virtue of their application of different universalizing strategies), Shweder makes reference to Ruth Benedict and her "arc of human possibilities" (p. 109) as an ancestor figure for the cultural psychology of today. This image of cultural selection or amplification from panhuman potentials also informs the essay on emotion, which posits a universal set of discrete affects underlying early emotional experienceeverywhere. Shweder seems much more amenable to universalist and developmentalist assumptions in postulating that a "keyboard" of emotions labeled with English terms such as disgust, interest, distress, and anger is "for any normal member of our species. . . intact and available by the age of four years" (p. 259).

While this blending of relativist and universalist agendas may disturb those who prefer theoretical purity, much of the strength of these essays derives from theauthor'sability to go beyond thecategorical distinctions and dichotomies that have often constrained progress in anthropological theory. Integrative visions in anthropological theory have been hard to come by of late. Here is one that should inspire (and, in the author's terms, "astonish") for some time to come.

Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation. JEAN LAVE and **ETIENNE** WENGER. Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive, and Corn putationai Perspectives. ROY PEA and JOHN SEELY BROWN, gen. eds. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 138 pp., references, Index.

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Situated Learning is essential reading for scholars interested in processes of learning and change as they involve individuals in sociocultural activity. Lave and Wenger's essay provides a reconceptualization of learning as a process of social and personal transformation in communities of practice. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (and William Hanks, in his thoughtful foreword) contribute a deep analysis and a direction for future work, advancing sociocultural theory, participating in a major paradigm shift currently underway across a variety of social science disciplines including anthropology, psychology, education, sociology, and linguistics.

Lave and Wenger's approach contrasts with perspectives on learning that focus on acquisition of knowledge by isolated individuals and on the efficiency, techniques, and technologies of learning that stem from school practices. In Lave and Wenger's perspective, it is crucial that theoretical focus not be on learning itself (which would implicitly define learning as an independent activity). Instead, their theoretical starting place is learning situated in the practices of communities, with learning viewed as a feature of membership in a community of practice. A novice is not just a person who lacks entities called "skills" but a newcomer who negotiates and renegotiates participation in the commu-

nityofpractice. Law and Wenger stress that learning relationships are situated in the broader relationships of community life and that learning processes entail both the development of individuals' membership in the community and the shaping of identity.

Situated Learningstresses the peripheral character of this process. The focal process is the community's practice, the activity in which the community functions. Learning as a process of negotiation of participation in community practice is not primetime community business; it goes on at the periphery of community activity. Because the community is aware of newcomers, the peripheral process of participation negotiation has a legitimate character, anticipated and often organized by the community. Lave and Wenger's analysis of situated learning is embodied in their productive concept of "legitimate peripheral participation."

Lave and Wenger stress the spiral character of changes in the community, where there is not only displacement of oldtimers by newcomers but also changes in community practice. Thespiral character of changes also occurs on the newcomers' level of personal development as they engage in existing practices that have developed over time, and at the same time contribute to the development of community practice "as they begin to establish their own identity in its future" (p.115). In this way, the authors reject the notion of learning as internalization of the cultural "given."

Legitimate peripheral participation is supported by systems of relationship in community that are not only limited to therelationship between newcomers and oldtimers, but also include relationships with outside communities and with other newcomers. The relationships in communities of practice do not necessarily facilitate learning, as Lave and Wenger demonstrate in their analysis of how social relations in the supermarket industry resist learning by the apprentice supermarket meat cutters, because the interests in exploitation of the apprentices preclude the apprentices' peripheral participation.

Lave and Wenger also analyze legitimate peripheral participation in the apprenticeship of Yucatec midwives, Liberian tailors, naval quartermasters, and nondrinking alcoholics in Alcoholics Anonymous. These cases lead to very important points about the structure of learning in apprenticeship, such as the observation that the order of learning in apprenticeship is specialized rather than simply following the order of subtasks in carrying out skilled work.

Apprenticeship in this essay is not limited to the feudal form of apprenticeship, but rather involves situations in which learning is an indivisible part of community practice.

> To be able to participate in a legitimately peripheral way entails that newcomers have broad access to arenas of mature practice. . . . An apprentice's contributions to ongoing activity gain value in practice.. . . As opportunities for understanding how well or poorly one's efforts contribute are evident in practice, legitimate participation of a peripheral kind provides an immediate ground for self-evaluation. The sparsity of

- tests, praise, or blame typical of apprenticeship follows from the apprentice's legitimacy as a participant. . . . A deeper sense of the value of participation to the community and the learner lies in **becoming** part of the community. [pp. 110–1111

Lave and Wenger contrast apprenticeship with schooling, where newcomers are separated from community practice and subjected to the parasitic practice of test taking, "the goal of which is to increase the exchange value of learning independently of its use value" (p. 112). The authors argue that a teaching curriculum, which involves the oldtimers' requirements for the newcomers to be fully accepted (as in testing in schools), does not provide learning; learning is provided only by a learning curriculum involving negotiation of participation in community practice from the perspective of newcomers.

This sociocultural approach to learning has vast implications for social research and social practice. Although Lave and Wenger attempt to avoid discussion of practices in schools, it will be very interesting to follow efforts to restructure schools to focus on learning and on communities of practice that may fit well with legitimate peripheral participation. We expect that this book will be a landmark in showing the way to reconceptualize individual participation as constituting communities of practice, which at the same time constitute individual participation and attendant learning.

Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon. ALESSANDRO DURANTI and CHARLES GOODWIN, eds. Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 11. KEITH H. BASSO et al., eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. viii + 363 pp., tables, notes, references, index.

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Rethinking Context examines the relationship between talk and "context," loosely defined as "a frame. . . that surrounds the event being examined and provides resources for its appropriate interpretation" (p. 3), including the social and spatial setting; nonverbal behavior; the surrounding conversation; shared ideas about speech genres; background knowledge that interactants draw on; and various rules about who can speak authoritatively. The editors caution, however, that "context" is not a given; instead, "contextualization cues" (things like prosody, tense switches, and nonverbal communication) and "indexes" define the context within which words should be interpreted. Goodwin and Duranti then review various traditions that share a concern with the ways meaning is bound up with context and/or ways speech constitutes context including: early ethnographic work by Malinowski; the work of such philosophers of language as Austin, Wittgenstein, Bakhtin, and Vygotsky; Bateson and Goffman's work on framing; the ethnography of speaking; ethnomethodology; conversation analysis; and the work of Foucault.

The papers draw on these various traditions. Many of the contributors point to the importance of taking into account the ways in which often-neglected aspects of speech define context. In a subtle analysis, William Hanks argues that referential indexes define both a figure (the referent) and the "indexical context' (the context that the referent is defined in relation to), which continually changes during interaction (for example, when a speaker quotes someone else, the "indexical context" is the context in which the original statement was produced). Examining indexes provides a way to study how such changes are reflected in, and defined by, speech. Duranti analyzes the use of respect vocabulary in Samoa and finds that Samoansdo not always use respect language to talk to and about high-status people. Instead, people use respect vocabulary to define the context as, for instance, a formal one and to constrain the addressee to act in the controlled and dignified manner appropriate to high rank. Lindstromexaminesa meetingaboutadisputeon Tanna, Vanuatu, and argues that discursive rules defining who can speak authoritatively are an important part of the "context." But participants, themselves, strategicallydefine thecontextasa kind oiproblem over which they have authority to speak. Bauman shows how folkloregenres (in this case tales about magical poets told by Icelanders) often contain other genres (such as magical poems). Each genre acts as context, giving meaning to the other. Bauman also shows how speakers define genre by using stylistic devices including elements that "traditionalize" by establishing the speaker's authority. Cumperz summarizes his own work on contextualization cues and shows their importance by analyzing miscommunication between two speakers who do not share contextualization conventions. Ellen Basso examines the use of contextualization cues, such as tense switches by storytellers among the Kalapalo of Brazil, to send subtle messages about the events they are describing. Caik shows how radio talk-show therapists use the irrealis tense to signal that they are in "therapy" rather than "counseling" mode. Finally, drawing on Goffman's notion of framing, Kendon argues that interactants define both a focal event and a background or "disattend track." Nonverbal cues framed as irrelevant, nevertheless, significantly affect meaning and can be used by participants to influence events unofficially.

Other papers draw on conversation analysis to show how interactants collaboratively construct "context." Goodwin and Goodwin show how "assessments" in conversation are used to negotiateand display a common "experiential world" and, perhaps, even to construct shared cultural understandings. Speakers drop cues that allow listeners to anticipate and echo the speaker's assessment of a situation and will make repairs if the listener misses cues and responds inappropriately. In a provocative contribution, Susan Philips examines repairs in the speech of U.S. judges and suggests that, while conversation analysts say repairs show how speakers spontaneously adjust their speech in response to listeners, examining the same speaker on different occasions can show that some repairs are routinized and may havelittle to do with back-channeling from the audience.