Secondary Orality
by Ruth Spielmann

In this paper presented at the 2002 AMRETCOn, Ruth Spielmann of the Canadian Bible Society summarizes scholarship concerned with “secondary orality,” a concept relevant to the development and use of Scripture in non-print media.

Technology brings change. This has been true throughout the history of the world. One crucial change-point came in Western society with the invention of the movable type press and subsequent widespread literacy. Western culture went from being an oral “speaking-listening” society to a literate “print” society. This brought many changes, not just in the ways in which information was communicated, processed, and learned, but also in the thinking processes, as the eye became predominant over the ear.

Today, Western society is undergoing observable changes as it incorporates and adjusts to electronic technologies. Every area of society is affected as we move from being a print culture to become a multimedia culture. Walter Ong called the shift in communication style “secondary orality.”

Secondary orality draws from both literacy and orality; it is based on the use of writing and print, but leaves behind the linearity of printed text and displays many of the characteristics of primary orality. This return of characteristics of orality in the electronic age has also been noted and discussed by Bolter, Lanham, Landow, and others.

Ong recognized four stages of culture: primary oral culture, manuscript culture, print culture, and secondary oral culture. The shift from one stage to the next is ushered in by new technology. Oral culture became manuscript culture when writing was invented and passed on as a skill. Print culture came into being when a press with movable type was invented. Now secondary orality is brought about by the use of electronic media. “Each of these four stages of culture is characterized by a different sensory mix” (Farrell, 30).

Ear or Eye

In oral culture, data is primarily synthesized through sound; in literate culture, it is primarily synthesized through sight. What difference does it make? Ong claims that it fosters different personality structures: “Substantive and substantial technological changes of the kind that mark the transitions from writing to printing to electronic communication affect the social, cultural, and psychological fabric of our lives in the profoundest possible ways by influencing the way in which we think and the way in which we organize ourselves” (Silverstone, 148).

Ong’s position is further elaborated by Farrell: “Sound synthesis is associated with the tendency to believe and be instructed by established or received authority; visualist synthesis is associated with the tendency to question received knowledge and the drive to discover new knowledge. Visualism is associated with strong tendencies toward individualism, and audism, with a strong sense of social or corporate bonding. Sound unites groups of living beings as nothing
else can” (32-33). The mind conditioned by writing engages in isolationist, reflective type of thinking. The age of print is characterized by individualized introversion. In the words of McMahan and Chesebro, “a cultural system is governed by its dominant technology…. This technology acts as a social force influencing social organization, thought, and activity” (2). They also say that “it can be argued that communication technologies affect and dominate the organization of knowledge defining and controlling a cultural system” (4).

**NATURE OF ORALITY**

Ong (31-57) describes the following as some of the characteristics of orality:

- It is “evanescent,” not permanent. “The spoken word exists only in the moment of its being spoken. That is, it exists only as it is fading from existence. Then, after the reverberations of the uttered sound cease, nothing remains but the memory of the sound” (Fowler);
- Orality “is additive rather than subordinative”—information is added with conjunctions rather than subordinated in complex patterns;
- It is “aggregative rather than analytic”—there is frequent use of formulary expressions rather than of creative analytic expressions. Ideas are clustered on clichés and maxims that aid memory;
- It is “redundant or ‘copious’”—repetition is used to keep both speaker and listener on track;
- It is “conservative or traditionalist”—“since in a primary oral culture conceptualized knowledge that is not repeated aloud soon vanishes, oral societies must invest great energy in saying over and over again what has been learned arduously over the ages. This need establishes a highly traditionalist or conservative set of mind that with good reason inhibits intellectual experimentation” (41);
- It is close to the human lifeworld, with knowledge perceived in concrete terms rather than abstract. “Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld” (49). Sensory input has an important role;
- It is “agonistically toned”—“orality situates knowledge within a context of struggle” (44). There is frequent evidence of a “war of words”;
- It is “empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced.” “For an oral culture learning or knowing means achieving close, empathetic, communal identification with the known” (Ong, 45, quoting Havelock);
- It is “homeostatic”—it keeps itself in equilibrium by sloughing off memories which no longer have present relevance;
- Orality knits persons together into community.

**NATURE OF LITERACY**

Then comes writing and literacy. As Finnegan states: “The most obvious property of writing is that it gives permanence to verbal expression. Words can be transmitted through space and over time in permanent and unchanging form” (17). However, writing does more than provide a means of recording oral speech. Ong claims that writing restructures consciousness (that’s the title of chapter 4 in Ong’s book Orality and Literacy). As Gronbeck summarizes: “Writing is a technology, an artificiality that exteriorizes thought; alienates the self from nature and even (by allowing for individuation) from other selves; allows for the development of lists, facts, science, and other marks of the exteriorization of knowledge; distances people by interposing texts between them, texts that, as Plato noted, cannot respond when interrogated …” (15).

In contrast to the characteristics of the oral mind, the literate mind is analytic, it is objective, makes it easier to see logical relationships and to subordinate one idea to another. Some have said that writing is a precondition for democracy and freedom, and for the rise in individualism (Carothers, McLuhan 1967), for economic development (Literacy and Social Development, Graff, ed.), for the increase in urbanism (McLuhan 1970), for bureaucratic administration and large-scale organization — in short, writing has been given credit for western society as we know it.

Whether these are all actually effects of writing, or of other factors is of course debated: “other researchers (such as Heath & Thomas, Pattison, Street) claim that certain types of consciousness may be antecedent to literacy rather than a consequence of literacy” (Murray, 351).

**THE NEW ORALITY**

And now electronic media has ushered in a new shift that is restructuring the way we think. Secondary orality (also called at times oral literacy or electronic orality) is orality mainly in the ways in which it manifests communication styles and thought processes similar to primary orality.

In Ong’s words: “this new orality has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration
on the present moment, and even its use of formulas. But it is essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print, which are essential for the manufacture and operation of the equipment and for its use as well” (136). Secondary orality takes the focus off of strictly linear visual material, and reintroduces other dimensions and other senses. Balance is restored where there has been an overemphasis on the visual.

**Hypertext and Orality**

Hypertext is a key element in the technology surrounding secondary orality. Hypertext has been defined as “nonsequential writing — text that branches and allows choices to the reader, best read at an interactive screen. As popularly conceived, this is a series of text chunks connected by links which offer the reader different pathways” (Nelson 1990, 0/2). It is not limited to text, but can include graphics, sound, video — any information that can be digitized.

Landow and Delany point out that “by inserting every text into a web of relations, hypertext systems promote nonsequential reading and thinking and hence produce a very different effect” (12). Landow helpfully points out that, rather than being nonsequential, hypertext is better described as being multi-sequential, “since it is characterized by the fact that readers can take various paths through a set of documents” (70).

Within hypertext format, a text is no longer a unit unto itself. It always occurs within a field of other texts. It may be linked to other text that supports or contradicts, that clarifies or questions. The text becomes part of a complex dialogue: “Hypertext fosters integration rather than

self-containment, always situating texts in a field of other texts” (Landow and Delany, 13). Unlike a printed book, it does not exist in isolation.

Bolter (1991, 58-59) points out several ways in which texts in hypertext format more closely resemble oral discourse than they do conventional printing. First, just as oral poetry was composed of formulaic blocks within which the audience interpreted the story, so electronic writing is also highly associative, with the pattern of associations among verbal elements being as much a part of the text as the elements themselves.

The interplay between the structures that the author has created and their own associative structures are similar to the associations an audience relied on when listening to oral poetry. Silverstone says: “Instead of the linearity of print-based texts, infinitely recoverable and structurally complex, the new media provide us with increasingly formulaic and fragmentary texts, recognizable and understandable on a single hearing or viewing” (148).

Second, electronic text and oral text are both dynamic and flexible, i.e., the audience or reader has a role to play in both. This matches well with current communication models, which are recognizing that communication is not a simple linear action from speaker to hearer, but rather is an interaction between the speaker and hearer.

In oral text, the audience would have “the opportunity to affect the telling of the tale by their applause or disapproval.” In electronic text, “the reader participates in calling forth and defining the text of each particular reading” (Bolter 1991, 59). In Lanham’s words, “the electronic audience is radically interactive” (76). Fowler adds: “It is impossible to be a passive reader of hypertext. …the reader must pick and choose her way from node to node, thus determining the ‘text’ to be read.”

Third, secondary orality generates a strong group sense. The new media appeal to the group rather than to the individual. “They offer a shared, not a private, experience” (Silverstone, 148). Marshall McLuhan’s “global village” is characterized by our culture of secondary orality. As well, it is close to life, based on hands-on apprenticeship learning rather than distancing and objectification (Warschauer, 173).

Secondary orality is not a return to illiterate orality. It has “continuing dependence on the analytical and technical and narrative skills that in turn depend on print” (Silverstone, 148). The formula is replaced “by the slogan and by the planned spontaneity of group experiences. The new orality is action-oriented and thus is oriented to the future, not to the past” (Silverstone, 148).

In many ways secondary orality is multisensory. Perceptual presentation (e.g. video or animation) often displaces or replaces verbal text (Bolter 1996). In traditional print, text contained the important thoughts, pictures were subordinate, “they are texts of a certain kind; they suggest a writing space that is stable and monumental” (Bolter 1996).

Visual media of photography, film, television, graphics, animation have changed that balance. “They helped to orient our culture more and more toward the visual and away from the mediating experience of written language. As a culture we are no longer certain that words deserve authority over
images … It is unclear what now counts as information” — are graphics and video as informative a verbal text? (Bolter 1996).

This renewed attention by electronic media to imagery and visual communication other than through the printed word brings us back to values that predate the print era (Bolter 1996), and that are predominant in many non-Western cultures.

Warschauer quotes a Hawaiian student he interviewed who was involved in a study of students being introduced to electronic literacy: “You know, Hawaiians they weren’t a written culture, and I think there’s a reason for that, you know they were very alive with everything, so if they’re gonna be writing I think this is a great medium because they can be alive here. They can kind of be artistic and do something creative, so, I think it’s very good, and … a lot of pride can come through there” (107).

This leads us to speculate great potential for hypertext format of scripture and biblical materials for non-Western societies as the technological capabilities become available to them.

References


### Recent Publications

Inclusion of an item in TIC Talk does not necessarily mean we recommend it, or that we have seen it, though in most cases we have. It means that the article or book (sometimes by title alone) looks as if it might be of interest to our readers. Names in **bold** indicate people who are in some way related to UBS. Other bolding is for quick location of the general topic.

#### Bible Translation

**GENERAL**


W. Groß, ed. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. These papers from a 2000 symposium deal with topics related to Bible translation from the standpoint of German language studies and biblical studies, ranging from the 16th century to the present, from Luther’s work to the new Zurich translation, treating historical, linguistic, philological and practical aspects.


**Bible**

**GENERAL**

Other Ways of Reading: African Women and the Bible. 2001. M.W. Dube, ed. Society of Biblical Literature/WCC Publications. 13 essays are grouped under six headings: Storytelling methods and interpretations; Patriarchal and colonizing translations; Reading with and from non-academic readers, which includes “Cultural Hermeneutics: An African Contribution,” by Musimbi Kanyoro; Womanhood and womanist methods; The divination method of interpretation; and Responses.


Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 112:23-37. A historical exploration of one of the earliest encounters between the indigenous Thaping and the London Missionary Society in order to analyze the hermeneutics of early transactions with the Bible in Southern Africa.

Jonathan A. Draper. 2002. “‘Less Literate Are Safer’: The Politics of Orality and Literacy in Biblical Interpretation.” Anglican Theological Review 84/2:303-18. D. describes a biblical studies program approach that, in an effort to help students bridge the gap between western modes of scholarship and their communities' modes of understanding the Bible, tries “to teach biblical literacy in a register which both affirms the value of the oral tradition and culture of Africa and also provides the critical tools to enable students to cope in a constantly changing and often dangerous context.” The aim is to train students to value the voice of the oral tradition and reverse the “hegemony of the printed text.”

Graham Harvey. 2001. The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature. Brill. H. uses the theory of associative fields to explore the range of associations of the names as they are used in written works between 300 BCE and 200 CE.


LANGUAGES

Hebrew


Walter Gross. 2001. Doppelt Besetztes Vorfeld: Syntaktische, Pragmatische und Übersetzungs-technische Studien Zum Althebräischen Verbalsatz. de Gruyter. G. studies sentences in which two nominal elements precede a finite verb, a construction that occurs most often in poetry. The syntactic and textual-pragmatic description of such clauses (which G. argues are verbal, as opposed to “compound nominal”) uncovers important nuances of meaning, especially in terms of identifying topic and...
focus. Throughout the work, G. assesses how (especially German) translations deal with this type of sentence, examining the extent to which topic and focus are correctly conveyed.


**OT**


Jon L. Berquist. 2002. *Controlling Corporeality: The Body and the Household in Ancient Israel*. Rutgers University Press. B. undertakes to describe ideas of the body represented in the Hebrew Bible, the role of gender, the deployment of sexuality, the aging body, and cultural and religious practices related to the body.

Two other recent books that treat the topic of body imagery in the Bible are:


Richard S. Hess. 2002. “Literacy in Iron Age Israel.” In *Windows into Old Testament History*, 82-102. V.P. Long, D.W. Baker, and G.J. Wenham, eds. Eerdmans. Because of the widespread occurrences of writing throughout Iron Age Israel and its use for a variety of purposes, H. concludes that writing was not limited to specific classes or places, although the present evidence does not reveal how extensive literacy was.

Bernhard Lang. 2002. *The Hebrew God: Portrait of an Ancient Deity*. Yale University Press. L. explores five divine images, Lord of wisdom, of war, of animals, of the individual (the personal god), and of harvest, as they appear throughout the Ancient Near East and as they find their way into the Hebrew characterization of God. He employs a form of analysis that adapts Dumézil’s *La religion romaine archaïque* view of the “three functions” of the god as giver of wisdom, victory, and life.

Elizabeth C. LaRocca-Pitts. 2001. ‘Of Wood and Stone’: The Significance of Israeliite Cultic Items in the Bible and Its Early Interpreters. Eisenbrauns. L. synthesizes data on bamot, ‘aserim, massebot, and mizbehot, demonstrating the diversity, both theological and practical, in the religion of ancient Israel portrayed in the OT.


Diane M. Sharon. 2002. *Patterns of Destiny: Narrative Structures of Foundation and Doom in the Hebrew Bible*. Eisenbrauns. The “pattern of destiny” that S.”identifies in narrative is that of the social activity of eating and drinking accompanied by other literary motifs to portend the establishment or condemnation of a cultural entity. The pattern takes the form of EATING/DRINKING, [ENCOUNTER], ORACLE, [AFFIRMATION]. S. analyzes more than 150 texts using Propp’s method of structural narrative analysis.

Richard Whitekettle. 2001. “Rats Are Like Snakes, and Hares Are Like Goats: A Study in Israeliite Land Animal Taxonomy.” *Biblica* 82/3:345-62. Israeliite taxonomic thought drew a contrast between land animals that were perceived to move along the ground (e.g., rats and snakes), and land animals that were perceived to move over the ground (e.g., hares and goats). The first group are referred to by the words דַּעְקֵק or דַּעְקֵקֶת and the second group by the words אוֹסֵר or אוֹסֵרָה.

Siegfried Kreuzer. 2002. “Text, Textgeschichte und Textkritik des Alten Testaments: zum Stand der Forschung an der Wende des Jahrhunderts.” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 127/2:127-56. Discusses developments in OT textual history and text criticism in the 20th century, including: Qumran, the problem of text-transmission and text-types and their background in Early Judaism; ongoing research with non-Qumran texts; the place of LXX research; methodological problems; the relation of text criticism and redaction criticism; critical editions and publication projects.
Early Christian Reader. 2002. S. Mason and T. Robinson, eds. Hendrickson. This collection of early Christian writings includes the books of the NT (NRSV), arranged in a “more historical order,” but also other writings of importance from the same period, among them the letter of Ignatius, 1 Clement, the Didache, and the Gospel of Thomas. Each text is accompanied by an introduction and notes.

François Bovon. 2001. “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity.” New Testament Studies 47:267–88. The first Christians used names and numbers as theological tools, following a tradition of Greek philosophical reflection as well as of the Hebrew Scriptures. Names and numbers expressed an extralinguistic reality, as signs of a divine order. Understanding the significance of these provides insight into the message of Scripture.


Paul Foster. 2001. “A Tale of Two Sons: But Which One Did the Far, Far Better Thing? A Study of Matt 21.28–32.” New Testament Studies 47:26–37. The parable occurs in three variant textual forms. Although the Sinaiticus reading (on which N-A is based) represents the pre-Matthean form, it was Matthew, and not a later scribe, who changed the order of the sons in order to privilege the second son, in step with his concern to depict the rejection and replacement of the Jewish leadership. The Vaticanus reading reflects this authentic Matthean form.

Mikeal C. Parsons. 2001. “‘Short in Stature’: Luke’s Physical Description of Zacchaeus.” New Testament Studies 47:50–57. Read in light of the “physiognomic consciousness” that permeated the ancient world and the rhetorical practice of using physical abnormalities to ridicule one’s adversary, the physical characterization joins with the other descriptors of “rich” and “tax collector” to form the derisive image of Zacchaeus as traitorous, small-minded, and greedy. Luke’s intention is to reverse these conventional tropes to show that the penitent Zacchaeus is also a “son of Abraham.”

Translation, Linguistics, Culture

Bill Reyburn. 2002. Marching through Babel: True Tales from the Life of a Linguist. Xlibris. R. has many a story to tell of his experiences as a linguist and translation consultant, and is a master at telling them. It is edifying and entertaining to follow his journey across continents and into the peculiarities of the various languages and cultures he encounters. The book can be ordered on the Web from www.Xlibris.com (go to Bookstore) or by email from Orders@Xlibris.com.


Translation and Power. 2002. M. Tymoczko and E. Gentzler, eds. University of Massachusetts Press. The contributors to this volume see translation as an activity that takes place in real social and political situations, with parties who have vested interests in the production and reception of texts across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation invariably involves deliberate acts of selection, construction, and omission, and is inextricably linked to issues of cultural dominance, assertion, and resistance. Exploring the nexus of translation and power, the essays offer a wide variety of examples, across multiple languages and societies, ranging from case studies of historical episodes to analyses of the work of specific translators. Along with examining how translation contributes to cultural struggles, the essays
probes the dimensions of power inherent in the relationship of translator to author, source text, and translated text.

Katharina Reiss. 2002. La critique des traductions, ses possibilités et ses limites. Catégories et critères pour une évaluation pertinente des traductions. Translated by C. Bocquet. Artois Presses Université. In the same series “Traductologie” as her book on Luther (see under Bible Translation, above), B. has translated Reiss’s Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik: Kategorien und Kriterien für eine sachgerechte Beurteilung von Übersetzungen (1971), which was also recently translated into English (see TT 48).

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Seana Coulson. 2001. Semantic Leaps: Frame-Shifting and Conceptual Blending in Meaning Construction. Cambridge University Press. Explores how people combine knowledge from different domains in order to understand and express new ideas. Concentrating on dynamic aspects of online meaning construction, C. identifies two related sets of processes, frame-shifting and conceptual blending, and explains how these processes enhance the explanatory adequacy of traditional frame-based systems for natural language processing. The focus is on how the constructive processes speakers use to assemble, link, and adapt simple cognitive models underlie a broad range of productive language behavior.

Meaning and Universal Grammar: Theory and Empirical Findings. 2002. C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka, eds. Benjamins. The two volumes are based on research findings of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) program. Universal grammar is constituted by the inherent grammatical properties of some 60 empirically established semantic primes, which appear to have concrete exponents in all languages. For six typologically divergent languages (Malay, Spanish, Mandarin, Mangaa-Mbula, Polish, Lao), contributors identify exponents of the primes and work through a substantial set of hypotheses about their combinatorics, valency properties, complementation options, etc.

Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalienforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch / Language Universals and Language Typology: An International Handbook. 2001. M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher, and W. Raible, eds. Mouton de Gruyter. This two-volume handbook provides a survey of current insights into the diversity and unity found across languages. Articles (most in English, some in French and German) include chapters on the patterns and limits of variation manifested by analogous structures, constructions and linguistic devices across languages (e.g., word order, tense and aspect, inflection, color terms and syllable structure). Other chapters cover the history, methodology and theory of typology, as well as the relationship between language typology and other disciplines.


John H. McWhorter. 2001. The Power of Babel: A Natural History of Language. Times Books/Henry Holt. In this popular treatment, M. ranges across linguistic theory, geography, history, and pop culture to tell the story of how languages have evolved from a single source in a natural process similar to biological evolution, drawing examples from languages around the world, including pidgins, Creoles, and nonstandard dialects. M. discusses current theories on the nature of the “first language” and the role of slang and dialects in the transformation of language.

Reimagining Textuality: Textual Studies in the Late Age of Print. 2002. E.B. Loizeaux and N. Fraistat, eds. University of Wisconsin Press. The essays in the first section of this collection on the problem of textuality in a postmodern world introduce current issues in textual scholarship. G. Ulmer, in his essay “Text Culture Grammatology,” proposes that we are on the edge of a great cultural shift like that from orality to literacy, a change that will mean new structures of thought and will require new models of textuality drawn from verbal-visual-aural modes.