From this perspective, the grill-house is again differentiated from the kafenío: verbs of sedation allude to such feelings, while verbs of movement refer to good relations.

In the framework of the grill-house this operates for a short period of time only, '*kátse*' acquires a special meaning. It emphasises people's needs to interact "before winter comes and we lock ourselves up in our houses and see nobody for a long time" as kiria Reggina bitterly admitted.

In this section I have sketched the Kondogenaditian grill-house and have compared it to the kafenío. Based on verbs of movement and request for a prolonged stay, the grill-house owners employ these as 'staging cues' to construct the social geography of 'satire' for the grill-house. The backstage in this case has a double role: on the one hand there are disrupted relations that are concealed and on the other hand there is a selection of specifically valued people among clients. This selection gives more importance to the need for sociality, highlights feelings of intimacy and suspends economic transactions while, at the same time, sets the ground for performances to arise.

## Conclusions

This chapter has explored the important dimensions of the teasing event: that of the spatial dimension of the context 'setting' and its relation to what I introduce as "a social geography of satire".

I examined the marketplace as an example of urban social geography of satire, the coffeehouse and the grill-house as examples of a rural social geography of satire. Each of these locales is considered as a 'setting' where teasing events take place.

Here the role of language in the search a spatial dimension of the context is considered helpful but also problematic. Analysing language, I have considered information offered to the researcher from audience members.

Concerning this, I note the highly abstract way people express their views on 'settings'. This is attributed to the status of the researcher as a 'native'. Thus I would like to summarize this information under the term 'specificity'. According to this, the 'setting' initially emerges as such, if we look at the relation between a fixed locale (a shop, an office or a boat) and performers.

Each setting, however, acquires a new meaning and thus belongs to the social geography of satire, if we follow and analyse the ‘staging cues’. Staging cues in this case, are verbs showing physical movement and request for a prolonged stay. I have used Goffman’s ‘staging cues’: those used by owners of the ‘setting’, or people who are the main figures in it, to address audience members or performers.

Observing the use of these verbs and investigating people’s presence or absence from a ‘setting’, we discover the importance of concealed disruption or displayed unity in people’s relations in the rural ‘settings’. There is, in other words, the backstage and its connection with the front-stage. I consider the terms backstage and front stage not in their spatial dimension but in their concealment/revelation dimension and also from the perspective of selecting and highlighting or ignoring relations and other people. Thus, we discover two kinds of backstage relations: economic transactions which are given minor, if any importance at all, in order to focus on the teasing event and highlight it; and relations among patrons and clients that show disunity or unity.

I introduce and use the term that Argostólians offered me, the *pirahtirio*, which conflates all the above: the ‘setting’ and the social geography of satire. Furthermore, it generates hopes and wishes for teasing events to take place and pre-disposes that people attend to different roles in the teasing event. Given that the audience plays a crucial role, the next chapter looks at the principles which constitute audiences in Cefalónian teasing events.

### Defining roles: the Cefalónian audience.

This chapter examines another aspect of the teasing event, namely that of the audience, and considers the application of some of the teasing event elements named at the end of chapter two. Given the importance of the audience in the teasing event, I elaborate on types of audience and the manner in which people transform themselves into members of a Cefalónian audience.

The Cefalónian audience establishes itself as such during teasing events by observing, developing and keeping up with the success or failure of certain rules regarding the teasing frame. This implies a variety of relations between the audience and the performer. Audience members relate to each other through solidarity while turning against the performer, or by criticising each other for breaking the rules and consequently attempt to recover them. Audience expectations on the performer's behaviour towards the audience are presented through what I call audience axioms by composing another set of rules.

I trace the rules followed in order for the event to be deemed successful: for the frame to be kept, in other words. The rules, however, are not spoken out; rather they are silently followed in the case of successful teasing events. As well as participant observation, vignettes from local literature are applied in exposing such rules with an emphasis on the surrounding talk concerning these rules. Audience relations with the performer are included in the term, reply (*apántisi*). The reply is a cluster of components referring to the reception of spoken words, the attempt to manage emotional reactions to these words and the marginalisation of *eghoismos*.

The study of these rules and axioms reveals the extent to which the audience constructs the image of the performer retrospectively. The two audience axioms presented here are epitomised under the audience role in interpreting words and, subsequently, under their role in defining the performer's cleverness.

Above all, the importance of failed teasing events is stressed; these are called disruptions and they subvert the frame. When witnessing such disruptions, it is noted how audience members reveal some of the rules by reminding each other and the performer of these. Importantly, the instigators of disruptions are excluded at the end of teasing events with such exclusions highlighting proper audience members and their role in the event. The frequency of disruptions in teasing events lead to a reconsideration of the elements outlined in chapter two, such as tolerance and leaving the "real self" aside. The degree to which audience members switch between roles and "real selves" or collapse boundaries between these aspects are what influence the development of the teasing.

Such issues reveal the processes through which the audience engages with a performer and plays their part, which is to construct or affirm the presence of the ideal image of the Cefalónian performer. The following chapters discuss further dimensions of this, revealing the uses of a teasing event among Cefalónians.

## The Cefalonian audience: vignettes

### *The Argostólian stance...*

“No matter how much ‘salt’ one has in his brain, let him save it and use it on salads. Argostólian minds are tasty by birth, without anyone having to add salt. Befooling the public is an art. Here, however, on this island, it is a very bad game; this is because there are very few fools around.”<sup>281</sup>

“[In Argostóli] the spirit is abundant and so is irony. This is more poisonous than the snakebite. If someone wants to show off to the Argostólians, he is bound to receive arrows of fine irony and this will come from men and women alike.”<sup>282</sup>

### *And the Kondogenaditian stance...*

“Nobody is going to tell me what is right and what is wrong. I can judge myself. I know what is right and what is wrong myself.”<sup>283</sup> (Kirios Harris Orlandatos).

“If you want to show off and play the ‘wise guy’, mind the others as well,”<sup>284</sup> (Kiria Marjioleni Fransciscatu).

Indeed, quotations come from different material, people and times. The Argostólian quotes were published by men in local newspapers and journals during the first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, these live on and are in use among Argostólians even if worded differently. These quotations present the most concise impression of the Cefalónian audience interpreting spoken words and observing the rules of the frame. Consulted local sources praise such an audience and allude to a number of issues which are not explored here. The Kondogenaditian quotations are discussions I had with villagers at the end of teasing events. What follows illustrates these in detail.

## PART ONE.

### **The audience: types and terms.**

Studies on “audience” are wide ranging and diverse in terms of perspective; referring to composition, relation to the performer, roles that audience members assume and their contribution to an event, either in its development or disruption. The question of audience, (‘readers’ for written ‘satire’) is highlighted by Freudenburg in his approach to ‘satire’ as performance as with other theorists<sup>285</sup> of ‘satire’.

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<sup>281</sup>Extract comes from an Argostólian newspaper: Paratiritis [The observer], issue no. 33, 12/10/1929:1. The article is titled: “the fools” (*I anoíti*). The writer signs the article as “the pessimist” (*o pesimistis*). The Greek text reads: “Oso alati ke an ehi kanis ston egkefalo tu as to krati gia salata giati ta Argostóliotika miala ine nostima ek genetis, horis na ta alatisi kanis. To na pezi kanis me ton ohlo ine mia tehni. Edo omos s’ afto ton topo ine ena poli ashimo pehnidi ke tuto giati uparhun poli ligi anoiti”.

<sup>282</sup> Kallonas, D.1939: 118-124. The above extract comes from page 119. The Greek text reads: “Iparhi afthono pnevma ke ironia pu ine diktikotero apo to dagkoma enos farmakeru fidju. Opios thelisi na kani ton exipno stus Argostóliotes, tha dehthi veli farmakeris ironias apo olus kai oles”.

<sup>283</sup> “Den tha mu pi kanis ti ine sosto ke ti lathos. Boro na krino monos mu. Ke ego xero kala ti ine sosto ke ti lathos”.

<sup>284</sup> “An thes na kanis ton exipno, lave ipopsi su tus alus”.

<sup>285</sup> G.Test, for example, refers to the need for an audience to the extent that “satire does not complete its mission until an audience has had a go in it” (1991: 32).

Researchers exploring staged performances distinguish audience from performers with Goffman for example, referring to audience and teammates respectively. He emphasizes the boundaries between them and assigns clear roles to each. I differ from Goffman in that the teasing events take place at ‘settings’, yet, a small number of people are always involved. Among these, there is a web of relations with everyone contributing to the event rather than different teams.

Finnegan’s work on African audience and its role in the transmission of oral literature is a useful approach to the Cefalónian audience: “looking at audiences in terms of their participation and/or differentiation from the ‘performer’ is not the only way of assessing their roles”<sup>286</sup>. She proposes audience classifications, like primary versus secondary<sup>287</sup> audiences, integral versus accidental<sup>288</sup>, homogeneous versus heterogeneous<sup>289</sup> and mass versus personal audiences<sup>290</sup>.

In an earlier work<sup>291</sup>, Finnegan refers partially to audience composition, rejecting notions of the “folk” and “popular” audience. However, there is no explanation on the composition of audiences or the principles of why people come together other than enjoyment are presented. The notion of self-selection is mentioned but without further elaboration. I concur with the question of the self-selection of audiences and ideas about active audiences and some of the terms employed in classifying the audience. Thus, Cefalónian audiences are both “heterogeneous audiences” and “personal audiences”.

I add to Finnegan’s definition that a heterogeneous audience consists of different individuals who hold strong self-perceptions and manipulate these to criticize a performance. This is not only a matter of having different interests and viewpoints: it is a matter of perceiving and displaying one’s own mental and emotional reactions. The term “personal audience” applies more to the audience in Kondogenada than in Argostóli, because of population. Yet, the term omits an important dimension: the question Finnegan asks on the degree to which performers and audience know each other well overlooks the individual’s disposition on a daily basis.

Similarly, Handelman and Kapferer when considering joking activities, suggest that friendship, as a close relationship, provides a good basis for successful joking relationships, because “friends can interpret the meaning of various verbal and non-verbal expressions and can communicate with one another more clearly, quickly and in an understood manner”<sup>292</sup>. A personal audience, however, needs to rely on the awareness of the different emotional reactions that individuals show in their everyday interactions. This idea is in accordance with the self-selection method and partly reveals the individual’s state.

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<sup>286</sup> Finnegan 1992: 98.

<sup>287</sup> This refers to the direct recipients of a performance: overt audience as opposed to “others attending in a different capacity”. Also complex situations, where “some participants give fuller attention whereas others attend only partially, or only at certain points” (1992: 98-100).

<sup>288</sup> Refers to groups of people who accidentally attend a performance as opposed to those who attend a performance “because they have to or because the event is of special significance to them” (*ibid*: 99).

<sup>289</sup> This is as a non-distinction, given that “an audience is never fully homogeneous but always includes different individuals and thus different interests and viewpoints” (*ibid*: 100).

<sup>290</sup> This as a relative distinction. She asks “how far are performers and audiences known to each other” (*ibid*: 100).

<sup>291</sup> Finnegan 1977: 214-235.

<sup>292</sup> Handelman and Kapferer 1972: 501.

Another approach to the study of audience comes from the ethnography of communication where inter-audience categories are presented by Hymes<sup>293</sup> and endorsed by Duranti<sup>294</sup>. Hymes suggests “models of the interaction of language and social life” present the components of speech and that “some rules of speaking require specification of three participants [addressor, addressee, hearer (audience), source, spokesman, addressees, etc]. In short, serious ethnographic work shows that there is one general, or universal, dimension to be postulated, that of the participant. The common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants”<sup>295</sup>.

He further treats all categories of hearer (or receiver or audience) and addressee as participants. However, he does not specify the agent of these inter-audience categories. Who positions someone as hearer or addressee? Is it the audience member itself? Are any principles prescribed for these categories which can apply to classifying the members of an audience? He distinguishes further between an addressee and a hearer as if they are fixed positions in an event.

A recorded example that comes from my research and which we will analyze in this chapter, notes that it is performers who position people in the position of hearer or addressee and at other times, however, people occupy these positions themselves. For example, in Text A.1, Fokas (F) is the main performer. He does not address Mihalis (M) so he is not an addressee. On the contrary, Fokas makes kiria Sula (S) sound like his addressee. The question “so are you listening?” is directed at her. Thus, Mihalis is a hearer, if we follow Hymes. Yet, the topic and the way it is phrased stimulates Mihalis’ frustration and he rushes to reply to Fokas, so Mihalis turns himself to an addressee.

This approach to the study of audience members, although useful, leads to further questions concerning the assumption of roles or the shift in roles as outlined here. An exploration of the way audience members manage and present themselves to the teasing event will help answer these questions.

Barber’s more recent research on African audiences, poses questions in terms of the audience composition, such as “ways of being an audience”<sup>296</sup> and “how they relate to each other and to the spectacle or utterance they are attending to; how the spectacle/utterance addresses them.”<sup>297</sup> She suggests self-selection as the main method through which people come together as audiences and that the self-selected audience constitute themselves as members of a collectivity, acquiring competence in the genre by participating in a broad public cultural life<sup>298</sup>.

The Cefalónian audience members hold a strong sense of the self, with ‘individualised’ approaches and reactions to spoken words. This goes against the sense of collectivity, even if thinking of audience members as belonging to the category of ‘fellow citizens’ ‘fellow villagers’ or ‘clients’. People criticize the performer and they criticize each other as audience members either by praising their words and the performer or by dismissing his words. Because different people develop different attitudes, a sense of collectivity does not arise except in exceptional situations, as demonstrated in the last chapter. For this reason we need to refer to specific audience members each time. The ‘competence in the genre’ question is

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<sup>293</sup> Hymes 1972:58-59.

<sup>294</sup> Duranti 1985:211.

<sup>295</sup> Hymes 1972: 58-59

<sup>296</sup> Barber 1997: 348

<sup>297</sup> *ibid*: 347

<sup>298</sup> Barber *ibid*.

considered in terms of linguistic skills, as this is a limited analysis, it needs to be demonstrated that disruptions in ‘competence in the genre’ can mean a successful management of the ‘real self’. Besides, the underlying aim of a teasing event in Cefalónia refers to the demonstration of cleverness and an elimination of the victim position that audience members can find themselves in.

To summarize: this section has reviewed some approaches to the study of audiences. The Cefalónian audience is active, heterogeneous and personal in its composition. More important, however, is how audience members relate among themselves and to the performer. People, thus, select to be audience members even though they hold and demonstrate a strong sense of themselves. In the following sections it is demonstrated how these are actualised.

Note on the plates to follow:

The following plates show kirios Georgopoulos delivering a teasing to kiria Erithra and myself. Kiria Erithra and myself are inside the pastry shop and he stands on the door. Note the lady at the background. She comes closer in order to attend the teasing. Reference is here to the self-selection method for convening audiences .



Plates 25 and 26.



### *Cefalonian audience: types*

This brief section outlines the Cefalónian audience types, based on general remarks. I do not consider factors of emotional reactions.

Argostólian audiences investigated during everyday teasing events differ in number, gender and age. The importance of these factors and the degree of distribution depends on the 'settings' as well as on whether the teasing event occurs on working days or the weekend. Kondogenadiatian audiences seem to follow some of these principles.

Argostólian audiences range from one-to-one interactions up to small groups, as seen at the fish market, the tax office and Panagis' stall. People vary in age from youngsters to elderly people. It is worth noting that during my fieldwork with Panagis at his stall and with kirios Djionisis and Kostas at the tax office, I heard Cefalónians from all over the island and migrants interacting with the performer. I also noticed a significant number of women among audience members.

Audiences at kirios Makris' pastry shop in particular numbered from three to seven people myself included among the audience members. There were three regular women and men numbered between two and four. Given that I frequented the shop on Saturday mornings, I recorded civil servants, who would not sit and engage with us on a daily basis.

Kondogenaditian audiences only rarely included young people, with most audience members being middle-aged and elderly men. Women were seen sitting at the coffeehouse or the grill house only when accompanied by their husbands, as noted in chapter three. Kondogenaditians keep with traditional divisions of spaces and

gender, as kiria Marjioleni told me on the first day of my stay in the village: ‘women are of the house’ (*tu spitiju*), she said. From this perspective, Kondogenaditian audiences are more “homogeneous”.

Such audiences entail different relations among their members and as noted in chapter three a teasing event marginalises economic activities and hence participants who are not buyers and sellers. From this perspective, audience members I observed were people tied to each other by a variety of relations. They were, for example, long-term friends, colleagues, neighbours, relatives or people who belong to choir and carnival groups (*maskarata*). In addition audience members have different occupations, especially in Argostóli, and people belong to different political parties.

Argostólian and Kondogenaditian audiences, then, are heterogeneous in terms of gender, age and number. Beyond such information, there is the more important aspect to them that is: ways of being an audience member...

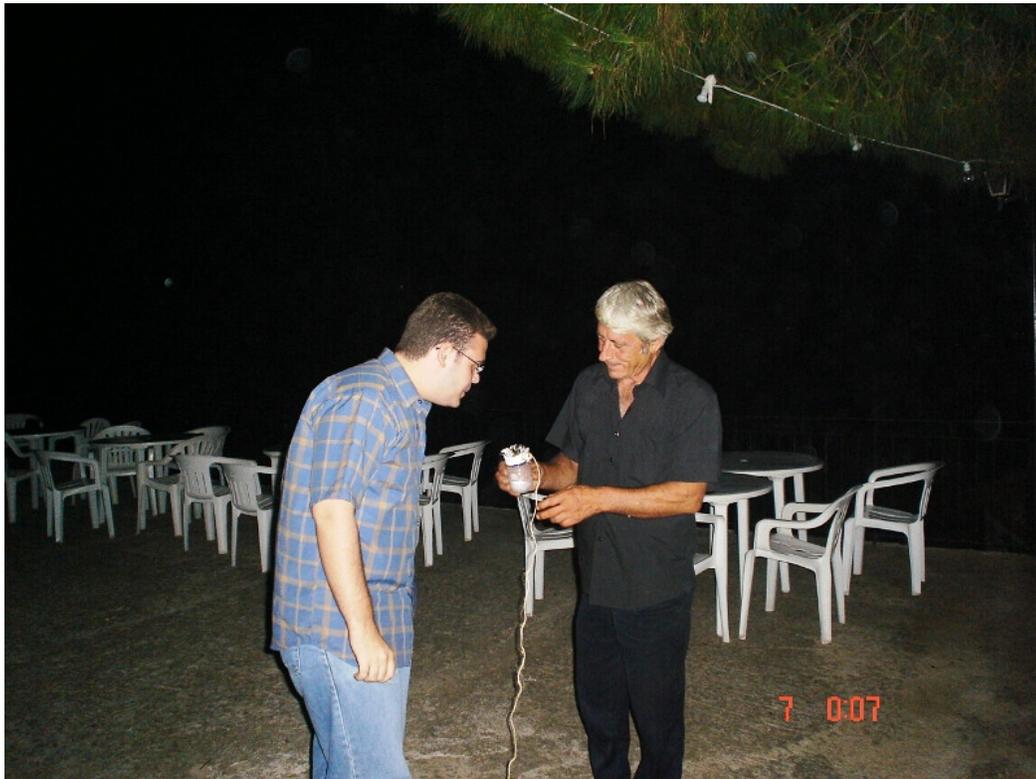


Plate 27: Ways of being audience members: expressing interest in the performer’s tricks. Giorgos, the young man, has asked kirios Haris to describe the way he manufactured an incense burner with which he played a joke on us. The ‘setting’ is the Kondogenaditian grill-house.

## License to tease, frame and rules

The term “licence to tease” is borrowed and paraphrased from Handelman and Kapferer<sup>299</sup> where they refer to the license to joke. This means “the expressed agreement of the participants in the focused activity”. The license to joke is delivered by members to whom the joke will be directed and will be addressed to performers. “It constitutes a process in which the various participants establish the basis on which to organise their enjoyment of joking activity. The issuing may be rooted in the mutual past experience of participants and therefore does not necessarily have to be negotiated at the onset of each new joking sequence.”<sup>300</sup>

This continues with the frame and rules of joking activity but the processes through which the joking activity is organised and the license issued is not specified other than through mutual past experience. This should be understood in terms of friendship as commented on previously and the “locally derived cues proffered by and to potential participants”<sup>301</sup>, which Handelman and Kapferer call joking cues. These cues refer to particular persons who can joke with one another and refer to what Gumperz calls “choice of lexical forms”<sup>302</sup> or formulaic expressions.

The settings explored by Handelman and Kapferer are closed places such as a sheltered workshop and a plant section of a lead and a zinc mine. People see and work with each other on a daily basis and the need for a license to joke, therefore, is expressed through cues and relies on ties of familiarity.

Such observations, to the extent that some of the ‘settings’ I studied were closed places, like the inland revenue (tax office) in Argostóli, are applicable. What happens in the case of people who do not work together and see each other on a daily basis? Mutual past experience is not enough to issue the license nor are lexical forms or formulaic expressions, even though they are necessary and I include them in the license to tease.

In chapter three the Argostólian marketplace, the village coffeehouse and grill house represent ‘settings’ and the social geography of ‘satire’ for each ‘setting’ was noted along with the importance of physical movement to these ‘settings’. It is exactly the performer’s physical movement and the audience’s visual contact with him while approaching a ‘setting’ that I take as a license to tease. This is the process through which audience members license the performer to tease them and he can accept or deny the license.

### *Frame*

Handelman and Kapferer<sup>303</sup> refer to the frame, describing this as subsequent to the license to joke and as established around the joking activity. They further stress the fragility of the frame referring to subversions, that is, attempts to end the joking activity. I return to this later in this chapter.

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<sup>299</sup> Handelman and Kapferer 1972.

<sup>300</sup> *ibid* 485.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>302</sup> Gumperz 1992: 231.

<sup>303</sup> Handelman and Kapferer 1972.

The frame, then, “comprises a set of agreed rules which, may govern such aspects as who can participate in the activity and the content of verbal and non-verbal behaviour”<sup>304</sup>. In terms of the people who can participate in the activity, Handelman and Kapferer mention contained and uncontained joking activities. By this they mean inclusion of specific people or inclusion of any possible member.

In my experience, the “frame” was not mentioned as such and this is my interpretation of the rules based on what people said to the performer or another audience member. During discussions with performers and audience members in Argostóli and Kondogenada sufficient information to decipher the meaning of the rules was provided. Because of the way the nature of the rules are verbalised and their direction to audience members or the performers, I follow Bateson’s view on the frame.

Bateson suggests metacommunicative messages: “the subject of discourse is the relationship between the speakers. Messages remain implicit and [...] there is another class of implicit messages about how metacommunicative messages are to be interpreted.”<sup>305</sup> The metacommunicative messages, or the rules, point to the extent to which the performer is allowed to tease people and also to the ways the audience is to act during a teasing event. Rules revealed during or after a teasing event by audience members or performers themselves constitute my departure from Handelman and Kapferer. Such rules are an indispensable part of satiricity providing they are followed; they lead to resonance (*sintonizmos*) and a successful teasing event.

Metacommunicative messages, demonstrated in the examples presented here, are usually phrased as questions. This strategy is inclusive and exclusive, as it includes a certain message and excludes another helping the audience member or the performer to decipher the meaning himself with a view to realising his violations and restore order. It remains with the audience member or the performer to follow these messages and carry them through. It is demonstrated that rules are not always followed and disruptions happen in teasing events.

For this reason, disruptions of teasing events are particularly interesting: we see how audience members relate to each other and to the performer and how the violation of rules and the refusal to restore things to order excludes some participants. Even if the event includes a certain number of people, some of them are eventually left out.

What follows is a focus on disruptions and through these I elaborate on the rules, on the metacommunicative messages.

### **“Incidents”: breaking the rules.**

Performance studies stress the fragility of rules in diverse types of events taking place in everyday life. They refer to factors under the presence of which rules are broken as well as the emerging consequences and people’s interpretations of these. Hence, an anthropology of ‘satire’ cannot ignore such facts. On the contrary, they prove particularly fascinating because rules are brought up and participants take different stances towards the instigator. Here I offer a first approach to such issues.

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<sup>304</sup> *ibid*: 485.

<sup>305</sup> Bateson 2000: 178.

Goffman<sup>306</sup> refers to disruptions of performances calling these “incidents”<sup>307</sup> when occurring in everyday life. Similarly, Handelman and Kapferer refer to subversions concerning joking activities: they show the extent to which joking activities are susceptible to fragility<sup>308</sup>. Cowan, notes “instances of disruption”<sup>309</sup> in her research on dancing events in Sohos in northern Greece.

Goffman refers to the performer and places emphasis on him and his actions to restore the performance. He suggests that disruptions are performances “out of character” that are worth studying from the perspective of teams and in terms of potential interaction disruptions<sup>310</sup>. He refers here to a team of performers who have to interact so that they stay in place and the performance continues. He presents forms of disruptions as well as actions undertaken to minimize or prevent disruptions from happening. However, audience reactions are different and certainly limited in his description.

Handelman and Kapferer seek to explain the importance of the distribution of working space and relations among participants themselves as well as among participants and their superiors. Even though this detailed analysis uses background information, there is little reference to subversion coming from participants themselves or to the rules and they state: “the participants never formally stated these as rules”<sup>311</sup>. They decipher the frames and their rules themselves out of the analysis of their material.

Cowan’s approach to people’s interpretations of instances of disruption is particularly interesting. She suggests “the public discourse that surrounds instances of disruption”. Thus public discourse provides a different perspective on events and takes people on their own terms. This is because, concerning those who disrupt the event, it is impossible to know what they think and what their motives are. However, “it is possible to report what other people say they (the instigators) are”<sup>312</sup>.

Cowan distinguishes two kinds of disruptions: the first refers to the instigator’s age and demonstration of masculinity. In the case of young men, disruptions are deemed successful so long as they are funny and entertaining; thus young men are characterised in a variety of terms. The second kind of disruption emphasises politics,<sup>313</sup> in terms of individual acts, enemies and prestige. Regarding politics she suggests “those who disrupt the dancing event (the horoesperidha) upset their political enemies and gain approval and prestige from their own para.”<sup>314</sup>

The teasing events I experienced demonstrate that the rules are broken either by an audience member or by the performer. From this perspective, the audience is mainly responsible for the restoration of the frame rules, given that the audience is not a separate group of people from the performer(s), as Goffman suggests.

I did not witness the two types of disruptions as noted by Cowan. The instigator does not gain any prestige from anyone. Disorder, in other words, does not create a new order; rather it highlights the importance of order and disruptions show a quality of the audience: that rules are strictly adhered to and the application of rules observed.

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<sup>306</sup> Goffman 1959.

<sup>307</sup> I borrow the title of this section from Goffmann’s words 1959: 212.

<sup>308</sup> Handelman and Kapferer 1972.

<sup>309</sup> Cowan 1990: 187.

<sup>310</sup> Goffman 1959: 169.

<sup>311</sup> Handelman and Kapferer 1972: 510.

<sup>312</sup> Cowan 1990: 185.

<sup>313</sup> Cowan notes here the importance of masks in the concealment of the intruders’ faces.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*

When an audience member breaks the rules causing disruption, the performer and other audience members develop different stances. The performer keeps up the teasing making it stronger. Audience members keep to the rules and one addresses the instigator after having stopped behaving as an audience member, which in my case refers to laughing. Some audience members, then, temporarily shift roles: they participate in the teasing and side with the performer and then show special concern for maintaining the frame and bring up the rules. There is no direct reference to rules but the phrasing aims at making the instigator restore and keep up with them and includes the core terms of the rules. This is opposed to what Handelman and Kapferer observed and was noted before in this section.

In the case of a performer breaking the rules, reactions come from almost all audience members although their phrasing does not clearly reveal the rules; on the contrary they attempt to constrain the performer and sometimes stop him. This is particularly compelling in cases where the ethnographer is directly involved in the teasing and considered a *xéni*, a foreigner. Audience members strongly indicate to the performer the need to return to the rules. Such phrasing works as a ‘protecting frame’ that is set around the ethnographer. At the same time the ethnographer is taught how to behave as an audience member and engage with the performer.<sup>315</sup>

Verbalised reactions in both cases are delivered in particular prosody and paralinguistic cues according to Gumperz’s definitions<sup>316</sup>. Hence prosody refers to intonation, stress or accenting and pitch register shifts. Paralinguistic signs refer to tempo, pausing and hesitation [...] and other “tone of voice” expressive cues. In the following examples it is shown that audience members raise their voices or stress some words more than others and sometimes develop an increasing pitch while at other times other audience members drop their tone. Men usually show a firmer attitude than women.

I use the examples to illustrate some of the rules of the frame. Thus, after example one follows the rule of the reply. Following example two are the two audience axioms.

#### *A frustrated Argostólian*

The examples that follow are fragments from larger recordings<sup>317</sup> in Argostóli and Kondogenada. The first example recorded in Argostóli comes from text A.1 and an audience member has broken the rules. They have all known each other for many years, yet, familiarity was not enough to guarantee a successful teasing on that particular morning.

The event takes place at kirios Makris’ pastry shop, on Siteboron Road, on a Saturday morning in March 2005. Audience members are kirios Makris (M), his wife kiria Erithra (E); their schoolmate and friend, kiria Sula (S) (a retired civil servant), kirios Makris’ neighbour, kirios Mihalis (M) (a retired captain), and myself. The main figure is kirios Fokas (F). Fokas lives across from Makris’ pastry shop and is the director of the local branch of the national insurance office for merchants (TEVE). Fokas is not a regular during the Saturday gatherings at the pastry shop and neither is kirios Mihalis. In the lines that precede, Fokas has approached us and initiates a teasing. He refers to the Carnival costumes we had used and reports Argostólians’

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<sup>315</sup> In cases where the ethnographer is not considered a stranger, there are no reactions from audience members when a performer breaks the rules.

<sup>316</sup> Gumperz 1992: 231.

<sup>317</sup> Appendices A and B include fuller versions of the events.

comments about them. Kiria Sula, kiria Erithra and kirios Makris react frustratingly. Fokas then changes the conversation. Soon after these lines follow:

F (to kiria Sula): So, are you listening? ↑ It was shown on TV\ Meat pie.<sup>318</sup> If you want to cook it, you are successful at it,<sup>319</sup> eh? Not so? ↑

M: Well, you will soon get over it<sup>320</sup>.

F: Yes.

Er, S, Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Er: (To Mihalis): You, why do you reply to this?

M: I don't know.

Er, S, Me: Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

M: You will soon get over it /

F: Yes, well, it is not enough that some people exploit other people's things they also claim the grandma's china to be their own/

Er,S,Me:hahahahahahaha ha .

M: You will soon get over it, you and some other ladies. ↑ /

F: Yes | yes | yes | yes.

No matter what you say, these jokes do not address you.

M: Yes. | Sure.

Er,S,Me:hahahahaha ha.

Fokas (F) touches on a crucial topic and refers to Mihalis' wife but in a subtle way. He does not directly address Mihalis (M). On the contrary, Fokas makes kiria Sula (S) sound like his addressee. The question in "so are you listening?" is directed at her. Note here that Fokas himself sets one of the rules of the frame for all of us, regardless if he sets an addressee: "listen to what I shall say but prepare to act as an audience member. Otherwise there will be offence". Fokas, in this strategy, seeks attention from us as a performer: he sets the rules for himself as well and so raises his voice, becoming louder.

Kiria Sula responds to this not in words but with laughter and positions herself among other audience members refusing the place of the addressee. This is deliberate and shows that the content of the teasing is not about her and she is not offended by this. Kiria Sula in other words keeps with the frame.

The topic and the way it is phrased stimulates Mihalis' frustration and he is sharp enough to get the hidden meaning. He is quick to reply to Fokas, while we, other members of the audience, laugh at the teasing. We are all aware of the background information but behave according to the rules not breaking them. We maintain the frame and implicitly express our wish to hear more from Fokas, given that he rarely passes by (*pernúse*) and performs. Makris, another member of the audience, does not laugh or talk back but keeps serious and silent.

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<sup>318</sup> Meat pie (kreatopita) is a traditional Cefalónian dish.

<sup>319</sup> Foka's reference to TV and successful cooking refers to Mihali's wife and her participation in Greek TV shows where she demonstrated the recipe and cooked meat pie for Greek audiences, thus provoking Cefalónians' sense of a delicious meat pie. Cefalónian audiences made negative comments about her recipe and cooking. Some weeks prior to this teasing event, kiria Erithra and kiria Sula had talked extensively about this so I knew it all in order to get the meaning of this teasing. Fokas' irony is evident: it does not take a skilled person to prepare his pie. Anyone can do it.

<sup>320</sup> Mihalis feels offended and interprets Fokas' words in terms of jealousy: people are jealous of his wife, her fame and success demonstrating traditional recipes. As soon as kirios Mihalis left the gathering, Fokas and the ladies disclosed this information and elaborated.

The question that follows Mihalis' reply represents the core of the matter and refers to another rule of the frame: the reply. Kiria Erithra, having laughed at the comment, turns to Mihalis and asks him the reason for his reply. Her question equals a negative sentence: "You should not have replied, especially in the way you did." Kiria Erithra attempts to disentangle kirios Mihalis from the reception of words he has produced that is the teasing- as -offence. She tries to redirect him to the teasing- as-entertainment and thus incorporate him among the audience members.

Her voice is not high pitched, her talk is quick and she does not want to break the rules by insisting. The teasing has to stop and Fokas needs more space. Kiria Erithra is aware of this as is Fokas. Note that Fokas does not intervene but only goes on to talk more, as soon as Mihalis has stopped expressing himself.

Kirios Mihalis in answering kiria Erithra's question feigns ignorance and temporarily retreats: "I do not know". Still, despite kiria Erithra's implicit admonition, kirios Mihalis does not restore the rules of the frame and keeps replying in his own way. This kind of reply thus allows Fokas to keep up the teasing and make it stronger. In addition, kirios Mihalis shows that he relates to his "real self" and excludes himself from the teasing event, even though he pleads ignorance regarding the reasons for his reply. Kirios Mihalis obviously does not wish to reveal what is otherwise background knowledge to all of us. He betrays his emotional reactions by attempting to conceal them.

This example shows how an audience member excludes himself from a teasing, regardless of close relations with other audience members and the performer. Attempts to show the rules of the teasing frame and restore it fail, because the member does not wish to leave his "real self" aside. From this perspective the teasing is interpreted as annoying (*enohlisi*).

The following section, following such remarks, deals with the importance of 'the reply'.

### **The reply (i apántisi).**

Before examining an example of disrupting of rules recorded in Kondogenada, it is useful to present the reply as a basic rule of the frame in a teasing event (*piragma*). Chapter two demonstrated that Cefalónians stress the importance of reply to a teasing stating that without this the teasing cannot exist or, if it can exist without a reply, it is taken as an offence. The reply then signifies the success of a teasing event and highlights the positive meaning of the *piragma* against the negative meaning, the offence. How then is an audience member to reply to a teasing?

Cefalónians' main point on this question can be epitomised as resonance (*sintonizmós*). The audience members must resonate with the main performer and leave their feelings aside, as kirios Niforatos put it. *Sintonizmós*, as a mode of clever reply refers to the successful management of the "real self". Further, in terms of the expression of this management of the self, audience members must continue the teasing along the lines set by the main performer.

Dundes, Leach and Özkök explore verbal duelling between Turkish boys<sup>321</sup> describing the core features of the reply as a strategy with the reply requiring specific linguistic skills and general cultural knowledge. The speaker must select a retort based on “weak elements of one’s opponent’s text”<sup>322</sup> with it being sufficiently clever so not providing the opponent with potential ammunition for a good thrust in return. The pace of the reply has to be fast, must have cryptic metaphorical descriptions and be appropriate in texture to fit the verbal duelling. The overarching aim of the reply is to avoid playing a passive role in the event. Thus, reply confirms the speaker’s “ability to maintain presence of mind in interaction”<sup>323</sup> and manage emotion-charged topics as a successful member of a peer group.

Herzfeld’s contribution to the topic is valuable as he discusses the importance of participants’ clever reply to versifiers in Crete. Cretan couplets, known as mandinades, have a specific texture and rhyme which limit peoples’ responses. According to Herzfeld “the constant play on over-familiar formulae, the agile re-use of phrase structures, and the significant emphases given to rhyming pairs are all devices that allow the performer to highlight the quality of his performance”<sup>324 325</sup>.

There is no rhyme to follow in Cefalónian teasing, even though the task remains collaborative and from this perspective, replies in a teasing differ from Cretan couplets. This cleverness exists in two areas. The first deals with the audience member’s decision to reply or not and contrary to what Dundes suggests, that a lack of proper reply puts the speaker in a passive role. In Cefalónia, lack of reply does not lead to unpleasant digressions of the teasing event. Thus the audience member does not express his reactions against the main performer. Kiria Erithra had this in mind when asking kirios Mihalis about the reasons for his reply. He could have chosen to avoid replying thus protecting his “weak points”.

This brings us to the second area. The similarity to the Turkish case refers to inner processes, the control of emotional reactions and the use of mind. In other words, the audience member must grasp the hidden meaning behind some words or prosody. He must not take offence or reveal his “weak points”, that is his bad feelings, as kirios Mihalis had. A clever reply shows that the audience member has left his “real self” aside, marginalising his attachment to his “real self”, as kirios Niforatos indicated at the end of chapter two. A clever reply, primarily, does not show in intonation or pitch so the form in which the reply comes remains open.

The last point inextricably linked to the above, refers to the content of the reply. In order to prove the resonance between the performer and audience members, the latter must redirect the meaning of spoken words. These must not be directed towards themselves, their lives, family matters or relations with other people. In other words one must not “take things personally” (*to piran prosopika*). A similar expression, which is helpful, refers to the seat of emotions: “you must not take things to heart” (*min to paris katakarda*). When people use this expression, they indicate the proper way that spoken words must be received, not emotionally but mentally. Herzfeld similarly referred to the balance a performer or an audience member must strike: “Knowing how far to go is the key to a successful negotiation of the balance between personal idiosyncrasy and social acceptability”<sup>326</sup>.

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<sup>321</sup> Dundes, Leach and Özkök 1972: 130-161.

<sup>322</sup> *ibid* 136.

<sup>323</sup> *ibid*: 131.

<sup>324</sup> Herzfeld eloquently summarizes: “disciplined form and adventurous content” 1985: 142.

<sup>325</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 146.

<sup>326</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 143.

Now kirios Mihalis' reply can be better explained. Footnotes in previous pages note the explanations and other background information that help clarify the teasing event presented. Kirios Mihalis interpreted Fokas' words in relation to his wife's popularity and sees that people are jealous of him and have been thinking like this for some months. So he places Fokas' words in this framework taking them for jealousy and attack. Kirios Mihalis allows himself to be overwhelmed by his own emotional reactions and is unable to constrain them. These are verbalised by means of repetition and using pronouns to show that we are addressed: "you will soon get over it. You and some other people". This reply is directed at audience members and the performer. He, however, should have followed Fokas' line of teasing, replying in an abstract way.

This is the kind of reply Fokas (and we) expected, if any, from kirios Mihalis and this is the danger Fokas had alluded to when saying "so, are you listening?" The danger of frustration dominating the teasing event and guiding members' reactions.

To summarize: a clever reply shows the audience member's ability to manage his own self and not be dominated by emotional reactions. These are the result of the attachment of spoken words and their meaning to personal issues. Thus a clever reply relies not only on a balance between emotions and mental processes, but also on the domination of mental processes over emotions.

## PART TWO.

### **Audience axioms towards the performer**

It has been mentioned that audience members assume active roles in a teasing event. In order to understand and justify a preference for a certain way of performance and praise its excellence, the rules these pose to the performer need to be exposed. The ways audience members observe the speaker's compliance with these standards and react accordingly should also be examined. It is through these processes that audience members establish themselves as such and prove they cannot be fooled.

Marjioleni of Kondogenada successfully places this, demonstrating another rule for the teasing frame: "If you want to show off and play the 'wise guy' consider the rest of us too."<sup>327</sup> This was her conclusion after I reproduced Panagis' recent teasings<sup>328</sup> to me and she immediately exercised strict criticism of them.

The classic version of 'satire', which means an attack on all vice and folly with a view to improving society, is not the issue here. Rather, teasing events represent a more "intimate genre", with the performer's cleverness emerging as a result of the audience's observations. This is directly related to what Herzfeld suggests with Cretan men's quality of self-regard, *eghoismós*.

I demonstrate that in teasing events, manifestation of *eghoismós* is not a social value and is not praised. On the contrary, it leads to negative evaluations, feelings of frustration and anger and an attempt at a suspension of the interaction. In most cases the performer does not obey the audience demands, by ending the topic himself or

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<sup>327</sup> "An thes na kanis ton exipno na lavis ipopsi su kai tus alus".

<sup>328</sup> Panagis' ongoing teasing to me, from late March till early June 2005 refers to my move to Kondogenada. "Yes, sure, come to the village. You will leave it after midnight and you will be either impregnated or mentally disordered". "Pigene sto horio ke tha figis mesanihta ke tha ise 'i gkastromeni 'i kurli". Note the use of the term 'impregnated': the Greek term refers to animals.

changing the topic when he wants to. The point of departure for the audience and the performer is the topic which the performer presents. While for the audience the importance lays in the topic, for the performer the importance lies in speaking and thus showing his own, personal approach to a teasing event.

Audience efforts to constrain performers who do not comply with standards are shown through analysis of recorded events; allowing the observation that ‘intimate speech genres’, as a teasing are fascinating because of the audience responses and their ‘fragility’. This remark contrasts with Bakhtin’s references to ‘intimate speech genres’ and the maximum internal proximity of the speaker and the addressee.

Looking at the audience role from this perspective, shows the extent to which people react on its behalf or on behalf of other audience members, the ways in which audience members relate to each other in relation to the speaker. This also shows that there can be no maximum internal proximity of the speaker and the addressee, it all depends on audience reception and the outcome is defined by the audience. For this reason, the first and the second axioms are inextricably linked.

Kiria Marjioleni’s conclusion surprised me not because it comes from a woman but because it shows the levels of criticism village people exercise. This supports the argument that ‘satire’ is not only an urban phenomenon and that villagers correctly claim themselves to be witty. Here follows an example.

*The Kondogenaditian case.*

The second example comes from my second field site, the village of Kondogenada. The following fragment comes from text B.3. Having joined folk at the Kondogenaditian grill house, I sit with kiria Reggina<sup>329</sup> (R), whose husband (kirios Haris) runs the grill house, with Babis<sup>330</sup> (B), who serves the customers. Other villagers have joined in: Panagis<sup>331</sup> (P) and his parents: kirios Spiros<sup>332</sup>(S) and kiria Popi (Po). Kirios Dimitris, another Kondogenaditian, joins us. From the beginning, I deliberately challenge Panagis to talk, thus behaving as an audience member and acting one of the roles, being fully aware of his favourite topics and words.

Although this teasing event happened late in my stay in Kondogenada (September 2005) and people were already aware of my research and my interest in all teasing events, this did not prevent them from expressing their concern about me and Panagis is reprimanded. Only when I asked them to allow Panagis to continue do they agree. Anyway Panagis did not listen to their demands and keeps at it. He is also aware of my tolerance and had tested me often since late February 2005 when we first met in Argostóli.

Me: What will you say about me when I’m long gone from this village?

P: Well, we will try not to say a thing.

Me: But, as soon as you receive my thesis, you will definitely say something, right?

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<sup>329</sup> Kiria Reggina has finished preparing food for customers and has joined us.

<sup>330</sup> Babis, in his early forties, still lives with his parents in Kondogenada and engages in occasional farming activities. He works for kirios Haris at the grill-house during summer.

<sup>331</sup> Panagis is in his mid-forties and runs the stall at Lithostroto rd in Argostóli. He lives with his parents in Kondogenada and commutes to Argostóli.

<sup>332</sup> Kirios Spiros, in his late sixties, is one of the few active shepherds in the village.

P: Eh \ We had Legas,<sup>333</sup> we would be saying | who was absolutely mad and used to write books | we had Lazaratos<sup>334</sup> another mad man. | we will classify you third to them.

Me, R, Po: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Me: Given that I come from Faraklata<sup>335</sup>, there is an additional reason for that.

P: Eh, of course.

Me: ha ha haha. Ohhhh.

P: Listen; let me tell you | it is mathematically proven\ that all Kondogianaioi are syphilitics. /

Me: Ah, so?

P: Now they are like this because of syphilis | now as for Lazaratos I don't know \ I have nooo idea what kind of damned disease he has been suffering \ you/

S: hey↑ | hey↑ |

P: You come from Faraklata/

S: hey↑ | hey ↑ | hey↑

P: There is no way you can escape from it.

Po: Leave the girl alone

R: What are you telling her?

Me: No let him carry on.

P: All Farakliots are problematic people | why should she be different from them?

Po: You will stupefy her/

Audience members listen and initially laugh at Panagis' words. They do not respond to the words he speaks. When, however, he mentions syphilis and fellow villagers suffering from it, his father reacts to this, showing that he has been following the teasing and observing the rules that refer to the performer's behaviour towards his audience.

Kirios Spiros chooses sounds instead of words to deliver the message of the importance of rules. His voice is firm, with a rising intonation as he repeats himself. Intonation is the way through which we can interpret the meaning of this polysemic sound "hey". To kirios Spiros, Panagis, has broken the rules of a good performance and therefore needs to be brought back to order.

Next, his mother, demands he stops annoying me. She finds her son's words irritating and asks in a firm voice for the interaction to be suspended. Kiria Popi verbalises what her husband has previously expressed in sounds: when the teasing goes beyond tolerable limits it becomes offensive and does not invoke laughter and so has to stop.

Kiria Reggina also presents her reaction asking him about the content of his words. Her question is to be taken as a demand to stop talking about uncomfortable topics. I read her comments as follows: "you should not be telling her things like that.

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<sup>333</sup> Legas is kirios Memas Kontogianatos' nickname. Line 11 includes the surname Kontogianaioi and refers to all those bearing it.

<sup>334</sup> Lazaratos is Kondogenaditian and composes satirical verses. He founded "the cultural club of Kondogenada" (Politistikos Silogos Kondogenadas) and was elected leader of the Kondogenada community some years ago.

<sup>335</sup> Here I try to follow methods people use to challenge someone to talk, by intentionally mentioning my parent's village of origin, Faraklata. Here Panagis' teasing refers to Farakliots having suffered from syphilis in the past. Connecting me to my ancestors, results in references to such problems and syphilitic people.

You should not adopt this pitch and intonation. You have gone past the rules that we, audience members, set for you, the performer. Remember to talk properly”. Besides, kiria Reggina is used to admonishing Panagis for not talking nicely.

Kiria Reggina and Panagis’ mother attempt to protect me from listening to things like syphilis and madness. His father, however, asks him to stop without any further instructions. Note the difference between these specific references to me as compared to kirios Spiros who is more abstract, allowing Panagis to decipher the meaning, realize the rules and conform to them.

As with the previous example, Panagis does not talk while audience members press their claims, stressing the rules in their own individual ways and his silence emphasises the rules of the frame. The rules concern audience members as well as himself. Thus, from this perspective, it is not only the performer who is subject to the rules, but also the ‘inert’ audience member, the member who did not raise a voice to stop the performer. Kirios Spiros, kiria Popi and kiria Reggina demonstrate to me how to behave as a proper audience member, by learning, observing and applying the rules.<sup>336</sup>

*Act as a “wise guy”.*

The expression used by kiria Marjioleni is act as a ‘wise guy’” (*na kanis ton exipno*). Note the quotation presented earlier at the beginning of this chapter, which comes from Argostóli and is a widely used expression among the Greeks. It reveals one of the two negative poles against which local wit is distinguished, the second being what people describe “*act as a Karagkiózis*”<sup>337</sup> (shadow theatre figure).

Both expressions include the verb “act as” (*kano ton*) referring to the way an individual behaves when communicating with other people, various interpretations that audience members put to the way and effect this interpretation has to a teasing event. In other words, a ‘false image’ is displayed which people articulate as ‘ridiculous’ and reject. It is, moreover, an evaluation of ‘original’ qualities over ostentation and pretension.

This analysis is based on a discussion with kirios Floratos at his house in Harakti<sup>338</sup> in late August 2005. Kirios Floratos, a Cefalónian satirist himself, now living in Athens, has recently started publishing his own satirical journal, called “The Daemonium”. This journal attracted my attention and I was urged to contact him. His insight into local satire and teasing events proved helpful and while talking about satire and laughter in Cefalónia, I asked him about these expressions.

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<sup>336</sup> What is peculiar in this “incident” is that it can be read from another perspective: the performer’s angle and mine. In this sense, I had licensed Panagis to tease me and therefore set the rules, it is the audience members which disrupt the event. My responses to them are aimed at restoring the process of the teasing event by revealing my plans and my tolerance to Panagis’ teasing. Thus, I incorporate them in the event and ask them to comply with the rules I have set. I shall not deal with this aspect here, given that my viewpoint is the audience reactions to a performer.

<sup>337</sup> Karagkiózis is the most well known figure of the Greek shadow theatre. Of Eastern origin, it became very popular among the Greeks until recently. Studies on Karagkiózis present him as a symbol of ‘Greekness’ whose speech was purely satirical. Modern Greeks, however, use the term to signify any person who imitates and is not ‘authentic’.

<sup>338</sup> Harakti together with some other villages forms the Pirgi area. Pirgi is part of Pilaros in northern Cefalónia and is mountainous.

To act as a ‘wise guy’ refers to lack of originality. “It means that I pretend to play a role which is not me. I am not myself. I try and do something but the way in which I do it is ridiculous and makes other people move away from me”, Kirios Floratos explained. He expressed his disagreement with ridiculous teasings: “they are teasing events that do not trigger laughter and are not worth our attention. The ridiculous performer is not worth our attention either. His words meet with our disappointment. There is nothing important in his words. The point is: what kind of feeling do you communicate to people? You can attract people and bring them closer to you so that they listen to you. It is your way of speaking that ‘makes’ it all” he added.

To act as a ‘wise guy’ means that an individual suspends his ‘real self’ and performs in a way that is not his own, it is not ‘original’. Thus he attempts to adopt and display other characteristics. It is exactly this break between ‘real self’ and pretension of something else that marks the audience reactions and gives unpleasant twists to a teasing event. Ostentation is the display of a ‘false image’ then.

When people point this out, they implicitly show the extent to which they know the ‘real self’ of the performer and they observe his shift from the real self to ostentation. Observation of the shift causes audience reactions and a demand to stop. Rejection of ostentation is seen in the light of ‘the permissible’: what is accepted in other words.

Audience members, who reject ostentation, implicitly state their preference for ‘original’ phenomena, that is, for qualities people have inside them and show to the audience.<sup>339</sup> The emphasis on metaphors of exclusion noted in chapter two concerning the main performer become clear and the significance people invest in ‘original’ characteristics and qualities are realised. The term ridiculous describes all non-‘original’ and pompously displayed words and deeds.

The effect that these interpretations produce is the audience disengagement from the teasing event. Kirios Floratos mentioned people moving away from a performer stating something as ‘ridiculous’ that later turns to disappointment. The distance people take from the performer is more than physical. Disengagement appears in the form of a demand for a suspension or as an attempt to reply to the performer and, most importantly, a lack of interest in future teasing events and the denial of a licence to perform.

#### *Eghoismos: a note.*

To act as ‘wise guy’ is related to *eghoismos* as studied by Herzfeld on Crete<sup>340</sup>. Relations between the ‘wise guy’ and the Cretan *eghoistis* occur at the level of perception of the self and that of ‘being different’. *Eghoismos* is the “celebration of the self –the statement that ‘I am and no one else’- as Herzfeld put it<sup>341</sup>. He suggests that in Cretan men’s performances “eghoismos is paradoxically a canon of being different. Its projection is... the projection of difference for its own sake”<sup>342</sup>. *Eghoismos* is to be seen as a social value, not an individual trait, and links the

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<sup>339</sup> This distinction is important to bear in mind and I return to it when dealing with madness and the devil.

<sup>340</sup> Herzfeld 1985:11.

<sup>341</sup> *ibid*: 11.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid*.

individual to the collectivity. “One has *eghoismos* on behalf of a collectivity”<sup>343</sup>. Herzfeld notes the multiplicity of specific meanings and considers the Greek term as a social category.

The case of the ‘wise guy’ is closer to another meaning of the term *eghoistis*. It corresponds to the “cognate English word ‘egoism’ which suggests a pure focus on the self”<sup>344</sup>, thus where *eghoismos* appears, the speaker develops a special attitude towards his self. He thinks of himself as smarter than the audience members, he thinks highly of himself, as kirios Floratos explained. He has *eghoismos* on behalf of himself, not on behalf of a collectivity, as remarked by Herzfeld. The ‘wise guy’ dissociates himself from audience members and appears as superior. Performance of such an attitude is what kirios Floratos includes in the verb ‘to make fun of’ (*koroidévo*). Further still, he states the verb ‘to mock’ (*dulévo*) has the same meaning.

Such a perception and position of the self allows the ‘wise guy’ to appear as ‘different’, yet, this negative aspect of ‘being different’ as the ‘wise guy’ does not fit people’s expectations and does not display his ‘real self’. Kirios Floratos adds to the verb ‘make fun of’ the fact that the ‘wise guy’ thinks of his audience as idiots, that is he does not consider them. He does not have *eghoismos* on behalf of a collectivity and the audience cannot be proud of him.

A strong adherence to the ‘self’ shifts between original and false images keeping the audience alert. In addition, it refutes the proximity of performer and audience. I turn now to Bakhtin’s approach to intimate speech genres.



Plate 28. During a teasing event, you need to let your *eghoismos* aside. Kirios Avgustatos has taken this seat right below the light bulb on purpose and exposes himself to the teasing event. He invites his audience to a teasing with a special focus on his bald head. I

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<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>344</sup> Herzfeld 1985: 11.

here reproduce the interpretation that his sister provided me, after showing her this photograph.

*Intimate 'speech genres'.*

Bakhtin<sup>345</sup> refers to issues of genres and addressivity emphasising the importance of the addressee in the choice of genre for the speaker and his style. He suggests intimate genres, without specifying them. He writes that

*“intimate genres and style are based on a maximum internal proximity of the speaker and addressee. Intimate speech is imbued with a deep confidence in the addressee, in his sympathy, sensitivity and goodwill of his responsive understanding. In intimate genres the addressees are perceived in the same way: more or less outside the framework of the social hierarchy and social conventions, ‘without rank’, as it were. In intimate styles this is expressed in an apparent desire for the speaker and addressee to merge completely”*<sup>346</sup>.

If ‘teasing’ is an intimate speech genre, as Bakhtin suggests, is there a desire for a complete merging? It is noted that even in intimate genres there can be no complete merging, and no maximum internal proximity on a regular basis on all teasing events. On the contrary, people join teasing events ready to keep a distance and criticize the performer. Kirios Floratos mentioned the fact that people do not move closer to the performer but rather away from him when he deceives them and is ostentatious.

Proximity, when it appears in a teasing event on the island, stems from the display of the performer’s ‘real self’ and the audience’s appreciation of this. As such, proximity fluctuates and follows the change of the performer’s images. The axiom presented here provides a basis on which to judge the achievement of maximum proximity or fluctuating proximity.

**The second axiom: reception of the teasing.**

*A lesson for the ethnographer.*

The second axiom that audience members practice when engaging in a teasing event is the reception of spoken words regarding the sense of ‘management of the self’. ‘Management of the self’, as noted previously in this chapter, indicates that audience members, in receiving spoken words, react in an emotional or witty manner and as such they present themselves to the teasing event. My analysis depends on an incident and a subsequent moral that I experienced in Kondogenada.

Kirios Andonis, when making a serious face and totally dismissing a teasing made me think of this audience axiom. The cause of his frustration stemmed from one of Panagis’ usual teasing to my landlady’s daughter, Aphrodite, and me. Passing by his stall in Argostóli, on our way back to Kondogenada, we thought we would challenge him. I greeted him as a “fellow villager of mine”. Pulling a serious face as always, Panagis replied: “since when have you been MY fellow villager? Were you born in the village and did you live there? No. You are NOT a Kondogenaditian, and

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<sup>345</sup> Bakhtin 1986:96.

<sup>346</sup> *ibid* 97.

in the same way neither is Aphrodite. Her father was not one of us and she has not lived in the village. So what fellow villager are you talking about?”.

This reply was true and displayed how all Kondogenaditians think of people as either villagers or foreigners. Although I knew he was telling the truth, I did not react emotionally, even though Aphrodite did. She reproduced the teasing to her mother, kiria Nineta, who, in her turn, reproduced it to our next door neighbour kirios Andonis. This last reproduction happened at kiria Nineta’s house in my presence. Kirios Andonis had joined us and he and kiria Nineta were preparing doughnuts (*lukumádes*).

Having listened to the narrative, kirios Andonis looked at us and said: “This is NOT funny. What kind of a funny thing is it? Do you still give simasía to Panagis? Ignore him”. I felt shocked at this reprimand and tried to remain composed. I asked why he had rejected the teasing. Kirios Andonis replied “it is how a teasing finds me. A teasing that finds me an idiot is not a joke” (*pos tha me vri to astio*). His face looked angry and his voice was firm. He sounded like a reprimanding master. I had heard such approaches to teasing events during my fieldwork but this was overwhelming.

I adopt this last phrase as an utmost demonstration of the difficulty in accepting a teasing. Kirios Andonis’ words suggest ‘the flexibility of the moment’ and could indeed extend further. “It is all about how I feel at the moment I listen to something. We do not have the same feelings at all times” he said. The second axiom, then, is based on reception- as- acceptance against reception- as - tolerance and, generally speaking, revolves around the issue “reception versus addressivity”.

### **Addressivity and reception.**

Bakhtin argues for a special reception of the addressee as being a constitutive feature of various speech genres. To be more specific:

*“this question of the concept of the speech addressee is of immense significance in literary history. Each epoch, each literary trend and literary-artistic style, each literary genre within an epoch or trend, is typified by its own special concepts of the addressee of the literary work, a special sense and understanding of its reader, listener, public or people. The various typical forms that addressivity assumes and the various concepts of the addressee are constitutive, definitive features of various speech genres.”*<sup>347</sup>

Bakhtin, however, in defining the role of the addressee focuses on the role of the speaker by looking at the ways the speaker constructs the addressee: “When constructing my utterance, I try to actively determine this response. Moreover, I try to act in accordance with the response I anticipate, so this anticipated response exerts an active influence on my utterance. When speaking, I always take into account the apperceptive background of the addressee’s perception of my speech.”<sup>348</sup> His views on the role of the addressee limit the speaker from the very beginning of his speech. Thus, the speaker appears to adjust his utterances to fit the addressee and monitor responses, to the extent that this justifies his claim for a maximum proximity between speaker and hearer in intimate speech genres.

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<sup>347</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 99.

<sup>348</sup> Bakhtin 1986:95.

In the previous axiom, however, proximity fluctuates and the speaker often focuses on himself and his ideas regarding a topic. This fact refutes Bakhtin's role of the speaker as determining responses and adjusting his speech to please his audience. It is impossible to judge a teasing before considering the audience reception and judgement. In addition to this, Argostólians insist on the role of the audience as interpreting teasing events based on their perceptions. Performers agree with this as they position impressions as "it is not what I say; it is how you take things" (*den ine ti leo ego, ine pos tha to paris esu*).

Kondogenaditians comply with this idea as demonstrated by a classic example of people acting as judge to others through the words spoken by kirios Harris at the beginning of this chapter. Kirios Harris talked about different villagers and the ways they speak, when he mentioned that some of them 'talk mad things' (*lene kurlamádes*). When pressed, he demonstrated his strong sense of himself: "I myself know how to judge. I know what is right and what is wrong, so I cannot accept things that do not appeal to me as right". Note the emphasis on the works of mind to the extent that he displays an emotional reaction, following his initial judgements.

This demonstrates that performers consider some information from people's background and use this to challenge their audience and to the extent that this happens, it is the audience that will react. My recordings present the degree of emotional reactions audience members develop depending on degrees of adherence to background information. When this happens, audience members demonstrate a detachment from the teasing event revealing their 'weak points', thus turning themselves into 'victims'.

Kondogenadites taught me that what lies behind the expression "how you take them" is an indication of: "how you must, you should take them". A proper reception of a teasing, then, favours acceptance and places the audience on the level of smart people. It also refers to the mastering of emotional reactions and a reply to the speaker on the same level as his words. So long as this is achieved it is possible to talk of teasing events and not of 'classic satire' seen as an attack on vice and folly.

## Conclusions.

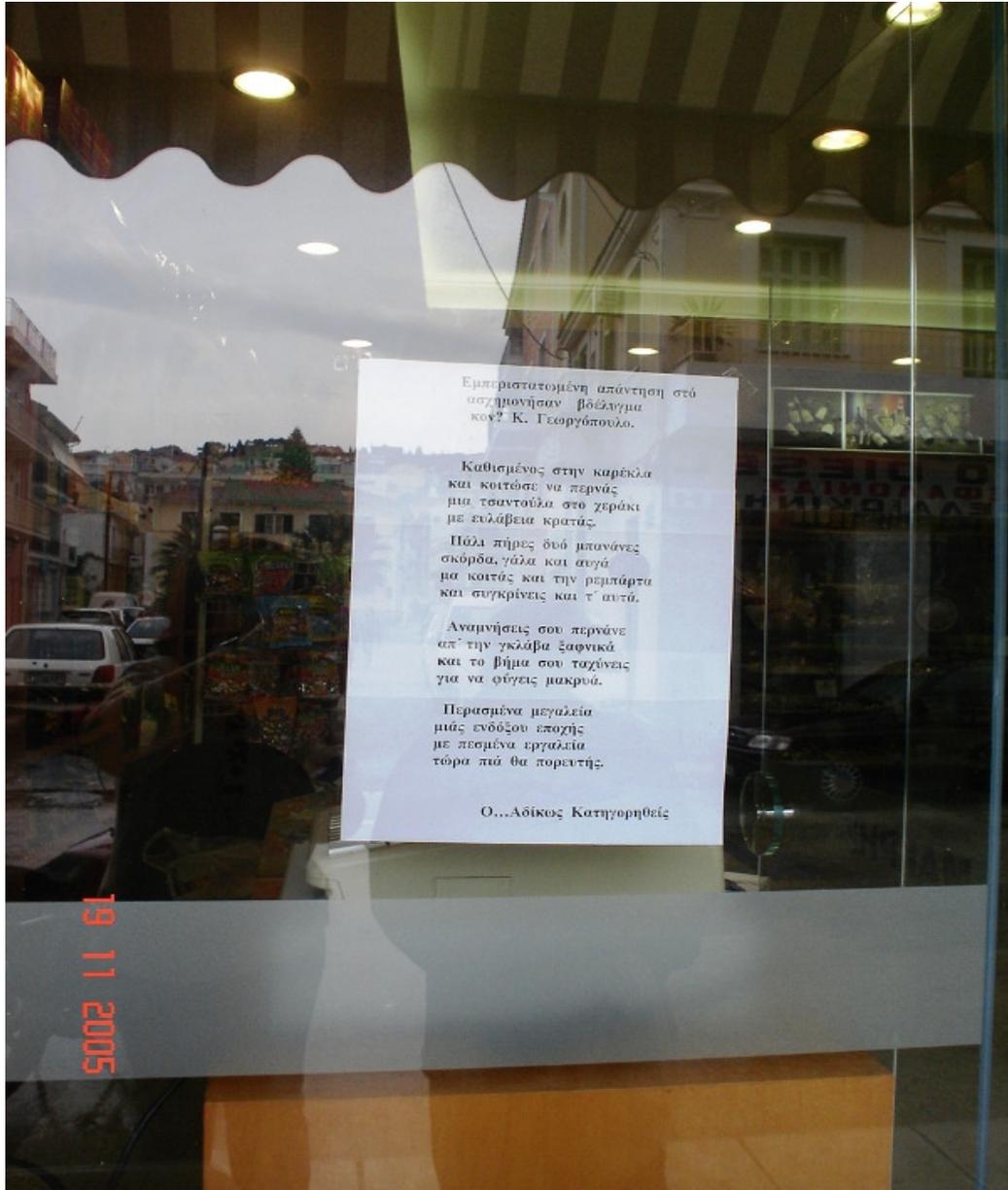
This chapter has looked at the ways in which people attend teasing events as audience members. The Cefalónian audience is considered as an active audience which establishes itself as such by means of relating to the performer and among audience members. Through transcribed texts and material collected from discussions with audience members and performers, I focus on the frame and rules that constitute the teasing frame.

Two sets of rules are distinguished. The first refers to relations among audience members. These emerge during disruptions of teasing events and show members' attempts to communicate the rules to each other and restore order. Rules are implicit and it rests on members to decipher the meaning and decide on compliance or exclusion from the event. It is agreed that the frame is fragile and that familiarity is not enough to keep up the teasing. The role of emotional reactions and the need for audience members to manage these in order to relate to the performer through the reply (*apantisi*) is emphasised. Above all, a clever reply is deemed such

so long as it does not convey emotional reactions and does not show interpretation of spoken words on a personal level.

The second set of rules applies between audience members and the performer. In such cases, the performer is reminded of the audience role in interpreting words and is constrained or reprimanded when presenting an image that is not “real”. Thus the audience lays claims to deciding on the performer’s cleverness and this is the first step towards the construction of the Cefalónian performer signifying the use of the teasing event to accept and define roles. This will be developed in the following chapters.

The plates that follow comprise a “sequence”. They show aspects of a teasing event that took place in Argostóli, at kirios Makris’ pastry shop. The poem that is here on the window of the shop and is available to all people in Argostóli refers to kirios Georgopulos. Kirios Makris is the composer of the verses and the content has sexual references. The ‘satirical poem’ is deliberately displayed : it invites for simasía and for a teasing event...



Εμπειρισιατομένη απάντηση στο  
ασημνησαν βθέλωμα  
κού? Κ. Γεωργόπουλο.

Καθισμένος στην καρδέλλα  
και κοιτάς να περνάς  
μια τσαντάδα στο χεράκι  
με ευλάβεια κρατάς.

Πάλι πήρες δύο μετανάστες  
σκόρδα, γάλα και αυγά  
μα κοιτάς και την ρεμπάρτα  
και συγκρίνεις και τ' αυτά.

Αναμνήσεις σου περνάνε  
απ' την γκλάβα ξαφνικά  
και το βήμα σου ταχύνεις  
για να φύγεις μακριά.

Περασμένα μεγαλεία  
μιάς ενδόξου εποχής  
με πωμένα εργαλεία  
τόρα πιά θα πορευτής.

Ο...Αόικος Κατηγορηθείς

Plate 29. The 'satirical poem in public display'.



Plate 30: Kirios Georgopoulos, the “victim” engages with the ‘satirical poem’.



Plate 31: He has obviously enjoyed attracting Makris' attention. His laughter allows him to participate in the teasing as an active member but not as a “victim”.



Plate 32: Kiria Sula (standing) who had been sitting with us and observing kirios Georgopoulos, invites some more people to discuss the 'poem' and interpret words. The by passers are friends and relatives who were on their way home from shopping. They, however, responded to the call and joined in. Kiria Sula pretended ignorance and further she mis-read words. This kept the teasing going, with kirios Georgopoulos enjoying being the centre of the teasing. Kiria Erithra(sitting) listens and laughs. So do I.



Plate 33: Next, people got more involved with the displayed 'satirical poem'. They decided they wanted to read it in order to check the spelling of words and help kiria Sula "get the meaning". Kirios Muntakis reads the 'poem' while his friend tickles him with his umbrella and kirios Georgopulos has moved closer to us (his umbrella shows to the left of the plate). Kiria Sula laughs and kirios Makris is absent. He lets the 'poem' do the work.

## CHAPTER FIVE.

### Literacy and encouragement.

Chapter five begins with a claim local people advanced in order to circumscribe 'satire'. Cefalónians hold that 'satire is not taught; it cannot be learned; it is 'innate' (*emfīto*). 'Satire' as an "innate skill" highlights mental qualities: it highlights Cefalónian cleverness (the elements of which are presented in chapter seven). The emerging question then, refers to methods locals use in order to advance these "innate skills". Here are examined local perceptions of acquired skills, that is of literacy and literacy practices, as a means to distinguishing the clever performer and present his "real self" during a performance.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to deal with questions concerning the quality of "texts" in terms of orality and literacy, and will not present advantages or disadvantages of reading and writing in Cefalónia with reference to 'satire'. Rather, the aim is to look at how people perceive the performer in relation to reading and writing skills, what literacy practices are considered and how these relate to performance. The Cefalónians studied are middle-aged and elderly people, and as such literacy practices refer to this age set on the island. Given this, the "illiterate" is presented as a term that codifies literacy practices and relations and reflects Cefalónian ideas on acquired and innate skills. Formal and informal literacy practices are referred to here. The terms refer to schooling and reading at home respectively, as Cefalónians talk about these practices. Relations among them are hierarchical with top position belonging to reading at home while the bottom refers to schooling.

In addition, knowledge acquired during engagement with the natural environment is examined, and such knowledge highlights the motives and qualities of the performer. This is a complementary relation to literacy activities and is understood as such in Kondogenada and in Argostóli alike. Further, such literacy practices are juxtaposed to "innate mental skills" which must be employed and demonstrated in the "practice of the everyday" as kirios Andonis suggested in Kondogenada. The practice of the everyday is related to the reciprocal process of engagement with the performer and is presented here as *simasía*.

*Simasía* draws from a discussion recognised while conducting research in Kondogenada and the teasing event. *Simasía* is presented from a different perspective than the one Herzfeld suggests. *Simasía* means the process rather than the retrospective attachment of meaning to things or situations. *Simasía* is the main means audience members employ to test the performer's skills and goes beyond literacy practices. The point is to see the performer's use of his own mind and the available material.

The overall aim is to examine two main methods people utilise to reach the performer's mind and point to the importance of his qualities.

## PART ONE

### On literacy.

Besnier<sup>349</sup> suggests that literacy “can be roughly defined as communication through visually decoded inscriptions, rather than through auditory and gestural channels”<sup>350</sup>. He acknowledges that literacy is a “complex web of activities through which humans organize themselves socially and culturally.” He also states “literacy activities are diverse and vary widely in form and context across societies as well: contexts of use, levels of prestige, communicative norms, identities of users and social dynamics all shape literacy in particular ways in each society or community”<sup>351</sup>. He adds that literacy is related to emotions, to the self and power, and authority relations. All these are manifested through the use of texts and often in the form of texts themselves<sup>352</sup>.

That literacy practices are classified as formal and informal needs to be elucidated. Formal practices refer to schooling and professionals while informal refer to people’s engagement with reading and writing at home and in the community. Besnier mentions such practices without classifying them. The inclination here is to follow a classification suggested by Ward and Wason-Ellam regarding literacy in a neighbourhood library<sup>353</sup>. This definition to literacy is particularly helpful given that it refers to literacy practices, a term worth adopting and following as defined by Street thus: “literacy practices incorporate not only ‘literacy events’ as empirical occasions to which literacy is integral, but also “folk models” of those events and the ideological preconceptions that underpin these”<sup>354</sup>.

This implies the role of formal and informal literacy practices in groups or communities as well as peoples’ views on these practices. Most important however, is that literacy practices are related to emotions and the self and are seen through the use of texts. Here it is understood that literacy practices are not detached from talk about them thus, during a teasing event, the performer is subject to criticism and evaluation from audience members.

Street introduces “the ideological model of literacy” which is observed here, in so far as literacy can be studied in relation to other aspects of social life. Street emphasises structures of power and domination and the need to know and study the broader features of social and cultural life in order to understand the role of literacy practices<sup>355</sup>. Street<sup>356</sup> and Collins<sup>357</sup> have for example noted the contribution of literacy practices in the construction of ethnicity, gender and religious identities. Anderson’s<sup>358</sup> work on the construction of nationalism is a classic example to add here as he demonstrates the role of schooling and dissemination of printed material in the inculcation of national consciousness.

The position to literacy practices that are considered within the anthropology of ‘satire’ focus on local definitions of literacy and local literacy practices that are related to teasing events. It is interesting, in particular, to examine how these

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<sup>349</sup> Besnier 1999:141-143.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> Ward and Wason-Ellam 2005.

<sup>354</sup> Street 1993:13.

<sup>355</sup> Street, *ibid.*

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> Collins 1995.

<sup>358</sup> Anderson 1991.

definitions and views on literacy practices reveal the Cefalónian performer and emphasize his intrinsic nature, his “innate skills”.

This suggests that people talk about and manipulate literacy practices to construct the image of a performer or evaluate him; in other words to present him as different from other group members<sup>359</sup>. Cefalónians refer to a number of literacy practices and relate these to the performer’s attitudes to each practice. The Cefalónian performer emerges through this dialectic and comes under the term “the illiterate”.

### **“I am illiterate”: unpacking Cefalónian ideas on literacy.**

Approaches to illiteracy consider this either as a state of being or as a process; hence, references to the illiterate and illiteracy. This is considered a negative state resulting from the lack of acquiring certain skills or refers to political and economic conditions pertaining in a country. Cohen, for example, defines the term “illiterate” thus: “the term was used more often to mean unlettered, untaught, unlearned”<sup>360</sup>. Further, she mentions the lack of scholastic and book learning which are included in the content of the same term.

Collins makes reference to the role of literacy in the formation of identity and subjectivity stating that in modern times “illiteracy signifies economic stagnation, political decay and cultural disorder<sup>361</sup>”. He reports that illiteracy is seen as problem and “a sign of individual and social disease<sup>362</sup>”. He juxtaposes illiteracy to literacy which is related to progress and enlightenment. This perception on literacy practices is reviewed here with the focus not on illiteracy but rather on ‘the illiterate’. In what follows I show that ‘the illiterate’ includes Cefalónian views on literacy practices and revolves around dialectic.

As mentioned in chapter one, there are schools all around the island and the percentage of unlettered people is very low. The people I talked to and the teasing events I listened to in Argostóli had received a certain degree of formal literacy that is they had graduated from primary or secondary school and some of them hold university degrees.

Young people on the island have to follow the curriculum set by the Greek State, and the vast majority of them pursue further studies either in Greece or abroad. In addition, Cefalónians state a special affection for higher education and sciences. From this perspective, they echo an attitude observed by Bloch in Madagascar suggesting that Madagascar people “are absolutely convinced of the value of schooling and literacy”<sup>363</sup>.

Kiria Roza, an elderly Argostólian who graduated from high school, expressed her passion for mathematics. Both her children were educated abroad and she repeated constantly “I bow before education and knowledge” (*ipoklinome sti gnosi*). Kondogenaditians also receive education with only one villager who had never been to school. Out of the sixty four people, there were three elderly people who had received secondary school education. Younger people had all graduated from high school, while others had also pursued further studies.

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<sup>359</sup> Collins 1995.

<sup>360</sup> Cohen 1993: 289.

<sup>361</sup> Collins 1995:84.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid. He quotes Rockhill.

<sup>363</sup> Bloch 1993:94.

From this perspective, the term “illiterate” is inappropriate yet, people refer to each other or to themselves as “being illiterate” (*ime agramatos*). Why do local scholars insist on “illiterate satirists”<sup>364</sup> and why did Cefalónians in their interviews bring this up?

People’s relation to the ethnographer are put aside because as a research student, people in Argostóli and Kondogenada call themselves “illiterate” and so doubt their ability to help with research.

To explore these questions reference is made to people’s engagement with available literacy practices.

*Schooling: “I wish I were more attentive”.*

Bloch suggests that Madagaskan people value literacy for the advantages it offers in terms of government employment or politics given the conditions on the island. On the other hand, literacy brings with it certain drawbacks to the village with the possibility of young people migrating to urban centres. Bloch continues by examining the other reasons for which villagers value schooling so highly and refers to the role of home culture, as he calls it: “School knowledge is interpreted within the terms of the village home culture.”<sup>365</sup> He suggests further that locals evaluate other kinds of knowledge related to bodily maturation, to plants and animals and gender. “Different stages in life are related to different activities and kinds of knowledge.”<sup>366</sup> Bloch also notes that schooling is not used out of school and if it is, it becomes problematic.

Elderly people in Cefalónia share some of these ideas. They evaluate schooling for the knowledge it offers, and this appreciation is retrospective. So from this perspective Cefalónians appear different from people in Madagascar. Even though schooling is offered on a daily basis with a full programme to attend, yet, often students are not attentive to it. This applies particularly to villages, given that Argostólions did not elaborate on their school days. Kondogenaditians contrarily admitted leaving school of their own volition and running out to play. My first discussion with Kirios Memas, the gloomy old man whose ‘poems’ are full of images of the natural environment, was like this about his own experiences of his school days, after admitting he was “illiterate”. He recalled the teacher trying to teach them while they looked out of the window.

Kirios Giannis, the migrant who set fire to his father’s flock of sheep in order to escape to a better life, tells more lively tales when it comes to schooling. During the early September gatherings at the grill-house, Kondogenaditians recalled kirios Giannis’ father tying him up with a rope and pulling him to school! No matter how hard the father tried, Giannis ran away from school later on. Kirios Giannis climbed out of his bedroom window to avoid going to school, he would meet his friends and wander around the village, despite the fact that his father was adamant he attend school.

Such a ‘conscious’ lack of regular school attendance is remembered with bitterness. People talk with reverence about their teachers and the school later on. Kirios Memas wished he had attended school more often and paid more attention.

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<sup>364</sup> See Skiniotatos in his Calendar and Moschopoulos 1972 for example.

<sup>365</sup> Bloch 1993:95.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.96.

Argostólíans and Kondogenaditians agree on this point today to the extent that withdrawing from school and not proceeding onto secondary education is regretful.

It is shown then, that elderly and middle-aged Cefalónians did not attend school on an ordinary basis and this attitude stems either from family obligations or individual free will. People mention leaving school to help the family in farming or shepherding activities or go to the town and find a job.

To the extent that people attend occasionally or drop out of school, they engage in activities within the natural environment, similar to Bloch's observations. At this point the 'self' is introduced. By choosing or obliged to drop out of school, people engage in other tasks to compensate for the lack of formal knowledge. From this point of view, lack of proper schooling, is not perceived as negative. On the contrary, it allows for individual 'selves' to emerge.

### *The importance of lived experiences.*

When kirios Gianis finished talking about his father's attempts to get him to school, kirios Haris asked how he had managed with life, especially as a migrant, without an education. Kirios Gianis smiled and continued recalling his early childhood in the village. The answer to this question would gradually emerge through kirios Gianis' behaviour. Kirios Gianis said he would not have managed to adapt to USA had he not spent his childhood and early youth constantly engaged with 'nature' around Kondogenada. Kirios Memas suggested, in more detail, that peoples' direct engagement with the environment is important and beneficial.

Bloch similarly notes how children engage with nature and scrutinise animals and plants, and how different stages in life are associated with different activities and hence growing knowledge. Thus, it is possible, certainly in the case of small, rural, agrarian communities to understand that formal knowledge, developed in the school room can be problematic when used in everyday life. As such, formal schooling is kept separate from mundane life.

And so with Kondogenadites, it is lack of formal schooling that exists in complementary terms with activities around the village and scrutiny of animals and plants. Schooling however is not kept separate from such activities here; rather people seek to add to and complement their knowledge as well as to satisfy their curiosity. Kirios Memas and the rest of the Kondogenaditians provided useful information that looked back at their own selves when they were school children. This process was retold by kirios Stefanatos, leader of the Argostólían *maskarata* group who eloquently described the process as: "education through life" (*morfosi apo ti zoi*). Kirios Memas told how he wandered around Kondogenada, ferret hunting or helping with farming activities while at the same time establishing a direct relation with the natural environment. He repeated often how he set his mind to veer off (*na pari to mjialo strofes*), something I describe in chapter seven as being the essence of the Cefalónian performer.

During his wanderings, kirios Memas would closely observe all plants, insects and animals, once looking closely at an army of ants carrying food through difficult passages had impressed him profoundly. He explained that this determined struggle demonstrated by the little creatures had filled him with admiration as he stopped to

look at them. Furthermore, it was during a ferret hunting expedition, while waiting for ferrets to come out of bushes or holes that kirios Memas had time to inspect, look and listen. Returning home later, kirios Memas had managed to earn some money and educate himself through watching and learning about the natural world around him.

Apart from the role of memory as demonstrated above, the importance of the senses should not be underestimated in the accusation of knowledge. Seeing and hearing are enhanced by “deeper” aspects of such senses. Kirios Memas was not only seeing the ants carrying food. He stopped, bent down and scrutinized them. Visual perception led to thoughts and feelings, all of which were imprinted in him, as he told me.

Such retrospective presentations provide us with particular insights into the performer’s ‘self’. We can see how he manages his own choice or other demands to leave school. This point marks the emergence of qualities of his self, like curiosity, close observation, memorisation and emotional reactions. Cefalónians, much like other Greeks, hold that “the biggest of all schools is life itself” (*to megalo sholio ine I zoi*). This paves the way for the appreciation of the performer’s mental qualities and his own experiences as knowledge.

The term “illiterate” can now be reassessed and understood to include skills that help people to adapt to life in a specific place and build on and develop individual knowledge: what people know and should know. This definition applies to literacy, according to Keller-Cohen<sup>367</sup>. It is this definition that is applied to the “illiterate” described here, exactly because through lack of proper schooling people demonstrate their intrinsic nature and reach out of formal school knowledge. To consider the full content of the term a close examination of informal literacy practices is required.

#### *Informal literacy practices: reading at home.*

We have been following Street’s suggestions on literacy practices and looking at the ways in which Cefalónians perceive schooling and the role of knowledge out of school. This section refers to informal literacy activities in which Argostólians and Kondogenaditians engage and how aspects of people’s ‘selves’ emerge through these activities.

Kulick and Stroud<sup>368</sup> take the positive stance to literacy practices. Exploring a newly literate society in Papua New Guinea, they suggest people actively and creatively apply literate skills out of school to suit their own purposes and needs. How people affect literacy, rather than how literacy affects people are examined with a focus on aspects of personality characteristics and social relations in order to understand the role of literacy practices. From this perspective, literacy practices like writing request notes or reading messages and delivering ‘oral’ requests refer to decoding implied meanings and proper behaviour. This means that they use literacy to avoid direct conflicts and maintain group solidarity<sup>369</sup>. Each villager in other words has to attempt and constrain himself in favour of uninterrupted village life and social relations.

Cefalónians however engage in reading at home. They also talk about reading for a variety of reasons which do not refer to the normal flow of social relations and do not constrain expression of themselves, as Culick and Stroud observed. Contrary

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<sup>367</sup> Keller-Cohen 1993.

<sup>368</sup> Kulick and Stroud 1993.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

to what applies in Kulick and Stroud's example, then, Cefalónians explain their engagement with reading by bringing aspects of their selves in.

Kondogenadites and Argostólians say they do not stop reading once they leave school. Kirios Memas liked reading and never stopped and kirios Vaggelis always talking about books he had recently read in the USA. He had indeed brought some of them with him for others to read. This is a small sign of how local people, townspeople and villagers alike, regard printed material. Thus, considering Kulick and Stroud's approach on how people actively use literacy, this balance needs to be appreciated: lack of school knowledge is compensated by out of school further reading. The common factor, underlying both attitudes, is that of willingness, noting the presence of unwillingness to go to school and willingness to buy and deal with printed material.

Thia Efterpi, (sister of the assassinated professor of archaeology) proudly told me that her favourite pastime was reading. She loved reading and learning while her husband hated her indulgence in books. Thios Thanasis, her husband, came from another Cefalónian village, a fact that made thia Euterpi draw distinctions between Kondogenadites and "that other village" in terms of appreciation of schooling.

Kirios Spiros Orlandatos in Kondogenada is another keen reader and regardless of how many hours shepherding demands, he devotes time to reading. While sitting at the coffee house in Kondogenada, the old shepherd would name the books he had read. Kirios Andonis, who owns the coffee shop would comment on kirios Spiros happily doing this. "Look at him and his shabby clothes; his appearance in general" kirios Andonis would say in front of kirios Spiros. "If you don't know him you'd never think this shepherd is a constant reader." Kirios Spiros said nothing and I agreed with kirios Andonis. Kirios Andonis guided attention to the ways people speak and their mental qualities which may seem incongruent to appearances, thus appearances are, indeed, deceptive.

Both examples show the importance of self motivation to reading. Motivation stems from emotional attitudes and proves stronger than obstacles readers might face, such as those from other people. Kondogenaditians and Argostólians demonstrate a personalised relation to reading, with varying reasons for reading as well as a variety of material read, ranging from religious books to local history and culture.

Argostólians also talk about printed material –newspapers, books and local periodicals – that they have read or are reading. When enquiring after the reasons Argostólians read, kiria Erithra suggests that reading is a favourite pass-time for Argostólians. At times, when there was no television or other entertainment, people started to read. And what's more kiria Erithra had herself read some of the local periodicals, and she happily lent me some rare books as did kirios Kostas, my Argostólian neighbour. These people recalled such memories and turned against "modern entertainment".

I was surprised to discover some of my own classmates –among the younger inhabitants of the town - talking about their own love for old local books, which they constantly keep buying. Much of this information came from a bookshop owner, another young man, who had also discovered books and periodicals the Cefalónians like to read and love. He mentioned that people kept asking for out of print issues and described their happiness when acquiring an issue read a long time ago.

To summarize: informal literacy practices fit people's needs. People who read are appreciated and this kind of literacy practice is more highly regarded than schooling, as seen when kirios Andonis spoke about kirios Spiros. Constant engagement with printed material reveals the reader's willingness to learn and above

all, a curiosity. These motives advance the ways people use literacy and bring their selves in. The relation between literacy practices and aspects of the ‘self’ favours the self. The self is not limited for the sake of a harmonious community as explained by Kulick and Stroud, so aspects of the self emerge and are highlighted.

*‘Hearing’ literacy practices in a teasing event.*

A teasing event that takes place in everyday life and in settings described in chapter three is an “aural event”. Local people insist on the importance of hearing a teasing but in their own ways. These ways refer to local meanings and how they are presented to a ‘native’ ethnographer. I present my experience with what can be called obscurity of semantic discrepancies (or hidden semantic divergence), a term borrowed from Herzfeld.

Obscurity of semantic discrepancies refers to ambiguities a term presents when evoked in different contexts. Herzfeld refers to terms like dowry (*príka*) and marriage (*gámos*): “*gámos* may mean quite different things in standard, lexicographical Greek and in village usage, and sharing this term between *katharévousa*,<sup>370</sup> *dimotikí* and local dialects only serves to obscure such semantic discrepancies that may exist.”<sup>371</sup>

Thus, Herzfeld draws attention to the ease with which we can “be misled by mere words and the lack of external evidence of the hidden semantic divergence.”<sup>372</sup> This issue should be seriously considered by anthropologists with diverse specialisations so as not to remain linguistically and semiotically naïve<sup>373</sup>.

Herzfeld’s admonitions apply to ‘native’ ethnographers as well. In this case, it is not the engagement with various aspects of language and a synchronic or diachronic approach to meanings of terms that cause problems to the understanding of a term. It is the ethnographer’s partial naiveté and local people’s attitude to her status as ‘native’ that leads to obscurity of semantic discrepancies.

This example refers to the verb ‘hear’, ‘*akúo*’ in Greek<sup>374</sup>, and problems arising from the lack of clear application of a specific and different meaning each time. There is only one verb in Greek -*akuo*- which combines two different meanings: ‘hear’ and ‘listen’. Other languages, however, English for example, provide different verbs to denote different actions: hear and listen respectively.

The solution of the preferred meaning (or a combination of meanings) each time refers to the direction the researcher must take herself. Given that the action should be that of listening in my case, the ethnographer must focus on the ways that sounds are delivered. She must go beyond referential meanings, inventions of new words or their combination in a sentence.

Lack of clarification of the specific meaning, in my case, stems from two reasons. The first deals with the relation the researcher holds with the place, namely her ‘native’ status. Being taken as ‘one of us’, people expected me to know the

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<sup>370</sup> Katharevousa and dimotiki are two aspects of Greek language: the first refers mostly to official written forms and the second refers to the vernacular. The big debate that started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century around them has now ceased, even though katharevousa is not entirely obsolete. See Herzfeld for a detailed analysis of their roles in the Greek Nation –State.

<sup>371</sup> Herzfeld 1983: 161-172.

<sup>372</sup> Herzfeld 1983: 168.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Greek vocabulary includes some other verbs to denote listen, like the verb *afugkrázome*. Yet, people do not employ them, hence the multivalency of *akúo*.

meanings of words and apply these accordingly. This justifies the lack of explanations and the frustration at my insistence when asking them to decipher meanings. Herzfeld observes: “everybody knows what these words mean.”<sup>375</sup>

The second reason is connected to verbocentric approaches to teasing events. In order to prove how teasing events are inextricably linked to wit, many people focused on the importance of words. As noted in chapter three, while looking for suitable ‘settings’, I was advised to go to specific locales or the village coffeehouse and ‘listen to how they tease each other’ (*na tus akúsis pos pirázonte*): they advised me to pay attention to the things that performers would come up with.

With reference to the role of literacy practices, while attending a teasing event and listening to people it is necessary to seek out different literacy practices that are embedded in performers’ talk and often employed by the performer to achieve different aims. This is one of the ways through which audience members relate to the performer and mention his literacy activities.

Some performers, the elderly in particular, would sprinkle their talk with short or longer ‘satirical poems’ or other ‘texts’. These were borrowed from religious books or published material concerning anecdotes or historical facts. In the transcribed text that we will see further in this chapter, for example, Spiros is heard reciting some verses from a Cefalónian satirical journal of the early twentieth century. Similarly, kirios Djionisis who works at the local branch of the Inland Revenue service and has a large selection of stamps would cite ‘texts’ from religious books. He cited the original first ‘text’ and then provided us with his version to fit the teasing addressed to his supervisor.

Such attitudes suggest we cannot talk about distinct ‘oral’ events and it is not possible to talk about ‘oral’ or ‘written’ texts either. We also need to ask if the performer is to be seen as a composer or reciter. The topic of oral and written composition, of transmission of ‘texts’ as well as the relation of the performer to the composer or the reciter of ‘texts’ has attracted researchers’ attention. Finnegan, for example, has published on poetry in Africa and has investigated such issues<sup>376</sup>.

These two issues are referred to in passing only however in the context of a teasing event, they are worthy of a separate study. In cases like those mentioned earlier, where people cite ‘texts’ produced by other people, we need to treat ‘texts’ as transitional. Finnegan admits that “the effectiveness of writing depends on how it is actually used and its interplay with other media, including the oral communication and personal interaction”. She claims that “orality and literacy can support each other.”<sup>377</sup> She inserts the term “transitional texts”<sup>378</sup> in the “sense of forms involving both oral and written elements.”<sup>379</sup>

Given such perceptions, transitional texts are those that the performer moves from their ‘original form’, either written or oral and uses in his teasing.<sup>380</sup> The performer usually uses these without any corrections, while at other times he adapts texts for his own purposes.

In terms of the second issue, that of the performer being related to the composer or reciter, Finnegan has written on the concept of the reciter, of the performer as well as the composer. The terms poet and performer coincide in oral

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<sup>375</sup> Herzfeld 1983:168.

<sup>376</sup> Finnegan 1977,1988, 1992.

<sup>377</sup> Finnegan 1988:110.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid.120.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> This alludes to processes of decontextualisation and recontextualisation.

composition during performance, and Finnegan acknowledges that “in another sense there is also a multiplicity of authors.”<sup>381</sup> The issue of composer and performer has many dimensions depending on the creation of a text (composition) and its relation to performance. The dimension of the reciter is also relevant here. Finnegan distinguishes between poets and reciters<sup>382</sup>. She considers poets as something distinct, who often become a power in their own right. They are named and known individuals “will not hesitate to cling to their privileged ability to manipulate a special poetic language, removed from that of the common people”<sup>383</sup>. She also draws other differentiations between professional poets and free-lance, less specialised poets.

Throughout this work, Finnegan insists on the relation between the poet and the society. The poet is distinct from others for his own creativity and insight but society plays the most crucial role in his creations. Composition and performance, Finnegan holds, are influenced by the audience.

In later works, Finnegan mentions the distinction between the oral composer and the oral performer, while the writer has “other opportunities which he can choose to exploit if he wishes”<sup>384</sup>. The performer has his own role<sup>385</sup> based on a number of factors concerning the performer himself as well as other external factors.

Although these concepts appear quite concrete, they show a high degree of sophistication. Finnegan thus implies a fluidity of boundaries among such categories. She has already done so by suggesting a composer can be a performer, for example.

The Cefalónian performer shifts between composer, poet, and reciter. As such, I use the term performer to encompass them all and this keeps with the performative aspect of ‘satire’. In the next chapter the performer is seen in another role, as an idiorhythmic and in the last chapter as a madman. This will be the final ‘name’ he will be called.

With all these in mind, it is now possible to re-read peoples’ advice from another standpoint: ‘*how*<sup>386</sup> they tease each other’ (*pós pirazonte*). This interpretation shows that, while attending a teasing event, we can also ‘hear’ the stances the performer adopts, realize that he has engaged in literacy practices and has obtained material. The importance of sounds is revisited in the next chapter.

To summarize: in this section reference is made to Herzfeld, namely that all anthropologists should avoid semiotic naiveté. As my case shows, we sometimes need to show such a naiveté in order to acquire insight into local culture and ‘hear’ more things in a teasing event than local people suggest.

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<sup>381</sup> Finnegan 1977:66.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid 83.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid 111.

<sup>384</sup> Finnegan 1988:77.

<sup>385</sup> Finnegan 1992.

<sup>386</sup> I use italics to denote a different way of uttering this word: I wish to emphasize the use of sounds in the teasing event.

PART TWO.  
**Simasía as encouragement.**

*Reporting from the field: a useful negative event.*

Before moving to Kondogenada and while working with the Kondogenaditian Panagis on a regular basis in Argostóli, I regularly heard a certain teasing from him (*piragma*): “Just dare to move to Kondogenada and you will leave the place shortly after midnight. It will definitely be night when you leave. And you will either be pregnant or mad” were his usual words to me. He insisted on spreading false news around concerning my presence and passing me off as Bambi’s girlfriend, thus kiria Artemis’ dear daughter-in-law.

Even though this was a teasing, his face remained serious. I felt something scary in the air. At first I too wondered whether he actually meant these things or not and whether he would ruin my public image and turn villagers against me. I would save myself from such fallacies and nightmares by turning to my research project and seeing him as a case of teasing and testing me. Panagis was very good at putting people to the test and I soon realised I was one of the tested.

It was difficult to get information from the Kondogenadites about Panagis spreading false news with some people telling me they had heard nothing of this sort. One June afternoon, sitting with kiria Marjioleni in front of the coffee shop, Panagis passed by in his car without waving hello. I smiled at this confirmation of Panagis’ long kept promise not to talk to me in the village. After all, he had promised to pretend he had never met me. “I do not know you, you do not know me”, he would say.

I told kiria Marjioleni about how well the village had received me and that some people had promised to ruin my reputation and make me leave the place by midnight. Her face became serious and in a solemn voice said: “It must have been either Bambis or Panagis who said these things to you. Nobody else.” Her immediate and correct identification of Panagis surprised me. What followed, however, surprised me more. It seemed I had struck a chord by mentioning this teasing and I admitted that Panagis was the culprit. Her reply was an implicit order, a motherly instruction: “Do not give him meaning (*simasía*)” and went on to share some of her own reactions to Panagis: “Look at me. I don’t talk to him. If he passes by, I pretend I am looking at something else, or I turn my chair to face the wall, not the road.”<sup>387</sup>

Kiria Marjioleni continued to express her frustration and strong feelings against Panagis, saying he was giving the place a bad name and I should not talk with him or listen to his words. Needless to say, all this was reported to her husband, kirios Andonis, and they both talked to me that evening. They were adamant I should avoid Panagis.

I was excited by the information and guidance as it reflected the villagers’ sense of *simasía*. This is not unlike the Argostólian example. Yet, I was struck by the use of the term “*simasía*” and started thinking about it in terms of individuals, speakers and audience.

What follows is an analysis of *simasía* in a teasing event: something that people give, take, deny or ask for...

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<sup>387</sup> Min tu dinis simasia. Kitaxe me.Ego den tu milao. An perasi, kano pos den ton vlepo ke kitao kati alo i girnao tin karekla mu pros ton tiho ke ohi pros ton dromo.

### ***Simasia* and the practice of the everyday: the mind.**

The focus on *simasia* as engagement and therefore encouragement to the performer and audience members is related to literacy practices presented earlier in this chapter. I hold this in the sense that it is only through *simasia* that audience members can test the performer's skills and specify his sources. They can hence evaluate his "intrinsic nature" above all acquired skills or knowledge.

The significance of *simasia* can be understood by following Cefalónians' perceptions on the role of the clever mind and its use by the performer in everyday interactions. This is what kirios Andonis in Kondogenada phrased as "what crosses your mind, not what you have learnt" (*den ine ti xeris, ine ti perna apo to mjialo su*). Beyond all literacy practices and acquired skills, people emphasize the "practice of the everyday", (*I praktiki tis imeras*) to quote kirios Andonis again.

Kirios Andonis' term is not borrowed from any book as he does not engage in literacy activities. Yet, in providing a term I was familiar with in anthropology, he surprised me and made me wonder about the extent to which Cefalónians have a sophisticated theory on performers and their values on everyday life practices. Kirios Andonis mentioned Leandros, a tall Lixurian man who used to tease and be teased back in the Lixurian marketplace. He was illiterate, he said, but he was very clever. Kirios Andonis explained "it is the practice of the everyday, it is all about the way you deal with things as they come up". I could not but exclaim that the term is "anthropological". His answer was also revealing: "see? This is what I am trying to tell you. You knew the term but it did not cross your sense of importance of the ways people operate and of the means they employ in order to cope with everyday things".

De Certeau, refers to "ways of operating which the Greeks called *metis*." He calls these 'tactics' - among which are clever tricks and knowing how to get away with things - and stresses "the extent to which intelligence is inseparable from the everyday struggles and pleasures that it articulates."<sup>388</sup> Such references to the mind call for a description on the topic of the "mind" perceived as mental processes, as workings. The "mind" constitutes the second part of the last chapter of this thesis, thus here a note will suffice.

Cefalónians use the term mind (*mjialo*) or spirit (*pnevma*) to refer to what the Oxford English Dictionary coins as spirit, wit and genius: "the mind or faculties as the seat of action and feeling, especially as liable to be exalted by events or circumstances."<sup>389</sup> The importance of the mind as such is a common topic among the Greeks, even though it has not received the focus it deserves, especially from an anthropological perspective. Some studies come from the area of philology and refer to ancient Greece. Still, they are useful in the sense they provide solid ground on which to think of the Cefalónian mind in chapter seven.

De Certeau points to Detienne and Vernant's study on Greek cunning intelligence in which the authors refer to *métis*. *Métis*, then, includes "thought and intelligence, a complex and coherent body of mental attitudes and intellectual behaviour which combine flair, wisdom, forethought, subtlety of mind, deception, resourcefulness, vigilance, opportunism, various skills and experience acquired over the years. It is applied to situations which are transient, shifting, disconcerting and ambiguous, situations which do not lend themselves to precise measurement, exact

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<sup>388</sup> De Certeau 1984: xix-xx.

<sup>389</sup> Definition of the term comes from the available website for Oxford English Dictionary.

calculation or rigorous logic.”<sup>390</sup> An important aspect of *Métis* comes with the ambiguous situations: “the curve, what is twisted, ambiguous as opposed to what is straight, direct, rigid and unequivocal”<sup>391</sup> bears the qualities of *Métis*. It “is flexible, alert and fast proceeds obliquely and takes the shortest way: it makes a detour.”<sup>392</sup>

*Métis*, its qualities and the situations it is applied to, refers to a “world of movement to fluid situations, to mobility and transformation”<sup>393</sup>. Any person then, who can devise “a thousand tricks, turn a different face to each person”<sup>394</sup>, who is “mobile, bending and knows ways of twisting and turning”<sup>395</sup> is the suggested ideal person. He is called *polítropos*, *polístrophos* and *polimíchanos*. This ideal person uses tricks, various manipulations and traps in order to “discover a way out”<sup>396</sup>, to “get out of inextricable situations”<sup>397</sup> and even “take in a situation at a glance and in less than no time come up with a ploy”<sup>398</sup>. *Métis* guides the person to “set up a situation”<sup>399</sup> and to “implement plans and bring them to their successful conclusion”<sup>400</sup>.

With this view on ‘the mind’ as a first approach, I shall turn to present the Cefalónian sense for *simasía*. Before so, I shall outline Herzfeld’s approach to the topic.

### ***Simasía*: the Cretan version.**

Herzfeld’s, extensive work on Crete, explores the concept of *simasía* and the ways cultural practices become endowed with this. He sees the English term ‘meaning’ as loosely glossing *simasía*. Thinking of *simasía* as a ‘property’, a complex idea, it is considered a ‘poetic’ notion. *Simasía* is found in all spheres of social action. “The search for meaning can be extended from the single term to the whole text and even to the commentary of the text”<sup>401</sup>.

*Simasía* concerns the means by which significance is conveyed through actual performance. Such means aim to highlight moral values as well as people’s relations with either the Nation-State or between categories of ‘stranger’ and ‘one of us’ in Crete. In order to accomplish such aims, people produced explanations for him. Herzfeld’s exploration of couplets (*distichs*) and other practices such as evil eye accusations, the dowry, animal theft and blasphemy under the light of *simasía*.

Examining his case-studies, he suggests that *simasía* is composed out of the relation of acts with a context. In terms of songs and couplets, people stress the continuity of songs and the fitting of texts to situations that have happened. Asking people for *simasía*, “is the outcome of a successful relationship: it is definitional dependent on a relationship with something, located in actuality, whether this be an isolable category of situations or a series of actual events, even though they may be

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<sup>390</sup> Detienne and Vernant 1978:3-4.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid 46 and 242.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid 308.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid 20.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid 39.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid 40.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid 21.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid 112.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid 282.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid 110.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid 110.

<sup>401</sup> Herzfeld 1985.

far removed in time and place”<sup>402</sup>. *Simasía* may also lie in the affirmation of an eternal verity.

Herzfeld understands *simasía* as a concept that “Glendiots use to judge and order all social experience and is firmly grounded in observation. The term is rarely used in the abstract; instead, it is applied evaluatively to particular performances”<sup>403</sup>. To the extent that something is found to have *simasía*, particularly in the case of songs or couplets, it is memorized.

We should note that, apart from Herzfeld, Cowan’s work on dance among the Sohoians of northern Greece, refers to *simasía* in passing. She defines *simasía* as social significance that is given or denied and is a fixed condition<sup>404</sup>. Cowan provides explains *simasía* as a process and provides the expression ‘give someone *simasía*’. This applies to audience members and their engagement with the performer. Yet, as Cowan notes, the performer, “a man who perceives that others refuse to give him meaning understands this as an assault on his self-regard, his *eghoismos*. And he may respond with disruptive acts”<sup>405</sup>.

Having heard the term being used and experiencing events like the one I described earlier in this part of the chapter, I find that the Cefalónian version of *simasía* is somewhat close to the Sohoian view in the sense that there is an engagement among people. The Cefalónian version of *simasia* differs from the Sohoian in that *simasía* is not denied as a result of *eghoismos*. It can be denied by the performer, if he does not want to engage with audience members on one day, while it can be accepted the following day.

Not only do events or texts have *simasía*. Herzfeld does not clearly mention that people themselves can be related to it, as noted in my research. Further, if we continue, we can see that *simasía* concerns a mutual process through which the performer is related to his audience and vice versa. There is a giving and taking of *simasía*, not retrospectively but at the moment of interaction. *Simasía* is not applied evaluatively; rather it is the means to evaluation. I, however, agree with Herzfeld in that the term cannot be successfully translated as ‘meaning’, hence my use of *simasía* as it is or, invariably as attention.

For all these reasons, people in Cefalónia talk about giving (or not giving) *simasía*. We can note the differences between ‘something has *simasía*’ and ‘give him *simasía*’. While in the former, people impose ‘meanings’ to things and situations, in the latter people negotiate positions; they engage with each other.

I then turn to sketch the Cefalónian aspect of *simasía* and present examples from recordings.

### ***Simasía* in Cefalónia: a reciprocal process.**

In the event described in the previous page, kiria Marjioleni used the term *simasía*. She combined it with the verb give (*dino*) in the sentence “do not give him *simasía*”. She further indicated the rules on which she had been following this. These rules refer to abstaining from talking with a performer and from turning a locale to a ‘setting’. Thus here I deal with *simasía* in line with the above remarks and drawing from transcribed texts to show the application of principles.

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<sup>402</sup> Herzfeld 1984:48.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Cowan 1990:149.

<sup>405</sup> Cowan ibid.

In order to understand the notion of *simasía*, it is important to present more expressions of equivalent meaning. Hence, people talk about dealing with someone (*asholúme me ká pion*), giving attention to someone (*dino prosohí*). They thus refer to *simasía* as talk about someone and with someone. This means that people listen to the speaker's words and they respond. Attention is in the reply, people see attention in the reply. Listening is not enough as a means of paying attention to someone. Rather it is the first step. Reply is important as it is the outcome of the manipulation of aspects of the self, as we saw in the examination of the audience axioms.

According to this, *simasía* is something that someone gives (or denies) to someone else. To people's views *simasía* means encouraging someone to perform. Hence Cefalónians also mention *simasía* as "(not) encourage him" (*dose tu tharos, min tu dinis tharos*). Because encouragement has to be given to the performer and to audience members as well, *simasía* is a reciprocal process. It is allowance for performance.<sup>406</sup> The way it was phrased by kiria Marjioleni, clearly presents the role of the agent in the transmission of *simasía* from himself to another person. There is a point of departure and a destination in other words. With reference to teasing events, *simasía* starts from audience members and ends at the performer. Negotiation of *simasía* in other words, is the display of positions that people occupy in a teasing event, namely audience members and performer(s). It further concerns the mode of interaction, which is the audience's active engagement with the performer.

It is an ongoing process, a never fixed process, even though it is not stated but only practiced. Rather, it appears in every interaction and also within one and the same event. People define the degree to which they give it to the performer: we can then see a whole or a partial giving of *simasía* as well as a denial of it. Different members of an audience grant the performer different degrees of *simasía*. Because the giving comes from audience members, this shows the importance of their role and the necessity to keep an active audience in order to be able to grant someone with *simasía*.

This is not a one-way process, however. *Simasía* is very often requested from performers, either implicitly or explicitly, as we will see in the examples that follow. It is usually first asked and then given. In this way, performers want either license to speak and, most important, to say things they have in mind or are thinking of at the moment. At other times, they want to secure their positions as main speakers and keep the teasing going.

The means through which people imbue someone with *simasía* are either verbal or non-verbal. Kiria Marjioleni mentioned talking and manipulating her body in terms of the coffeehouse space to show her attitude towards giving or denying *simasía* to someone. During my fieldwork in Argostóli I observed the same means being applied. Even though bodily postures and gestures are very eloquent, this thesis does not deal with them. They are a topic worth investigating in itself.

I here look at the verbal aspect of asking and giving *simasía*. What is striking is the fact that people do not disengage a speaker from his words. They refer to him as the destination of their attention and they usually mean, through naming him, his spoken words. Kiria Marjioleni talked about Panagis and she implied his words. The speaker is seen as one with his spoken words: spoken words are the medium that people employ to reach each other and engage with each other. In giving *simasia* focus is on people, then, and their words.

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<sup>406</sup> I owe this remark to prof. Roy Dillely, whom I wish to thank.

To summarize: asking for and giving *simasía* is about asking for and giving aspects of the self, mental qualities and emotional states.

In the sections that follow I present some examples and I examine the performer's request for attention and the audience replies to this request.

*Asking for simasía: the performer's stand point.*

Throughout the transcribed texts we can see moments when the performer asks, either explicitly or implicitly, for *simasía*. It is not only a matter of initiating the teasing that can be seen as a request for *simasía*; it is further the use of implicit and explicit linguistic devices that a performer can use in order to attract attention.

We should note that his request is not always met with success. Audience members decide if they will give it to him or not. They further decide on the extent to which they will attend his words during a teasing event. From this perspective, *simasía* lies on a temporary basis and is constantly re-examined by audience members.

Explicit ways of asking for attention refer to questions or demands. These forms can appear at the beginning of a teasing event or throughout it. They focus on a specific mode that the performer wants his audience to relate to him, when the request is stated at the beginning of an event. This usually is the verb "listen". In using this verb, the performer states his wish to be listened to as a performer who will talk about important things. Requests for attention show how tied the performer is with his ideas and how much he wants to express them. Thus people should set themselves as audience members and listen to the presentation of his thoughts.

When the request appears in the middle of an event or any time throughout it, the performer seeks to re-establish his relations to his audience. He sees that attention slips away so he struggles to direct it back to himself.

Implicit ways of attracting attention also appear either at the beginning or throughout the teasing event. They are not verbs, like listen or look. On the contrary, it is a variety of words or expressions. From this perspective, it is again the audience's task to decipher the function of words as invitation to listen to the performer, to give him their attention. In the examples that follow, I shall present some of these words.

*Explicit request.*

Examples come from text A.1. Fokas explicitly states his request for attention in lines 24, 43 and 126. In the first two cases, he uses questions to attract attention. His audience has challenged him about other topics but he wants to talk about Mihalis' wife in the first case and about Mariliza in the second case. His question: 'are you listening?' equals his demand to be listened to. In line 43 and 44 he repeats this plea so as to secure the audience's attention. Line 126 is a somewhat different case: he asks his wife to listen to him and then relate to her surroundings: to watch for the pigeon.

F: Burdublum | so, are you listening? ↑ It was shown on TV\ Meat pie. If you want to cook it, you are successful at it, eh? Not so? ↑

F: We are still standing up<sup>407</sup> | Are you listening? So **Marigula** | **show us your identity**<sup>408</sup>↑ | so, are you listening? (to Erithra).

F: (addressing his wife): Eh | eh | . Ha ha ha ha ha. Hey, look | ↓there is a pigeon |  
Take care: it might shit on you. Do not think of that as Holy Enlightenment afterwards.

The Kondogenaditian example presented here also refers to a request for attention while the teasing progresses. It comes from text B.2 in which Gianis, the Kondogenaditian farmer teases Vaggelis with the help of Babis. We can see that it is Vaggelis who asks for attention from the two men and, later, it is Gianis who asks the same thing of Vaggelis.

Vaggelis asks for attention because Gianis has expressed his will to talk about other things (line 2). This will was not clearly stated. Gianis has asked Vaggelis to leave Maxi alone and, consequently discussions about Maxis. He had for one moment expressed a wish to stop paying attention to this conversation and to Vaggelis. In the next line, however, he pays attention. Vaggelis, however, had something in mind and wanted to express it in full. He wanted to give more details. For this reason he seeks to secure people's attention to him.

V: If you see Maxi<sup>409</sup>, tell him/ 1.

G: No | just leave Maxi /

V: Tell him that "Vaggelis brought me a holy icon" that I brought it to you from down there<sup>410</sup>/

G: and that I placed this holy icon right above my bed/ 5.

V: Yes. Are you listening? Because Maxis, ha, he talked with me to carry a holy icon to him\ I did not have time for this \ but I shall post it to him as soon as I go back to America.

Later, during the same teasing event, Gianis asks for Vaggelis to pay attention to him. This is because Babis has already warned Vaggelis of a potential confinement in a mental asylum. Vaggelis sees that he turns to Babis and sides with him. Gianis does not want to lose his audience. He adopts two ways to achieve this: first, (line 64) he directly asks Vaggelis to listen to him. This fails, temporarily, as Vaggelis shows that he has been thinking about the mental asylum. Gianis, then, asks Vaggelis not to give *simasía* to Babis. He repeats this phrase later on too: G: Do not listen to the cousin | Cousin ruins it all. He wants the focus to be removed from Babis and turned to him.

B: Vaggeli, Vaggeli, if you ever do all these things just bear one thing in mind: two or three days later you will be moved to Tripoli.

Me: ha ha ha ha.I told him so this very morning.

B: If they seize people from this island, they carry them to Tripoli.

Me:hahahahahaha. 60.

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<sup>407</sup> Fokas does not get a chair while all of us are sitting down. He later takes a seat that Mihalis used.

<sup>408</sup> Fokas addresses a lady from across the road to the left. She has come out on her balcony. Marigula does not reply to his words and goes inside. Fokas has asked her to tell us about herself.

<sup>409</sup> Maxis, Maximos, his full name, is a fellow Kondogenaditian. His wife is Milia.

<sup>410</sup> Down there means the USA. Vaggelis lives in New York.

V: The mental asylum you mean?  
 B: Yes.  
 Me: These were my own words to him this morning.  
 G: Listen to me.  
 B: To Tripoli, to the mental asylum. 65.  
 G: There is no problem here | do not listen to Babis.

*Implicit requests.*

Implicit requests include the use of pronouns or proper names to address a person and are followed by the initiation of a teasing. It is very often the case that the performer does not address a person directly but uses third person pronouns, or other nouns, to refer to this person. A final way of implicit request is the use of an anecdote or a poem without introducing it. The performer starts narrating events or reciting verses. This change in the ‘genre’ aims at attracting people’s attention. Implicit requests are stronger than explicit ones, since the performer does not reply to any of the questions that the audience directs to him. In this way, he lets them focus on his performance; he carries them to his side in a way.

My example from the Argostólian recordings comes from text A.3. It is a special part of the broader teasing event (of which another piece is text A.1). Kirios Makris, kiria Sula and myself are the main participants in this event. Kirios Makris wants to attract our attention to the topic he wants to talk about. He does so by referring to me as “this one over here”. This makes me turn to him and wonder if it is me whom he talks about. Kirios Makris does not specify the person (lines 6 and 10) not even after I have asked him: “me?” (line 5). He continues the story thus managing to attract all my attention. Kiria Sula also attends to his words and, further, contributes to the teasing by taking his side.

M: This one over here<sup>411</sup> | since last year | 1.  
 has been craving/  
 Me: What?  
 M: To carry a referendum out |  
 Me: Me? 5.  
 M: concerning the person who will perform the poem on theeee |  
 S: stage at the main square.  
 M: Yes.  
 Me: And how did you see all this?  
 M: So, I tell her: you will do it by yourself. 10.  
 No, she replies to me | we must ask them all.  
 S: Mmmmm.↑

My example from Kondogenada refers to Spiros (text B.1) the ‘well-read’ as Vasilis described him that day. With no previous introduction and after a brief silence, he started reciting verses from ‘a poem’ I could identify as being composed by a Cefalónian satirical poet: G.Molfetas<sup>412</sup>. The first verse functions as a request for attention. Indeed we all listen to him.

<sup>411</sup> Reference is to me. Kirios Makris does not name me but uses pronouns to initiate the teasing.

<sup>412</sup> I could easily infer the poet not only because I had consulted all the issues that the poet had published and had thus familiarised myself with features of his “style”. I had furthermore listened to

Sp. O: ►<sup>413</sup>We finally reached the nunnery  
Having walked through difficulties  
We knock on this, we knock on that  
But there are locks all over the location.  
Tullios then, shouted out loud  
With all his might:  
Nuns come and open the door  
Because the Archbishop is here.  
The abbess woke up startled  
And horrified  
Came out to see what  
Had been going on. ◀

To summarize: this section has looked at the ways that a performer himself asks people to give him *simasía* during his performance. He either seeks attention or he wants to secure his attention and win his audience back, when it slips to other topics or does not agree with him. I identify two methods, the explicit and the implicit. I understand the implicit as the stronger since it alerts the audience. The performer has the attention he needs...



Plate 34:Kazamias walks by without giving *simasía* to our call for a teasing.

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Spiros talking in verses while walking to the coffeehouse during his previous visits. He had also referred to titles of books he had read and their authors.

<sup>413</sup> For notation see appendix.

*The audience's side: degrees of simasía.*

This section aims at presenting the ways in which the audience invests the performer with *simasía*. They pay attention to him either because he has asked them to or by themselves. In this case, they express their interest in the performer and in listening to his words. Encouragement that comes from the audience either as laughter or as spoken words is the best way to show a constant *simasía* to a performer.

*Simasía*, is seen from the audience's point of view, as something that is managed through time and depends on the topic presented. In this way, people can engage with attention on different levels. This means that the audience gives a performer their attention either partially or completely, or denies him *simasía*.

An important thing to note is that listening is a form of *simasía*. A teasing event, however, cannot be limited to this aspect of attention. Besides, an audience cannot prove itself as an active audience if it does not participate and engage with the performer. As long as listening is followed by speaking, it can be included in forms of *simasía*. Kiria Marjioleni herself has set the "giving *simasía*" process as active: she mentioned talking to the performer, apart from looking or listening to him.

From this point of view, again drawing from my transcribed texts, some forms of *simasía*: the transcribed texts deal with a partial or a whole giving of attention to the performer.

In text A.1 kirios Makris gives partial *simasía* to Fokas. He engages with Fokas during the first lines because the topic is of his interest to him and he has worked a lot for the carnival. He also dislikes Fokas denial to participate in the masquerade group. For this reason, kirios Makris is actively involved in this fragment. So is kiria Erithra and kiria Sula. They all share the same reasons for replying to Fokas. Kirios Mihalis however does not respond. He only listens.

F: Yes/

M: See? This is why he did not join our group.

S: yes, for this reason he did not join us.

F: This one over here says that she got the measurements taken 10  
but the costume shrank in the wash\ the costume was like this \was like  
that<sup>414</sup>\

M: Ha ha ha ha .

Er: Whoever does not like our performance let him stay at home and not come and see us.

Ma: NO. If someone does not get involved, he must SHUT UP<sup>415</sup>, 15  
if I may express it according to Makri's way.

Kirios Makris, however, detaches himself from speaking with the performer as soon as Fokas changes topic and targets kirios Mihalis. Kirios Makris engages again in line 42 because Fokas addresses Makris' granddaughter.

F: Hello Larisaia<sup>416</sup>.Did you do your homework? So you are /

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<sup>414</sup> Fokas refers to all people who came up with poor excuses so as not to join the carnival including this very group.

<sup>415</sup> Makris also follows this talk on poor excuses and the lack of participation in the Carnival parade. He comments on those people who presented negative comments on the group's costumes.

Ma: She is from Lámia | From Lamía<sup>417</sup>/.

In a similar way, in text B.1 from Kondogenada, kirios Andonis responds to Vasilis because Vasilis addresses him in a pleasant way. Soon after that, he withdraws and only listens. He occasionally talks with his cousin. The same applies to Andonis' cousin, kirios Fransciscatos.

B: How are you tonight? Are you a divorcee<sup>418</sup>?  
I am sorry for saying so buuut/  
Fr, A, me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha .  
Me: divorcee!  
Ant: No, Basili, no ha ha ha ha ha.  
B: She dumped you |  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha.  
B: She will truly dump you just like she keeps telling you so.  
Ant, Fr, me: ha ha ha ha haha.  
B: and then you will be high and dry hahaha.  
Ant: Do you think this is likely to happen?  
B: Uhhmmm. Hahahha. Well she goes asking for it and so do you.  
A.F: Well, just for a joke.

To summarize: this part of the chapter has attempted to look at some aspects of the process which people call “give someone *simasía*”. Starting with an event that I experienced and alerted me to this word, I looked at *simasía* as the active way in which audience members and performers engage with each other. *Simasía* is asked for, is given (wholly or partially) or denied. In giving and taking or denying *simasía* people negotiate their positions in a teasing event. If *simasía* is given and taken, then people assume their positions and the event can take place. *Simasía* is also fragile and can be denied any time throughout the event. *Simasía* is what marks a clever performer and shows his responses during the “practice of the everyday”.

## Conclusions.

This chapter has presented two ways of constructing the image of a Cefalónian performer. The main point was that people perceive the performer in terms of his own skills, in terms of his use of his intelligence in other words. Intelligence is seen through the performer's acts. Audience members, in other words, do not only ‘read’ the meaning of words. They use spoken words as a medium so as to access and reveal the mental processes in which the performer engages.

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<sup>416</sup> Fokas used to address Makri's granddaughter as Larisaia. This is because her mother comes from Larisa, a location on mainland Greece.

<sup>417</sup> Makris here keeps up with the teasing and adds more locations of origin for his granddaughter. The first, Lamia refers to a location in Cefalónia by the village of Dilinata. The second to a location on mainland Greece. A change in intonation produces two different locations.

<sup>418</sup> On entering the coffeehouse, Vasilis does not see Marjioleni sitting with us. She had gone into the house and left the company only to join us later on. Basili's teasing is based on Marjioleni's absence and on her past teasing about divorcing her husband.

Thus, we presented local perceptions on literacy practices through the prism of the term “illiterate”. This term does not have negative connotations and is not related to politics or economics or even the inculcation of national consciousness to people. Given that the people included in this study are not illiterate and they have attended school, the use of the term ‘illiterate’ suggests interpretations other than adherence to schooling or lack of schooling and literacy practices. The category of the ‘illiterate’, then, when studied in the context of a teasing event, reveals a web of relations obtaining among a variety of literacy practices as audience members see them. Yet, such practices are invoked by audience members in order to appear less powerful than the performer’s intelligence and so highlight it.

The term illiterate is also broadened in its scope and it also comprises the performer’s views on these practices. His views unfold perceptions of the ‘self’: emotional reactions to formal practices, particular interest in engaging with informal literacy practices and above all, the management of the material and its use in everyday interactions.

It seems, then, that everyday practices are opportunities for the performers to show their intelligence. Such an emphasis on “the practice of the everyday” is seen through the engagement with the performer, through giving and taking *simasía* in other words. It was presented as different from the Cretan version of *simasía* in that *simasía* in a teasing event can mean encouragement. It is a reciprocal process, at the end of which the performer will be evaluated.

With this in mind, the next chapter explores more ways in which the performer expresses his cleverness and also his mood for event. We thus return to the topic of hearing and of sounds and to the delivery of laughter through a variety of sounds.

## CHAPTER SIX.

### Constructing the soundscape of laughter.

This chapter focuses on laughter, as an integral part of a teasing event. Here I draw from the recordings and attempt a first approach to the ways laughter is expressed, received and interpreted with a view to constructing the soundscape of laughter, or what we might call the laughterscape. This kind of soundscape is revealed through an examination of the resonance effect(sintonizmos, as it was called in chapter two): the sense of solidarity that people forge through laughter.

The overarching aim of this chapter is an exploration of the ‘marketplace cry’ as Bakhtin noted<sup>419</sup>. Looking at ‘laughter in the cry’ and using the anthropology of sounds, I want to present a new version of the ‘philogelos’ as the main category to be used in the study of teasing events. Philogelos should be an additional element to the anthropology of ‘satire’. Included is the performer, the audience and the laughing ethnographer in the philogelos category as sub divisions of it, even though focus is on the madman and the laughing ethnographer.

I draw from the recordings, with an emphasis on some sounds and sound features observed during transcription. This explains the title of this thesis and reveals a focus on the teasing event apart from usual verbocentric approaches. I advance this view on teasing events as it can provide us with insight into the strategies that Cefalonians employ which will be best seen in the light of the last chapter.

The preference for sounds instead of the language of satire marks a resolution of my own misreading and hence early partial understanding of the double meaning of the verb hear (*akuo*), as we saw in the previous chapter. Given the lack of two verbs to signify two different attitudes, as happens in English, and the lack of explanations from local people, I ignored sounds. Finally I realized the importance of a ‘good ear’ and of sounds. Here, I refer to this experience and attempt to establish links between ‘idiorrhythmia’ and the sounds of satire.

I draw from discussions and interviews I had on the island concerning laughter and sounds and present the main principles on which the resonance occurs. These are the satirical mood, known as *kefi*, for the performer, and “laughter springing from the heart” for audience members.

The diverse ways a performer and the ethnographer use to express laughter are explored and brought together. Laughter is considered an individual matter and these are classified into two categories. The first is ‘direct laughter’, which varies in terms of pitch, and the second is ‘indirect laughter’, which is manifested through another variety of sounds. Vowels and consonants uttered in special intonation, pauses, loud or flat voices are the main elements of indirect laughter also explored here. To investigate such details, one condition is followed which was used when transcribing my material. We need to stop laughing in order to listen to laughter...

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<sup>419</sup> Bakhtin 1984.

### The starting point: “where is laughter?”

The starting point here is Driessen’s remark on the diversity of laughter: “laughter can take different forms in the field.”<sup>420</sup> These forms are not specified and no grounds are given on which to judge forms of laughter. Driessen does not refer to the agent of laughter either. Thus, I take ‘forms’ to mean what people use to express laughter.

Considering the performer’s laughter, I investigate how performers express their own laughter and what people make out of those forms. Bakhtin’s work on Rabelais is referred to and his claim that “there is laughter in the cry”. Where exactly? And how?

Performers I recorded almost never laughed even at the end of their performances. Rarely did I see kirios Avgustatos and kirios Makris laughing in Argostóli and never as much as the members of audience and Kirios Djionisis at the tax office laughed even more rarely. Similar attitudes were observed in Kondogenada. Kirios Andonis laughed only occasionally and less than other men, like kirios Harris or Bambis or Panagis. So a question remained: if these people can make others laugh. How is it they do not laugh at all when teasing others?

Kirios Georgopulos, is an exception to these rules as I discovered. Here I found that the performer laughs indeed. His laughter, however, is located inside him (*mesa tu*), as kirios Georgopulos said. Performers are philogelos people: they like to laugh and, further, they invite people to laugh at things with them. From this perspective, philogelos performers have a double relation to laughter. They themselves laugh and then they use their own laughter to trigger it in their audience. Indeed, the performers’ aim is to entertain people and demonstrate their skills. Thus they mediate between laughter and the audience.

There is no sense of attacking vice and folly or an aim to improve society. There is no need for distance in other words. The example of the ancient Greek philosopher Democritus and older satirists is helpful here. He stands apart from the community, in terms of space and social relations. Democritus lives alone, looks down on people and their lives and laughs endlessly not inviting anybody to join. First interpretations of this as madness are finally dismissed as it is revealed that Democritus laughs at and displays a wiser stance to life<sup>421</sup>.

It is the role of ‘mediator’ between laughter and audience that modern performers assume thus the answer to my questions lies in sounds. Dry humour and a rarely laughing performer as well as the use of ordinary words cannot compel us to listen to sounds. This form of laughter is called “indirect laughter”: there is no overt sound for the performer’s laughter, as opposed to the audience and the ethnographer. Rather, there is a special uttering of vowels or consonants. This alludes to the fact that laughter is a complex issue to investigate that cannot exclude talk about collective laughter. We can talk about ‘individual laughter’.

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<sup>420</sup> Driessen 1997:230

<sup>421</sup> Pseudo-Hippocrates *Laughter and madness* ( to gelio ke I trela).

*Towards an individualisation of laughter: philogelos.*

Bakhtin's work on Rabelais and his works is an important contribution to the study of laughter. Analysing popular culture and juxtaposing it to Official culture practiced by State and Church authorities in the Middle Ages, Bakhtin refers to laughter in four ways. I summarise these ways as the sources<sup>422</sup>, the quality<sup>423</sup>, the direction, and the locus of laughter. Bakhtin's term 'the laughing people' responds to the direction of laughter, while 'the cries of the marketplace' responds to the locus of laughter. I relate my work to Bakhtin's work in these two ways.

Bakhtin's attitude to people is interesting and throughout his work he refers to 'laughing people' and 'laughing chorus'. There is no specific category to include all laughing people, as happens in the case of people who he named 'the agelasts'. Only a big group of people laugh. Hence the terms people and 'laughing people' are too sweeping a generalisation. Bakhtin's terminology justifies the function of laughter: "that laughter brought a social consciousness about. Man is one with the crowd<sup>424</sup> and... becomes a number of a continually growing people."<sup>425</sup> Medieval laughter creates mass solidarity: "it is the social consciousness of all the people. Medieval laughter is not a subjective, individual and biological consciousness of the uninterrupted flow of time."<sup>426</sup>

However, I suggest that laughter is an individual matter. Man is not one with the crowd. I adopt the term 'individualized laughter' as a main point of view and agree with Apte that "individuals can and do laugh differently."<sup>427</sup> Individualized laughter requires a move in emphasis from a big number of people -as Bakhtin saw it through Rabelais' work- to the main quality that people demonstrate( which is the love for laughter) and its different practices. I consequently replace 'laughing people' with 'philogelos' and further define three embodiments of 'philogelos', namely the performer, the audience and the laughing ethnographer. The practice of laughter is explored in the case of each kind of participant to a teasing event.

Thus participants to a teasing event are thought of as 'philogelos'. The word is of Ancient Greek origin and means the person who loves to laugh, with original use of philogelos found as a title to a collection of anecdotes. Bakhtin does not apply this term to laughing people and neither did Cefalónians mention this term. Rather they used the term '*gelastós*' instead to point to the person who laughs.

'Philogelos' thus marks an attempt to 'individualize laughter'. The original context remains, that of laughter. Based on the main attitude to laughter, that is love for laughter, the intra-category variations are examined further. The positions that the individual holds in relation to himself and to other people are defined through laughter.

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<sup>422</sup> Bakhtin traces a variety of material that Rabelais uses to trigger laughter. Banquets, Church issues and the most important of all, the body, represent core material for Rabelais. Bakhtin also specifies the methods that Rabelais uses so as to provoke laughter: ambivalence, debasement and complexity in the composition of images are the main methods.

<sup>423</sup> The quality of laughter derives from the opposition between official and popular culture: it is a victorious laughter triggered by virtue of defeating fear, terror, death and darkness and aims at renewing and regenerating life.

<sup>424</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 167.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid 92.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

<sup>427</sup> Apte 1985:253.

The position that the individual holds in relation to himself and to other people through laughter is seen in four ways: people like to be laughed at<sup>428</sup>, they like to laugh with other people, they enjoy laughing at other people and things<sup>429</sup> and they like to trigger laughter to others. An ideal philogelos is able to deal with all aspects of love for laughter: he can be the agent for laughter and the butt of laughter; he is the recipient of it and laughs while in the company of other people.

This section deals with philogelos in an attempt to place laughter in individual terms. Using an ancient Greek term without removing it from its context, I suggest that we look at intra-category variations: the different positions adopted by individuals in order to relate to laughter. With philogelos as a starting point, focus is warranted on these variations in order to understand how man is not one with the crowd. At this point the anthropology of sounds contributes to the understanding of the importance of sounds and of listening.

### **The anthropology of sounds and the soundscape.**

“The ethnographic record suggests the peoples whom anthropologists study often invites us to learn how to see, how to think, and even how to hear. Many of us accept these invitations genuinely. And once we decide to follow their paths of wisdom, we leave the comforts of a world in which we are members of intellectual elite and enter worlds of experience in which our illiterate teachers scold us for our ignorance”<sup>430</sup>.

Stoller explores sounds and magic words while working with a healer in Africa. He is scolded for not knowing how to hear and feel and realizes that ‘to learn how to hear one must learn to apprehend the sound of words much like the musician learns to apprehend the sound of music’<sup>431</sup>. The realization is that “words are powerful not because of their referential meaning but because of the sounds. Sounds carry force”<sup>432</sup>.

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<sup>428</sup> The joy of being laughed at has been coined gelotophilia.

<sup>429</sup> The joy of laughing at others has been coined katagelasticism. Gelotophilia and katagelasticism appear in a recent article: Ruch, W. and Proyer, R. 2009:183-212.

<sup>430</sup> Stoller 1984: 568.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid 563.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.



Plate 35: Listening: kirios Memas attends a Liturgy and listens to words.

Studies like this show “the structure and meaning of sounds and their inseparability from the fabric of social life and thought.”<sup>433</sup> The anthropology of sounds is founded on this basis with Brenneis and Feld noting “we explore not only what anthropology of sound might be like but also what doing ethnography through sound-listening, recording, editing and representation-might entail and promise”<sup>434</sup>. From this perspective, terms like ‘soundscape’, ‘acoustemology’ and, very recently, ‘acoustigraphy’<sup>435</sup> have been explored and introduced to the study of sounds.

This chapter is a first attempt at approaching some aspects of these issues, namely the soundscape, and relating them to the study of satiricity and idiorrhythmia in Cefalónia. This distinguishes an ethnographic study of laughter and privileges it over historical approaches.

Historians and literary critics agree with this stand point. Verberckmoes, for example, exploring jestbooks in the Netherlands in 16<sup>th</sup> century justifies the importance of sounds: “the historian of laughter, is, moreover, confronted with a paradox. Even if his source material is overwhelming, it is also obvious that most laughter has evaporated without leaving any trace whatsoever. He can never reconstruct even an approximate database to count the laughs of the past”<sup>436</sup>. Thus, resorting to textual references of laughter, means reconstructing all those laughing

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<sup>433</sup> Feld 1984: 383.

<sup>434</sup> Brenneis and Feld 2004: 461.

<sup>435</sup> Kheshti 2009: 15 defines acoustigraphy: “Acoustigraphy, like ethnography, is a form of writing culture, with an emphasis on sound over other media, or sound alongside other media with a particular sensitivity to sonic culture”.

<sup>436</sup> Verberckmoes 1999:110.

faces. The researcher is deprived of the auditory perception, a lived experience of laughter.

Undertaking an exploration of sounds of laughter, Stoller's position is that local people often invite us to learn how to hear. If anthropologists studying people other than their own receive important lessons on sounds and hearing, then, anthropologists studying their 'own' culture may be surprised at the lessons they can learn. In line with Stoller, local people invite a 'native' ethnographer to think about how he should learn to hear.

The ways leading to the experience of sounding as a condition of and for knowing are explored as Feld suggests with others agreeing with this stance<sup>437</sup>. One such way, as Feld suggests, is the importance of exploring the metaphors used by local people regarding sounds and their features. The follow sections take this up. This exploration is part of my aural positionality, as Kheshti describes it: "aural positionality enables us to deconstruct the means by which the perspective and position of the recordist and recording equipment construct knowledge about sites and subjects"<sup>438</sup>.

### **Soundscape: the viewpoint.**

The soundscape is an important feature of the anthropology of sounds, with Schafer<sup>439</sup> suggesting soundscape "is any acoustic field of study. We can isolate an acoustic environment as a field of study just as we can study the characteristics of a given landscape. The soundscape consists of events heard not objects seen". Schafer also explores the features, keynote sounds and soundmarks, not developed in this thesis.

Schafer poses an interesting question, followed in this chapter: "is the soundscape of the world an indeterminate composition over which we have no control, or are we its composers and performers responsible for giving it form and beauty?". He answers this question thus: "the soundscape is no accidental by product of society. It is a deliberate construction by its creators, a composition which may be as much distinguished for its beauty as for its ugliness"<sup>440</sup>.

Schafer refers to different soundscapes, such as the town and the rural soundscape. He focuses on sounds that originate from machines or the natural environment but ignores sounds produced by people. Here I follow this definition of the soundscape agreeing with Schafer that the soundscape is a deliberate construction. Yet, the kind of soundscape outlined here, the laughterscape in other words, is a construction by local people and the ethnographer on two levels: during a teasing event as well as out of it. I attempt to discover and present the principles that underlie the construction of this soundscape and are reflected through metaphors. In doing so, I delineate the field of study as an acoustic field and also take the laughterscape in its own terms not relating it to other soundscapes.

These principles refer to the message that people communicate through sounds and the outcome of this message. They also include a basic category in its diverse versions and the relations that are developed among these versions. I refer to a teasing event and the message of sharing the mirth. The basic category is that of philogelos

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<sup>437</sup> Feld 1996; Erlmann 2004; and Carter 2004.

<sup>438</sup> Kheshti 2009: 15.

<sup>439</sup> Schaffer 1977:5-10.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid. 237.

and its variants refer to the performer, the audience and the laughing ethnographer. Trying to reach out to each other through sounds, people select and sprinkle their speech with a variety of intonations, pauses and loud sounds. Relations that develop rely on local values and the sub-category of the ‘migrant’ marks the boundaries.

Because sounds are received, interpreted and evaluated I agree with Schafer in that they function as symbols<sup>441</sup>. Sounds as symbols are richer in connotations than sounds as signals and stir emotions and thoughts and are never fully explained.

This approach to the laughterscape shows that as ethnographers we listen for the devices people use to relate to each other<sup>442</sup>. We listen for the construction of subjectivities “from what lies secreted and unnoticed”<sup>443</sup>.

Presented here is the organising principle for the sound of laughter and the message that is communicated as well as an attempt to decipher the meanings of sounds in a ‘symbolic way’. In addition, the relationships between performers, ‘migrants’ and the laughing ethnographer are explored.

### **The Cefalonian principle for laughter: *haskaburizo*.**

The Cefalónian laughterscape relies on rules of constraining laughter and preferring a certain sound over another. Preference for laughter of a particular tone, strength or quality is similarly observed by Halliwell. He discusses measures for control and containment of laughter focusing on moments of festivity and conviviality during which certain forms of laughter were allowed, as opposed to “norms which were commonly adhered to outside this special ‘space’”<sup>444</sup>. The Cefalónian case differs from this circumscribed ‘space’ of conviviality and festivity in the sense that laughter is triggered and heard in everyday interactions on the island and in diverse locales.

To the extent that I can epitomize the preferred qualities of the sound of laughter on the island during teasing events, I use a local term: the verb *haskaburízo*<sup>445</sup>. The verb means to have my mouth open and laugh a lot with no apparent reason, to gape. From this standpoint, laughter on the island should not have frequency. Very loud and excessive laughter, in other words, is not pleasing in everyday interactions.

I first heard about this term from kirios Debonos when he talked about Cefalonians having ‘an education in laughter’ (*agogí sto gelio*). Later, while talking with kuria Niovi about Argostólians, I was surprised to hear her complaining about young people gaping (*haskaburízane*).

Education in laughter does not mean schooling, it means attending to the ways laughter should sound. This is the standpoint of elderly people. The way laughter should sound is visited in the following sections. Younger people as well as adults

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<sup>441</sup> Schafer 1977:237.

<sup>442</sup> Erlmann 2004:3.

<sup>443</sup> Carter 2004: 43-63.

<sup>444</sup> Halliwell 1991:295.

<sup>445</sup> Note that the common Greek term is *hásko*, which is an ancient Greek verb. It is further linked to hiatus (*hasmodia*) the term signifying the structure of sounds in ancient Greek poetry

quite often praise excessive laughter<sup>446</sup> demonstrating the need to laugh and the lack of laughter today, as they bitterly remarked in Argostóli and Kondogenada alike.

### **The Cefalonian *kefi* and the performer: idiorrithmia.**

Caraveli<sup>447</sup> explores *glendi* (feast) on the island of Karpathos referring to *kefi* as a core element for the success of a *glendi*. She defines *kefi* as a state of mirth and heightened emotion which is delicate, it might never be achieved or sustained and is easy to destroy. *Kefi* is thus distinguished from gaiety and festive mood that appears in other parts of Greece and involves full involvement and engrossment.

*Kefi* is arrived at methodically and systematically through drink, increasingly intimate subject matter in the song sung, escalating expressions and feelings and private relationships among the guests. As *kefi* rises, participants become increasingly engrossed and there is increasing synchronisation: timing and meanings are shared. As such, a successful *glendi* serves to shape and express Karpathiot's identity, which encompasses locals and migrants. *Glendi* then becomes a symbolic community.

For Karpathiots, *kefi* has to follow precise and well-articulated rules and patterns and involves formalised behaviour and discipline so that wild *kefi* is not acceptable. Rules refer to behaviour and timing, the quality and extent of the participants' actions when in the midst of engrossment.

*Kefi* rests on the main performer, known as *meraclis*. He has to reach *kefi*, heightened emotions, and lead others to it. The researcher calls this "the interactive quality of *kefi*". According to Caraveli, *meraclis* is a performative category and someone is judged as such depending on his skills, qualities and knowledge of rules of the *glendi*.

Cowan refers to *kefi* in her study on dance in Northern Greece<sup>448</sup>. She talks about *kefi* being performed and meaning high spirits, even though it is difficult to translate. *Kefi* is action and feeling. Actions display the dancer's mood. She associates it with celebratory occasions and partially with alcohol.

*Kefi* refers to the relation between the self and the collectivity. Cowan thus talks about the ambivalent qualities that *kefi* has and that it can be supportive or subversive to collective celebration. It is subject to control and social constraint. The researcher, in a similar way to Caraveli, notes that it takes a good performer to give *kefi* to others. In the case of dancing events, it is a *ghlendzes* who can give *kefi* and others are not to spoil it.

Thus both ethnographers associate *kefi* with a specific kind of a performer who has to reach it, perform it either through dance or through songs. He is also responsible for giving *kefi* to others and through all this he is judged as a good performer. It is inspired by music or alcohol or the topics touched, during singing in particular. Others are supposed to fully participate and not spoil *kefi*. *Kefi* is also subject to rules and cannot exceed limits. Such a framework defines the success of an

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<sup>446</sup> Excessive laughter is often related to mental illness or spirit possession. The excessive laughter of the Ancient Greek philosopher Democritus was taken as a sign of madness by his fellow citizens (see bibliography). It is not within the scope of this thesis, however, to examine such issues, like madness and laughter or evil laughter. When it comes to madness or spirit possession (the Devil), local people employ spoken words to situate an individual.

<sup>447</sup> Caraveli 1985: 259-286.

<sup>448</sup> Cowan 1990.

event and the ways people explore their relations between their selves and the community and shape or affirm relations among a gathering (*parea*). Most important of all, *kefi* refers to emotions and to mood (*djiathesi*).

At the teasing events in Cefalónia, *kefi* contributes to the success of them. *Kefi* is felt, performed and judged. An examination of it reveals aspects of the performer's 'self' and the way he uses his own 'self' during a teasing event.

*Kefi* seen as mood, people use this word interchangeably with disposition (*djiathesi*). As I was told, it is different from wit or spirit<sup>449</sup> (*pnevma*) which is also crucial to a teasing event. The clear distinction shows the importance of each domain and the need to be considered in its own terms.

Note here that *kefi*, from this perspective, cannot be phrased exclusively as humour. Humour has been accepted as a problematic term, difficult to define. It has been defined as both wit and amusement, as presented by Beeman<sup>450</sup>, Apte and Zidjerveld<sup>451</sup>. *Kefi* could be close to humour, only if humour is seen as a 'psychological' phenomenon, to paraphrase Apte as he defines it<sup>452</sup>. *Kefi* is also close to humour if we accept the fact that humour is performed and people employ language, gestures and "aims at creating a concrete feeling of enjoyment for an audience"<sup>453</sup>.

We also note that it is a cultural construction and is best represented through what people call *idiorrithmía*. The main performer, called *idiorrhythmic* (*idiórrithmos*) and madman (*kurlós*), plays a central role in the interactive quality of *kefi*. In the teasing event, *kefi* is not related to alcohol, even though local singing is related to local wine. It is not inspired by music either.

This means that in a teasing event, a performer has to have *kefi* himself. Contrary to the cases studied by Caraveli and Cowan, in a teasing event, the performer must show that *kefi* is a part of himself. Thus, he shows his 'real self'. Papataxiarchis coins it as "the natural predisposition of the heart", the emotional and moral center of the person, presented by the heart and realised within the collectivity"<sup>454</sup>.

Chapter two examined the metaphors Cefalónians employ in order to claim 'satire' as theirs such as "having it inside you". So what performers are required to have and what differentiates them from other people, is the *kefi*, the mood for a teasing event. Stemming from 'inside', this natural predisposition characterises a good performer and, further, suggests that there is no need for special celebrations for such a *kefi* to arise. There is no need for music or alcohol either. This will explain the fact that Cefalónians can engage in teasing events at any time and any place.

People state that they 'have mood' and, particularly, having 'satirical mood' (*satiriki djiathesi*). Local sources have also stressed the role of satirical mood in 'satire' and have further advanced it as a core element of Cefalónians' personalities.<sup>455</sup>

*Kefi* is also subject to rules in a teasing event. Such rules refer to the relation that the performer is expected to hold and show with his *kefi*. Judgement comes

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<sup>449</sup> Some people on the island do not agree with this distinction and take wit or spirit to include *kefi* and wit. I agree with Cefalonians who insist on the distinction because what makes a good performer out is his spirit.

<sup>450</sup> Beeman 1999.

<sup>451</sup> Zidjerveld 1983: 1-100.

<sup>452</sup> Apte 1985: 15.

<sup>453</sup> Beeman 1999: 103.

<sup>454</sup> In Cowan 1990: 167.

<sup>455</sup> Kalogiras and Vunias, for example, refer to satirical mood. See bibliography.

through audience members listening to the delivery of the performer's talk. The sounds of his words in particular reveal the degree of his *kefi*. The performer is asked to speak nicely, to be in accordance with himself and to reveal his *kefi* through sounds, to "animate" his performance.

The audience attributes importance to *kefi* and also brings a certain *kefi* to the gathering but the performer is expected to present it first. Further, there is the significance of sounds. Audience comments as shown at the end of this section, point to the ways sounds are used in order to become involved in the teasing event and share timing and meanings. Synchronisation, resonance in other words, comes first through the acknowledgement of the performer's *kefi*.

On the other hand, *kefi* being the natural predisposition is a means through which performers explore their relations to themselves and manage themselves. Although the gathering or the community expects something out of them, they themselves can display their mood in their own time. *Kefi* is thus something that fluctuates in degree and performers channel it outwards when they feel like it. Here we remember of kirios Floratos who, in chapter two, said that "performers need to communicate their feelings to people and attract them to their direction".

This is the description people on the island know and project outwards and coin *idiorrhithmia* that best fits a teasing event. The compound word literally means one's own rhythm. Taking rhythm to mean flow, the term is used to denote someone who has, follows and shows his own flow of mood. The *idiórrithmos* is thus the performative category for a teasing event in Cefalónia and is a celebration of the particularities of the performer in the manifestation of his natural predisposition. As such, *idiorrhithmia* is part of the Cefalónian madness. The term is ambivalent, depending on the context and peoples' judgement: it can be, as Cowan notes, supportive or subversive to the event. Here is an example.

When in Kondogenada, attending evening gatherings at the grill-house one September, Gianis, the migrant was holidaying in the village and joined the gatherings. He became the centre of attention, narrating many of the jokes and pranks that he had played to his parents or his fellow-villagers in his youth. One evening, however, kiria Reggina stopped him and remarked "but, Gianis, say things properly" (*pes ta orea*). Kiria Reggina complained about his lack of pitch, intonation and gestures. Gianis, however, replied "I have no *kefi*" (*den eho kefi*). On another evening, kiria Reggina had no cause to comment on absence of *kefi* on Gianis' behalf. He had *kefi* and showed it by 'animating' his performance with special intonation, pitch, gestures.

To summarize: this section has looked at *kefi* as being a core element in a teasing event. *Kefi* has been defined as a natural predisposition which is channelled outwards by the performer and judged by the audience. *Kefi* is perceived through the production of sounds. For this reason it is vital to turn to sounds and incorporate them in the study of any teasing event and, above all, in the anthropology of 'satire'. Subsequent sections look at the ways that *kefi* can be delivered through sounds on behalf of the performer and also manifested on behalf of the audience.

### **“Laughing from the heart”: sketching the ideal laugher.**

Gossen<sup>456</sup> in his contribution to the ethnography of speaking refers to a main metaphor that the Chamula people of Mexico employ in order to criticise kinds of speech. This criticism encompasses all kinds of speech from ordinary language to formal ritual speech and song. The metaphor is that of “speaking with a heated heart”. Heat is related to the sun deity and the metaphor appeals to all domains of life. It is opposed to cold and all its qualities are presented. The metaphor and its analysis show a classification of speech as well as its limits.

People who speak with a heated heart present an emotional speech which “emphasises individual, idiosyncratic qualities of the performance”. It implies an elevated, excited but not religious attitude on the part of the speaker. Gossen holds that to speak with a heated heart means using prescribed redundant style competently. Speakers are excited, their hearts are hot and such a genre is excluded from the stable genres. Such a speech is acceptable so long as it is controlled and used in defence of the norm; it is undesirable if used against the norm.

Gossen does not present the role of the heart as much as he does for the role of heat. The heart, however, becomes a central element in teasing events and people talk about “laughing from our heart” or “laughing with your heart” (*gelas me tin kardjia su*). Much like in Gossen’s case, the metaphor presents the ways in which laughter is evaluated and must be manifested as a response to a teasing in order to show the ‘self’. Contrary to what Gossen found for the kind of speech that is “with a heated heart”, namely that it is not classified in pure words, laughter that springs from the heart holds a crucial position to the teasing event.

Laughter coming from the heart shows the point of departure and signifies genuine emotions. In a similar way to *kefi* that has to come from inside, laughter that is genuine springs from the seat of emotions, from the heart. Verberckmoes similarly notes: “honest laughter came straight from the heart. It must come from the inside and tickle the heart that makes us laugh well , Adriaen Poirters wrote”<sup>457</sup>.

As such it is a positive contribution to the teasing and signifies its success. It further opens the way for more interaction. Zidjerveld refers to this role of laughter: “Laughter needs a response. The only adequate response to laughter is, of course, laughter”<sup>458</sup>.

It shows complete emotional involvement in the event and excludes possibilities of offence and disruption of event. We need to recall kirios Niforatos at this point, who in chapter two urged for a marginalisation of the selfish reactions in order to participate in a teasing event. Laughter that springs from the heart is thus seen as a sign of someone who has managed to let his *eghoismos* aside and immerse himself in the event. From this perspective, the “good heart” is opposed to the “bad heart” (*kaki kardjia, kakoproereto*).

Such a kind of laughter is also opposed to feigned enjoyment, to the disruption between the ‘real self’ and the displayed self in other words. Asking Maria, an Argostólian chemist and high school teacher, about laughter, I noted she had used this expression. She explained: “it means that you do not laugh because you must; you laugh because you felt like laughing from deep inside” (*gelases giati etsi to enjioses apo vathjia*). At other times, Maria noted that in the presence of her uncle, she does

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<sup>456</sup> Gossen 1989(1974): 389-416.

<sup>457</sup> Verberckmoes 1999:175.

<sup>458</sup> Zidjerveld 1983: 34.

not like his teasings. “I laugh but deep inside me I say ‘shut up’ ”. Maria noted that “it is all about how you take the teasing” (*exartate apo to pos tha to pari o alos*).

Kondogenadites had more phrases to offer in terms of the laughter that springs from the heart. Their wordings came from men and women alike, elderly people in particular, whose criteria are strict. Kondogenadites demonstrated there is close observation taking place during a teasing event. People noted the sound of laughter and had an ability to tell its source. Genuine emotions and replies to teasing events shape a positive image for the laugher and pave the way for his acceptance in the community.

Cordial emotions are displayed in the gatherings and these are thought to be given to other audience members and the performer who, in turn, accept them. This is the main process people follow in establishing someone as philogelos and verify the resonance of the members of the group. Zidjerveld puts it thus “laughter generates a sense of solidarity with the majority among the members of the group”<sup>459</sup>.

Kondogenadites comment on someone’s personality as related to the heart. They would say I was a “well received individual” (*efprosdekto atomo*), and they liked me because “I was always laughing and I was not gloomy” (*musklomeni*). They further said that “it was as if they had known me for years because of my laughter and my personality, that I gave them my good heart” (*mas edoses tin kali sou kardjia*) and that I was graceful (*hariestati, efharis*).

Laughter from the heart is the ideal state of being, the state that connects with the past times. Kondogenadites used to refer to the past, when people’s laughter stemmed from the heart. There was no offence no matter the joke and everybody laughed, (*den ipirhe parexigisi*) they used to recall in nostalgia. Even though none of them explicitly associated me with “the good old days”, associations are evident.

This kind of laughter is read not only through sounds but also through the face. The face looks up, is bright and it reveals “grace” as people say it. This is the aesthetic aspect of ‘genuine laughter’.

The extent to which people assess and express their appreciation for genuine laughter can be seen through another metaphor related to the heart. Spiros Orlandatos admitted that he tested me a lot but found I had a ‘golden heart’ (*hrisi kardjia*) because I never showed signs of offence or retorted.

‘Gold’ is used in expressions to show the highest value beyond all comparisons. ‘Gold’ goes as far as to comprise the base on which other things and people can be judged. Thus a golden heart reveals an individual who wants to participate in teasing events and has left his ‘real self’ to the side so that he can enjoy the event. The ‘golden heart’ encompasses all rules one needs to know and follow and should be the principle for the establishment of the resonance effect among the members of the gathering. We shall next see how this is achieved in teasing events.

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<sup>459</sup> Zidjerveld 1983:42.



Plate 36: Mirella's laughter (laughter 'from the heart'). At the back: kirios Haris and his wife, kiria Reggina.

## PART TWO.

### **Listening to laughter: interpreting sounds.**

#### Loudness and special intonation.

Here I comment on two characteristics: loudness and special intonation as evidence of sounds incorporating the performer's laughter. Even though my fellow Argostólians are loud around the marketplace and people comment on the loudness of their voices and the teasing events, I want to look at loudness within a series of sounds and thus locate it. In other words: kirios Niforatos mentioned anger and frustration as being evident through a rise in tone. When analysing teasing events, what can loudness signify?

Bakhtin refers to marketplace cries and their loudness. He has seen loudness as a feature of liberty and protest against seriousness, against the Official culture thus from this perspective laughter is in the cry. Yet, if cry is a loud voice, laughter cannot only be generated by loudness. There should be other sound features that make a loud voice, a cry, trigger laughter.

Examples here demonstrate that special intonation of vowels or consonants within a loud voice or a fast speech can accelerate the effect and thus trigger laughter. If we can go back to the opening scene of this thesis, kirios Avgustatos uses the word 'dot' (bAfA) to describe a black mark on a piece of paper. The tone is higher, yet, I find myself laughing at the special pronunciation that both /a's get. Both of them are

pronounced in a more open way and stronger than the usual /a/. It is this detail, the sound structure in a word, that carries the performer's laughter and, at the same time, invites his audience to laugh. Here are some more examples.

Reading the transcribed texts in the appendix, we can see that there are no loud voices coming from performers. In text A.1 Fokas, standing in front of Makris' shop at Siteboron St, addresses people across the road who are standing on their balconies in a loud voice, like his wife or his neighbour, or people who are walking along the other side of the road.

In line 43 for example he shouts at his neighbour: “**Marigula lshow us your identity**”.

In line 116 awhile addressing his wife he shouts out loud:

“**you cannot imagine what they have been doing to me hahahah**”.

A third example is in line 86 : F: **Oh God! What a pain**<sup>460</sup>!

Fokas' loud voice is accompanied by a sudden and very brief pause after the name Marigula. Intonation of the Greek word identity (*taftóitiá sou*), is particularly stressed. Both accents are used and stressed. In the second case, his speech is fast. The sentence is uttered faster than his first loud cry and Fokas immediately bursts into laughter. This is a unique moment in his performance, as he laughs at his own words after he had spoken them. So loudness is here accompanied by laughter as well as speed.

The third example, line 86, shows Fokas reacting to kiria Erithra's continuous pressure to talk about the women he sees in the photographs. Fokas speaks the words “*O ponus*” in a loud voice. He emphasizes the /o/ and he particularly prolongs the duration of the first syllable of the word pain: pooooonous.

As well as loud voice used at a noisy setting, other details are also worth mentioning. Kirios Avgustatos uses it in his own way. Given that the teasing event was recorded in his printing shop where there are no noises disrupting the delivery of talk, he uses a loud voice a few times and particularly towards the end. Between lines 135 and 160 a loud voice is used four times while in the rest of the text it is used only twice. The main topic of conversation is a photograph I took to him to challenge him to compose verses so that I would have the photograph and the verses published in a local newspaper.

Loud voicing as I see it here is an attempt to hide the performer's inner excessive laughter. Kirios Avgustatos has deliberately created confusion and presents the ignorance of the person we are talking about. Reaching the peak of the confusion and teasing in line 137 and then the resolution of the confusion he uses a loud voice and also raises the tone of voice. He did not laugh after speaking line 139 even after using a loud voice. His face remains serious. In line 139 the loud voice does not have a high tone. It is flat but loud. The fragments are as follows:

Av: This is Apostolatos. Aaaaaa now I do remember | that one with | yes yes yes. It is Apostolatos.

Me: The one who/

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<sup>460</sup> This is a favourite exclamation of Fokas. He used to produce it any time and is not related to him suffering from looking at photographs here.

Av: It is Apostolatos \ and who has he got his hand on?  
 Me: Both of us<sup>461</sup>, it goes without saying.  
 Av: Does he have two<sup>462</sup>? Because if he has two, he is crippled. He must have three if he is normal.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha. Why?  
 Av: What are you talking about?  
**What are you talking about, you devil, first thing in the morning?**↑  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha. I am talking about his hand.  
 Av: **aaaaaaaa his hand.** I am wondering: why does he have two | it should be three.

In lines 155-160 kirios Avgustatos talks about the poem he will compose for me to add to the photograph. He has already composed it in his mind, as I kept observing his fingers moving rhythmically and pausing for some seconds before speaking line 155. He did not reveal the verses but, having them in his mind, he is already laughing at them. He incorporates his laughter in line 156 and in 159. His voice sounds definite: he is seeking to secure my agreement with accepting the verses and publishing them. It is the combination of a loud and very positive-demanding voice that make me understand his works of mind and his mood and thus laugh.

Av: Yes. I shall take care of it. 155.  
 I shall compose one for you which will read | but promise **you will publish** whatever I give you.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha .Yes.  
 Av: Is that fine? **No matter if it is horizontal or vertical you will have it published.**  
 Me: ha ha ha .Yes. 160.

Kirios Avgustatos shows a preference for in-word hierarchy of sounds as well. He does not only laugh at a peak of confusion or when not revealing already composed verses; he laughs at the way he has distorted the pronunciation of words he has thought of using in order to describe something. In lines 5-10 after looking at the photograph and tracing myself in it, he asks me to put a self-adhesive bondage in order to conceal myself and thus make the photograph look better:

Av: It is nice. But is there not anything you can do\ **damn it** 5.  
 Me: What is it that I cannot do?  
 Av: **PITY.** This thing (points to me on the photograph) blows the whole thing up | you should buy that kind of paper that people put on/  
 Me: ha ha ha ha .Which one?  
 Av: That **court plaster** ↑that people put on | it is nice. 10.

The Greek terms he uses for ‘damn it’, ‘pity’ and ‘court plaster’ are *gamóto*, *kríma* and *tsoróto*, respectively. They are terms with a good distribution between

<sup>461</sup> I here refer to my friend and myself in the photograph.

<sup>462</sup> Kirios Avgustatos plays with meanings of the word two (*dio*) that I had spoken. He refers to men’s genitalia while I refer to myself and my friend. For this reason he pretends that he wonders how can a normal man have two. It should be three.

vowels and consonants. Kirios Avgustatos stresses the /a/ and /o/ that these words include. The word *tsoróto* is his own version of the proper Greek term *tsiróto*. There is a particular intonation to this word: it is not only stressed vowels but intonation rises higher: the performer laughs at his own tricks of subverting the proper pronunciation of words.

Kondogenaditian examples of loudness and special intonation.

Text B.2 has one particular example of loud voice and special intonation which bears striking similarities to the above example. In B.2. Gianis, the Kondogenaditian farmer and former seafarer, talks with Vaggelis, the migrant and with Vaggelis' cousin, Babis who lives in the village. Vaggelis talks about his favourite hobby, which is engaging in arguments with villagers and challenging their old-fashioned ideas. Gianis teases Vaggelis using loud voice in line 25 and special intonation without laughing at the end. Gianis has a deep voice and the intonation on /o/ had a particular effect. Each /o/ had its own duration and there was amplitude. Even though it was not an "unusual" word in the sense that he had not invented it or was rarely used, still laughter was triggered by its utterance. Gianis was laughing himself in this way at Vaggelis and attempting to challenge him to talk more.

V: A couple of days ago I joined Panagis and I was willing to get into an argument concerning the KKE<sup>463</sup> and instead of this we talked about other things.

G: Pornó<sup>464</sup>? 25.

Me, V: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: No,no.

A second example comes from text B.3. I have deliberately made myself a target for Panagis. Being the most difficult person to manage and constantly keeping a feigned-offended style, he masks his own laughter in a successful way. In the fragment that follows he talks about me and my relations to Kondogenaditian 'mad' people. He uses his 'favourite' words; that is words that he kept using when addressing me and describing me throughout my research with which he attempts to heckle me. Panagis used to stress the /ɪ/ sound of the word *kurli* that he used for mad woman when referring to me. His voice does not rise but only becomes louder and more positive when speaking 'the mad woman' and 'your clan'. Inside him, he laughed through the choice of sound he had made and he kept testing my limits of tolerance to 'strong words'.

Me: Everybody has been very good with me. 40.

P: When you take a whore and you let her in a city she will look for her clan. When you, the mad woman, arrived in this village | you searched for your clan. Whom are you going to look for? The wise people?

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

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<sup>463</sup> KKE stands for the Greek Communist Party.

<sup>464</sup> I keep up with the Greek word for porn because Gianis's special emphasis on the o's gives the word a funny twist.

Pauses: on the way to a peak.

A special use of pauses during narratives of events that occupy several lines and extend beyond repartees or comments, display a clear emphasis people put on pauses. The tone of voice does not rise, as happens in displays of anger, where we also observe pauses.

I noted this during the transcription of texts and saw that Argostólian and Kondogenaditian performers use them. The use of pauses appears in a similar way among Kondogenaditian migrants and villagers. Here are some examples:

In text A.2 kirios Avgustatos has started describing “this thing,” that is: me, as a creature that walks, stops and eats. This is a short imaginary story that he comes up with on the spur of the moment, while working on satirical verses. It seems that each utterance included between pauses is self-contained and contributes to the gradual building of the story. The performer shows a total devotion to the story he constructs and perhaps for this reason he pauses every now and then. He wants to meditate what he is about to say. This could be taken to denote the twists. An interesting aspect of the soundscape of the performers’ laughter is the role of pauses, which are brief lasting no longer than a few seconds. When talking about pauses I include moments when the performer either corrects himself (marked with \ in the texts) or pauses for some seconds (marked with | in the texts).

If there is a sort of a tempo in people’s speech, then during pauses this tempo is suspended and then taken up again. This tempo is identical to the one I saw kirios Avgustatos performing when moving his fingers but not speaking just before he speaks line 155 to take the example of the previous section.

I noticed the turnings of his mind, while his laughter seems controlled in this way. At the same time he observes my reactions which are interpreted as permission to continue talking. In this example I had laughed at the same time as kirios Avgustatos was talking about a big hullabaloo. Yet he continued with the story as if he had not been interrupted.

Av: This is what I have heard from other people: 55.  
every morning she carries with her 67 slices of bread and 4 big rolls of  
salami |  
and if it happens to stop walking it eats |  
and sometimes there is traffic congestion |  
because of the belch |  
people think that other drivers hoot at them and they suddenly stop their cars|  
and there is a big hullabaloo //  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha .

I noticed similar attitudes in Vaggeli’s, Gianni’s and Panagi’s speech in Kondogenada. All examples were recorded at the grill house. Vaggelis and Gianis are migrants while Panagis lives in Kondogenada, as already seen.

Vaggelis’ speech is less organized than the others’. This means that he corrects himself more often than he pauses. He, too, is devoted to the scenario he is constructing so that he does not reply to us. The example comes from text B.2. Vaggelis is being teased by his cousin, Babis and another Kondogenaditian, Giannis the farmer. Vaggelis imagines potential jokes that he can play on his fellow villagers

next year, as soon as he returns for his holidays. Despite the fact that I laugh, he continues with the story. There is a fast delivery of this speech and ‘utterances’ are now larger and now smaller, as if there is a variation in his feelings towards his fellow villagers and the topic.

V: So. I must find a German helmet \  
here, look\  
I’ll buy some white flannel and I’ll \  
because I was told my clothes are indecent, that I wear a shirt and walk  
around looking slovenly |  
I was thinking of doing it now, but I thought to myself: well, let it go |  
I’ll get |  
I’ll use a razor to tear the flannel apart right here and they’ll be |  
I’ll cut them | |  
they’ll look sliced and you will be able to see a part of my body and a bit of  
this and that.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
V: A big white headband |  
and I’ll make it like the Japanese flag<sup>465</sup>.  
B: Like some other people wear it.

In a similar way, Panagis uses pauses which seem to follow an escalation and reach the peak. His voice remains flat and there is no variation in speed. In text B.3, I am deliberately challenging him and he responds to this. Pauses are felt strongly because the tone of voice drops considerably and they are brief. They do not last more than two seconds.

Me: But, as soon as you receive my thesis, you’ll definitely have something to say, right?  
P: Eh \  
We had Legas,<sup>466</sup> we will say |  
who was absolutely mad and used to write books |  
we had Lazaratos<sup>467</sup> another mad man, | 5.  
we will put you third to them.  
Me, R, Po: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

In the same text, later on, he tries to convince me to take Babis with me to Scotland. He sounds very serious as if he is developing an argument and kirios Dimitris another Kondogenaditian who had also migrated to the USA, joins in. The

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<sup>465</sup> I am not sure if Vaggelis holds a special relation with the countries that he mentions. While he was in the village I noted that he used to talk about countries from all over the world. He did not draw connections of some kind among the countries. For this reason I think of his speech as not being organised. It however brings to mind one of the definitions of ‘satire’ which is a mix of things.

<sup>466</sup> Legas is the nickname of kirios Memas Kondogianatos. Line 11 includes the surname Kondogianei thus referring to all people bearing it.

<sup>467</sup> Lazaratos is a Kondogenaditian man who composes satirical verse. He founded “the cultural club of Kondogenada” (Politistikos Silogos Kondogenadas) and was elected leader of the Kondogenada community some years ago.

last ‘utterance’ in particular is a classic example of a constructed climax. It is built step by step as if he is trying to lay the ground for what will come at the end and thus prepare me emotionally, thus pauses are felt strongly. His main argument is presented at the end, at the peak point. For this reason the ‘utterance’ is larger than the previous ones and there is a flow of words. Panagis laughs inside himself but stops in order to make things felt and possibly control himself from laughing out loud.

P: I had a word with you: | Babis↑ opened all doors for you/  
 Me: It was Galanos<sup>468</sup> ↑who opened doors for me.  
 P: Babis opened doors for you, forget about Galanos.  
 D: Galanos paved the way for you.  
 P: Forget about Galanos. You are fully indebted to Babis |  
Babis has serious problems |  
his mind must work on |  
so take over |  
Take him with you and let him practice embrocations<sup>469</sup> on you.

The last example refers to Gianis, the USA migrant. His speech is also full of pauses, even though he laughs as well. In text B. 5 he narrates his recent joke to Maxis. Gianis moved Maxis’ car so that he would not see it and hence start looking around and shouting. There is no equal distribution of the length of ‘utterances’ as in Panagis’ speech. Gianis’ speech has a different tempo. This tempo is differentiated even when narrating one story, depending on the particular scene that contributes to the story. I felt this tempo to be fast and lively: just as Gianis himself is. In the following lines we see that audience members contribute to the narration of the joke. Kirios Dimitris whom we saw in the previous example, kiria Reggina and kirios Haris are the audience members who convene with him.

D: It would get stuck (in the mud).  
 G: It would get stuck, yes it would get stuck. Hahaha. Anyway. I got bored |  
 since there wasn’t a good a place to hide the car |  
 Then I thought Maxis would get back soon from Mavrato and the first thing  
 he’ll do is go to the olive trees<sup>470</sup> |  
 he will see his car is missing and will look for me so I drove his car right to  
 the door of his house |  
 and I parked it backwards<sup>471</sup>.  
 All: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

<sup>468</sup> Gerasimos Galanos is a Lixurian schoolteacher who politely offered to show me round Anogi and pointed out ‘mad things and people’. He is well known to Cefalonians because of his endless collection of folklore material and his continuous publications in local newspapers and magazines.

<sup>469</sup> Panagis plays with words not only in terms of meaning but also in terms of rhyming of sounds. Rubbing someone (entrivi) is very close to a PhD thesis (diatrivi). Every time I insisted on the focus on my thesis, he would ask me to engage in other things like getting Babis to practice rubbing me. Sexual intercourse is the main theme that runs through his words. Panagis has understood about my studies and had acknowledged the amount of work needed in order to write a thesis. People on the island are familiar with research and most of them express their high appreciation for studies. Panagis is such a case.

<sup>470</sup> Gianis reveals his way of planning the joke, depending on the extent to which he could predict Maxis’ movement to different plot of lands that he owned. Gianis expected Maxis to go to his plot of land in which he was growing olive trees.

<sup>471</sup> Gianis here means that he parked the car in front of Maxis’ house and the front part of the car was facing the house entrance instead of having the front part of the car facing the road.

Ha: So he couldn't get into his house.  
 G: Yes. I also had my coffee and left the glass on top ooof  
 R: Yes. Ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
 G: The glass on top |  
 of the car |  
 I then got into my car and drove away |  
 Socratis *ha* Socratis was resting his arms on his little shed and looking |  
 Socratis was like this: standing |  
 leaning on the fence of his house and looking\  
but he couldn't recognize me.  
 D: He must have seen you\ there is no way he couldn't have seen you.  
 G: He saw me | Socratis was looking at me but he couldn't identify me.  
 H: Maxis must have shouted loudly/

To recapitulate: this section has explored the role of pauses (including pauses and self-correction moments) as a sign of performers' special tempo, as a sign of their idiorrhythmia. Depending on the topic or their efforts to control their laughter and invite audience members to laugh, pauses can provide us with an insight into the delivery of the performer's laughter during teasing events. They are the most interesting aspect of individualised laughter and deserve more study from the perspective of the anthropology of 'satire'.

### **Laughing performers: direct laughter.**

The importance of indirect laughter, of laughter bottled up inside can be inferred from observing performers who laugh directly. Given that most of the performers I recorded did not laugh, I found it unusual to listen to people laughing while performing. I further thought of the performer's direct laughter as a distraction to my reception of words and also that things were made simple by making the laughter explicit. It is worth noting that audience members did not discuss the performer's direct laughter at all. This is my attempt to explain kinds of laughter and their uses from performers.

My main point is that a direct and loud laughter can be used by migrants as a self-defence mechanism. Using it this way, however, it is something that works as a boundary between local people and 'migrants'. Migrants then diverge from the local norm of delivery of laughter through sounds on the basis of "missing the laughter of the place." Missing the laughter of the place then can be interpreted as a sign of a solitary laugher: people laugh indirectly at things but do not laugh with people. From this perspective, people's laughter is seen as a suppression of mirth rather than invitation to share mirth.

In chapter one, I stated that I included migrants in my study and agreed with other ethnographers on Greece who also point to their importance. Kenna, Dubisch and Caraveli, in their works on Aegean islands refer to migrants and explore their contributions to local feasts in particular. They observe the ways they merge with locals or deviate from local ways of celebrating religious rituals away from the island. They also observe the extent to which migrants keep their identity when abroad.

Yet, when migrants return to the island and participate in teasing events, they create boundaries by breaking the rules of a good performance. They do so by

expressing their laughter in a direct way. Further, they indulge in excessive gestures. At this point, a ‘migrant’ is not only a state of being; it further becomes a role that people play in a teasing event.

I take this kind of sound to denote laughter as described by Bakhtin. Victorious, loud laughter is the one people used in order to show their opposition to official culture and seriousness in the Middle Ages. Victorious laughter was part of a subversive ‘popular culture’. People laughed against death and darkness and they wished the regeneration of life.

My examples now come mainly from Kondogenada. Yet, while analysing this behaviour with a non-Kondogenaditian, I found that it is people ‘who miss the laughter of the place’ (*tus lipi to gelio tu topu*) that make laughter explicit the most. Vaggelis, a Lixurian shepherd who lives in the village of St.Dimitrios just outside Lixuri provided me with this insight. Looking at the laughing performers’ background, I partially agree with him. Laughing performers and also audience members who show excessive explicit laughter with extreme gestures are people who have migrated to the USA or to Athens and they are deprived of the laughter of the place.

The main text is B.5. Giannis has been living in the USA for many years and only returned for a short holiday to the village at the end of August 2005. He comes back to Kondogenada at his brother’s insistence. During the evening gatherings at the Kondogenaditian grill house, I learnt all about this ‘Odyssean’ man, as kirios Harris called him. His life could easily be compared to Odysseus with no exaggeration. During these gatherings I notice his divergent style of performance even though his command of the Greek language and the dialectic variants is excellent. Giannis laughed a lot, he had a loud laugh. In addition, he moved his hands and legs in the air when seated and when he laughed. His laughter was either very short, ha, or longer in duration: hahahahaha. Giannis also joined all of us in laughing at his words. The word: ‘all’ that I have used to mark the participants who laugh in text B.4 includes Gianis. Lines 3 and 18 are some examples.

G: ha. If you could only know what happened to him the other day/

G: hahahaha. No. He parked it close to the olive trees and I removed it from there/

His voice delivers a festive tone. The difference between Giannis and Panagis or kirios Andonis was striking to my ears. These villagers kept a deadpan face when teasing and some of them, like Panagis, feigned- an offended tone, as we have seen.

I did not wish to ask him about the reasons of his peculiar laughter: this might have been an awkward question. Giannis provided the answer himself to my question and verified the things I had felt in his laughter, namely a sense of nervousness, of uneasiness. In another recording he confesses to being a trickster and playing jokes on his parents. Being the last child of a big family, he was the only one to be left behind while his siblings had migrated to other countries. Talking about this, he added: “I do not want to remember those days. They were painful” (*den thelo na thimame aftes tis meres giati ponane*). Yet, like all Kondogenaditians, he had a detailed memory of all events and at our own request he kept narrating jokes and pranks.

Emotional pain was the source of excessive laughter for Giannis. It sounded as if he was trying to pull himself away from the ‘old stories,’ but in vain. He

therefore chose to laugh in a nervous way and balance those memories with a safer attitude, with laughter identical to the one that Bakhtin identifies as victorious laughter. Giannis here laughs against bad memories, against bad memories that persisted in particular.

The above examples only begin to show that we need to take each performer on his own terms and examine his ways of masking or unmasking laughter. While direct laughter indexes long absence from local practices and a symbolic repulsion of bad, yet persisting memories, indirect laughter is the main aspect of the laughter of the place and indicates the modern philogelos performer: the one who invites people to laugh explicitly with him in answer to his controlled laughter. Laughter indeed takes many forms ...

### **The laughing ethnographer.**

Anthropologists have used laughter in the field to overcome problems or anxieties. This use of laughter has been pointed out by Driessen who has asked for more anthropological studies of laughter and has indicated problems of participant observation of it. Overing<sup>472</sup> agrees with this request as well. In a similar way, Zijderveld<sup>473</sup> has accused sociologists of professionalization, specialisation and involvement with political life, which deprive them of the privilege of laughter. He suggests that sociologists should seriously think of laughing and decide to study laughter.

This section is about the ethnographer through the eyes of local people and their interpretation of the sound of her laughter. It is about a laughing ethnographer and will introduce a new perspective of laughter. It is about an ethnographer who uses the self, laughs and allows herself to be laughed at. I believe these should be the parameters for any ethnographer willing to study laughter. Local people phrased it as “you must laugh in order to study laughter”. Thus, they pointed to the attachment to laughter and the participation in teasing events. The problem in this case is not about distance, as Driessen has put it: “fieldwork presupposes detachment and the ability to laugh at oneself”. True: the laughing ethnographer must laugh at herself but she must laugh with others and even invite others to laugh at herself without becoming the object of ridicule.

Keeping with the philogelos category and looking at another kind of laughter, its expression and what people make out of it, I follow what Zijderveld has written on it: “What comes out as laughter is given back either as laughter or as more freedom to interact or even as comments on the laughing behaviour of a person”<sup>474</sup>. To put it in other words: “specifically for laughter, this meant that from someone’s laughter could be deduced what kind of individual he was”<sup>475</sup>.

People commented on the basis of the sound and the quantity of my laughter. I also observed how evaluations of my laughter led to insights into my personality and this paved the way for an easy access into Argostóli and Kondogenada. It is through such comments that we can see people’s values concerning laughter and how they perceive a nice laugh. It is only in this way that laughter can be given back in various

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<sup>472</sup> Overing 2000: 64-81.

<sup>473</sup> Zijderveld 1983.

<sup>474</sup> Zijderveld 1983: 7.

<sup>475</sup> Verberckmoes 1999: 41.

forms, as Zidjerveld notes. Freedom to interact and to construct relationships comes only after people have listened to the sound of the ethnographer's laughter and have thereby deduced the kind of person she is.

In commenting on the ethnographer's laughter we must distinguish how people relate her personality with her laughter. People in Argostóli and in Kondogenada commented on my laughter in relation to my personality; they commented on the sound of my laughter and, based on this, I saw that there were advantages and disadvantages for my research. This confirms that "laughter does not have a specific meaning" as Zidjerveld<sup>476</sup> notes. However, meaning does not only depend on the person who receives it, as the same author holds. Rather, it depends on the contexts in which the receiver interprets the ethnographer's laughter as appropriate or inappropriate.<sup>477</sup>

Despite the fact that people used to interpret parts of my personality, through the sound of my laughter, I had used laughter as a research topic and as a research method. Laughter is not only a part of my personality; it is now an object of interest. I had used laughter in order to challenge performers and witness all possible developments of a teasing event with a view to listening to some verses composed spontaneously. I did not keep a distance from my real self: rather I extended my real self and my love of laughter. My real self comes into play after long sentences have been spoken by performers and I feel there is a climax. My extended self comes into play when I feel that I need to give them evidence of my appreciation and encourage them to keep talking. I thus laugh a brief and less loud laughter than when enjoying long sentences.

I also used laughter to provoke performers more in another way. I showed that I did not take offence and "did not take their words seriously", no matter what other members of audience thought. That was my version of the ethnographic posture that Panourgia advises us to keep while in the field and that we saw in chapter one: "remain calm no matter what happens". I did not remain serious. On the contrary, I laughed in order to show lack of any negative reaction, observe people's reactions and encourage the performer to talk more.

Both uses of laughter (encouraging the performer and not taking offence) were applied in all teasing events and in particular in one-to-one interactions. When in the company of other people, I joined the audience, so my own laughter mingles with that of other people and loses its original aim, to provoke more words. Yet, while laughing in the company of other people, I am aware of my aims and I keep them in mind. What other people make out of my laughter does not necessarily coincide with my interests.

Here follow examples of my uses of laughter.

#### *Laughter as encouragement.*

In practicing a continuous laughter as a way of encouraging the performer to speak more, there is the danger of linking it to 'migrants' laughter. Yet, these two

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<sup>476</sup> Zidjerveld 1983:30.

<sup>477</sup> In order to make this point more clear, let me give a brief example. While in Argostóli and in the company of kirios Avgustatos and his wife, they talked about having to attend a wake because a man they had known had died. During such wakes for deceased old people, it is known that people chat and tease each other. Asking to join them and thus observe laughter in another context, kiria Maria refused. "Your laughter is very loud and you laugh a lot. We will become an object of ridicule" she told me.

kinds of laughter should not be confused. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Gianis the migrant laughed at the stories he was narrating and at people who received his jokes. He laughed because that was his only way of protecting himself against painful but persisting memories. His laughter is loud and is not an invitation to share mirth. Migrants in other words sprinkle their own words with their own laughter.

Laughter as encouragement on the other hand, is a response to spoken words coming from the performer, has small duration and is less loud. It is interpreted as such by the performer: it is interpreted as a wish to hear more, to keep the event going. It also has to be interpreted as interest in his performance, and even though the performer does not comment on this laughter explicitly, he picks the message and continues to talk.

The main text that best represents my use of laughter as encouragement to the performer is A.2. We have already seen some fragments of it in the previous section of this chapter. Between lines 9 and 20 I laugh five times:

Av: It is nice. But is there anything you can do \ damn it?

Me: What is it that I can't do?

Av: **PITY**. This thing<sup>478</sup> (points to me in the photograph) blows the whole thing up | you should buy that kind of paper that people put on/

Me: ha ha ha ha. Which paper?

Av: That **court plaster** ↑ that people put on | it is nice. You should put some of that on your forehead. Can't it move further up a bit?

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Av: Beware of this human being. //

Me: ha ha ha ha.

Av: It usually walks fifteen metres behind Chrisula.<sup>479</sup>

After midnight though. You should go and find her //

Me: ha ha ha ha. Yes.

My laughter is brief in duration and it is not loud: I need to give space to the performer to talk and not lose sight of his words or his gestures but rather look him in his face. Note that he does not pause but I interrupt him with my laughter. I want to communicate to him the message that I am doing as he wants me to, I enjoy the talk and I want to hear more. One of the difficulties of practicing laughter as a research topic is literally keeping your eyes open and observing things.

In line 12 my laughter is longer and sounds louder as I am taken by surprise. Such features mark a genuine laughter and not a forced one. Here my real self coincides with my ethnographic self.

We can note the same kind of laughter in line 60 of the same text that we have also seen earlier in this chapter. Kirios Avgustatos has just finished talking about “that thing”, me in other words. I have been excited at this kind of imaginary story with which he comes up on the moment and following it through I express my enjoyment by laughing a lot and loudly:

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<sup>478</sup> While looking at the photograph, Avgustatos refers to me as “this thing”, thus references to “It” in this text point to myself.

<sup>479</sup> Chrisula is a mentally ill woman who lives in Argostóli. She walks continually around the town, cursing and swearing loudly. Kirios Avgustatos here attempts to present me as resembling Chrisula.

Av: Now this must be hungry because it looks pale from here.

Me: And it holds two bags of shopping | the poor thing must have bought something to eat.

Av: This is what I've heard from other people: 55.

every morning she carries 67 slices of bread and 4 big rolls of salami |

and if it happens to stop walking it eats |

and sometimes there is traffic congestion |

because of the belch |

people think that other drivers are hooting at them and they suddenly stop their cars | and then there's a big hullabaloo //

Me: ha haha ha ha ha ha ha ha. 60.

*No offence taken.*

In the previous section we saw an aspect of laughter that can be interpreted as encouragement to the performer. Such a laughter is inextricably linked to another kind and in fact this second kind has to precede laughter as encouragement. My second use for laughter was to communicate that I took no offence from teasings.

I here use material recorded from Kondogenada. The example comes from text B.1. Sitting at the village coffeehouse with kirios Andonis, Vasilis, kiria Marjioleni, Spiros (Sp) , Kiria Froso (Fr) and her husband kirios Andonis Fransciscatos, we listen to Spiros reciting a poem without giving any introduction to it. Besides, a usual strategy for a successful teasing is the removal of contexts and the immersion in the teasing. As soon as Spiros has finished reciting the verses, we break into laughter:

Sp. O: Say it.

Me: No way.

Sp: You are an absolute brick<sup>480</sup> (totally stupid). I'll accept that you are stupid for the time being | until I train you to be quicker on the trigger.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Yes, I am. 95.

Fr: He speaks so fast and this girl cannot memorize things/

Spiros has turned to me and asked me to recite the same verses, without any previous warning to me. I therefore refuse to recite the verses as I have not memorised them. On that, Spiros starts teasing me even more and calls me 'brick'. There is a special intonation on the word after which follows a pause. The attempt to tease out my limits of tolerance is evident. Spiros has stressed the word 'brick' and then given me time to react. His deadpan style and his frowned face add to the teasing which sounds as a reprimand to me.

Even though this word offends the recipient and can lead to anger or arguments, I do not take it seriously. I laugh a lot and my laughter is again loud lasts some seconds. I do not break the rules of the frame in other words and show myself

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<sup>480</sup> Spiros calls me "a brick", a derogatory term indicating a poor mind. Spiros' strong accent on this word emphasizes my poor mind on the basis that I am not quick enough to memorize things and then repeat them. Here Spiros refers to the holes in a brick and the emptiness of the space within the holes.

humble<sup>481</sup> given my status as a xeni to the village and as a student. In addition, I endorse to his comment and release myself from the position of a ‘victim’.

In a similar vein, we have already seen that kirios Avgustatos also referred to me and described me as “that thing” and went on to create a small ‘story’ on me and my imaginary eating habits. What is different between the two events is that Spiros talks to me while sitting at the village coffeehouse and being in the company of other villagers. A ‘brick’, a stupid person is something more important and more of a cause for offence, than a thing that eats a lot. Yet, my aim is to keep Spiros going, to encourage him to speak more and test the limits of acceptance of the regulars. I turn laughter into a means towards my end. For that reason I do not feel offended. To the villagers’ ears my laughter sounds genuine.

Moments like this created an image which the villagers held of me. The image centred on the role of the ‘heart’, as we commented earlier in this chapter. Kondogenadites interpreted the sound of my laughter based on the way they felt the sound. I can only explain their comments on my laughter springing from my heart as sounds that they feel. When asking them on the grounds on which they had understood my laughter as such, their replies were identical: “it sounds so we understand it” (*to katalavenu*). Apte in his “humour and laughter: an anthropological approach” similarly notes that “people recognize if laughter is genuine and that no criteria have been established for distinguishing spontaneously occurring natural laughter from laughter that is deliberate”<sup>482</sup>.

They further commented on my laughter being heard from far away. They, however, replied to me that they had not been annoyed by it. They had instead connected me with this kind of laughter and they could soon tell who was sitting at the coffeehouse and laughing.

To summarize: in this section I have tried to show how the ethnographer uses laughter and how local people interpret the sound of it. A loud and long laugh shows to people that it springs from the ‘heart’ and is evidence of a genuine self, who is then elevated to the highest level of appreciation. The ethnographer also coincides with this view. When laughter is brief and less loud the aim is to challenge the performer or encourage him to talk more. In order to understand and interpret the sounds that performers use during a teasing event it takes a good ear; it further takes a ‘native’ ethnographer who can access such subtleties and bring them to light. From this perspective, anthropology at home becomes an exciting project and reveals the rules of local practices to the ethnographer.

### Conclusions.

This chapter has presented a core element of teasing events which is centrally linked to the final evaluation of the performer and the event, as will be presented in the last chapter of this thesis.

The core element, laughter, has been seen as a communicative signal. This chapter has been concerned with the content and the form of laughter. People thus communicate their emotions: *kefi* is the term used to signify the performer’s state and

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<sup>481</sup> I owe the recognition of this strategy to my supervisor. At the time I was laughing I had not realised my strategy.

<sup>482</sup> Apte 1985: 240.

“laughter springing from the heart” is the term used to denote the ethnographer’s state, which should be applied to audience members. Both terms, then, refer to emotional states which must be communicated, accepted and followed in order for the resonance effect to be successful. This marks the relations that people forge during an event.

From this point of view, the category of philogelos has been suggested. Philogelos, which means the people who love to laugh, incorporates the performer, the ethnographer and audience members. It is constructed on the basis of an individual sense of laughter: people do not laugh the same and they do not express their emotions in the same way.

Laughter takes two forms: the direct laughter, which the laughing ethnographer (and audience members) employs, and the indirect one. The indirect laughter is to be perceived through particular deliveries of words, through sound making in other words. Each performer has a preference for a specific repertoire of sounds as we saw. A special category of performers has been presented. ‘Migrants’ are now to be seen as a boundary between local people and people missing the laughter of the place.

We examined some aspects of this repertoire, like loud voices, pauses and particular intonation on vowels. Performers’ aim is to tease the audience’s ‘self’ out, as kirios Floratos put it in chapter two. Acceptance of the teasing in other words is invoked by heckling, distortion of the physical image of audience members or their mental qualities.

The laughing ethnographer has been considered as an aspect of the philogelos category. We have examined her view on laughter as an object of interest and as a method of research. It was suggested that the laughing ethnographer needs to adopt the ethnographic composure in order to participate and record teasing events and laughter. Her laughter is commented upon by people and thus local values on laughter are elicited. Such views compose the soundscape of laughter, or what we would call ‘the laughterscape’.

The next and last chapter of this thesis, following the course of a teasing event refers to audience’s evaluation of these methods and strategies and presents the standards for evaluation.

## CHAPTER SEVEN.

### “We are mad”: evaluation and belonging.

This last chapter revisits “the opening scene” in the introduction picking up on the last words spoken by the group leader and explores their influence on a teasing event. These words are analysed as metacommunicative events demonstrating how a teasing event is reflected through such language, that derives from audience members or, quite often, from performers. This process is twofold: the creation of an intra-group hierarchy and the differentiation of Cefalónians from other Greeks.

Here I focus on the metacommunicative event, considering it indispensable in regarding any teasing event, and as such it should be included in the anthropology of ‘satire’. Here, two types of such events are presented: the first addresses the performer and comes from audience members and confirms the audience as active by reproducing the status enjoyed by the performer: he is distinguished among all members of a group situated at the top. I call this reflexive comment.

The second comes from audience members and performers and is addressed to all participants in the teasing event. It operates as a confirmation of adherence to Cefalónian practices of teasing events and therefore, as belonging to local culture. This is called the metacommunicative event.

The reflexive comment and the metacommunicative event include two specific terms. These are the Cefalónian Devil and the Cefalónian madness. The purpose of these terms is exactly to include Cefalónians and exclude all other Greeks, hence to submit ‘satire’ as Cefalónian only. Both terms are common in Greek; however the elements that make each a Cefalónian construction rely on processes of susceptibility, negation of meanings, selection of the most suitable and engagement with the island’s history. The underlying principle is the role of ambiguity and the final resolution of this in favour of positive meanings attached to the elements.

Also presented are the ways all other Greeks are perceived when compared to Cefalónians as an image. Greeks are all put together constituting a homogeneous image. It is often the case that other Greeks are omitted from comparisons and never mentioned and further, in terms of engaging with Cefalónians, they are thought to lack the mental faculties that Cefalónians possess, and thus engagement is made to sound impossible. In this case, Cefalónian superiority of ‘mind’ is emphasised exactly on the basis of having and showing cleverness.

Exclusion of other Greeks from teasing events and inclusion of clever Cefalónians then, constitute the last elements to the circumscription of ‘satire’ as Cefalónian only.

## PART ONE.

### **Metacommunicative comment: the final circumscription.**

Local commentary, or meta-text as known by some researchers, has attracted the anthropologists’ attention as a way of explaining and acquiring insight into local practices or exegesis in other words. The term ‘meta-text’ means “any discourse that

refers to, describes or frames the interpretation of text” following W. Hanks<sup>483</sup>. As used by researchers, ‘meta-text’ appears with a number of variants and is used to define the speakers’ purposes. It also serves to highlight the anthropological contribution to local studies and is opposed to folklore or philological approaches to ‘texts’ or events.

Here I acknowledge that researchers other than folklorists, such as R. Bauman<sup>484</sup> and earlier E. Ettliger<sup>485</sup>, have also paid attention to local exegesis in narratives and satirical performances respectively. These emphasise the need to study such commentaries in order to see how texts are rendered meaningful and how such meanings are communicated effectively.

Research around local commentary includes many parameters. It refers to the researcher and the extent to which he elicits information from locals; the producer(s) of this local commentary; the content of the commentary and the role of local symbols that might be included; its direction; its contribution to aggregation or segregation in a group. In other words, local commentary is concerned with senses of ‘belonging’ and ‘identities’ and the evaluation of the event.

Herzfeld<sup>486</sup> defines the local commentary as “meta-text”. Referring to Cretan couplets, Herzfeld suggests meta-text as constituted of “material excluded from literary anthologies”. In addition, he “makes local concepts of meanings part of the mode of interpretations of locally produced verses”<sup>487</sup>. Folklorists are criticised for their handling of textual documents and these tend to be dissociated from context as well as seriously edited so as to omit indecent verses or words. Herzfeld’s focus is on local explanations which go beyond scholarly approaches to texts. However, such an approach remains limited to intra-village meanings and does not examine the role of the meta-text in the delivery of villagers’ ‘identity’.

Bauman employs the term ‘metanarration’: “those devices that index or comment on the narrative itself or on the components or conduct of the storytelling event.”<sup>488</sup> The functions of a metanarrational passage are to reach out to the audience and quite often to elicit participation, Bauman notes. In this case, the performer of the story and the person producing the metanarration are the same. Bauman notes that the metanarration is self-referential: it stems from the speaker and tells the audience more about himself<sup>489</sup>.

Babcock refers to metacommunication as “any element of communication which calls attention to the speech event as a performance and to the relation that obtains between the narrator and his audience vis-à-vis the narrative message”<sup>490</sup>. Further, she calls for a more sophisticated vocabulary to fit each ‘speech genre’ thus, she adopts the term metanarrative to describe a genre type to which the meta-text refers.

Stross<sup>491</sup> refers to people talking about speech events occurring in their own cultural matrix calling this the metalinguistic system. This system emerges as a consequence of people taking time to recount and evaluate particular speech events, judging the characters and emotional states. Stross writes “we can see what kinds of

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<sup>483</sup> Hanks 1989: 95-127.

<sup>484</sup> Bauman 1984.

<sup>485</sup> Ettliger 1944.

<sup>486</sup> Herzfeld 1985a.: 197-218.

<sup>487</sup> Herzfeld 1985a :201.

<sup>488</sup> Bauman 1984 98.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.99

<sup>490</sup> Babcock 1997: 67.

<sup>491</sup> Stross 1974 :213-240.

events people have chosen to label, what components and functions of speaking are focused on and what attributes of individual speech and speaking style are considered important enough to deserve names"<sup>492</sup>. The metalinguistic system "consists of native evaluations of the various types of speech and the speakers thereof. It includes things disvalued as they threaten the social order as well as the individual and things highly valued that are beneficial to the social order"<sup>493</sup>. The end is not the metalinguistic system itself; the system is the means through which people circumscribe their practices as their own.

It seems that such approaches to meta-text refer to the commentary on the text or the speakers. The aim of audience is mentioned as well as the speaker's aim to reach the audience thus, distinguishing among kinds of audience and, implying a sense of collectivity or 'belonging' and 'identity'. They also limit references to the speaker within a community. Is it possible, however, to think of meta-text from another point of view, as referring to 'belonging' and implying other relations that extend beyond the group or the community?

To answer this question, reference is made to commentaries that follow the end of a teasing event. These commentaries do not serve to define positions in a teasing event; rather they serve specific purposes and have a particular content. These purposes are thought of as the final and strongest circumscription of 'satire' as Cefalónian by referring to representations of local 'spirit'. To achieve this, commentaries follow a certain direction, originating from audience members and addressed either to the main performer and/or to all members of the group. Commentaries, then, as such evaluate the performer or audience members.

This use of metacommunicative texts comes in contrast to Bauman's focus on the role of the speaker and his use of the metanarration that we saw in the previous page of this section. Bauman considers the speaker's references to himself as economical devices "that index the storytelling interaction and are effective"<sup>494</sup>. The effectiveness of self-references lies in the fact that "they are the overtly and explicitly social interactional elements of the discourse. They represent shifts in the alignment that the speaker takes to himself and others present..."<sup>495</sup>

The devices employed by Cefalonians are the use of pronouns and the application of specific meanings known to other participants. Local commentaries are more effective particularly because these point to implicit relations that locals draw between themselves and other Greeks. This is what makes the difference between the examples studied by the previously mentioned researchers. Further, paralinguistic elements, like intonation and facial expressions that deliver such implicit comparisons need to be attended to<sup>496</sup>.

It is from this point of view that the meanings of native terms should be approached. Stross suggests "the meanings of native terms as glossed embody the attributes of communicative events that we must assume the speakers single out as relevant and significant in specific situations"<sup>497</sup>. With a view to an evaluation I would add that speakers (or audience members, depending on who evaluates whom) implicitly evaluate not only the main performer and the teasing event but they also

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<sup>492</sup> Stross 1974: 213.

<sup>493</sup> Ibid: 224.

<sup>494</sup> Bauman 1984:100.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid. : 99.

<sup>496</sup> Hanks 1989:95-127.

<sup>497</sup> Stross 1974:213.

include themselves. They do so implicitly by showing that they know how to negotiate and use the correct meaning of the term chosen in order to assess the event.

It is evident that the local commentaries analysed here, “point inward and are directed toward the participants in the event and towards the event itself”<sup>498</sup>. They also comment on every aspect of the teasing event. Sherzer<sup>499</sup> notes this distinction in Kuna ways of speaking and mentions reflexive commentary and a metacommunicative event respectively. These two terms most aptly encompass the function of local commentaries. The following examples assert the terms added to the metacommunicative event when referring to relations with other Greeks, as mentioned earlier.

In my experience, teasing events are ordered in a similar way to the ‘opening scene’ of this thesis: an audience member speaks soon after a teasing event has ended. It is noticed that the comment refers either to the main performer or is widely addressed by use of the third person in the pronoun and in the verb. This is discerned as reflexive commentary. The words spoken are “he has the Devil inside him, who is teasing him” (*ehi to djiaolo pu ton pirazi*). At other times, audience members direct this comment to the performer: “you have the Devil inside you and he is teasing you” (*ehis to djiaolo pu se pirazi*).

Apart from evoking the ‘Devil’, Cefalónians employ the term ‘mad’ and madness in its dialectical variants: *kurlós* and *zurlós* are principally used with the term *zurlós*, in particular, being spoken the most by Kondogenaditians. People call each other *kurlós*, or *theókurlos*, when they want to intensify the meaning: *theókurlos* means totally ‘mad’.

The term also refers to “us”, as in “we are all mad”<sup>500</sup>. At the end of the teasing event, a part of which is transcribed and marked A.1 in the appendix, audience member, kiria Sula admits: “This madness that we have is nice. Not the other madness, not *idiotropía*”. The main performer, Fokas, agrees with her. Soon after this, Fokas and the rest of us, leave the ‘setting’. This kind of commentary is metacommunicative as it comments on the whole of the event and all the participants. The following sections explain this process.

While in Kondogenada, I noticed that Kondogenaditians commented on some of the teasing events in a slightly different way. The usual phrasing, “these are the things that persevere” (*afta menun*) is not a frequent commentary and coming only at the end of teasing events where no disruptions have occurred and no arguments about village matters. This chapter focuses on the Devil and madness, for the purposes of the main argument. However, it is noted that Kondogenaditians explain their preference for “good moments” when villagers come together, recollect jokes or pranks and challenge each other. Thus, bad moments referring to the hardships of farming and shepherding activities are marginalised. Kirios Andonis bitterly remarked on these bad days saying they are past and villagers; do not want to remember because it is painful.

Such words come at the end of events and are considered reflexive commentaries, and therefore must be included in the anthropology of ‘satire’. Local commentaries are studied for their frequency and the conditions required for them to appear. ‘Conditions’ indicates that people distinguish among all teasing events and

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<sup>498</sup> Stross, *ibid.*

<sup>499</sup> I agree with Sherzer’s terminology (1983). However he explains retellings as reflexive commentaries and this is something I did not meet in my research (1983:207).

<sup>500</sup> Examples of such uses appear throughout the appendix.

highlight an ideal condition. Further folk distinguish between the ideal and other good or bad moments, as demonstrated by the Kondogenaditians.

To summarize: this section presents the reflexive comments and metacommunicative messages and suggests further study be advanced encompassing these as integral to the anthropology of 'satire' with such commentaries part of satiricity. The distinction is dictated by the two kinds of commentaries outlined. Enquiry is required on the role of pronouns that emerge as well as the role of metaphors. This will elucidate how Cefalónians claim 'satire' as their own and how they transform themselves into "Cefalónians".

### **Metaphors: content and mission.**

The concern here is with the meaning local people ascribe to otherwise well known terms like the Devil and madness, and the metaphors that are contained in these metacommunicative comments and how they function. Fernandez advances the purposes behind metaphors connecting these to how identities are constructed. More specifically, he notes "how humans organize their social worlds into domains of belonging"<sup>501</sup> where belonging is defined as "the social dynamics of aggregation and disaggregation of groups"<sup>502</sup>. The importance of the functions of metaphors is explored according to Fernandez further here, with a particular focus on the second and third functions as these refer to the Cefalónian example. The second function of metaphors refers to the adornment or disparagement of a subject, meaning the subject is moved 'up' or 'down' or praised or despised in other words

The third function refers to the quality of the space. "This can be defined by dimensions or continua which must be discovered by anthropological inquiry in the particular case"<sup>503</sup>. Fernandez envisages pronouns moving around in this quality space through metaphors, particularly in the optimum position. Thus, metaphors become statements of transformation or transcendence of state<sup>504</sup>.

Fernandez links metaphors to emotions with emotions also being transferred. He emphasises that metaphors "invest pronouns with emotional meaningfulness if the domains into which extension take place are important arenas of activity for the culture involved"<sup>505</sup>.

This approach is used to examine the metacommunicative message, with the focus on the Devil and madness. Participants of a teasing event use metaphors to transcend their roles as performers and audience members respectively, even though this is not clearly stated. Here metaphors serve a purpose of adornment by elevating the pronouns, praising the 'he' and the 'we'. Thus the performer ceases to be a simple performer: he is assessed as a successful representative of local 'spirit' and so distinguished from other members of the group. He is assigned the top position and this is achieved by calling him "Devil".

Further, by saying "we", people transform themselves into "Cefalónians" who adhere to local practices according to local rules. The "we" is elevated, and once again adornment is observed. In this way, people distinguish themselves from other locals who do not follow these practices as well as from other Greeks. In this way the

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<sup>501</sup> Fernandez: 1986: xii.

<sup>502</sup> Fernandez: *ibid.*

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid*: 40.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid* 57.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid* 24.

agents of the metaphor, those who attribute these metaphors, are not excluded from those onto whom the metaphor is applied.

The following sections explore the qualities of each metaphor and how these emerge.

*Local metaphors: characteristics.*

The metaphors used at the end of a teasing event share some important characteristics. All germinate from the history of the island with which there is a special and specific relation. The meaning attached to the Devil and madness that best fits a teasing event is fragmentary. It arises through relations with other fragmentary meanings also existing in these terms.

Metaphors thus refer to the most important feature for Cefalónians: that of the 'mind' and the public demonstration of its quick, clever qualities. Such metaphors imply a previous rejection of diverse aspects of the 'pathology of mind' and praise an excellence of mind as well as acceptable social behaviour. These are the two axes on which these metaphors are based.

Metaphors are thus met in the male noun (*O dijaolos, o kurlos*). The passage from well-known meaning( as presented in chapter one) to local meaning is marked by emotional reactions and processes of selection of some features and a rejection of others. The 'pathology of mind' in general terms is rejected as this refers to situations where individuals are subject to possession, either by a spirit or illness. Both conditions are seen as foreign to the individual and present him as deprived of his own 'mind' and further as displaying non-acceptable social behaviour. What is more, these conditions are not marginal to village communities on the island. On the contrary, they are a common phenomenon.<sup>506</sup> 'Victims' are usually 'sensitive' folk, that is, possessing strong emotional reactions to life situations as well as those people who communicate with them. Exorcisms and medical treatment are employed in order to restore the mentally ill.

In promoting the 'true' Cefalónian 'mind', people draw elements from the pathology of 'mind' but imbue these with positive meaning. The positive aspect of meaning is made central and applied to specific situations, among which are the teasing events. As such they are addressed to the performer with pride and received in pride. At other times, they are addressed to the group and are also received in pride.

The use of local meanings in these symbols, demonstrates that people have previously accepted positive meanings. They have rejected the 'pathology of mind' and subsequently give the performer the status that he has earned: the top position in the hierarchy of relations in a teasing event. He is differentiated and applauded. The main role of these metaphors is to highlight this significant difference.

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<sup>506</sup> Evidence comes from local newspapers in which there appear a number of references on mentally ill people who committed suicide or were cured through miracles.

## PART TWO.

### Views on the Devil.

Religious points of view tend to associate the devil with the concept of evil, such as the embodiment of evil or, as the source of evil. Although the devil is understood to exist outside of the human realm, he is able to assume various human and animal forms. As such, the devil stands for destruction, loss, sin and death. The devil, although rarely appearing in religious texts, has come to be seen as God's opponent, a rebel and a fallen angel. His original position is in service to and acting for God. However, after the fall he acts independently, attacking people and destroying livestock. He constantly tests, tempts and possesses people, causing spiritual death.

Iconography regarding the devil is also worth noting as this has been influenced by various and different religions, mythologies and lore. Darkness, the natural environment, colours and animals have all contributed to the devil iconography. Adding to this, the devil possesses a multitude of names, all standing for the same thing: these refer to his function in relation to God and humans as irascible opponent.

The intense fear people have developed towards the devil comes from his awesome power. Folk abhor him, denounce him<sup>507</sup> and confirm their faith in God through the religious rituals and prayers that are exercised when confronting him. Special objects<sup>508</sup> or prophylactic means are also employed to prevent attack.

Folklore studies and collections of material<sup>509</sup> provide rich accounts of encounters with the devil. Perceptions of the devil and other spirits in Greece, are an indispensable part of the cosmology around these parts, as evidenced by Stewart<sup>510</sup>. Further, these reflect people's ideas regarding morality and avoidance taboos concerning space, time and gender.

Fear and denunciation is one attitude that people develop towards the religious figure of the Devil. The degradation of the Devil is an additional, common topic. It was particularly popular among artists in Middle Ages for example. Benzin notes that "art gave the Devil different representations. He was also transformed into a comic character in Mystery plays"<sup>511</sup>. Bekker notes that "drama authors took liberties with the Bible texts and is gradually secularised"<sup>512</sup>. Further still, Du Bruck<sup>513</sup> suggests that the Devil is represented as a clumsy and foolish cosmic figure as a result of different techniques applied by authors of which inversion seems to be the most important one.

Anthropological studies approach the Devil on the basis of local culture and as "the arch symbol of ambivalence"<sup>514</sup>. Wray and Mobley, in their account of the devil, note: "all demonology is local. Every culture and subculture has its legends about

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<sup>507</sup> Stewart (1991) describes baptism in the Orthodox Church and the denouncement of the devil.

<sup>508</sup> Stewart presents and explores the objects people carry and use when out of the house (*ibid*).

<sup>509</sup> Folklore studies at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek studies; University of Athens holds a considerable collection of material covering all Greece. A visit here allowed me to look at some collections (from Cefalónia, Corfu and Trikala manuscript numbers: 1260, 19717, 3207) all of which refer to prophylactic methods against the Devil.

<sup>510</sup> Stewart 1991.

<sup>511</sup> Benzin 1992:27.

<sup>512</sup> Bekker 1992: 67- 68.

<sup>513</sup> Du Bruck 1992.

<sup>514</sup> The gods and spirits are always and everywhere ambivalent. Taussig 1980: 230.

demons and monsters”<sup>515</sup>. Following from this<sup>516</sup>, “the same people can use the Devil as a symbol in different ways and different contexts”<sup>517</sup>. Thus, Harris highlights the different roles played by the devil, as troublemaker, trickster, and as well as for death he is also a symbol of life, fertility, growth and productivity.<sup>518</sup> Taussig studying the mines in Bolivia and Harris studying the dead in Bolivia refer to people’s ambivalence toward the Devil. Thus “the Devil in the mines can be an ally as much as a foe”<sup>519</sup>. A final aspect of the devil referring to disguise noted here: Harris and Bakhtin mention people disguising themselves as the Devil, and these contain elements borrowed from Devil iconography. Importantly, disguised people are free to circulate through streets and suburbs during feasts, creating a festive atmosphere and communicating to those coming into contact with them.<sup>520</sup>

The above studies refer to the Devil as a supernatural entity represented through various human and animal forms. The Devil acts in ambivalent ways or is represented by people through different positive and negative behaviours and symbols, especially during rituals. The Cefalónian Devil fitting the context of a teasing event confirms people’s manifestation of the spirit of the place and their belonging to Cefalónia: to being Cefalónians. I turn to this now.

### *The Cefalonian Devil.*

Cefalónian views on the Devil in general follow this scheme with people on the island stressing the religious aspect of the Devil and Kondogenaditians particularly, talk about his representation through goats. The Devil, as a supernatural being, is seen as harmful and in opposition to God. It was noted during my fieldwork that the term was used in different contexts and in order to describe people or locate the source of actions that are characterised as negative.<sup>521</sup> In this way, by invoking the Devil, Cefalónians attempt to justify their actions and shift the burden away, out of themselves. And what is more, researchers at the Archival centre report villagers invoking the Devil as the cause of conflicts and land disputes.<sup>522</sup>

Invocation of “The Cefalónian Devil” in the context of a teasing event breaks with such perceptions requiring another approach. This is the suspension of the ambivalence and plurality of its meanings and indicates an examination of this as a local construction.

Thus, on the first level, the Cefalónian Devil is a conceptual system: it organises Cefalónian perceptions for acceptable social behaviour and a particular set of mental qualities which are demonstrated through a desired way of speaking, which is the teasing. From this perspective, the Cefalónian Devil is an image of local spirit

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<sup>515</sup> Wray and Mobley 2005: 163.

<sup>516</sup> This allows for more uses and interpretations of the devil. Recent approaches talk about people, personifications or embodiments of the devil. Taussig and Stewart, for example, refer to the attributes of the devil for people in the areas of production, land, mines and to urbanites or villagers respectively.

<sup>517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>518</sup> Bakhtin 1986 265-267 shares this opinion.

<sup>519</sup> Taussig 1980: 156.

<sup>520</sup> Bakhtin *ibid.*

<sup>521</sup> Here I refer to disruption of social relations after conflicts and quarrels as I heard in Argostóli and in Kondogenada when talking about the devil. In this case, they use the expression “the Devil entered them” (*bike o djiaolos mesa tus*).

<sup>522</sup> Kiria Stamatula Zapanti has published an article regarding this. 2001: 181-198.

and is (and expected to be by locals) manifest in everyday life. Because of this manifestation, there is a rejection of spirit possession as a dimension of the Devil, because this Devil is not perceived as a supernatural being that enters humans and it does not possess folk or occupy their minds and souls, as presented in Orthodox psalms. It is disconnected from Evil, resulting in some kinds of talk also being marginalised. This means that possession by the Devil is manifest through a particular kind of talk which involves loud cursing and swearing against God and the Patron-Saint of the island in particular. When we see the Devil as a Cefalónian construction, we move away from spirit possession and non acceptable talk and behaviour.

We can view the Devil as not accepting commands and acting on behalf of anyone. He fulfils his own wishes and thoughts. Thus orientation is shifted and we now see things from the perspective of the Devil, who is in command of his own actions. The construction of the Cefalónian Devil highlights the power the Devil himself holds, that he is autonomous and behaves as such, thus he is not dependent on other considerations.

In addition, the new image of the Devil presupposes the rejection of the idea of attributing disruptions and social dissolution to something outside of the human realm. On the contrary, the Devil advanced here, summons others around him, forging social relations through the teasing event, so constructing or reaffirming existing relations.

At the second level the “Cefalónian Devil” is conferred by audience members onto a performer at the end of a teasing event, as noted already, suggesting that interpretation of the speaker’s ways of thinking and acting is the interpretation by native observers. This is in accordance with the active role played by the audience among the Flathead Indians of Montana as observed by Irvine<sup>523</sup>. Here the audience decipher the meaning of spoken words and about spirit possession or not.

Such an interpretation marks the performer’s transformation to the most qualified representative for the “Cefalónian spirit”. Such a transformation does not depend on a contrast in the speaker’s ordinary behaviour, as Irvine notes. The manifestation of the Cefalónian Devil qualities happens in everyday life, when the speaker is confirmed as a representative of the Cefalónian spirit and not possessed by any other spirit.

However this is not the only transformation that occurs as the term “he is a (Cefalónian) Devil” can be expanded to include audience members who share meanings and confirm or reject their presentation in teasing events. This phrasing however implicit, and although the background consists of relations between audience members and performers, still demands their presence. It also demands the demonstration, on their behalf of the cluster of meanings and their matching with the appropriate occasion, the teasing event in this case.

In order to apply the term to a performer, however, audience members share certain qualities constituting the specific image of the Cefalónian Devil. Further these are used as a coherent basis for comparing the performer’s presence in a teasing event. Similarly, Irvine notes that the audience’s knowledge and expectations influences interpretations of the possession episodes<sup>524</sup>.

My observations suggest that it is not only audience members who share knowledge on qualities; the performer himself is aware of the attributes of the Devil. Given this, no performer denied the term “Devil” with which he had been described.

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<sup>523</sup> Irvine 1982: 241-260.

<sup>524</sup> Irvine 1982: 248.

To summarize: this section presents the Cefalonian Devil as a construction of mental qualities and proper social behaviour. What emerges now from this view of the Devil is an exploration of the elements that compose the Cefalónian Devil.

*Cefalónian perceptions of the mind.*

This section presents Cefalónian perceptions of the mind (*to mijalo*). The mind is not perceived as a coherent whole. On the contrary, perceptions rely on two levels: possession and use of mind. People on the island place the second level higher than the first. The first points to the relation between the performer and his mind, which is phrased as “having mind”, (*ehi mijalo*) and implies the presence of a properly functioning mind. That is there is no indication of spirit possession, mental illness or mental retardation. Ideas about the pathology of mind are silently but clearly dismissed.

The second level refers to the ways the mind is used. It is not enough to ‘have mind’; it is more important to use the mind, as people put it. Reference is to a person’s reactions to events, situations and confrontations with other people and the hardships of the natural environment. The mind is employed in different ways and this reveals the use of different qualities, which all highlight movement and flexibility of the mind and its responses to stimuli.

This kind of mind is compared and opposed to images of an inert mind (having mind but not using it), phrased as “half mind” and “the peace of mind”<sup>525</sup>. Such images display a clear dichotomy between having and using the mind. It is exactly this discontinuity between the two that triggers negative evaluations on behalf of the audience. Here is an example.

The importance of a working mind is demonstrated through the words of kirios Andonis, my Kondogenaditian next door neighbour. When enquiring after kirios Spiros Orlandatos, kirios Andonis presented the following statement: “he had mind but he turned it into a chicken coop” (*ihe mjialo ala to ekane kotetsi gia kotes*). Although I laughed at this, kirios Andonis, did not, going on to say: “I am telling you the truth. He used to outdo the best architect on the island, the best civil engineer. He was an excellent craftsman and he could think of solutions to problems these engineers could not. Now, look at him: he’s quit it all, bought a flock of sheep and now he spends his time taking people to court over land disputes”.

According to kirios Andonis, the fundamental element in one’s life is having mind. The next is to use the mind and what’s more, this should be in a productive and creative way and not negative. It is worth noting that all Kondogenadites provided and initial, important statement about kirios Spiros that “he is ingenious” (*panexipnos*). There is a feeling of disappointment in kirios Andonis’s words which

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<sup>525</sup> Peace of mind, tranquillity or tameness are accepted only if people’s actions do not annoy others, don’t give them trouble and don’t lead to the disruption of social relations. Tranquillity marks a positive social attitude, even though smaller than “the Devil’s” use of mental qualities. Such an attitude is on a lower level than that of the “devil” described in this section. In Kondogenada, for example, kiria Marjioleni talked about kirios Aggelos saying he had been a tame [*iremos*] man all his life: “He is an Angel in name and qualities”, she said eloquently. Kirios Aggelos is a pleasant person who is not described as “the devil” and has not got into conflicts or disputes, thus avoiding being associated with the negative meaning of the “devil”.

stems from the use of the mind in an unproductive way. Yet, kirios Spiros' past achievements through effective use of his mind, as opposed to his current state was explained with admiration.

The image of a chicken-coop refers to something stable, non-moving, non-productive, and from the perspective of the place, the chicken-coop is a closed place. Note that kirios Andonis said: "he turned it into a chicken-coop". Thus, there is the image of a man building a small place within an open space, circumscribing an area and limiting its use to one single function. Emphasis is on the man managing his mind either setting it to work productively or limiting its faculties and being unproductive.

Kirios Andonis demonstrates that people observe how others work and properly use their mind. People show how someone's cleverness is assessed by virtue of the products of his work and the extent to which such products help social relations and improve the way someone lives. Stability is not approved. Development is.

### *The qualities of the Cefalónian Devil.*

The epitome of the concept of the Cefalónian Devil is the movement of the 'mind' (*kinisi tu mjialu*). All qualities included in the concept of the Devil present an active mind and reveal its particular ways of working. This demonstrates the diverse ways the performer develops to deal with people and circumstances and to avoid sameness or monotony. Though these qualities are located among performers who are deemed as Cefalónian Devil, it rests on audience members to deliver words and thus identify qualities each time. Following is a presentation of these qualities.

The core quality of the Cefalónian Devil is restlessness (*anisihía*). He does not stand still, or rest or demonstrate tranquillity (*den ehi isihia*) and a lack of tranquillity means vivacity (*zontánjia*) and creativity (*dimiurgikótita*). For the Cefalonians life should be full of movement, vivacity, nerves. Kirios Haris in Kondogenada would emphasise this urging us to be full of nerves, vivacity and life (*na ehis zontanjia, nevra*).

Restlessness or constant movement is described in terms of "turns" with people saying this mind "takes many turns" (*perni poles strofes*). While working with kirios Djionisis and kirios Kostas in Argostóli, I heard kirios Kostas call kirios Djionisis "a devil" quite often. When I enquired about this, they told me the devil, that is the mind, takes many turns (*ine efstropho*) when trying to come up with a teasing (*piragma*). Thus, here it is noted that the prefix of this compound word, *ef-* does not refer to quality but to quantity.

*Efstrophía* here refers to the quantity and pace that the mind is expected to work. The Cefalónian Devil needs to be fast to produce a high quality teasing as well. *Efstrophía* also refers to the process of analysing and understanding in order to produce the teasing and to fluidity, flexibility, the ability to adapt to all situations using the mind. People are not taken aback by any sudden events and they do not passively submit to any misfortunes or difficulties. They respond through the work of the mind.

The ability to reveal concealed things is another quality of the 'Cefalónian Devil'. Kirios Fragopulos is a Cefalónian retired bank clerk, who lost his sight but not his sense of humour soon after he retired, proved to be a useful source of information. He attracted my attention by calling himself a devil, and he explained that "the devil searches for things, digs and brings them to light" (*o djiaolos psahni ke vriski krumena pragmata*). Kirios Fragopulos spoke of personal vagaries (*lóxes*),

elements of a character seen and brought to light by the Devil . Further, he repeated the fact that “the devil” is clever and cunning and thus can trace hidden things. Hidden here means unsaid, things not directly or often displayed, even though they may be known through other sources or inferred from the context.

Another aspect of *efstrophía* emerges in the expression “he has the devil inside him/teasing him”. Kirios Spiros Orlandatos in Kondogenada, commenting on his own questions and my replies about my future plans, used this expression when addressing me. He explained thus: “Well you twist and turn things to wherever you think it could benefit you” (*strivis ke fernis ta pragmata eki pu thelis esi gia diko su ofelos*). This was surprising as I realised my own mental activities, the course of my thoughts, the way I swerved questions regarding my private life. The overriding indication is of my interlocutor observing the hidden, the unsaid, using his own mind to approach mine.

Kirios Spiros is accurate in defining this behaviour as “twisting and turning”. He had at once uncovered my mental action with relation to the topics discussed and used my words to locate the flexible qualities of the Cefalónian Devil by referring to “twisting things, a decline and detour from a ‘direct’ way”. The detour refers to a departure from the listener’s expectations.

It is tempting here to visualise such qualities in relation to the Cefalónian landscape, even though the above expressions can allude to the presentation of the mind as a machine. The qualities presented here seem to reflect the landscape as described in chapter one. We can be reminded of the three main features of the Cefalonian landscape: twisty roads, sharp contrasts (known locally as: mountain and sea) and intra-island diversity. Such a visualisation needs further investigation, though.

To summarize: in talking about “the Cefalónian devil” as being a representation of ‘the mind’ and applying it to everyday life, its importance in relation to teasing events is understandable. Thus, “the devil” epitomizes Cefalónians’ values of the mind that they hold and put forward.

### **Madness: some approaches.**

The second metaphor used by Cefalónians to claim ‘satire’ as their own enduring local spirit, is that of madness. Before examining what this means, some views on madness are extended. These stem from different disciplines and demonstrate interest in and the relations constructed or disrupted through it. Such perceptions advance madness as a polysemic concept fitting it into different contexts; that is moving from medical constructs to the religious and the literary. Importantly, “madness” is conferred upon an individual as judgement and alludes to difference which is diversely treated.

Castillo, in his introduction of the edited volume *Meanings of Madness*, emphasises the importance of “the subjective experience of madness, the idioms used in the expression of madness, the indigenous diagnosis, the indigenous treatment and the outcome”<sup>526</sup>. He suggests a study of madness through examining the meanings the surrounding society projects onto the mentally ill. These allude to ideas held by every community about madness and illness and the inter-personal relations and social life of the mentally ill person.

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<sup>526</sup> Castillo 1998.

Contributions to the above volume continue along these lines with some suggesting madness as marginality, given that diagnosis begins in community. The community judges and decides if someone is mentally ill and further, the community decides on treatment by specialists or the recourse to other means of therapy, like religious rituals<sup>527</sup>. Schepper-Hughes observes that mad people experience a transformation in their relations which disenfranchises without deculturating the individual. Mad people form their own social relations even though they may be cut off from kin and friends.

A major contribution to the study of madness comes from Foucault<sup>528</sup>. He suggests that bodily symptoms formed the basis for a diagnosis of madness as well as perceptions and treatment in Europe during Middle Ages, stressing the fact that mad people were seen and treated as different by different people at different times. Thus, mad people were perceived as unable to work and follow the rhythms of collective life. Madness is therefore a multivalent term that mediates peoples' relations with the mentally ill. Marginalisation and individuality are still at the core of the concept.

Similarly Boruchoff and Porter suggest madness refers to people who do not conform to the expectations of authorities; it is perceived as negative and suppressed. Porter<sup>529</sup> refers to the history of psychiatry demonstrating the insistence of confinement for patients.

Ingram<sup>530</sup> approaches madness through language demonstrating how language is a measure of madness. He presents attempts by doctors to record speech produced by mad people. Through analyses of this, doctors would attempt to reach the mind of mad people and so acquire insight into their suffering. Ingram refers to the meta language of doctors, pointing to the fact that madness had to be performed in order to be recorded and analysed.

From this perspective, this work is particularly important. It shows that people use language as a medium through which to form an image of the mind and emotions. Ingram notes the importance of this on madness, given that mad people are no longer marginalised but rather they approached and regarded as distinctive. A certain kind of relation is formed although doctors retain their position and power to judge mentally ill people. The problem here is the fact that the mad person's speech does not refer to his relations with society, given that it is about confined patients.

A final case to mention here comes from an anthropological perspective by Wilson<sup>531</sup> about the island of Providencia. Wilson talks about Oscar, an islander whose actions and speech are deemed mad. Wilson suggests that Oscar is aware of his fellow islanders calling him mad and that he is not mentally ill. On the contrary, Oscar is in control of his mind and appears intelligent. This is evident through his use of language: such usage is beyond the comprehension of the listener and the meaning goes beyond actual words. Wilson imagines Oscar as a virtuoso. Oscar's behaviour however is idiosyncratic and inexplicable to people. He does not observe conventions and cannot be controlled. Thus, because he has achieved self-autonomy, his 'madness' becomes tyranny for his fellow islanders.

These studies focus on negative aspects of madness demonstrating an individual's lack of control and inability to forge social relations. Therefore, to be

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<sup>527</sup> Wolf 1988 :278-287 and Schepper-Hughes 1988: 193-205.

<sup>528</sup> Foucault 1997( 1967).

<sup>529</sup> Porter 2005: 19-34.

<sup>530</sup> Ingram 1991.

<sup>531</sup> Wilson 1992.

declared mad is something disparaging, as in Oscar's case. There are two clear positions in this judgement: the sane and the insane.

Given that madness is a multivalent term, it can be faced from another perspective. Madness not perceived as mental illness but rather as a metaphor, the role of which is to adorn people as presented by Fernandez<sup>532</sup>. Madness is interpreted as cleverness and is accepted social behaviour. As such it signifies difference that does not marginalise the individual. On the contrary, the manifestation of madness gives the performer a central position and generates social relations.

From this perspective, madness does not become tyranny. It is not suppressed; rather it is advanced. This madness is challenged to be displayed meaning the individual does not perform on its own with some audience members recording his speech. So, audience members contribute to the process of the performer demonstrating his mental qualities. Further, audience members at a teasing event constrain the performer if he exceeds limits and breaks the rules.

The acknowledgement of this madness as a group feature is significant with people employing it to redefine themselves as belonging to a group. They create a distance from other groups or fellow countrymen so adornment in this case is self-referential.

Following are perceptions of this madness which will be called "good madness".

### **The Cefalónian madness: an ambivalent topic.**

Chapter one observes the presence of mentally ill people on the island and the mental asylum. Mental illness is an indispensable aspect of Cefalónian 'culture'. Here the Cefalónian sense of 'madness' in the teasing event is examined. First, it is necessary to provide some background information.

Nothing attracts so much interest from local people and scholars alike than Cefalónian madness, and no other local feature is demonstrated among Cefalónians and other Greeks than Cefalónian madness. So much so, that Cefalónians have become identified as 'mad' and are known among other Greeks as mad. This image was confirmed during my research when talking to other Greeks. Cefalónian students also suggested this image pertaining among their colleagues. Local sources on madness are rich, indicated from the bibliography.

Such ambient dialogue and local writings are problematic when broaching the subject or using the term Cefalónian madness as a research topic. Representations of Cefalónian madness are not clear. It appears to others as one meaning and this meaning is praised. Thus, people talk about madness as privilege, as a distinguishing element for Cefalónians, as their object of pride. The list is endless and feelings are easily inferred from such language.

Cowan notes the contribution of folklorists to the study of Carnival in northern Greece<sup>533</sup> suggesting they were selective and advanced tradition. However they neglected the consideration of present conditions for performing tradition. Folklorists gave fame and prestige to local practices and their work was reintroduced to community taking on the qualities of authority. In a similar way, Cefalónian scholars

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<sup>532</sup> Fernandez 1986.(see previous sections of this chapter).

<sup>533</sup> Cowan 1988.:245-260.

have endowed Cefalónian madness with prestige, with their texts being consulted, suggested and invoked by locals. Yet, as Cowan suggests, more important issues should be explored, with the discovery that Carnival is enmeshed in local and national-level politics and is a domain where opposing factions vie for prestige and influence.

This was not my experience researching Cefalónian madness. Anthropology's contribution to the study of Cefalónian madness, however, is to emphasise the fact that local people have their own processes for showing this famous image and this is not directly referred to. Further, as the term is ambiguous there is no immediate consensus among Cefalónians. Stross, commenting on the metalinguistic lexicon, suggests that "ambiguity adds flexibility and this contributes to openness"<sup>534</sup>. Dialectic variants are not helpful either, rather this adds to the confusion. Talking with Cefalónians from different villages, it is noted that dialectic variants are explained in their own ways. For this reason focus here is on 'good madness', (*orea trela*) or '*kurlamáda*' as some people call it and with whom I concur for the purposes of this thesis.

This contrasts with what Cowan found in northern Greece and polyglot expressions of identity and 'belonging' from insiders. The use of Bulgarian or Turkish words recalls landscapes, kin and communal relationships and also criticizes and excludes outsiders<sup>535</sup>. The Cefalónian case demonstrates the problem as the lack of polyglot terms as well as the need to know and negotiate the plurality of meanings inherent in one common Greek term: that of madness (*trela*).

The way Cefalónians manage this ambiguity through emotional reactions and definitions of meanings shows that Cefalónians should be perceived even through these ways. It is not enough to take pride in being mad Cefalónian. With a thorough knowledge of all meanings and their attachment to specific contexts together with the development of emotions is required.

The good madness that is presented here emerges in relation to mental illness and bad madness, *idiotropia*, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

#### *Against mental illness: susceptibility.*

On several occasions my use of the term 'Cefalónian madness' was taken as mental illness by Argostólians and Kondogenaditians, and met with negative responses. "No we are *not* mad; we are not mentally ill; we are clever people" they would say, in frustrated pitch and showing on their frowning faces. Even the most eloquent expressions of susceptibility or a clear negation of Cefalónians being mentally ill provides an insight to the methods used to negotiate meanings.

Information regarding mentally ill people and mental illness, in particular, is not a subject easily accessed on the island. The local neurologist, kirios Analitis, whose offices are in Argostóli, did not disclose much information, even though he admitted knowing my family and expressed his willingness to help with my research. However, when my research area was outlined, his immediate and strong emotional reaction was evident through the pitch of his voice. To my surprise he responded

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<sup>534</sup> Stross 1974:218.

<sup>535</sup> Cowan 1997:165.

saying he immediately produced a strong emotional reaction: I was “*not*<sup>536</sup> studying madness” and “Cefalónians are *not mad*”.

Thus, being “native” in this case did not prove helpful or an advantage; rather it demonstrates clearly that I was not “inside” as experienced by Cowan. Her use of local terms evoked surprise with people stating “you are really inside”<sup>537</sup>. Cowan had used terms other than Greek spoken by northern Greek people and considered as ‘local’ terms. I had used a term without specifying its most local meaning, thus the doctor subsequently provided his own interpretation and reactions to this interpretation.

The presentation of the researcher’s persona is considered more than ‘native’ status and the doctor discloses very general comments on the Kondogenaditian patients and only if I named them and mentioned meeting with them. The doctor’s behaviour reflects local people’s attitudes to the pathology of mind. In this case, he behaved as the local person he is and as a doctor which may demonstrate how people are not afraid of the proximity of mentally ill people but rather of the sweeping generalisations made by Greeks regarding Cefalónians. Cefalónians want to maintain their distinct identity and ‘good madness’.

Thus susceptibility means sensitivity towards ambivalent words. In this case, it is linked to negative attitudes towards one meaning imposed on the term, leading to the categorisation of all islanders under one rubric without question. It demonstrates a way to negate one meaning and thus chose another which appeals to locals. So this emotional reaction marks the boundary between the meanings of a term without denying the presence of mad people.

Cefalónians, dismiss an exclusive meaning of madness pointing to its multivalency and sensitivity towards the proper use of meanings depending on the situation. The pathology of mind is not accepted as phenomena applying to all islanders equally. Cefalónians stress the different levels of intelligence seen on the island.

Susceptibility works towards this direction suspending generalisations. It shows that people have their own strict criteria for specifying meanings and identifying themselves with these.

#### *The other madness: idiotropia.*

A second meaning for madness on the island is that of bad madness (*kaki trela*), coined by kiria Sula as ‘*idiotropia*’. This term is known among Argostólians and Kondogenadites alike. *Idiotropia* is rejected in order for good madness to be praised.

This compound word focuses on the behaviour an audience member displays during a teasing event rather than mental qualities. As noted in chapter four, kirios Mihalis was classified as *idiotropos* and kiria Sula talked about *idiotropia* implying his attitude. Similarly, in Kondogenada, Kiria Marjiolenis’ daughter, Irini, thought of kirios Memas as *idiotropos* explaining “he is an *idiotropos* man. If he wants something it has to be in his own way” (*O,ti theli, to theli*).

*Idiotropia* then is a manifestation of strong adherence to *eghoismos* and a denial of resonance with other audience members and the performer. The *idiotropos*

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<sup>536</sup> Italics convey the doctor’s intonation.

<sup>537</sup> Cowan 1997:161.

keeps to his ways (*tropos*) and as such causes a disruption to events. From this perspective, the *idiotropos* is similar to the *grusuzis* described by Herzfeld. The *grusuzis* representing dissolution of a community from within and so he is avoided.

This, however, does not mean that *idiotropia* is limited in its manifestation only to a teasing event it is also considered a state of being. Irini's comments about kirios Memas do not refer to a teasing event. On the contrary, her reference to his *idiotropia* is as a permanent condition. Irini elaborated on kirios Memas' life and the way he imposed his will on his family. From this perspective, the *idiotropos* is similar to the Herzfeld's *grusuzis*.

*Grusuzis* is a person possessing the evil eye and lacking good fortune. It is a condition or a state of being, part of the person's character rather than a role played, and is characterised as such so long as it is manifest in everyday life. The *grusuzis* is unable to adjust his behaviour, representing dissolution of a community from within and so he does not enjoy reciprocities with fellow villagers<sup>538</sup>.

One difference between the *grusuzis* and the *idiotropos*, is that the *idiotropos* can enjoy reciprocities and does not always invoke hostilities. Kirios Mihalis showed his *idiotropia* in a teasing event. Yet, outside the frame of the teasing event, the same people engage with him, and further he participates in religious feasts and talks with friends.

*Idiotropia*, to summarize, is considered passive as a role in a teasing event. There is no positive contribution to the event and other members' expectations are not met and as such are dismissed as bad madness. Having delineated the meanings of madness which are rejected and the boundaries within which good madness can manoeuvre, the following focuses on this.

#### *Identifying the good madness.*

The secret of approaching Cefalónian madness is revealed through kirios Memas' words in Kondogenada. Enquiring after his views on Cefalónian madness, he speaks words of wisdom: "In order to succeed in life you must have the style of a madman but be prudent."<sup>539</sup> He explains further: "you must be alert, your eyes must move around and you must grasp the strong words spoken and you must listen. Cefalónians are not mentally ill. We are very clever and as such you must see madness. Our minds are sharp". Kirios Memas eloquently describes a 'mad-Cefalonian'. He implies hyperactivity and focuses on details in composing the local sense of madness, sketching the common elements between a mentally ill person and a 'mad Cefalonian'. The difference lies in the use and control of mind.

Hyperactivity concerns the senses and the mind in engaging with people and conditions: eyes dart quickly in all directions and grasp actions and details, picking out specifics, as kirios Memas explained previously. Ears are pricked and alert to 'strong things' so as to memorise and use these when needed.

The crux of the matter is the verb "grasp" (*arpázo*). People in Argostóli and Kondogenada also used the verb "catch" (*pjáno*) regarding words or moves. Kiria Anthula mentioned the value of this verb in teasing events: it is important to "catch the joke". Kirios Haris frequently said: "did you catch it?"

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<sup>538</sup> Herzfeld 1981c: 560-574.

<sup>539</sup> "Gia na petihis sti zoi prepi na ehis to ifos tu trelu ala na ise sinetos".

Both verbs signify speed when regarding spoken words or moves implying an alert and restless mind constantly on top. If speed is one aspect of grasp, then another refers to understanding words. In addition, to grasp or catch something requires an immediate reaction either in words or gestures. To delay is not forgiven. Another remark by Kirios Haris focuses on my reactions: “say something. React to it”. My lack of reactions, however, stems from my position as an outsider to regarding village or individual matters requiring a reaction from me.

A teasing event provides an ideal opportunity for such faculties to be set in motion and displayed. Standing at a ‘setting’ at the Argostólian marketplace, the performers are required to engage with people and situations as kirios Memas said. Thus, in text A.1 line 45, kiria Erithra refers to the main performer. She admires at the speed with which he deals with what he sees and hears, even when changing the subject or addressing another audience member. His constant shift in subjects and addressees during the teasing event allows kiria Erithra to see Fokas’ faculties in action. She thus exclaims:

“He catches everything and everybody!  
How does he catch it all? Ha ha ha ha”.

This speedy and strong interaction together with the immediate development of emotions and thoughts and, above all, their public expression, resemble the ‘style’ of the madman. It is a resemblance not a complete identification with the ‘style’, and it is energy properly used and channelled outwards of the individual that safeguards a ‘mad Cefalónian’ from being mentally ill. People express their awareness that mental illness is divided from intelligence by a thin line which can be easily broken.

Expressed thoughts, however, need to ‘make sense’ when judged, thus the need to be prudent as expressed by kirios Memas and herein lurk several dangers. ‘Rational things’ are understood as such on an individual basis and it is a delicate matter judging someone’s words as ‘rational’ or ‘irrational’. A sense of selfishness (*eghoismos*) is constantly present. Kondogenaditians communicate a strong sense of judgement to me. “If I cannot judge and understand your words one by one” kirios Andonis says “then I shall think of you as speaking mad things (*kurlamades*)”. From this point of view, a speaker is seen as ‘prudent’ or ‘mad’ by others.

It is now possible to better understand audience axioms developed earlier, noting they not only judge spoken words. They also judge the speaker’s ability to control his mind and his words. They finally ask the speaker to judge his thoughts in advance. Really clever conditions are judged as such through a double control and as long as this happens, the speaker is judged as ‘mad Cefalónian’.

Kondogenaditians are strict regarding this process. Despite being an outsider and a woman, I was asked to think of my words either directly or indirectly. These indirect comments caused me to think more thus mastering my flow of thoughts. This image of a ‘mad Cefalónian’ determines ‘madness’ as having and using one’s mind and also being judged for doing (or not doing) this.

Questions regarding good madness remain however: what is it that drives people to grasp things, to react to their surroundings? How does mind work in other words?

‘Good madness’ (*orea tréla*), apart from the elements mentioned, is composed of Cefalónians’ perceptions of the “curved mind”. What is curved (*loxó*), deviates from the “normal”, is accepted most in the case of satirical performances and is

common knowledge among Cefalonians.<sup>540</sup> Much like the Cefalónian Devil, this rests on audience members to decide on the ‘curved’ as a positive aspect of madness.

‘Good madness,’ is composed of excesses in mental processes the performer uses to engage with things and people. It is utmost cleverness (*exipnada*) and sociality that people claim to be the core elements of Cefalónian *kurlamáda*, as this kind of madness is sometimes called. Argostólians and Kondogenaditians agree on this. These elements are presented here.

The madman develops a quick train of thoughts (*sinirmus*) in his mind and expresses them in no time at all. Development of this creates a “dense mind”. As kirios Niforatos said, “a Cefalónian madman has a dense mind”. Kirios Niforatos suggested, in disappointment, that modern people lack this kind of thinking, and demonstrated this through an apt metaphor. Modern people have the mind of a monkey (*mijalo pithiku*), they have mucoid minds (*vlenodis egkefali*). Kirios Niforatos points to modern Cefalónians not thinking, so their minds are fluid, with fluidity and looseness being opposed to density and solidity.

This emphasis on trains of thoughts may appear to contradict ‘spontaneity’ (*afthórmito*), also included in the features of good madness. Spontaneity is included however, if seen as “being bold”, as kirios Tzilianos remarked. The madman expresses himself and speaks his mind without considering or being hindered by thoughts on potential negative reactions on behalf of the audience.

Spontaneity is also connected with *etimología* which means being ready to reply to anything.<sup>541</sup> *Etimología* is the main motive guiding the train of thoughts. *Etimología* becomes increasingly important in terms of another distinction about good Cefalónian madness.

This “curved” (*loxí*) aspect has another feature with the mad person usually declining to follow the rest of the people in one practice. That is the satirist has his own way of speaking which detours from common ways of speaking emphasised here. This is more a personal relation with the satirical way of speaking. Each performer has his own style within the framework of satirical performances. When talking about detouring in speech and mentioning ‘satire’, the term that Argostólian kiria Anthula offers is satirical madness (*satirikí tréla*).

To summarize: good madness includes a positive meaning of the term madness. By assigning the performer the term “mad Cefalonian” the audience confirms it has experienced the performer’s mental qualities through the teasing event and identified these qualities with the ideal image presented here. This identification through implicit comparisons is the utmost evaluation of a performer and he is elevated, or it adorns him as Fernandez suggested.

### **The final touch: the Greeks and “us”.**

This last section refers to the final circumscription of ‘satire’ as Cefalónian by exploring the “we” people use in metacommunicative messages. It is not enough to evaluate a teasing event by referring to the local spirit, as the Cefalónian Devil and the Cefalónian madness represent this. The use of “we” implies ‘belonging’, of being

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<sup>540</sup> The role of local writers is advanced. Debonos presents this view. See bibliography.

<sup>541</sup> Herzfeld remarks that *etimologia* is a feature Cretans must have and show to be good at being a man. He suggests “readiness with words”. Here, *etimologia* is seen as ‘daring’ as kirios Tzilianos said and this is seen as a form of madness.

Cefalónian and requires a certain attitude towards “the other”. This is needed for ‘satire’ to be totally circumscribed as Cefalónian and for the transformation from audience members to “Cefalónians” to be completed. Thus “the other” and “difference” need to be located.

To recap: Freudenburg, as we saw in chapter two, notes that Romans declare satire as totally theirs to disentangle themselves from the Greeks and all things Greek. The inclusion of ‘satire’ in local culture requires the exclusion of others, and this attitude can belong in the anthropology of satire as the last addition to satiricity.

Cohen writes that the ethnography of locality “is an account of how people experience and express their difference from others”<sup>542</sup>. He suggests that difference emerges through engaging with other cultures, while local people value their distinctiveness and, additionally, they attribute values to the culture confronting their own. He defines ‘belonging’ as integral to the complicated fabric constituting the community<sup>543</sup>.

Difference and belonging should be expressed. Fernandez approaches ‘belonging’ in a similar way advancing the role of metaphors in constituting group aggregation. Here I would add that it is not only clearly stated metaphors that advance ‘belonging’; also planned and carried out are comparisons with other people or, evaluative comments on others that come after metaphors and that stress peoples’ ‘belonging’. Such comments are elicited from local people during interviews or informal discussions on a daily basis. Their main feature is the paralinguistic elements: facial expressions of pride and special intonation of words or expressions.

In order for Cefalónians to ‘belong’ to “Cefalónia” as a concept claims ‘satire’ exclusively, there is the need for engagement with other people and a view on these people for this to be instantiated. The Cefalónian case demonstrates a strong sense of ‘belonging’ as the point of departure during encounters. Closure guides people to protect ‘satire’ and adopt specific strategies for engaging with non-Cefalónians during a teasing event. These strategies follow here.

Difference, the denial of similarities and the exclusion of others<sup>544</sup>, is usually highlighted through comparisons and binary oppositions. Sutton applies this method regarding Kalymnian ‘identity’, as has Gottlieb among African people, who suggests difference as indispensable to ‘identity’ and relying on contradictions<sup>545</sup>.

Astuti suggests difference is also constructed analogically. Regarding the Vezo of Madagascar she writes that “people who differ from the Vezo are thought to do so through the same process of identification that makes Vezo what they are. In other words people differ because of the different things they do”<sup>546</sup>.

The point is to see difference not as a rejection of sameness but rather as utmost superiority in one cultural practice. This perception guides people to fulfil their strategies and it is this view on difference that Cefalónians must adopt and display to confirm ‘satire’ as theirs and they belong to the “Cefalónian community”.

The Other in the Cefalónian case refers to “all other Greeks” (*i ali Elines*). Cefalónians do not identify “other Greeks” as islanders or mainland people; they classify them all under one rubric. This is part of the strategy for the manifestation of closure.

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<sup>542</sup> Cohen 1982:2.

<sup>543</sup> Cohen 1982:21.

<sup>544</sup> Woodward 1997:9.

<sup>545</sup> Gottlieb 1992.

<sup>546</sup> Astuti :1995 466.

This contrasts with remarks regarding Greek ethnographies. Bernard, Herzfeld and Sutton suggest Aegean islanders compare and contrast themselves to Athenians or people from nearby islands or even Europeans. Difference as a rejection of sameness requires comparisons. Yet, difference seen as utmost excellence demands the absence of specific references and comparisons as demonstrated by the Cefalónian case.

Local rules which are not disclosed to others enable engagement. This is the second strategy used by Cefalónians to secure 'satire' as theirs and endorse their commitment to it. The inability of Greeks to identify such rules and abide by them during a teasing event, as Cefalónians understand it, generates evaluative comments and leads to a complete dismissal. Thus all other Greeks are omitted from competition and deemed unable to understand Cefalónian 'satire'.

Such comments are frequent from Argostólions, Kondogenadites and as well as Cefalónians, and the degree of consensus in confronting other Greeks is surprising. It was often heard that "all other Greeks are unable to understand our minds and our satire" (*i ali Elines den borun na mas katalavun*).

Although such comments are common among Cefalónians, nobody admits to the ways rules of the teasing event are hidden so the basis for difference is set by Cefalónians themselves. When, Argostólions and Kondogenadites alike, narrate their encounters with other Greeks, it is clear that Cefalónians do not make the teasing frame clear to others, leaving it to others to decipher meanings and rules. Getting to know Cefalónians presupposes an awareness of having to work towards them. Cefalónians, in other words, ask people to reach for them.

A third strategy used by Cefalónians is expecting Greeks to engage with the performer and contribute to the event. This either does not happen, or if it does, it was not seen as clever, I was told. The second parameter for the construction of difference is a dismissal of other peoples' cleverness and I would add that no comparison takes place here. Kiria Anthula has lived in Athens for several years and recounts her encounters with Athenians in terms of teasing events; she proudly stated "I have never heard anything clever from all other Greeks. Have you?"

Woodward notes that "difference can be construed negatively as the exclusion and marginalisation of those who are identified as 'Other' or 'outsiders'. As such difference can be celebrated as a source of diversity<sup>547</sup>". Cefalónians refuse to apply their sense of mind and cleverness to other Greeks and judge them on this basis. Concealing rules and meanings represents closure of their sense of cleverness which reinforces their feeling of difference against all other Greeks.

Said<sup>548</sup> in his article on Palestinian people and their reception from Arabs, claims that the sense of difference people hold is more of an ideology than a fact. To the extent that Cefalónians construct and use strategies for differentiating themselves from other Greeks regarding cleverness and 'satire', and that they generate and guide difference, it can also be claimed that their sense of difference is more of a claim than something observable.

To summarize: I here presented the main strategies through which Cefalónians reject sameness and advance their superior cleverness.

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<sup>547</sup> Woodward: 1997: 35.

<sup>548</sup> Said 1985: 38-58.

## Conclusions.

This chapter was concerned with the final use of a teasing event for audience members and performers alike. It demonstrates Cefalónians using teasing events to grant the main performer status, that is, to distinguish him and place him at the top of all members of the group. Further, Cefalónians use the teasing event to confirm their compliance to Cefalónian ideals thus differentiating themselves from other Greeks. It has been observed that the two uses do not appear at the same teasing event. Looking for possible relations between the two uses, then, I consider the second one as encompassing the first. In fact, the second way of differentiation cannot exist without the first.

In order to see how Cefalonians differentiate themselves from other Greeks, I focused on the linguistic means people use, from the perspective of forms and content. In terms of forms, I agreed with the terminology of the “reflexive comments” and of the “metacommunicative event” in order to signify the two uses of the teasing event respectively.

I considered the content of two specific terms that are included in these reflexive comments: the Cefalónian Devil (*djáolos*) and the Cefalónian madman (*kurlós*). The content of each of these terms is presented in order to reveal the qualities according to which Cefalonians hold themselves to be different from other Greeks. Both terms, in the context of the island, are ambiguous and have different meanings. In the context of a teasing event, however, these signify desired and praised superiority of wit and social behaviour. Thus, features of the island that were presented in the first chapter of this thesis are now seen from another perspective and are denied in order to give rise to local constructions of the Cefalónian Devil and Cefalónian madman.

The final demonstration of the superiority of Cefalonian wit and social behaviour through teasing events is achieved by means of representation of other Greeks. Other Greeks are comprehended on the basis of image and behaviour and are seen as a homogeneous totality, often not referred to or regarded as lacking understanding for Cefalónian teasing events.

Through such methods Cefalónians commit themselves to ‘satire’ as a feature of their own and differentiate themselves from all Greeks. Satiricity, that is, all surrounding talk and attitudes about ‘satire’ is enhanced and the foundations for an anthropology of ‘satire’ are laid.

## THESIS CONCLUSIONS. And further suggestions.

*“The spirit of the place and its people burns steadily below the surface. It shows up behind the tourist boutiques and visiting flotillas. The spiritual flame of this healing place cannot be put out. To discover this, you must be patient, search diligently and arrive out of season. The exploration will take time but the results will be rewarding and long-lasting”<sup>549</sup>.*

These are the words of an Irish woman, of Beatrice Reid, who in her opening pages of her brief account on Cefalonia, admits having “fallen in love not with a gorgeous Greek man but with a gorgeous Greek island”<sup>550</sup> during the 1950s. During her returns to the island for her summer holidays with her husband, Alec Reid, they engaged with the people of Fiskardo village. Throughout the pages of the “leaves from a Greek village” Reid presents village life and sketches men’s and women’s characters. For this reason she refers to ‘the spirit of the place’ and suggests the course to be followed in order for such a spirit to be uncovered and experienced, much as she did.

Arriving out of season and to a familiar setting, some years ago I set to discover the ‘spirit of the place’ or, according to my view, “the method behind the madness”. Because of my status as a ‘partial insider’ to Cefalonia, my research took a different twist than the one Reid suggests. Yet, in this twist, I discovered and realised the extent to which I was turning into a local and applying their ways of speaking in my daily life while trying to stand apart from them and study them. Reid did not have to fight against this aspect; I did.

Having reached the end of this thesis but only the beginning of explorations into Cefalonian ‘culture’, I wish to draw my conclusions and propose questions for further study. I shall follow the order of the chapters.

With reference to regions, a topic touched on in chapter one and chapter two, this thesis has reintroduced their importance and presented their role to the landscape of satire in Cefalonia. In particular, it is interesting to examine if there are ‘cultural constructions’ of regions in terms of teasing events, as they appear in Cefalonia; if these constructions appear on other islands or in mainland Greece.

Chapter two of this thesis has been concerned with the organization of the spatial dimension of context and its relation to the social geography of ‘satire’. I have thus looked at ‘public places’. I attended to some of the ways through which local people perceive and verbalise their view on the ‘settings’ and on the social geography of ‘satire’. I examined the marketplace as an urban example of ‘public place’, the village coffeehouse and the grill-house as rural examples of ‘public places’. In considering these ‘public places’ as ‘settings’ at which teasing events happen, I have emphasised the role of relations and activities that are backstage. I also referred to the patrons of the ‘settings’ and their roles in constituting the social geography of each ‘setting’.

To broaden the contribution of the study of ‘public places’ and the social geography of ‘satire’, we further need to examine all possible ways in which people express the ‘distant view’ on the ‘settings’. This examination will include issues of ‘memory’, ‘narrative’ and the reflexive positioning of speakers as audience members. We need, in other words, to look at how people use talk to convey their sense of place: to describe their interactions with performers and ‘settings’ in terms of

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<sup>549</sup> Reid 1998: 89-90.

<sup>550</sup> Reid 1998:1.

specificity; how, through such talk they reflect on themselves and retrospectively establish themselves as audience members; what is the purpose of such narratives and descriptions when addressed to the ethnographer; how and why people chose to present specific events to the ethnographer which justify their advice to her. How is 'public place' managed in terms of 'memory' and 'talk' in other words and is related to teasing events.

In addition we need to look for other 'public places' like the town square or the pitch and oppose them to what we can call 'limiting places' and to 'private places'. By 'limiting places' I mean public institutions the rules of which impose limits to people's interactions, like the church or the court or hospitals and of course Civil Services. 'Private places' are houses. We need to see how are limits imposed and by whom; to what extent are these limits observed or suspended and how.

We can also examine the use of marketplace roads (as described in chapter three) but for the purposes of religious rituals or community celebrations and how teasing events fit in these celebrations. What would be different in case of people who attend a Process, a Litany, or the Epitaph around the marketplace and in case of people who attend Christmas celebrations, for example?

One of the topics that has not been properly examined in this thesis is that of gender. Even though it has been mentioned that performers are 'men' and that audience members are 'men' and 'women', yet there are a number of issues to be looked at. For example, people did not mention women as performers and I was always guided to men performers. It would thus be particularly interesting to explore this area and look for women performers as well as the surrounding talk about them. If there are any such performers, what is 'men's' role when 'women' perform? Do they impose any constraints or do they applaud? Within this view, we could compare young women to older ones and locate differences in their attitudes to performances and to the use of 'public places' for performances or interactions with male performers. Would such topics be related to 'honour' and 'shame'?

"Ethnographic work in Greece provides special challenges of its own" writes Herzfeld<sup>551</sup> at the preface of his work on Cretan villagers. The potential of cross-island study on a research topic, like 'satire', between Aegean and Ionian islands or between the Ionian Islands should comprise aspect of this challenge. I suggest this given that there are brief references<sup>552</sup> to humour and, to my knowledge, there are no focused studies on teasing events and laughter on the Aegean islands. Further, there is the need for the study of differences obtaining in the studies of satirical events between mainland Greece and insular Greece.

Such research should consider all parameters of teasing events that were set in this thesis in urban and rural settings. It would also consider whether other islanders claim teasing events to be a core element of their 'cultures' and if they use these events in ways similar to Cefalonians'; if they distinguish the main performer; to what extent do audience members contribute to the event and how relations develop among members of audience and the performer. Most of all, we need to observe the relation between 'mood' and 'spirit' in the performance in the performer and in audiences' reactions; what, if any, symbols are used to evaluate the performer and from which sources they are drawn. If there is any vocabulary of 'satire' and how this is different from the Cefalonian one.

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<sup>551</sup> Herzfeld 1985: xi.

<sup>552</sup> Herzfeld 1985:141-149 provides examples of performances of Cretan couplets known as mandinades and approaches the issue of wit and humour.

Such projects could eventually lead to a view of Greece from another perspective and possibly to a ‘map of satiricity’: a ‘map’ showing the distribution of teasing events and their particularities depending on the area.

Within this framework, further studies on teasing events can expand to include recent performances but coming from other ‘settings’, like the media<sup>553</sup>. It would be interesting to see if ‘satire’ is still used in its ‘classic’ definition as corrective of vice and folly. We should include peoples’ reactions to such displays and events and look at issues like egghismos and tolerance and thus broaden the scope of ‘satiricity’.

A more broad perspective that cannot be adopted here but has been partially suggested is that of the category of migrants. I have included them in my study, so long as local people include them in their teasing events and have considered them as ‘not having changed despite their long-term absence’. Yet, I have suggested that we should see ‘migrants’ from another perspective, which fits the teasing event: they are to be perceived as a form of boundary, marking laughter exceeding local rules. It would be the topic of another study and on another level to conduct research in other continents where Cefalonians live. How do things change when people are away from the island and from Greece? Do they deliver teasing events to non-Greeks? If so, how do they use language and non-verbal behaviour? Do they apply the same rules when engaging in teasing events with other Cefalonian migrants?

Apart from the topics to be studied and their dimensions, I have been aware of but not used other approaches to some topics investigated. Psychology, for example, can contribute and help explain some of the topics touched in this thesis, with an emphasis on ‘mood’.

Chapter four has looked at disruptions of teasing events and stressed the necessity to include them in satiricity and in the anthropology of ‘satire’. This is because during disruptions audience members and performers present the rules of the frame in implicit ways and invite the instigators to comply with them. We have seen that when failure to comply with the rules is observed, such members are excluded from the event, that is, they are negatively classified.

I did not witness any teasing events which led to physical violence or total suspension of the event. It is therefore interesting to search on such developments of teasing events and mark audience members’ and performers’ reactions. Are the rules of the frame spoken explicitly in this case? Do people restore their relations after such a bad moment? How do they talk about this development of a teasing event? How do they describe each other? Do they base their comments on any sense of madness or egghismos?

Chapter five looked at the concept of the “illiterate” as an aspect of the Cefalonian performer. Taking the view on literacies, instead of literacy, and presenting some literacy practices, it was argued that “the illiterate” comprises of those practices and of a web of relations that local people create. I also looked at the purposes of this creation and suggested that it fits the purposes of the circumscription of ‘satire’ as Cefalonian: in order to highlight the ‘autonomy of the mind’, people subordinate the role of literacy practices to the spontaneous reaction in a teasing. What, however, happens with people who do not claim to be illiterate but are well-known performers? Do they adopt the term in order to serve the purposes? Is there another term they use? Has schooling been seen as a way of instilling national

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<sup>553</sup> I base this observation after having seen several ‘satirical broadcasts’ (satiriko deltio idiseon) on Greek television channels from 2005 till today and having roughly observed the role of ‘satire’ and of audience.

consciousness to people and hence was rejected? Is this rejection in other words a symbolic act which should be read as an attempt to maintain local identities?

Chapter six looked at laughter and the ways people communicate through sounds. I have advanced the term “laughterscape” and have seen it as people’s construct. I have therefore attempted to delineate the main principles of its construction. Research on sounds, like Feld’s, however, relate the soundscape to the natural environment and from this perspective it would be interesting to pursue such a research line. We might thus be able to understand more about the laughterscape and ask questions about features of sounds in relation to the Cefalonian landscape. It would be interesting in particular to look at any relations between the delivery of sounds in a teasing event and the movement of goats or sheep, given that these animals are a core feature of the Kondogenaditian environment.

In addition, this thesis has been concerned with the category of philogelos as a core element of a teasing event. Given, however, that there is also the agelast category of people, it is indispensable to look at these people as well. What is the surrounding talk on them? To what extent do performers tease them? What are the emotions involved in such an interaction? How do people explain the agelasts’ reactions? What is the role of silence in this case? It would also be interesting to compare them to idiotropos people and to grusuzis, as described by Herzfeld. Is there any sense of fate or ‘natural characteristic’ included in the surrounding talk concerning such people?

The last chapter of this thesis has started with the problematics of terms: that is, the ways in which people employ language to denote their attachment to local practices and to the island. Reading local sources on Cefalonian madness, there is a sense of pride that Cefalonians express in their claims to possession of Cefalonian madness. They further use it to differentiate themselves from other Greeks. Yet, the study of Cefalonian madness is a slippery ground, given the plurality of meanings and their applications in different situations. Hence, there is confusion and frustration when the term is pronounced to locals and there is no consensus on its meanings, unless they are used with reference to specific frameworks and situations. In addition, despite the dialectic variants for the term madness, there is no consensus on their meanings either.

I have thus been concerned to present the meaning of Cefalonian madness that fits the teasing events and is opposed to mental illness (the pathology of mind) on the one hand, and , on the other, to the negative sense of madness, known as idiotropía (anti-social behaviour). When audience members, by means of a metacommunicative event, confirm that someone is a good madman, they express their appreciation on his performance and his demonstration of local values which are epitomised under the term Cefalonian ‘spirit’. This is one of the two functions of the metacommunicative event. The message is directed towards the performer and refers to all participants in a teasing event.

In a second kind of metacommunicative event that I examined in chapter seven, there is the statement of “us being mad”. This message is directed to all participants and works to include them while implicitly excluding other Greeks (and non-Greeks). In such cases, other Greeks are constructed as a homogeneous unit, are usually omitted from these statements and they are silenced. Further, they are seen as lacking the qualities inherent in Cefalonian madness, therefore are seen as unable to participate in teasing events.

I have considered such methods of constructing difference as indispensable to the claims of ‘satire’ being exclusively Cefalonian. Taken together with locals’ claims on ‘satire’ being theirs, as we saw in chapter two, they construct and circumscribe it

as a Cefalonian feature. It is only through examinations of metacommunicative events and local interpretations that we can acquire insight into these methods.

Having these in mind, there is much ground to be covered. We need to further investigate and locate, if possible, the moment at which the Cefalonian madness, as presented here, emerged. By whom was it created? Why?

Is the term popular among islanders only or is it in use among mainland Greeks as well? Do other Ionian people claim a sense to madness as well? Is it different to the Cefalonian one or not? Is it related to teasing events or does it extend to cover other practices? From this perspective, would it be possible to talk about a hierarchy of ‘mad’ people in Greece? If other Greeks use similar metacommunicative events, what terms do they employ to circumscribe them? Do they claim these teasing events as ‘theirs only’?

In this thesis I have referred to the Devil and the madman as the core metaphors through which Cefalonians express their belonging to the Cefalonian community and assert the practice and evaluation of mental qualities and social behaviour. Yet, I did not elaborate on Odysseus, who is still a strong image and is evoked by Cefalonians. Future explorations then need to consider the contribution of this image to satiricity. How is Odysseus conceived and how does he fit into the context of ‘satire’, wit and emotions? Why do people employ the Devil and the madman more than Odysseus? Are there any other images apart from these mentioned here that represent the Cefalonians?

Madness, as chapters one and seven showed, is a core element of the ‘culture’ of Cefalonia. Yet, people reject mental illness as a feature of the island and they deny the label of them being mad as such. However, an interesting twist in the study of ‘satire’ would be Cefalonians’ perception on rationality. How is rationality defined and on what grounds? How is ‘reality’ defined and used with relation to rationality? Such questions would help us understand the difference that Cefalonians create between a mentally disordered Cefalonian and the Cefalonian madman as presented in this thesis.

We further need to explore the dialectic variants on madness and reach a definition of each one of them depending on the exact context in which they fit. As has been stated in chapter seven, there seems to be no consensus and even if we do not manage to reach one, we can at least explore the reasons that lead people to use different meanings.

Chapter seven has presented the role of metaphors in the final circumscription of ‘satire’ and its exclusivity on the island by transforming the performer and audience members to a ‘symbolic community’. The term metaphors was taken for granted even though there can be other views on the Cefalonian Devil and the madman. Hence, we need to ask if they can be considered as metonymies or symbols or images or labels. What would the dividing lines be? Can we think of the Cefalonian Devil and the Cefalonian madman as belonging to more than one category?

In terms of the performers, I have noticed that all of them have wide range of sub-categories of ‘speech genres’ that they use. An important contribution to the anthropology of ‘satire’ would thus be an exact recording of these sub-categories and their analysis with reference to the performer’s skills. How and why does he choose a specific sub-category every time? How is creativity considered in these cases? Does the choice of sub-categories of ‘speech genre’ indicate a potential use of Herzfeld’s theory on *simasía* : things that fit and are striking, as Cretans put it? We might thus discover performers’ theory of *simasía* or ‘matching texts’.

Chapter seven has also presented the standards for evaluating a performer. These standards comprise the local spirit. Yet, what is further needed is a thorough examination of the teasing events in terms of spoken words and the ways in which local people interpret them to fit the standard qualities.

In addition, the Cefalonian performer, whom we can call madman (*kurlos*) needs to be compared to other performers, like the trickster. What would the similarities and the differences be?

In terms of research methodology, there is the need to employ two approaches, both of which are related to the nature of the topics studied, to the researchers' prejudices and to the limited time of research. The first approach is that of archival work. Given that I was able to discover a forgotten written satirical poem that dated back to 1688 and given the fact that the director of the local library mentioned the existence of 19<sup>th</sup> century newspapers at villagers' houses all over the island, I think it is an interesting project to reach for such documents. Such a research would reveal the extent to which written texts were distributed among islanders, the value they were able to attribute to them and would possibly allow us to trace the existence of 'satire' on the island further back. To expand more on this, there emerges the need to move out of the island.

The second method refers to the use of recorded teasing events for the analysis of verbal art and the decoding of qualities of wit as described in the last chapter of this thesis. What I mean by this is a collaborative task between the ethnographer, performers and audience members. During this task, recorded events can be played to local people and hence evoke a thorough analysis on spoken words and on sounds<sup>554</sup>. This task will show how audience members and performers receive the teasing event and how they reflect on each other, especially after the lapse of time.

Another topic that deserves further study is that of paralinguistic elements. I here refer to a conceptualisation of the body within a teasing event and more specifically to postures and gestures. Given that most performers develop a range of gestures each one on an individual level, it is worth looking at this range and the differences that we can note. We need to investigate the extent to which audience members accept and allow for gestures or they constrain the performer. On what grounds are gestures to be taken as staging cues?

In this thesis, I have attempted to redefine some categories and show the Cefalonian meaning to others. I have thus presented the Cefalonian performer as madman or Devil and have marked some other aspects of him, like *illiterare*, *philogelos* and *idiorrythmic*. I consider such aspects to stand in relation to each other and come under the umbrella-term of the madman. We, however, need to examine if such a view applies and if there are any boundaries.

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<sup>554</sup> I here think of Feld's work on Kaluli sounds and their contribution to the analysis of sounds.

### *Epilogue.*

During the early stages of the writing of this thesis, my supervisor, in a moment of joy, suggested I should end my thesis by describing a big joke. Browsing through the pages of my notebooks, I could find none that would be presented as such. The epilogue of this thesis is, on the contrary, conveying a feeling similar to the one which I attempted to deliver in the opening of the conclusions.

Having left the field and going through the shock that the sudden and total lack of teasing events had inflicted on me, I counter balanced it by keeping in touch with Cefalonians on the island. Experiencing people's pride and references to 'our madness' once again, I was fascinated by a fellow Argostólian's reply to some of my questions: "You *cannot* study our madness. You only experience it. If you try and theorise it, it will not be the real thing".

There was no reason in me trying to explain that we can indeed live *and* study Cefalonian 'madness'. This thesis has attempted to prove exactly this point...

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(Note to the reader: the references cited here were either consulted or referred to in the thesis.)

**APPENDIX.**

**Transcribed recordings.**

## NOTATION.

| sudden stop

. big pause

↑ high pitch

↓ low pitch

/ interrupting the speaker.

\ the speaker corrects himself.

// two or more people talking at the same time

**Bold letters:** loud voice, shouting

*Italics:* irony.

Underlined letters: special emphasis on words or expressions.

{...} edited text and omitted lines.

[.. ] speaker's own parenthesis.

▶ symbol shows the beginning of reciting verses.

◀ symbol shows the end of reciting verses.

## NOTATION ON LAUGHTER.

Ha ha ha ha ha ha: audience laughs at the speaker's words.

Hahahaha: the speaker laughs at his own words.

Ha: the speaker giggles every now and then

APPENDIX ONE.

RECORDINGS FROM ARGOSTÓLI

TEXT A.1

*“Carnival costumes and Niovi’s meat pie: the satirist catches up everything and everyone”.*

Location: Mr. Makris’ pastry shop.

Date: March 2005.

Participants: Kiria Erithra, kiria Sula, kirios Makris, kirios Fokas, kirios Mihalís and me .

F: You are a total loss. | ↑ you are a total loss. 1.

Er: What are we? ↑

F: You also ordered those hats. | What did they think of you, eh? Did they think you were a ten year old scout and so ordered those hats for you?

Er: What hats? 5.

S: This mad hatter has come up with an argument now |

F: Yes/

M: See? This is why he didn’t join our group.

S: Yes, this is the reason he didn’t join us.

F: This one here says she took the measurements but the costume shrank in the wash\ the costume was like this \was like that<sup>555</sup>

M: Ha ha ha ha .

Er: Whoever doesn’t like our performance can stay at home and not come to see us.

Ma: NO. If someone doesn’t want to get involved, he must SHUT UP<sup>556</sup>, this is Makris’ way. 15.

F: This way or that I watched you on TV.

S: Ha ha ha ha ha. I had no idea about all of this. Ha ha ha ha ha.

People then turn to other topics and split into two groups talking about different things.

A bit later, kiria Sula addresses Fokas:

S: What is the name of the cologne you wear?

What is the name of the cologne you wear? 20.

F: Doi | How am I supposed to know?

S,Me: Ha ha ha ha ha.

S: What is the name of the cologne Makris wears?

---

<sup>555</sup> Fokas refers to all the people who came up with poor excuses so as not to join the carnival as well as this very group.

<sup>556</sup> Makris also refers to the poor excuses and the lack of participation in the Carnival parade. He refers to those who gave negative comments about the group’s costumes.

F: Bourdoubloum | are you listening? ↑ it was shown on TV\ Meat pie<sup>557</sup>. If you want to cook it, you are successful,<sup>558</sup> eh?Not so? ↑ 25

M: Well, you will soon get over it<sup>559</sup>.

F: Yes.

Er, S, Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Er: (To Mihalis): You, why did you reply to this?

M: I don't know. 30.

Er, S, Me: Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

M: You'll soon get over it /

F: Yes, well, it's not enough that some people exploit other people's things they also claim the grandma's china to be their own/ 35.

Er, S, Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha .

M: You'll soon get over it, you and some other ladies.↑ /

F: Yes | yes | yes | yes.

No matter what you say, these jokes are not about you.

M: Yes. | Sure.

Er, S, Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha. 40.

Straight after this, Fokas changes the subject. He talks about the new secretary of PASOK political party and emphasizes the fact that he/she is Cefalonian.

While talking about the secretary, kirios Makri's granddaughter arrives and Fokas turns to her:

F: Hello Larisea<sup>560</sup>. Did you do your homework? So you are /

Ma: She is from Lámia | From Lamía<sup>561</sup>/

F: We are still standing up<sup>562</sup> | Are you listening? **Marigula** | **show us your identity**<sup>563</sup>↑ | are you listening? (To Erithra)

Er: He catches everything and everybody! 45

How does he catch it all? Ha ha ha ha.

F: Eeeee. You. Here. She was closely linked to <sup>564</sup>{...}.

S (to Fokas): How did you talk to Mihalis! What did you talk to him about?

F: What was I to tell him?! Never mind. Don't bother. Let me tease him a bit...

<sup>557</sup> Meat pie (kreatopita) is a traditional Cefalonian dish.

<sup>558</sup> Foka's reference to TV and to successful cooking refers to Mihalis' wife and her participation in Greek TV shows. She has demonstrated the recipe and cooked meat pie for Greek audiences, thus provoking Cefalonians' sense of a delicious meat pie. Cefalonian audiences made negative comments about her recipe and her cooking, thus Fokas' irony is evident.

<sup>559</sup> Mihalis feels offended and interprets Fokas' words in terms of jealousy: people are jealous of his wife and her work on traditional recipes.

<sup>560</sup> Fokas would address Makri's granddaughter as Larisaia. This is because the girl's mother comes from Larisa, a location on mainland Greece.

<sup>561</sup> Makris keeps up with the teasing here and adds more locations of origin for his granddaughter. Lamia refers to a location in Cefalonia close to the village of Dilinata and Larisa refers to a location on mainland Greece. A change in intonation produces two different locations.

<sup>562</sup> Fokas does not get a chair while all of us are sitting down. Later he takes the chair that Mihalis used.

<sup>563</sup> Fokas addresses a lady from across the road to the left. She has come out on her balcony. Marigula doesn't reply to his words and goes inside. Fokas asks her to tell us about herself.

<sup>564</sup> Once again Fokas has changed the subject and wants to talk more about the new secretary and her being Cefalonian.

Ma (to me): We didn't dance a single dance this year<sup>565</sup>. 50

F: Aaa! I danced with her.

Ma: Of course: it is evident: you would rather dance with tall men. You don't like us, short men.

Me: ha ha ha ha.

F: Of course. This is what it's all about. 55.

S: If it had not been me changing dance partners during the party

Ma: during the pary<sup>566</sup>, the pary.

S: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Ma: Well, I've tasted fresh things<sup>567</sup>/

F: Eh, Eh↑ 60.

S: Mmmm↑, Ahhhhh.↑

Kiria Eruthra carries a photo album from inside the pastry shop, opens it up in front of Fokas and addresses him:

Er: Hey | ↑Cubare<sup>568</sup>↑ |

F: What is this?

Er: Can you not see?

F: I can only see my hat. 65

Er: Can you see these?<sup>569</sup>

F: In this one I don't see that much.

S, Er and Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

F: Guys, I must rush off and leave you | I have a little thing to do, right?

Er: That one: can you see her? 70

F: No.

Er: Ah | you can't see her.↓

F: **Oh God! What a pain**<sup>570</sup>!

Er: Can you see this one?

S: **Oh↑ oh↑ oh↑** 75

Er, S and Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Er: Not even these over here?

F: Nothing.

S: The lad can't see well.

F: He can't see. 80

<sup>565</sup> Makris refers to all the parties and dances during the Carnival period. He complains that he did not get a chance to dance with me, given that members of this group change dance partners all the time.

<sup>566</sup> Putting on an American accent when pronouncing the word party, kirios Makris twists it to pary instead of party.

<sup>567</sup> Once again Makris refers to the carnival party thrown by the group. He claims to have danced with many different young ladies, which he did. He refers to his wife and Sula because he has been dancing with them for many years.

<sup>568</sup> The term coubare (wedding/baptismal sponsor) is used in other contexts apart from the original as it is here. It is used as a form of teasing, a word that opens up teasing.

<sup>569</sup> Kiria Erithra shows Fokas pictures taken during a carnival party in which we all took part. She shows him photographs of women he knows. She asks him to identify the ladies but Fokas is obviously trying to escape this.

<sup>570</sup> This is one of Fokas' favourite exclamations. He would exclaim it any time and this is not related to him suffering from looking at the photographs here.

Er: Nothing? Not those ones?  
 F: Nothing | We \_\_\_\_\_ said: he cannot see. |  
 Er: You are blind. You are blind. Here girls/  
 F: The fleet<sup>571</sup>. Have you got any photographs with Menegatos in?  
 Er: No. Menegatos appears in other photographs. 85.  
 {...}

\_Mihalis leaves the company and bids us all good afternoon. As soon as he is gone, Fokas changes the subject once again:

Fokas changes the subject and soon afterwards he sees his wife across the road. She stands on the balcony of their house dusting and sweeping. He calls to her:

F: Madame | ↓

**You cannot imagine what they have been doing to me hahaha.**

Er, S and Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

F: They have stupefied me//

**S: Come, join us. Let's all gather down here.** ↑ Hahahaha. 90.

F: Just consider this: Niovi's<sup>572</sup> meat pie finding its way back into the cupboard.

Er, S and Me: ha ha ha ha ha hah.

Wife: Crazy women. What are you doing?

F: Do you want to know what I heard in all this: you mules?<sup>573</sup> Hahaha 95

Er, S, and Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha

S: Come, join us. Let's make a large gathering down here hahaha.

F: Eh | eh |. Ha ha ha ha ha. Hey, look | ↓there is a pigeon | take care: it might shit on you. You won't think of that as Holy Enlightenment afterwards

Er,S and me: .hahahahahahaha 100.

<sup>571</sup> «The fleet, girls» is a classic expression from the 1960s. People used it to attract the attention of girls by groups of men.

<sup>572</sup> Niovi is Mihalis' wife. Here Fokas loudly shouts his opinion about badly executed recipes. This explains why he talks about putting the meat pie back in a cupboard.

<sup>573</sup> The word mules is very close to the dialectic variant for crazy (murles) that Fokas' wife uses.

TEXT A.2

*“That is a dangerous thing: exploring the satirist’s work towards a poem”.*

Location: Kirios Avgustato’s printing shop.

March 2005.

Participants: kirios Avgustatos, a kirios Andreas and me.

Av: Who took this picture? 1  
Me: The girl who works for Haralabatos.<sup>574</sup>  
Av: Haralabatos?  
Me: Yes.  
Av: It is nice. But is there anything you can do \ damn it? 5  
Me: What is it that I can’t do?  
Av: **PITY**. This thing<sup>575</sup> (points to me in the photograph) blows the whole  
thing up | you should buy that kind of paper that people put on/  
Me: ha ha ha ha. Which paper?  
Av: That **court plaster** ↑that people put on | it is nice. 10  
You should put some of that on your forehead. Can’t it move further up a bit?  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
Av: Beware of this human being. //  
Me: ha ha ha ha.  
Av: It usually walks fifteen metres behind Chrisula.<sup>576</sup> 15  
After midnight though. You should go and find her //  
Me: ha ha ha ha. Yes.  
Av: And ask her, but talk to her nicely because if she smacks you \ there is no  
way you can escape it, no way you can escape it//  
Me: ha ha ha ha. 20  
Av: Have you seen her?  
Me: Who?  
Av: This, this thing. Have you seen her?  
Me: She was right there when the picture was taken.  
Av: Ah, I thought she had only shown you this photograph. 25  
Me: Well, I have not seen her walking down the road but I may do/  
Av: Does he have his little one by his side?  
Me: It’s not his youngster/  
Av: Eh, thaaat is understood/  
Me: It’s his old one by his side, but, anyway. 30  
Av: Yes. I am totally fine with you publishing the photograph in the local  
newspaper. If you want, we can print it big, like a poster, and put it up over there, on  
top of the rubbish/  
Me: ha ha ha ha.  
Au: In order to be more conspicuous. | damn it, what to do with it? 35

<sup>574</sup> Haralabatos is the owner of a small supermarket on Siteboron Street, next to kirios Makris’ shop.

<sup>575</sup> While looking at the photograph, Avgustatos refers to me as “this thing”, thus references to “It” in this text point to myself.

<sup>576</sup> Chrisula is a mentally ill woman who lives in Argostóli. She walks continually around the town, cursing and swearing loudly.

Me: It's defective this poor thing, no?  
 Av: Uh?  
 Me: This child is defective.  
 Av: What is it?  
 Me: It's defective.  
 Av: Look at this coincidence: its photograph is also defective.  
 Me: You are right. That's it. All defective people appear defective in photographs but this poor one, who is also half-minded, has no problem, right?  
 Av: What's this thing? Did they expel her<sup>577</sup> from the house and she had | | | been in it packing her clothes?  
 Me: The lady | they expelled her from the house.  
 Av: Aaaa, ah yes, because of her posture I thought of her as /  
 Me: No.  
 Av: It's a lady? Well, what can I say? I have no objection | but it is because of this thing | right here.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: Now this must be hungry because it looks pale from here.  
 Me: And it holds two bags of shopping | the poor thing must have bought something to eat.  
 Av: This is what I've heard from other people:  
 every morning she carries 67 slices of bread and 4 big rolls of salami | and if it happens to stop walking it eats | and sometimes there is traffic congestion | because of the belch | people think that other drivers are hooting at them and they suddenly stop their cars | and then there's a big hullabaloo //  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: Because you see, after all this food, it swells | and makes a noise grrrrrrrrr.  
 Me: Have you ever seen her while walking?  
 Av: I have seen her, my lady.  
 Me: Is it not a lovely thing?  
 Av: But as soon as I saw her, I immediately climbed up the electricity pole.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha. This poor thing IS defective.  
 Av: Now, this photograph is by eighty. I'll explain.  
 Me: Eighty?  
 Av: From here to here it's 6.<sup>578</sup>  
 Me: Ohhhh. It's 5.  
 Av: No, 6. And from here 306 and 20. In other words, this thing | here//  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: I really wonder how it makes it through the door.  
 Me: Think about this thing having had food. How could it have done it?  
 Av: Yes, publish it, publish it.  
 Me: But how? Just a photograph on its own? No words to go with it?  
 Av: And where was this photograph taken?  
 Me: In front of Haralabato's shop.  
 Av: Ah yes in front of Haralabato's shop.

---

<sup>577</sup> Avgustatos has turned his attention to the other lady on the picture, my friend Anastasia. He talks about her.

<sup>578</sup> He has grabbed a tape measure and is measuring the dimensions of the people appearing in the photograph. He then measures the door of his shop.

Me: See? This is why they are holding bags. But I don't know what to add underneath the photograph. It mustn't show\ it must cover this defective thing. These people are mooreeee\ not so?

Me: Will you measure this again? What do you think of him? Is he giving you any ideas? And what about the lady?

An: Good morning.

Me: Good morning.

Av: Oh, good morning to you. I'm looking at this thing. How did they manage to take a picture of it? See? What is this thing? You can't even see its forehead. This lady here is a relative of theirs.

See? Somebody took a picture of them and she's here now in order **to consult me** //

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

An: It seems that there was a person who hated her so he chopped her head out of the picture.

Av: Yes, yes.

Av: She's here to consult me | to publish this in the newspaper because she is afraid of this thing.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha.

Av: Look here at these dimensions | in the meantime this thing can't come through the door except sideways.

An: It has to do with the way the picture was taken.

Av: Look at this here, here/

An: That's the way they took the picture.

Av: She has turned white with fear.

An: They took the picture that way | there must have been a glare.

Me: Yes. The girl taking the photograph was right across from us and there was plenty of sunshine. That's why the picture looks like this.

An: Indeed that is the way it has been taken/

Av: Remind me of their names.

Me: How am I supposed to know?

Av: Come on, tell me.

Me: I don't know them.

Av: Honestly say their names. Let me hear/

Me: This is Anastasia.

Av: Anastasia?

Me: Yes. And this is Beethoven<sup>579</sup>.

Av: Who?

Me: Beethoven.

Av: Beethoven who?

An: The Band conductor

Av: Who?

Me: The Band conductor, Apostolatos.

Av: Petina?

Me: Apostolatos. Ha ha ha ha.

An: He's making fun of us. It's not that he doesn't know.

Av: Spiratos?

---

<sup>579</sup> I deliberately used the nickname Beethoven instead of the real name of the person. Kirios Makris calls the Band conductor Beethoven. He invented this nickname after listening to it and I memorised it.

An: He's making fun of us.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: This is Apostolatos. Aaaaaa now I do remember | the one with | yes yes, yes. It is Apostolatos.  
 Me: The one who/  
 Av: It is Apostolatos \ and whose he got his hand on?  
 Me: Both of us. That goes without saying.  
 Av: Does he have two? Because if he does, he's crippled. He must have three if he's normal.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha. Why?  
 Av: What are you talking about?  
**What are you talking about, you devil, first thing in the morning?** ↑  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha. I'm talking about his hand.  
 Av: **aaaaaaaa his hand.** I'm wondering: why does he have two | it should be three.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha. Should I publish it or not then?  
 Av: Yes, do. But, before you do↑ | come to me.  
 An: ha ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: Andreas, stop it. This lady is a customer.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha ha.  
 Av: Ask them to publish it.  
 Me: Ok.  
 Av: Right | but this thing mustn't be in it.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha. I won't come to you first. No way.  
 Av: Oh no, no way | you can't | it's not right.  
 Me: Think of your wife. What will she think of this?  
 Av: What will she thiiiink? Well, I won't tell her. I'll only tell her that I feel really sick.  
 Me: is that so?  
 Av: Yes.

He starts measuring the photograph again and he then moves his index finger as if he is following a tune. A few moments later he turns to me and looks as if he's been thinking of something else.

Av: Yes. I'll take care of it.  
 I'll compose one for you which will read | but promise **you will publish** whatever I give you.  
 Me: ha ha ha ha . Yes.  
 Av: Is that fine? **No matter if it is horizontal or vertical you will have it published.**  
 Me: ha ha ha. Yes.

TEXT A.3 .

*“How to play a nice person”: in tune with the satirist.*

Location: Makris’ pastry shop<sup>580</sup>.

March 2005.

Participants: Kirios Makris, Kiria Sula and me.

M: This one over here<sup>581</sup> | since last year |  
has been craving/

Me: What?

M: To organise a referendum |

Me: Me?

M: Concerning the person who will perform the poem on theeee |

S: Stage at the main square.

M: Yes.

Me: And how do you see all this?

M: So, I say to her: you’ll do it by yourself.

No, she replies | we must ask everyone.

S: Mmmmm.↑

M: So, as you please. But I now see that↑ in addition to this Gerasimos<sup>582</sup> has  
taught her how to perform it /

S: She took the initiative by herself/

M: Yes yes definitely.

S: He instructed her and on top of that she presented herself as a nice, polite  
person/

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

M: Yes yes absolutely so. Indeed you are right, bravo.

M: On Sunday afternoon then, on Sunday afternoon | immediately before we  
go up the stairs to the stage \ she tells me | we should ask everyone hahaha.

S: That specific moment.

M: Yes. So I say: I decide and I order | move your feet and get going.

S: See? | She performed it nicely on top of it all. Hahaha.  
She took the initiative and//

M: Yes, yes exactly.

Me: Oh yes indeed.

S: And then she exposed us to the public.

Me: Sure I did.

Ha hahahahaha.

---

<sup>580</sup> This extract is part of a larger recording. Discussion evolves round the topic of the Carnival parade and my own insistence on reciting the satirical poem on stage.

<sup>581</sup> Reference is to me. Kirios Makris does not name me but uses pronouns to initiate the teasing.

<sup>582</sup> Gerasimos Avgustatos is the composer of the poem. I consulted him on issues of intonation and emphasis on words concerning the recitation of the poem. Here kirios Makris builds on real events.

APPENDIX B.  
RECORDED TEXTS FROM KONDOGENADA.

TEXT B.1

*“Teasing duels, a poem and a brick”*: testing people’s mental qualities.

Location: the village coffeehouse.

August 2005.

Participants: Marjioleni, Andonis, Spiros Franciscatos,  
Andonis Franciscatos, Froso, Spiros Orlandatos, Vasilis and me.

B: How are you tonight? Are you a divorcee?<sup>583</sup> Excuse me for saying so  
buuut/

Fr, A, Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha .

Me: divorcee!

Ant: No, Basili, no ha ha ha ha ha.

B: She dumped you |

Me: ha ha ha ha ha.

B: She really will dump you just like she keeps telling you.

Ant, Fr, Me: ha ha ha ha haha.

B: And then you’ll be high and dry hahaha.

Ant: Do you think this is likely to happen?

B: Uhhmmm. Hahahha. Well she’s asking for it and so are you.

A, F: Well, just for a joke.

B: Spiros you should go to Despina’s | she doesn’t shave men \only cuts hair.

Sp. O: Women cannot cut my hair.

B: I predict you’ve had a bad summer. You’ve lost weight.

A.F: He doesn’t go to a hairdresser, only a barber.

B: To a male one.

Sp. O: You must go to Despina’s.

B: Yes. I was there today but she wasn’t available. I had to go because she  
opens the shop late.

Sp. O: You should call her and arrange for tomorrow.

B: I am busy | I won’t call her.

Sp. O: And you should ask her to perm your hair.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha h.

B: Bloody hell.

(3 seconds pause).

Sp. O: Do you know the importance of getting your hair permed these days?  
It’s an extremely important thing. Big business.

B: I have already lost half my hair. What should I do?

---

<sup>583</sup> When entering the coffeehouse, Vasilis does not see Marjioleni sitting with us. She had left our company and gone into the house only to join us later on. Vasilis’ joke is based on Marjioleni’s absence and on her earlier joke about dumping her husband.

Sp. O: Well, the hair you still have/

B: Ummm.

Sp. O: If she arranges it like this and like this it will all be permed.

B: My hair will come right as soon as she combs it neatly. It's not like your hair which looks like your \ your lambs.

Sp. O: Ahh ↓

As soon as this topic is over, Vasilis switches to the recent airplane crash over Cyprus. He explains the news he has heard on the radio but Spiros questions this and doesn't believe what he is told.

Sp. O: But how could the aircraft be on fire given there was no fuel in the engines for 4 or 5 hours?

B: It caught fire because of the liquid in the engine.

Sp. O: nonsense.

B: **Hold on a minute | stop | stop it | don't rush |** these are not lambs or sheep, so as to reverse the flock .

Sp. O: I have only heard /

B: It is not me saying these things | or your sheep | it's not all about turning the sheep round.

Sp. O: This one I/

B: This one you/

Sp. O: But you are a kind of specialist/

B: I am not a specialist | I'm just saying.

Sp. O: They say there was a man on the aircraft who was getting married/

B: Your mind always turns to brides<sup>584</sup> |

get one so you can have her | and you can clear your thoughts.

Sp.O: I shall take yours.

B: You're absolutely mad.

Later during this gathering, Vasilis talks about the Italian occupation during the Second World War and the Italians eating donkey meat. Spiros suddenly and with no introduction, starts reciting a poem:

Sp. O: ► We finally reached the nunnery  
Having walked through difficulties  
We knock on this, we knock on that  
But there are locks all over the place.  
Tullios then, shouted out loud  
With all his might:  
Nuns come and open the door  
Because the Archbishop is here.  
The abbess woke up startled  
And horrified  
Came out to see what  
Was going on. ◀

---

<sup>584</sup> Both men are bachelors. Spiros' reply teases Vasilis, who he avoids talking about.

B: You are well prepared tonight \ next time\  
Fr and Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
Sp.O: ► The priest heard this hullabaloo  
While in his cell  
And he immediately  
Put his jacket on  
And grabbed the dolman  
Put them on his shoulder  
He had run two miles  
Before you were  
Able to speak a word.  
The priest ran away  
He ran through the vineyards  
Always with the dolman  
On his shoulders. ◀

Fr, Me: ha ha ha ha h aha.

Sp. O: Say it.

Me: No way.

Sp. O: You are an absolute brick<sup>585</sup> (totally stupid). I'll accept that you are stupid for the time being | until I train you to be quicker on the trigger.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Yes, I am.

Fr: He speaks so fast and this girl cannot memorize things/

Me: He's got the journal at home and studies it/

Sp. O: I invited her to join me herding my flock of sheep | and put her mind to work but ↑she refuses to join me.

Me: Did I turn your invitation down?

Fr: What a nice thing to do, herd sheep!

Me: Why? (To Froso)

B: You have come well prepared tonight. You did read tonight//

Me: Why (To Froso)?

Sp. O: And mark my words, she is not going to get fat at all because I'll make her go on a diet.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha. My father also tells me this.

Fr: ha ha ha ha.

Me: Is it me who doesn't want to join you? You are the one who has not asked me to join you.

Sp. O: Look, I'm here on my tractor. It's available. We can set off right now\ I don't mind

Me: Eh, no, we'd better go in the morning. Hahaha.

Sp. O: No, not in the morning because we will get sunburnt.

Fr: Ha ha ha ha ha. May Virgin Mary bless you tonight.<sup>586</sup>

---

<sup>585</sup> Spiros calls me "a brick", a derogatory term indicating a poor mind. Spiros' strong accent on this word emphasizes my poor mind on the basis that I am not quick enough to memorize things and then repeat them. Here Spiros refers to the holes in a brick and the emptiness of the space within the holes.

<sup>586</sup> This classic Greek expression is used in happy or sad moments. Here Froso is expressing her own happiness because Spiros provides us with teasing and laughter. Froso also emphasizes the rarity of such an event. She finally invokes the Virgin Mary to bless the laughter and to avoid sad moments the

B: If only Gobandonis<sup>587</sup> was alive to enjoy you.

## TEXT B.2

*“No fear of mental asylums; we are all mad”: it takes three to make good teasing.*

Location: grill house.

July 2005.

Participants: Vaggelis, Babis, Gianis and me.

V: If you see Maxis,<sup>588</sup> tell him/

G: No | just leave Maxis alone/

V: Say to him “Vaggelis brought me a holy icon” and that I brought it to you from down there.<sup>589</sup>/

G: And that I’ve placed the holy icon above my bed/

V: Yes. Are you listening? Because Maxis, ha, he asked me to bring him a holy icon\ I didn’t have time for this \ but I’ll post it to him as soon as I get back to America.

G: Tell him that I will post you the holy icon of St. Valentine.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: You know who St. Valentine is? He is the saint of people in love. Hahaha. So, tell Maxis this.

(To me) Don’t leave the village, you’ll have a nice time here.

G: He’ll help you; tell him, to fall in love with Milia. ALWAYS be in love. Hahaha.

All: ha ha ha ha ha.

B: Do you know why St. Valentine is a saint?

V: See? \ I miss them. I miss them. \ I look at me now: what’s going on? I have missed/

B: Valentine’s wife had a quarrel with him |

She grabbed her slippers and began smacking him

She beat him to pieces then boiled him, and this is how the Saint became saint-Love.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: A couple of days ago I joined Panagis and wanted to argue about the KKE,<sup>590</sup> but instead of this we talked about other things.

G: **Porno?**<sup>591</sup>

Me, V: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: No,no.

---

following day. She thus follows a common Greek attitude: too much laughter may be followed by sadness.

<sup>587</sup> Gobandonis is Spiros’ family’s nickname and here Vasilis refers to Spiros’ father.

<sup>588</sup> Maxi (Maximos is his full name) is a fellow Kondogenaditian, and his wife is Milia.

<sup>589</sup> Down there means the USA. Vaggelis lives in New York.

<sup>590</sup> KKE stands for the Greek Communist Party.

<sup>591</sup> I use the Greek word for porn because Gianis’ special emphasis on the o’s gives the word a funny twist.

G: Ohh Vageli/

V: We switched to financial issues and banks/

G: You've caught me at a most inappropriate moment.

I am here without my tools. If I had them I would have tied you down, taken you hostage, captured you.

V: I got a cramp from laughing.

{...}.

V: Oh, with this in mind\ tell me something: next year, do you want me to get you a military style jacket? /

G: No, I do not. I wear nothing like that/

B: Next year he's bringing three costumes along: he will wear the German one \he'll get a German lady and start walking past Menelao's<sup>592</sup> house yelling: Hail Hitler hahaha.

V: So. I must find a German helmet \here, look\

I'll buy some white flannel and I'll \ because I was told my clothes are indecent, that I wear a shirt and walk around looking slovenly | I was thinking of doing it now, but I thought to myself: well, let it go | I'll get | I'll use a razor to tear the flannel apart right here and they'll be | I'll cut them | | they'll look sliced and you will be able to see a part of my body and a bit of this and that.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: A big white headband | and I'll make it like the Japanese flag

B: Like some other people wear it.

V: Just like a kamikaze. I'll have wrist bands tied here on my wrists/

G: What you actually need to do/

B: May I suggest something?

G: Two tattoos of snakes.

V: No I won't have tattoos because they are/

B: No, no you can get self-adhesive ones //

G: Self-adhesive ones.

B: Vageli, Vageli, if you do all these things just bear one thing in mind: two or three days later you will be moving to Tripoli.

Me: ha ha ha ha. I told him that this very morning.

B: If people are seized from this island, they're taken to Tripoli.

Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

V: The mental asylum you mean?

B: Yes.

Me: My exact words to him this morning.

G: Listen to me.

B: To Tripoli, to the mental asylum.

G: There's no problem here | don't listen to Babis.

V: I know. Let them chase me all around Oikopeda<sup>593</sup> and catch me.

---

<sup>592</sup> Menelaos is a Kondogenaditian who migrated to Germany and worked in a factory. He is now retired and spends the summer months in Kondogenada moving to Patras in winter. Menelaos has developed a special affection and admiration for the German State. When Kondogenaditians want to "wind him up" as they say, they mention "Germany". Menelaos needs only to hear this word and immediately starts talking.

<sup>593</sup> Ikopeda is a place-name. It is south west of Kondogenada and about half an hour walk from the village square.

G: No\ why did they\ bring saint Gerasimos over here for us?  
V: Yes.  
G: Why?  
V: Why? Because we're all mad and we need him to cure us.  
G: Bravo.  
V: So | first take me to the Saint/  
G: Every location\ every island has its own curer.  
V: Its curer.  
G: It's us, because of our madness that they brought Gerasimos here for us.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha  
G: So, | there is no↑ fear.  
V: No.  
G: No fear of Tripoli | no fear of Corfu<sup>594</sup>.  
V: I'll do something for them<sup>595</sup> | I'll walk up Vouni rise<sup>596</sup> at night | I'll find some things and make a cross in the sky that can be seen during moonless nights | I'll make them run to the priest to read a holy water rite on top of Vouni//  
B: Yes, yes mi↑nd you. There are many well read people here.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
B: You'll receive a lot of bullets  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
B: Containing salt<sup>597</sup> hahaha.  
V: They'll be seeing lights/  
G: Do not listen to the cousin | Cousin ruins it all.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

---

<sup>594</sup> Tripoli (in the Peloponese) and the island of Corfu (north of Cefalonia) are well known to Cefalonians because of their mental asylums.

<sup>595</sup> Vaggelis refers to his fellow Kondogenaditians.

<sup>596</sup> Vuni is the rise adjacent to Kondogenada to the right. It is on the way to Ikopeda. The path leading to the top of the rise is very narrow.

<sup>597</sup> Bullets including salt are thought to cause minor injuries and pain. They are used to intimidate people or to make them go away.

TEXT B.3.

*“Sweeten the guy”: challenging the performer...*

Location: grill house.

September 2005.

Participants: Panagis, Popi, Spiros, Reggina, Babis, Dimitris and me.

Me: What will you say about me when I'm long gone from this village?

P: Well, we'll try not to say anything.

Me: But, as soon as you receive my thesis, you'll definitely have something to say, right?

P: Eh \ We had Legas,<sup>598</sup> we will say | who was absolutely mad and used to write books | we had Lazaratos<sup>599</sup> another mad man, | we will put you third to them.

Me, R, Po: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Me: Given that I come from Faraklata,<sup>600</sup> there is an additional reason for that.

P: Eh, of course.

Me: ha ha haha. Ohhhh.

P: Listen, let me tell you | it's mathematically proven\ that all Kondogianaioi are syphilitics./

Me: Ah, so?

P: Now they're this way because of syphilis | as for Lazaratos I don't know \ I have nooo idea what kind of damned disease he's been suffering \ you/

S: hey↑ | hey↑ |

P: You come from Faraklata/

S: hey↑ | hey ↑ | hey↑

P: There is no way you can escape that.

Po: Leave the girl alone/

R: What are you telling her?

Me: No let him continue.

P: All Farakliots are problematic | why should she be any different?

Po: You will stupefy her/

P: Why\ I keep telling ↑her/

Me: No just let him. I want him to talk hahaha. He knows that his words don't offend me. He knows this really well. It is part of my work.

{...}

Me: I will write my best when it comes to your village. I promise.

P: Look: | just ignore two or three families because of syphilis | ignore two, three families whose members are idiorrhythmic and idiosyncratic<sup>601</sup>

<sup>598</sup> Legas is the nickname of kirios Memas Kontogianatos. Line 11 includes the surname Kontogianaioi thus referring to all people bearing it.

<sup>599</sup> Lazaratos is a Kondogenaditian man who composes satirical verse. He founded “the cultural club of Kondogenada” (Politistikos Sillogos Kondogenadas) and was elected leader of the Kondogenada community some years ago.

<sup>600</sup> Here I try to follow the method used by people to challenge someone to talk: I ‘give words’ to Panagis, thus intentionally invoking my parent’s village of origin, Faraklata. Here Panagis’ teasing refers to Farakliots having suffered from syphilis in the past. Linking me to my ancestors’ results in reference to problematic and syphilitic people.

Me: yes?  
P: Eh, all other people are fine people.  
Me: Yes, of course, I understand this hahahah.  
S: What with one thing and another, most people are stupid.  
Me: I don't make exceptions.  
P: I said | If you exempt two or three former syphilitic families | and two or three families which are idiorrhythmic | and idiosyncratic/  
Me: But it's precisely these people who receive me well  
P: Look at this //  
Me: Everybody has been very good with me.  
P: When you take a whore and let her into a city she will look for her clan. When you, the mad woman, arrived in this village | you searched for your clan. Who are you going to look for? The wise people?  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
Po: Hey, what are you saying?  
P: I'm only telling the truth.  
Me: I'm used to his speeches. He knows that I don't mind.  
P: Go \ search a city | just think of yourself as a normal person | and look for a whore | will you find her? | You won't find her. As soon as you open\ as you find one in a city you will find many more. 50.  
So, it happened with this one | MAD | came to a village | she searches for mad people.  
Me: Of course! This is the reason I extended my stay for two more weeks and I'll return next year.

{...}  
P: I had a word with you: | Babis ↑opened all doors for you/  
Me: It was Galanos<sup>602</sup> ↑who opened doors for me.  
P: Babis opened doors for you, forget about Galanos.  
D: Galanos paved the way for you.  
P: Forget about Galanos. You are fully indebted to Babis | Babis has serious problems | his mind moves on | so take over | 60.  
Take him with you and let him practice embrocations<sup>603</sup> on you.  
D: Take him along with you.  
Me: I did invite him to come with me but he refuses.  
P: Who? Babis? Let me get him.

{...}  
P: Babis, come over here. This lady is begging you to join her where she lives. Why do you refuse to go?  
B: Who? Me?  
P: Who else? Me? You shame Kondogenada. You humiliate us.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.

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<sup>601</sup> Panagis expresses his opinion about his fellow villagers by classifying them thus.

<sup>602</sup> Gerasimos Galanos is a Lixurian schoolteacher who politely offered to show me round Anogi and pointed out mad things and people. He is well known to Cefalonians because of his endless collection of folklore material and his continuous publications in local newspapers and magazines.

<sup>603</sup> Panagis plays with words: embrocation (entribi) is very close to a PhD thesis (diatribe). Every time I insisted on the focus on my thesis, he would ask me to engage in other things like getting Babis to practice embrocations. Sexual intercourse is the main theme that runs through his words.

P: Till the job is done, let me give you some advice.  
Me: ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
P: For Babis to follow you to Scotland you must sweeten<sup>604</sup> him up and you must start right now. Give him a sweet thing to sweeten him just as we give fish bait.  
Me: No no no.

#### TEXT B.4

*“Trickster born and trickster is”:  
An extraordinary Kondogenaditian migrant.*

Location: grill house.  
September 2005.  
Participants: Babis, Harris, Reggina, Gianis Petritsis, Spiros and Popi, Panagis, Dimitris and me.  
Panagis, Spiros and Popi leave the company quite early. Dimitris joins the company soon after they leave.

They talk about Maxis, their fellow villager.

R: Did you see him at all this summer?  
G: Maxis?<sup>605</sup>  
R: Yes.  
G: Ha. If you only knew what happened to him the other day/  
D: Weren't you talking about this a couple of days ago?  
That incident with his car when Maxis started shouting?  
R: No.  
G: At seven o'clock in the morning.  
R: What did you do to him?  
G: I took his car away.  
R: His car?  
All: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.  
G: Yes.  
R: And where did you take it?  
G: I couldn't hide it | so I kept driving it around |  
and Maxis was shouting from far away | he was shouting eeeeeeeeeeeeeee.  
R: Did he know who the culprit was?  
G: hahaha. No. He parked by the olive trees and I took it from there/  
R: Did this happen at his plot of land or in the village?  
G: At his plot of land. At his plot of land. At seven in the morning.  
We went to the field from the place where he parked his car | I walked to  
Maurato<sup>606</sup> down there  
D: And what about your car? Where did you park so Maxis didn't see it?

---

<sup>604</sup> Panagis instructs me on how to get Babis to join me in Scotland: he refers to me seducing Babis and offering him pleasure. Sexual intercourse is once again insinuated.

<sup>605</sup> For Maxis see footnote 51.

<sup>606</sup> See footnote 36.

G: I left after this happened. I then went to Vrubalia<sup>607</sup> I saw Andrea, we have grapes there/

D: Where did you park your car? Where was your car while you moved Maxis' car?

G: Parked right by his house.

R: Ah.

All: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

G: I thought, bloody hell where the devil should I park his car? Should I drive it to Bruvaljia and then walk all the way back? This isn't possible. So I kept driving it round and round the olive trees but I couldn't find a place to hide it. And then I say | I say: should I drive it down to that field

or towards the field over there by Babi's<sup>608</sup> |

there is no place that does nooooo/

D: It would get stuck (in the mud).

G: It would get stuck, yes it would get stuck. Hahaha. Anyway. I got bored | since there wasn't a good a place to hide the car | Then I thought Maxis would get back soon from Mavrato and the first thing he'll do is go to the olive trees |

he will see his car is missing and will look for me so I drove his car right to the door of his house | and I parked it backwards.

All: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

Ha: So he couldn't get into his house.

G: Yes. I also had my coffee and left the glass on top ooof

R: Yes. Ha ha ha ha ha ha.

G: The glass on top | of the car | I then got into my car and drove away | Socratis ha Socratis was leaning on his hut and looking | Socratis was like this: standing | leaning on the fence of his house and looking\ but he couldn't recognize me.

D: He must have seen you\ there is no way he couldn't have seen you.

G: He saw me | Socratis was looking at me but he couldn't identify me.

H: Maxis must have shouted loudly/

G: Maxis was shouting loudly and Socratis was looking | yes//

H: So Socratis<sup>609</sup> walked out of his house.

G: I kept hooting to Maxis from my car

All: ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

G: Maxis | was high up

D: And was shouting

G: And he couldn't see down below |

and was shouting EEEEEE | Maxis kept shouting and I kept hooting | How could I have heard Maxis? We had historia<sup>610</sup> yesterday.

R: So you "took care" of everybody then?

G: What?

R: You passed everybody by | you "took care" of everybody.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> Vrubaljia is the name of a place four or five km south-east of the village. Kondogenaditians grow grapes and vegetables there.

<sup>608</sup> Babi's house is the last one in the village.

<sup>609</sup> Socratis is a fellow Kondogenaditian.

<sup>610</sup> People use the term "historia" as kirios Giorgos explained, in order to refer to a real event, something that truly happened.

G: Eh, yes. See.

## SAMPLE OF ORIGINAL GREEK TEXTS.

### ΑΡΓΟΣΤΟΛΙ

#### Κείμενο Α.1

19/3/2005. Σαββάτο πρωί.

Στου Μακρή το ζαχαροπλαστείο.

Πρόσωπα: Μακρής, Ερυθρά, Σούλα, Μιχάλης, εγώ, Φωκάς και μερικοί περαστικοί.

Φ: Εθνική απώλεια ↑ είσαστε | ↓ Εθνική απώλεια είσαστε.

Σ: Τί είμαστε; ↑.

Φ: Παραγγείλατε και τα καπέλα | τι σας περάσανε ωρέ γιααα προσκοπάκια δέκα χρονώνε κα σας φέρανε και τα καπέλα ;

Ε: Τι καπελάκια ;

Σ : Κάτι βρήκε τώρα ο βελάρδος |

Φ: Ναι./ τον διακόπτουν

Μ: Για αυτό δεν ήρθε, κατάλαβες ;

Σ: Για αυτό δεν ήρθε.

Φ: Ετούτη εδώ λέει της πήρανε τα μέτρα αλλά μπήκε στο πλύσιμο το\ η τουαλέτα ήτανε κοντή, ήτανε μακριά, | ήτανε έτσι, | ήτανε έτσι |

Μ: χα χα χα.

Ε: Οποιανού δεν αρέσουμε να κάθεται σπίτι του και να μη μας βλέπει.

Μ: ΟΧΙ. Όποιος δεν ανακατεύεται να τονε τρώει **σ κ α σ μ ό ς** να το πω Μακρέικα.//

Φ: έτσι και αλλιώς είναι ανάλογα //Σας έβλεπα στην τηλεόραση ντυμένοι/

Σ: χα χα χα. Δεν τα ήξερα αυτά .χ α χα χα.

Στη συνέχεια αναπτύσσονται διαφορετικά θέματα μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων και μιλάνε ανά δυο. Λίγο αργότερα, η κυρία Σούλα απευθύνεται στο Φωκά:

Σ: Τι κολώνια φοράς ;

Σ: Τι κολώνια φοράς ;

Φ: ΔΟΥ | ξέρω γω πώς τη λένε ;

Σ, Εγώ: χα χα χα.

Σ: Τι κολώνια φοράει ο Μακρής ;

Φ: Μπουρδουμπλούμ | \ Λοιπόν ακούς ; ↑... Το'δειξε η τηλεόραση | κρεατόπιτα. Όποιος τη φτιάξει, πέτυχε Ε; ↑

Μ: Θα σου περάσει μωρέ.

Φ: Ναι.

Ε, Σ, Εγώ: χα χα χαχαχαα.

Ε: Εσύ γιατί απάντησες ;

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<sup>611</sup> Kiria Reggina refers to Gianni's everlasting passion for jokes and farces directed at his fellow villagers. No one is exempt from his jokes!

M: Ξέρω γω ;  
E, Σ, Εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα χα  
M: Θα σου περάσει/ Φ: καλά που κάνουν εκμετάλλευση ειδών αλλοιώνων  
και λένε πως είναι δικά μας τση γιαγιάς οι πορσελάνες /  
E, Σ, εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα //  
M: Θα σου περάσει και σένανε και κάτι άλλες ↑ /  
Φ: Ναι | .Ναι. | Ναι. | Ναι.  
Φ: Ό,τι και να λέτε τ' αστεία δεν είναι για σας.  
M: Ναι. | Καλά. |  
E,Σ , Εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα.

Το θέμα σταματά εδώ και ο Φωκάς αρχίζει να λέει για τη νέα γραμματέα του ΠΑΣΟΚ που είναι Κεφαλονίτισα. Το θέμα κρατά περίπου 2 λεπτά. Σοβαρή συζήτηση.

Έρχεται ο γιος του κυρίου Μακρή και φέρνει μαζί του και την κόρη του. Ο Φωκάς απευθύνεται στη μικρή Ηρώ.

Φ: Γεια σου Λαρισαία. Διάβασες για αύριο; Εσύ είσαι /  
M: Από τη Λάμια είναι | από τη Λαμία.  
Φ: Μας βρήκατε όρθιους |  
Λοιπόν | **Μαριγούλα/ την ταυτότητά** ↑ σου | Λοιπόν | Ακούς;  
E: Όλα τα προλαβαίνει | Πώς τα προλαβαίνει χα χα χα χα.  
Φ: Μωρέεε | Αυτή ήταν κολλητή...

Ο Φωκάς συνεχίζει το θέμα που ξεκίνησε παραπάνω σχετικά με την νέα γραμματέα του ΠΑΣΟΚ. Η συζήτηση κρατά λιγότερο από ένα λεπτό.

Σ: Τι του είπες του Μιχάλη;  
Φ: Τι να του πω κι αυτού; Άσε να τον πειράξουμε και λίγο. Δε βαριέσαι.

Περνάμε σε ένα άλλο θέμα, επίσης μικρής διάρκειας: η διακόσμηση της βιτρίνας του μαγαζιού του Μακρή. Διάρκεια: περίπου μισό λεπτό.

Στη συνέχεια ο κύριος Μακρής μιλά προς εμένα και παραπονιέται για το καρναβάλι και τους χορούς που πέρασαν πως:

M: Και εφέτος δεν εχορέψαμε ούτε ένα χορό.  
Φ: A | ↓ τη χόρεψα εγώ.  
M: Προτιμάς νταγλαράδες, ε βέβαια εμείς οι κοντοί δεν σου κάνουμε.  
Εγώ: χα χα .  
Φ: Είναι και αυτό.  
Σ: Αν δεν έκανα και εγώ την αλλαγή στο πάρτυ/  
M: Στο πάρτυ, στο πάρτυ  
Σ: χα χα χα χα.  
M: Εγώ δοκίμασα φρέσκο πράμα/  
Φ: ε ε↑  
Σ: Μμμμ Μμμμ ↑ Αααα↑

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Η κυρία Ερυθρά φέρνει ένα άλμπουμ με φωτογραφίες και τις δείχνει στο Φωκά.

E: E | ↑ κουμπάρε↑  
Φ: Τι είναι αυτό;  
E: Δε βλέπεις ;  
Φ: Το καπέλο μου↑ βλέπω↓.  
E: Ετούτη μήπως τη βλέπεις ;  
Φ: Εκείνη δεν την βλέπω πάρα πολύ.  
E, Σ, Εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα χα.

Φ: Πα να φύγω παιδιά γιατί έχω μια δουλίτσα ε;  
E: Εφκείνη μήπως τη βλέπεις;  
Φ: Όχι.  
E: A | δεν τη βλέπεις. | A.  
Φ: **Ω πόνους !**

E: Εκείνη μήπως τη βλέπεις;  
Σ: **Ου↑ Ου↑ Ου↑**  
E, Σ, εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα.  
E: Ούτε τούτες ;  
Φ: *Τίποτα.*

Σ: Δε βλέπει καλά το παιδί.  
E: Τίποτε.  
Φ: Δε βλέπει.  
E: Τίποτα; | ↑Ούτε τούτες ↑;  
Σ: Είπαμε | δε βλέπει | .

E: Στραβωμάρα έχεις. Στραβωμάρα έχεις .Ορίστε κορίτσια /  
Φ: Ο στόλος. Το Μενεγάτο τον έχεις καμία με το καπέλο το Μεξικάνικο;  
E: Όχι. Κάπου είναι ο Μενεγάτος.

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{...}.

Λίγο αργότερα, βγαίνει η γυναίκα του Φωκά στο απέναντι μπαλκόνι στο δεύτερο όροφο και τινάζει τα σεντόνια. Ο Φωκάς και ενώ ακόμα εμείς γελάμε με την πλάκα που μας είχε πει, βλέπει τη γυναίκα του(Γ) και της φωνάζει:

Φ: **Μαντάμ | Το τι μου κάνουνε δεν φαντάζεσαι χα χα χα.**  
Σ, Ε,Εγώ: χα χα χα χα.

Φ: Με έχουνε αποβλακώσει //  
Σ: Έλα να γίνουμε πολλές↑. Χα χα χα.  
Φ: Αφού η κρεατόπιτα τση Νιόβης πήγε στο κατζίλο πίσω.  
Σ, Ε, Εγώ: χα χα χα χα χα.  
Γ: Μωρέ μουρλές! Τί κάνετε;  
Φ: Εγώ τί άκουσα: ↓Μωρέ μούλες χα χα χα  
Σ, Ε, Εγώ: χα χα χα χαχα.  
Σ: Έλα να γίνουμε πολλές ↑χα χα χα.  
Φ: E , | ε | χα χα χα.

Φ: Άκου δω | ↓ Είναι ένα περιστέρι |  
πρόσεξε μη σε χέσει και λές πως είναι επιφοίτηση μετά↑.  
Σ, Ερ,εγώ: χαχαχαχαχαχαχαχα.