'Os amores ei': Performativity and Implicature in a Galician-Portuguese *cantiga de amigo*

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Operating at the blurry intersection between the physical world and the symbolic realm of textual signification, medieval lyric poetry presents scholars with a unique opportunity to understand with greater precision the ever-shifting relations between literature, culture, and modes of social interaction during the Middle Ages. At once situated within material, culturally structured objects (such as hand-copied *cancioneiros* and loose folios) and rooted within culturally and linguistically diverse socio-historical contexts of performance, this poetry is characterized by a profound complexity that in many ways challenges the very theoretical and methodological limits of literary analysis.

The purpose of the present study is to suggest an approach to medieval Iberian lyric poetry that foregrounds the pragmatic features that in large part gave it meaning as a performative genre within micro-social contexts often characterized by a high degree of social, cultural, and/or linguistic diversity. In more specific terms, my goal is to illustrate some of the ways in which the interactional elements of performance, such as the structuring of participation frameworks and discursive stance, can be linguistically encoded within medieval Iberian lyric poetic texts and thus available to modern scholars for analysis. In order to bring some contextualized specificity to these broader theoretical concerns, I will be focusing on a specific example of medieval Iberian lyric poetry, a Galician-Portuguese *cantiga* composed by the Galician *xogral* Pero Meogo (fl. ca. 1300 CE).[1]

The *cantiga* upon which I will be focusing is the ninth and final text by Meogo contained in the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (CBN 1192) and the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Vaticana* (CV 797). Most commonly referred to by its initial verse ("Digades, filha, mia filha velida"), this poem is a highly conventional piece, yet it presents a number of analytical complexities, not the least of which is the emotional and contentious fictional conversation between a young woman and her mother that takes place within it.[2] The poem, which consists of six short stanzas, reads as follows:

[1] Little is known of Meogo's life, except that he was active during the reign of Portuguese king Dinis (1261-1325 CE) and may or may not have been a cleric. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos advances this latter hypothesis in her 1904 edition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*. She argues that Meogo was a "jogral-monge" but then qualifies her assertion with: "Se a minha suspeita de *Móogo* provir de *móago<monachus* fôr justificada" (*Cancioneiro da Ajuda* 2, 622 [Michaëlis de Vasconcelos]). For more on this, see Méndez Ferrín 13-19.

[2] Within anthologies of Meogo's work, this *cantiga* is commonly referred to merely as "number nine," given its placement with relation to Meogo's other compositions found in CBN and CV; see, for example, Azavedo Filho 86-92 and Méndez Ferrín 187-93.

"Digades, filha, mia filha velida,
porque tardastes na fontana fria?"
-Os amores ei.
"Digades, filha, mia filha louçana,
porque tardastes na fria fontana?"
-Os amores ei.
"Tardei, mia madre, na fontana fria,
cervos do monte a augua volvian."
-Os amores ei.
"Tardei, mia madre, na fria fontana,
cervos do monte volvian a áugua."
-Os amores hei.
"Mentir, mia filha, mentir por amigo;
Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o rio."
-Os amores ei.
"Mentir, minha filha, mentir por amado,
Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o alto."
-Os amores ei.[3]

As I argue throughout my analysis of "Digades, filha, mia filha velida," it is precisely the tension that exists between the poem's generic conventionality and its implementation of an imagined, but seemingly quotidian, conversational speech event that lends it both its power and meaning within performative settings.

In the sections that follow, I will discuss the two more broadly framed theories of verbal art and performance that inform the present study. The first of these is the notion, developed most extensively over the past three decades though the anthropological work of Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, that verbal art and performance is in a profound and direct way connected to the processes by which social reality takes shape and undergoes change.[4] The second theory, which depends to a great extent on recent developments in performance studies, gender studies, and discourse analysis, is that the tension between explicitly traditional, poetic genres and more everyday, conversational ones within performative texts can serve as a powerful locus of social and self reconfiguration within concrete performances. After laying out these general theoretical principles, I will move on to a discussion of "Digades, filha, mia filha velida," tracing out the ways in which we might approach this *cantiga*, and others similar to it, in a more contextualized and comprehensive way.

[3] My transcription of this *cantiga* is based in large part on Deyermond's rendering of Reckert & Macedo's edition, as well as on the manuscript text (reproduced in recent facsimile editions) of the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* and the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Vaticana*.

[4] Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner have also dealt with this function of verbal art and performance from other, more resolutely symbolic perspectives.

Performance, Text, and the Social

Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs have argued on a number of occasions that there are always powerful and dynamic relations in force between poetic performance and the social world of human agents (Bauman & Briggs). As they have put it, "performances are not simply artful uses of language that stand apart both from day-to-day life and from larger questions of meaning, as a Kantian aesthetics would suggest. Performance rather provides a frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes" (60).[5] In breaking from the Kantian principle regarding the merely formal representation of "purposiveness" [*Zweckmässigkeit*] within objects (and acts) of beauty, Bauman and Briggs are here suggesting that poetic and other forms of verbal performance are in fact purposive in the fullest sense of the term and thus inextricably linked to the processes by which social reality is formed and altered in/over time. This insight –which has important consequences for the analysis of medieval texts and culture– reflects a significant cross-disciplinary shift in thought regarding the richness of verbal performance as a locus for linguistic and cultural data. As Joel Sherzer has recently commented, expressing what has now become a kind of axiom within linguistic anthropology, folklore, and performance studies, "[s]peech play and verbal art should be seen as a central and most revealing aspect of the language-culture-society nexus" (155).[6]

Working at the forefront of research on verbal performance over the course of three decades, Bauman (both in collaboration with Briggs and alone) has consistently argued that the artistic use of language is anything but a mere epiphenomenon somehow riding on the back of other, more "primary" or "natural" forms of language use. Rather, he maintains that verbal art, and the text-mediated performances by which it frequently manifests itself, are inseparable from the larger constellations of goal-directed, interactional, and transhistorical practices by which language and, ultimately, social reality take shape. This means that while verbal art and performance are inarguably *ecstatic* (that is, they "stand out" from quotidian forms of language use in significant, demonstrable ways), they are so primarily due to pragmatic and contextual factors rather than formal and denotational ones. More importantly, according to this argument, verbal art and performance are at no time separate from the social processes that shape them and are shaped by them in turn. In a very direct sense, verbal art and performance serve as powerful tools for the negotiation of the "symbolic boundaries" that in the end share so much territory, as Émile Durkheim pointed out nearly a century ago, with the more concrete boundaries that separate people in complex

[5] Working within a related current of strictly linguistic analysis, Emanuel A. Schegloff, Elinor Ochs, and Sandra A. Thompson have pointed out that linguistic anthropologists and others have in recent years "come increasingly to articulate ways in which the social order and cultural understandings are constituted and socialized through the moment-to-moment, turn-by-turn organization of everyday conversational interaction" (3).

[6] See also Bauman; Briggs; Kapchan 2006; Knoblauch & Kotthoff; and Duranti.

societies.[7] A good example of such "territorial" correspondence, and one that speaks directly to the social context of *cantiga* performance, is of course the notion of "court culture" itself, a term that conjures up a space that is at once symbolically and physically bounded, and that is simultaneously (as *space*) metaphoric and concrete.

The incorporation of such an approach to performance and performative texts within literary studies involves a reworking of many entrenched notions. The move, for example, away from the analysis of "texts in context" or "texts as representations of some aspect or vision of social reality" to a more fully ethnographic consideration of the socially embedded processes by which texts *and* their corresponding contexts take shape through performance represents a theoretical and methodological challenge to various modes of scholarship focused on the intersections between language, text, and culture. Bauman & Briggs admit as much, and explicitly present the renewed focus on performance that they advocate as a means of working past long-held and ultimately ethnocentric assumptions regarding the role of poetry in social life:

> The turn to performance marked an effort to establish broader space within linguistics and anthropology for poetics –verbal artistry– against the conception, deeply rooted in Western epistemology and ontology, that poetics is an etiolation of language, functionally hollow or void, extraneous to what really makes language or society work. A focus on the artful use of language in the conduct of social life –in kinship, politics, economics, religion– opened the way to an understanding of performance as socially constitutive and efficacious, not secondary or derivative. (79)

More than just "pretty talk" or the object of aesthetic judgment (in a Kantian sense), verbal art and performance thus reveal themselves to be of central concern for scholars concerned with the question of how various forms of language use and interaction, including artful and text-mediated ones, help to shape the social world of members of different speech communities.

Steven Caton has analyzed in some depth the social embeddedness of poetic performance in his ethnopoetic study of North Yemeni Bedouin society, and he goes so far as to argue explicitly for an approach to verbal art in traditional societies that situates such art (insofar as it is performative and interactional) within the micropolitics and daily practice of social actors within those societies:

> In many non-Western, non-literate societies […] process is given priority over product, or, as in the Yemeni tribal case, aesthetic appreciation is balanced in a continuum stretching from the reception of the creative process (as in the *balah*) to reception of a perfected product (the *qasidah*)

[7] The Durkheimian text that I'm referring to here is *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, in which the French sociologist deals at length with what he terms the "symbolic boundaries" between the sacred and the profane, and the ramifications of these boundaries for social structure.

> to reception of works of art that are perceived simultaneously as practices of composition and as finished works of art (the *zamil*). In the light of such a continuum, we begin to see how artificial, even misleading, it is to think of the work of art as an *object*. What we would call an object is really the end product of a creative process, a particular moment in a continuous practice, that has become privileged for reception in our tradition. (251-52)

Caton's notion of "poetic continuum" (which implicitly reclaims the full semantic range of the Greek *poiein* ["to make"], a term that suffered dramatic semantic restriction at the hands of Aristotle) serves to embed the expression of verbal art forms within the daily social lives of members of the traditional Bedouin community whose "continuous practice" he studies. His ethnographic analyses of improvised *balah* performances at celebrations such as weddings and other feasts also provide a kind of multi-layered record of the ways in which members of traditional Arab cultures can place, even when they have full access to the technological and ideological tools of high modernity, a much higher value on artistic or narrative process rather than the textual product of such activity.

It is not difficult to find medieval Iberian examples of the kind of emphasis on process [*poiein*] that Caton describes in late twentieth-century North Yemen. Scholars of manuscript culture at least since Paul Zumthor have been aware, for example, that the great majority of medieval texts that modern scholars study can most profitably be classified as elements (and stages) of larger, socially embedded processes of *mouvance* (Zumthor). Bernard Cerquiglini has gone so far as to identify *variance* –both as a quotidian process and a guiding principle of literary practice– with the medieval literary work itself: "L'oeuvre littéraire, au Moyen Age, est une variable […]. Qu'une main fut première, parfois, sans doute, importe moins que cette incessante récriture d'une oeuvre qui appartient à celui qui, de nouveau, la dispose et lui donne forme" (57). This "incessant rewriting," which took place in concrete settings and through the mediation of various symbolic and physical tools (not the least of which was alphabetic literacy itself), is framed by scholars such as Cerquiglini, John Dagenais, Sylvia Huot, Machan, and Zumthor as a central component –if not *the* central component– of medieval textuality and literary practice. It is in fact quite possibly such a "poetic continuum" that the early fourteenth-century Castilian scribes that redacted the first folios of the *Libro del caballero Zifar* had in mind when they made the following metadiscursive claim:

> . . . esta obra es fecha so emienda de aquellos que la quisieren emendar; e çertas deuenlo fazer los que quisieren e la sopieren emendar sy quier porque dize la escriptura que sotilmente la cosa fecha emienda mas de loar es que el que primeramente la fallo; e otrosy mucho deue plazer a quien la cosa comiença a fazer que la emienden todos quantos la quisieren emendar

> e sopieren; ca quanto mas es la cosa emendada tanto mas es loada. (Madrid, BN MS 11.309, f. 3^{v})

What is at the center of this claim about poetic process (*poiein*) is not so much a preoccupation with fixing (even temporarily) the semantico-referential meaning of the text itself, but rather a concern with the interactional back-and-forth –and the stances that participants in this process should adopt with respect to one another within this back-and-forth– by which the text moves through the world. In the case of texts such as *cantigas* that are explicitly presented as mediating means within performative events (i.e., songs to be sung before an audience), such processual and interactional concerns are foregrounded to an even greater degree.

Gender, Society, and Traditional Discourse

One of the richest *loci* for analyzing the relation between verbal art and "the conduct of social life" is the performance of texts belonging to well-established and traditional genres. This is so because traditional texts, in the hands of performers and the listening public, often provide valuable symbolic resources for the reconfiguration or even open challenging of moral frameworks and social hierarchies –in large part, ironically enough, due to their heightened status as traditional texts. A good example of such a phenomenon can be found in Deborah Kapchan's analyses of festival performance and the discourse of women herbalists in modern-day Beni Mellal, Morocco (1996b). Working within a distinctly interactionist paradigm, Kapchan highlights the complex "face-work" that goes on between participants as well as the broad intertextual gaps that exist between even the most traditional and seemingly scripted genres and actual performed discourse (Briggs & Bauman).

In specific terms, Kapchan argues that female performers work to revoice "male rhetorical structures" and invoke "the authority inherent in the traditional genre of speech while also critiquing and challenging this authority" (1996b, 497). Looking specifically at the marketplace discourse of female herbalists, Kapchan finds that "women appropriate the genre of marketplace oratory, while infusing it with feminine difference; this process of revoicing is glimpsed in subtle intimations of parody and in the folds of discourse where one utterance or phrase may be read in two or more competing interpretive domains" (1996b, 497). Like *equivocatio*, a biting form of double-entendre that lies at the core of the *cantigas d'escarnho*, the "subtle intimations of parody" to which Kapchan refers constitute a powerful device by which female performers are able to contest male-dominated systems of authority and, more generally, open up moment-to-moment negotiations of gendered identity and discourse.

The specific issue of the emergent, negotiated, or achieved character of gendered identity and poetic discourse in a medieval context has been taken up by Josiah Blackmore, whose analysis of sodomy as a trope common to several *cantigas*

d'escarnho e de mal dizer shows how poetic accusations and characterizations of anal penetration between men serve as resources for co-constructing and contesting networks of power and gendered identity. As Blackmore puts it, "these texts are telling battle/playgrounds for proscribed sexuality and its representation, a site of tensions between deviant sex and the culture that seeks to control it. The poets of Sodom both impose social or cultural orthodoxies and complicate them, delineating the boundaries of sex and poetry and then reveling in their crossing" (196). From this it follows that when, for example, a leprous young boy addresses the older, male narrator of a *cantiga* as "mia nona, vela fududancua" [my lady, my old fucked-in-the-ass], as the latter lies naked in the street after being jailed, cuffed, and quite possibly raped by local officials (or the leprous boy himself), we as scholars are now very much aware that something far more profound than just an obscene joke is at stake.

Another seminal study for scholars working on issues of gender, poetic performance, and tradition is Lila Abu-Lughod's *Veiled Sentiments*. Abu Lughod spent two years living among the Awlad ᶜAli Bedouins of Western Egypt, studying gender relations and the traditional lyric poetry through which women and young men express their personal feelings to one another. Abu- Lughod's book ultimately seeks to uncover a sort of "politics of sentiment" mediated by the performance, in intimate settings, of traditional oral poetry and reveal the manner in which verbal art can serve as a tool by which marginalized groups can contest, resist, and negotiate systems of social hierarchy that limit their options for feeling and self expression. As Abu-Lughod notes, in her analysis of the performance of traditional *ghinnawa* poetry by the women and younger men of Awlad ᶜAli,

> the cultural character and rigid form of poetry afford a certain amount of protection for the individual in expressing the 'deviant' sentiments of dishonor and immodesty. Poetry cloaks statements in the veils of formula, convention, and tradition, thus suiting it to the task of carrying messages about the self that contravene the official cultural ideals. As noted, the *ghinnawa* is a highly formulaic and stylized verbal genre. Formula renders content impersonal and nonindividual, allowing people to dissociate themselves from the sentiments they express, if revealed to the wrong audience, by claiming that 'it was just a song'. (239)

At the formal level as well, these formulaic compositions intersect with the social world of the performer and audience in complex ways: "Even more than the situational markers of social context to which they are tied, formal linguistic markers clue people not to apply ordinary standards to what is conveyed in this medium" (239).

The points that Abu-Lughod brings up regarding the mediational role of text, especially in performance, are particularly valid for the study of medieval Iberian lyric genres such as the Andalusi *muwashshah* and *zajal*, as well as Galician-Portuguese

cantigas. In both traditions, the officially sanctioned character of poetic discourse, as well as the marked linguistic features of this discourse, create a kind of locus of questioning and contingency. When, for example, Ibn Quzman writes in a *zajal* of his unquenchable taste for young boys and wine, and then speaks openly of his use of the latter to render the former compliant to his sexual advances, it is important to examine, at the thematic level, how such deviant discourse relates to the highly structured conventions of Classical Arabic poetry as well as to the strict moral frameworks imposed upon Andalusi society by Almoravid rule. At another level, however, it is important to examine how officially sanctioned performances of this poetry related to networks of power in twelfth-century Córdoba. Could it be that Ibn Quzman's use of colloquial Andalusi Arabic made his work largely incomprehensible to the Tashalhit-speaking establishment? How then would we explain the serious panegyrics that he composed for Almoravid rulers such as Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn and his son ᶜAlī ibn Yūsuf (47)? Or is it that the genre itself afforded him the kind of cover that he needed for such expression?

Denise Filios has recently attempted to reconstruct what she terms "lyric spectacles" associated with the *cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* while dealing with issues of performativity and social interaction. Foregrounded in Filios's study is the role of marginalized feminine figures such as *soldadeiras* and *panaderas* in lyric performance. Addressing the difficulties inherent in such research, Filios argues:

> The ubiquity of lyric performances, their primarily oral nature, and the breadth of lyric genres leads to a sketchy and biased treatment of lyric performers in medieval sources. The marginality of professional performers, especially women, exacerbated this partial treatment, making the job of modern scholars who wish to examine their ephemeral performances particularly thorny. (9)

Thorny, but as it turns out, not impossible. Building in large part on the visual images sketched out in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, which was produced at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, Filios attempts to map out generic scenes of performance and discuss the possible participation frameworks that characterized these. She writes:

> These illustrations show that female performers played central roles in *trovador* spectacles; they also imply some tension as to who was in charge of the spectacle, the seated *trovador* or the standing, active, spectacular *soldadeira*. It is worth noting that in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* as in the famous *Códice de los músicos* of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, the female performers almost exclusively play percussive instruments. Tamborines, drums, and castanets require almost no training; they also mark the rhythm to which the *jogral* played and the dancers and audience moved, allowing

> the percussionist to control the song's tempo. Percussive instruments, especially in the hands of dancers and singers, encourage audience participation in the medieval lyric spectacle as now; dancers move about the performance space and approach the audience, mediating between the scripted performers and the live audience, increasing the spontaneity of the performance and opening the stage up to audience interaction. (12-13)

In this way, as well as through her analyses of selected *cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*, Filios attempts to bring to light at least some of the collaborative, emergent features of Galician-Portuguese poetic performance and link these to broader processes of identity negotiation and social organization in the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval period.

Beyond the incorporation of recent ethnographic and historical observations into our theories regarding medieval Iberian lyric poetry, how do Iberomedievalists propose to deal with the specific discursive, performative, and interactional features of the texts we study? While there is no one method of research that promises to attend adequately to all questions and bring all blind spots into view, a conscious (and cautious) move away from the more or less traditional concern that literary scholars have had with the way in which readers *interact* with texts is warranted. In the first place, such an "interactive" model exists only as a peculiar metaphor or pathetic fallacy, as texts have no agency and thus cannot really *interact* with anything. This does not mean, however, that textual discourse does not play an important *mediational* role in a good deal of human interaction, and it is for this reason worthwhile to attend to the ways in which medieval Iberian texts of various sorts served as mediating means in a range of socially embedded activities such as poetic performance, ritual prayer, language socialization, the negotiation of identity, and aesthetic enjoyment.

'Os amores ei': Convention and Conversation

Following a broad line of investigation that focuses on the socially embedded and mediational role of medieval lyric texts, "Digades, filha, mia filha velida" presents a surprisingly rich locus for analysis for such a brief and tightly structured composition. In terms of genre, it belongs to the group of Galician-Portuguese songs referred to as *cantigas de amigo*, which can be defined most succinctly as popular love songs characterized by their extensive use of the first-person speech of women.[8] The feminine voice of these songs, as well as its placement within the their overall structure, is in fact the genre's defining characteristic, as the *arte de trovar* that precedes the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* makes explicit:

> E porque algumas cantigas í há en que falam eles e elas outrossi, per en he bem de entenderdes se som d'amor, se d'amigo: porque sabede que, se

[8] For recent work on this genre, see Brea; Corral Díaz; Hart; Lorenzo Gradín; and Schantz.

> eles falam na prima cobra e elas na outra he d'amor, porque se move a razon d'ele (como vos ante dissemos); *e se elas falam na primeira cobra, é outrossí d'amigo*, e se ambos falam em ua cobra, outrossi é segundo qual deles fala na cobra primeiro. (Tavani 1999, 41)

Framed within the *arte de trovar* as a function of gendered voice and time (i.e., whether a masculine or feminine voice speaks first) the generic characteristics of the *cantiga de amigo* are thus seen by members of at least one community –that to which the scribes who redacted the manuscript upon which the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* is ultimately based– inseparable from questions of performance and verbal interaction. Beyond these general issues, it is also important to point out that the *cantigas de amigo* reflect the same sort of gender -and class-inflected "ventriloquism" that permeates the Andalusi *muwashshahāt* (Espósito 471). As a consequence of this, it is useful to consider the ways in which the *cantigas de amigo* effectively afforded male poets such as Meogo the means to manipulate ideologically charged images of feminine discourse associated with specific forms of social class and community.

Given its use of a conversational dispute between a mother and her daughter, "Digades, filha, mia filha velida" also belongs to a smaller sub-genre of *cantigas* referred to in the *Arte de trovar* as *tenções* (sing. *tenção*, from the Provençal *tenso*):[9]

> Outras cantigas fazem os trovadores que chamam tenções, porque son feitas per maneiras de razom que um haja contra outro, en que el diga aquelo que por bem te ver na primeira cobra, e o outro rsponda-the na outra dizendo o contraíra. Estas podem-se fazer de amor ou de amigo ou de escárnio ou de maldizer, porém devem ser de mestria. (Tavani 1999, 43)

As Frede Jensen points out, the Galician-Portuguese *tenções* are most commonly a dialogue between a mother and her daughter in which they discuss and/or debate the intentions and merits of the daughter's lover, or *amigo*. The mother's traditional role is that of a guardian who censures her daughter's amorous pursuits by warning her –often too late– against unworthy and faithless lovers (Jensen 87). The daughter is frequently portrayed as something of an ingénue with little amorous restraint. In "Digades, filha, mia filha velida," a mother questions her daughter about the latter's delayed return from a cold fountain to fetch water. The daughter replies that mountain stags had come to the spring and stirred it up, forcing her to wait for the silt to settle before drawing water. The mother does not believe this excuse and accuses her of lying to cover up an amorous encounter.

There is a very immediate vulnerability to the poem, presented most movingly by the young girl's superficial lies to her mother and the mother's accusations, however

[9] For more on the relations between Galician-Portuguese and Provençal lyric, see Gonçalves; and Tavani 1974 and 2002.

this conversational immediacy is mitigated at the close of each stanza by a confession of love that does not form a part of the mother/daughter dyad (at least neither participant responds to it): *Os amores ei*. Voiced in the first-person singular but operating beyond the boundaries of the conversation within which it is ostensibly embedded, this refrain –which was not, as the *Arte de trovar* makes clear ("devem ser de mestria"), to be considered a refrain *sensu strictu*– lends a considerable amount of discursive complexity to the *cantiga* and provides a powerful link to its contexts of performance.[10] Described by X. L. Méndez Ferrín as "monóstico e totalizador" and a "xeito maxistral" (48), this refrain functions at once as an open-ended confession of love and, in pragmatic terms, a powerful deictic expression. On both counts, it works to link the poetic text and its performance to its courtly audience and acts as a kind of pragmatic trigger (what John Gumperz has described as a "contextualization cue") for the interactional and socially embedded processes by which such community was achieved, altered, and reproduced.[11] In terms of its deictic function, the refrain is also intricately linked to the *cervos do monte*/*fonte* metaphor that the daughter employs.

Looked at from the perspective of its performative features, we might begin by accepting that the *cervos do monte* metaphor offered by the daughter as an explanation of her tardiness is not a lie, but rather a veiled confession.[12] This metaphoric veil works in much the way that the performance of *ghinnawa* poetry does in Abu Lughod's study: it not only refers to the sex act at the semantico-referential level, but it also indexes a mode of discourse that serves to couch her confession within moral frameworks that lie beyond normative, quotidian practice (a mode of discourse made explicit by the *os amores ei* refrain). That is, the daughter's response can be seen as something of a gambit, in that she attempts to explain her violation of normative sexual mores by attempting to "move" her actions to another jurisdiction, that of lyric sentiment and expression. This gambit does not pay off, however, as the mother does not take up the metaphor (because she does not understand or because she resists her daughter's attempt to justify her actions within this lyric-moral frame), and judges the daughter based on the literal meaning of what she says. This exchange, then, can be seen as a struggle between two orders of morality (and social class) encoded in language. The first order is lyrical and courtly and entails a response of sympathy for the girl, who has fallen in love and given herself to her *amigo*, an affair that likely

[10] Deyermond attempts to fold this refrain into the conversation between the mother and her daughter in his edition of the *cantiga* by placing it within the quotation marks that mark off the speech of the daughter (271).

[11] Gumperz employs the term "contextualization" to refer to "speakers' and listeners' use of verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is "said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions they must rely on to maintain conversational involvement and assess what is intended" (230). This communicative process relies on "cues" that can include, as Gumperz argues, "prosody;" "paralinguistic signs;" "code choice;" and "choice of lexical forms/formulaic expressions" (231).

[12] On the sources for Meogo's use of the stag/spring image, see Beltrán; Deyermond; Méndez Ferrín 54-110; and Morales Blouin.

cannot end well. The second order is the quotidian, normative framework of familial honor, according to which the daughter has just violated about every principle imaginable. Her only defense, really, is to reframe her actions within a non-normative sphere of action, something she attempts by using the *cervos do monte* metaphor.

This metaphor functions to index a whole context of lyrical action and sentiment, not unlike terms such as "Haight-Ashbury" or "the sixties" can index a framework of sexual and moral comportment that lies well outside the more restrictive, normative mores of quotidian reality in contemporary American culture. Such an explanation –such a "move"– requires, however, that other participants take it up as such. If someone has no knowledge, for example, of the "Summer of Love" or notions of "free love" and how they played out in San Francisco in the summer of 1967, or if someone's stance with respect to 1967 San Francisco is such that s/he rejects "free love" as a justification for what s/he considers to be morally repugnant, then the justification –which depends in large part on entailing a certain context through indexical reference– falls flat. This is what occurs between the daughter and her mother in Meogo's poem, and the young girl –who has come to her mother for sympathy and has received instead a stern judgment against her on two counts– is left essentially powerless to defend herself.

But this is not the end of the story. Beyond the conversation that takes place within the poem itself lies the performance of this poem in court settings. In a performative setting, the dialogue between the daughter and the mother serves as a powerfully metalinguistic (and thus indexical) reference that turns the poem back on its audience. Do audience members take up the mother's accusation of the daughter or do they understand the daughter's explanation to be a veiled confession? Ultimately, the performance of this poem forced its courtly audience to take sides in the matter, which was by no means left open, as the final verse of each stanza repeatedly hammers home to its audience: *Os amores ei*.

Looking specifically at the *Os amores ei* refrain in the context of its performance, we may ask: to which "I" does "I am in love" refer? The answer to this question would depend wholly upon the participation frameworks in force during the performance of the poem. If Filios is right about the mediational role of the *soldadeira*, then we can certainly imagine her taking a heightened position with respect to the singing of the refrain, converting it into a collective and collaborative utterance that would include the *trovador*, her, and the listening public. What this leads to is a performed and collective acceptance of the daughter's veiled confession, and an invocation of the courtly cultural mores that were at once shaped by and constitutive of lyric discourse. In other words, what we have, in the context of courtly performance, is a "status bloodbath" (to use Goffman's term [78]) for the mother and all those who cannot or will not take up the girl's metaphoric confession and plea for understanding.[13]

For the courtly audience, the refrain reinforces the deictic function of the girl's veiled confession regarding the mountain stags and the fountain, and works as a kind

[13] See also Geertz 24.

of "paralinguistic sign" to signal and entail processes of inference and contextualization (Gumperz 231).[14] In a very real sense, the entire *cantiga* can be read as evidence of the processes of entextualization and performance of in-group discourse that helped to reinforce the social, linguistic, and epistemological boundaries of the courtly community. This discourse converts the mother into a sort of straw man (representing traditional, rural values and forms of talk that she either does not understand or refuses to take up) even as it makes explicit and aesthetically pleasing use of her admonishments and style of speech. There is an inherent and directed ambivalence at work here with respect to what we might term "popular" styles or registers of speech and moral frameworks. The coded and class-specific language that the daughter employs, helped along by a refrain that can be read as a kind of gloss on the *cervos do monte*/*fonte* metaphor, is at once inseparable from the conversational and non-courtly speech event within which it is fictionally set and, at another level, embedded within the courtly context of its performance through its metaphoric, formal, and pragmatic features.

In the end, it's not just that poetry allows people a canonical, discursive instrument by which to express intimacy, longing, and vulnerability in public settings. Its performance actually provides a forum for the very shaping of feelings, identity, and socially embedded theories of experience and desire. The choral voice in this *cantiga* is not static, but progresses along, changing its indexical meaning throughout the poem: from the mother's initial question (a silent confession given voice), to the daughter's figurative recounting of the love act (the integumental veil is lifted), to the mother's accusation, which more or less compels the audience to break from normative orders of comportment, modesty, and familial honor and invoke alternative strategies of morality and interaction. All of this, we are increasingly aware, through the performance of a seemingly simple song of love.

[14] In textual terms, this process of verbal implicature might be seen as something similar to what Dagenais describes as the *aliquid minus* that characterizes manuscript texts in relation to their supplementary glosses: ". . . a meaning that remains to be worked out, an explanation needed to make the grammatical structure snap into focus" (38).

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