

ANALYSIS OF A HUPA STORYTELLING EVENT

Ruth Seiman Bennett
University of California, Berkeley

I am going to talk today about a story that was recorded in natural conversation as told to me by an 87-year-old native Hupa speaker, David Peter, who was born and currently lives on the Hupa Indian Reservation in Northwest California. The story is called O-HUL-WOH.¹

I am going to try to talk about this story in a way which is consistent with David's view of what it is all about. In other words, this will be an analysis of storyteller's intention. It seems to me that the best way to approach such an analysis is to think of the story as a speech event, since this is a way to be able to talk about what is actually happening between speaker and listener as the story is being told. "Speech event" has been defined by Hymes as a rule-governed activity where the rules identify particular norms for the use of speech. (1972: 56) The key word here is activity, which implies a series of actions and distinguishes the speech event from the speech act. Table I lists typical speech events in the Hupa culture and is intended to provide you with some sort of a picture in which the particular speech event of storytelling can be viewed. When speech events are delineated according to whether the turn-taking structure is relatively fixed and pre-determined or relatively flexible, then the story event can be considered fixed. In this sense, it is more similar to ceremonies, speeches, games and prayers, than to more casual conversational situations, such as personal narratives. There is prescribed speaker and prescribed listener behavior when a story is being told. Speakers always introduce their stories in some way, listeners try to keep their attention on the storyteller and they keep their verbal contributions limited to encouraging utterances such as laughter, exclamations of surprise, or nods of agreement. It just so happens that many of the speech events with a pre-determined speaker-listener structure are also formally identified with names by people in the Hupa tribe. "Story" is used to refer to traditional oral narratives, traditional referring to something handed down from one generation to the next. David says that O-HUL-WOH has been handed down in his family for 200 years at least, according to his knowledge of who passed it on to who. The story may be much older. O-HUL-WOH is one of the types of stories that are associated with a character. (Table II) Other stories which are identified similarly are "Coyote Story," "Skunk Story," "Panther Story;" most of these stories feature animal characters, and frequently, there are several stories about the same character. O-HUL-WOH is somewhat unusual in this respect because there is only one story about him. He is also never referred to as an animal, although he is closely associated with sun imagery. O-HUL-WOH is a story which fits into several topical categories as is typical. It is a story recalling an unusual event: what happened to a baby who arrived after a girl dug a twin potato. It is a story told in the daytime in the spring. And, for the versions that David has told me, it is a love medicine story.

As a result of listening to O-HUL-WOH on five different occasions from 1973 to 1976, and after studying the various 14 versions of the story which have been collected from Northern California tribes since

1895 when Jeremiah Curtin collected the first version in Wintu, I have come to the conclusion that there are rules for structuring the story and that many of these rules relate to sequencing. This is consistent with the observations of Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan on speech event rules. They speak of sequential rules being successively embracing since they are constituent structures hierarchically organized. (in press) In this sense, sequencing rules are also rules for the relationship between abstract and surface structure. It is most appropriate to Hupa stories (and to all of the many Northern California Indian "stories" I have listened to) to think of three kinds of rules as affecting sequences in discourse: Introductory Rules for Plots, and Rules for Formulas. I plan to discuss these three as they apply to the fourth version of O-HUL-WOM I heard. This was told me in July, 1976, and was the first version I heard in the Hupa language. I will also discuss the 13 other versions of the story where relevant.

I. Introductory Rules: It is customary for a storyteller to spend some time, sometimes hours, talking with his listener (giving a speech or telling personal narratives), before he tells a traditional story. The reason for this is that stories are told only by storytellers: storytelling is a profession and the storyteller establishes or reaffirms his qualifications before he begins so that the listener will appreciate the nature of the speech event that he is participating in. Although there are situational differences such as ages of participants, degree of familiarity, and type of story, which account for different introductory content (which particular personal narrative gets told, for example), there is always some sort of introduction.

I recall one time when a Hupa storyteller, a 64-year-old man I had just met, spent four hours telling me personal narratives before he told a Coyote Story. He showed me the boundaries of his land which we could see and which comprised several acres stretching from a road to a river. He told me how he came to own this land, explaining that he had traded some forested land with his brother to have some land he could use for gardening. He told me several other accounts from his past experience: such as about his life in the school he attended which was off the reservation. He was the only Native American in the class. He often felt alone because his clothes were shabby; one time he couldn't go to school at all because he didn't have any shoes.

David introduced the first Hupa language version of O-HUL-WOM with a speech he called "Business Talk." I considered this to be somewhat of an unusual introduction, not the least because he gave it a title. The kernel of what he said is as follows:

I am going to talk about something. You write on paper to whoever I talk to....I am going to talk about something good....What I'm going to say, they have to listen to me....

We are going to tell the across-the-ocean people....That's all. Besides presenting a statement of intention that his story be talked about in circumstances just as exist today, David offers clearcut evidence of how the introduction functions to assert the storyteller's qualifications. A necessary qualification is to be engaging in an activity of enhancing one's prestige. If a storyteller is recognized by an increasingly larger audience as being a good storyteller, it can be assumed that his stories are pretty good.

A brief statement of the Introductory Rule is:

Talk in such a way as to assert the necessary qualifications, Keep in mind that prestige is one of the most necessary because it is evidence that you have a large audience, (since it can be assumed that many people will gather around a prestigious person and listen to what he has to say.) Telling a personal narrative or making a prediction are particularly effective because they establish prestige through the medium of storytelling itself.

In both introductions I have sketched, aspects particular to the situation have played a part in defining the form. In the first instances, the storyteller is speaking to an outsider, someone who may not be familiar with Hupa family territorial boundaries, with prestigious Hupa families, nor with the plight of Indian people related to off-reservation experiences. He asserts his qualifications in such a way as to affirm his prestige within the tribe while at the same time he demonstrates his proficiency at telling personal narratives. Anybody who can tell narratives for four hours and keep his audience interested must be a good storyteller. The surface form reveals a deeper intent.

David's "Business Talk" speech is also cast in narrative form. It has a plot, albeit directed toward the future. One reason why David might choose not to tell a personal narrative prior to this version of O-HUL-WOH is that by this time we have known each other for 5 years and he has told me hundreds of personal narratives. Since telling the story in his own language is something special to him, it makes sense that he would want to preface it with a special kind of introduction. His prediction is a prophecy which directly involves his listener. If and when it comes true, it is living evidence of his powers. In addition to being a storyteller, David is an Indian doctor, a medicine man, and prophecy is one of the abilities he claims to have. Prestige as a storyteller is thus linked to prestige as a doctor. The implication is that someone who is a good medicine man is a good storyteller as well. As above, situation influences form, differences in form being explained by differences in age and parallel occupations engaged in by the storyteller, as well as differences in familiarity with the listener. In terms of Sequencing Rules, introductions contain linear sequences which define narrative intent.

II. Rules for Plots: In discussing plot sequencing, I will be concerned with internal sequences and will be drawing from the resource of the 14 available versions of the O-HUL-WOH story. Besides the 3 English and the 2 Hupa versions David has told me, there is another Hupa version, collected in 1901 by Pliny Earle Goddard, a colleague of Kroeber's at the University of California, Berkeley, and another one of the pioneers in the field of linguistic anthropology. In addition, there are 3 Yurok versions, 2 Wintu versions, and versions in Wiyot, Shasta, and Achomawi. The fact that so many versions of the same story exist suggest that Indian people regard it as a very good story, or else so many storytellers wouldn't have chosen to tell it. Also suggested is the fact that this story is several hundred years old at least since it takes time for a story to spread across tribes. This is especially true when all of the tribes cannot be assumed to have had direct contact with each other. Only the Hupa, Yurok and Wiyot are in Northwest California; the Shasta and the Wintu are located in mid-Northern California, and the Achomawi are in the Northeast.

Plot is the basis for internal sequencing in Dundes' analysis of the structure of North American Indian Folktales. (1964) His view is

that the story consists of a series of actions, as opposed to distinct, possibly unrelated actions. His is the structuralist approach of conceiving of related units and of units of analysis in the most general terms possible. The assumption is that abstract interrelated units are what is most basic to meaning. In identifying these units, Dundes relies on the concept of the motifemic sequence, which is based on the motifem. These units contrast with motifs which are mere labels and which may refer to actions, characters, or objects within a story. Motifemes are necessarily actions and are actions linked with other actions on a similarly abstract level. The concept of the motifemic sequence can best be described in terms of a particular story. O-HUL-WOM can be analyzed as having two motifemic sequences:

FIRST SEQUENCE:

Equilibrium: A female goes out digging roots every morning.

Interdiction: A mother tells her daughter (the female) not to dig a root under certain conditions.

Violation: She digs one.

Consequence: A boy baby cries, and grows up.

Attempted Escape: The boy follows his mother to the place where she goes, or she follows him.

SECOND SEQUENCE:

Disequilibrium: The boy, now a man, meets a girl or two girls.

Task: He engages in a series of tasks, all related to displaying masculine powers, and all tests or contests.

Task Accomplished: He wins.

Equilibrium: He marries.

Explanatory Motif: That's why something in nature is here today.

According to a motifemic analysis, the above would be considered to be the rules of plot for all of the versions, since these constitute the rules as they are manifested in the most extensive versions of the story. But the point to be made immediately is that not all of the events listed above are reported explicitly in every version; there is a real question as to whether some of the motifemes are present even implicitly in some of the versions, although all of the versions contain most of the motifem. In deciding which stories were versions of O-HUL-WOM, I eliminated some stories which also demonstrated similarities because they did not contain what I intuitively felt to be an adequate number of the motifemes as they are found across the versions which contain most or all of the motifemes. There is a Pomo story, for example, in which Coyote is reported going off to see why the sun does not rise and travel all across the sky and Coyote sets off in a journey much like O-HUL-WOM. There are also tests in this story, but because the first motifemic sequence is absent, I did not include it. I rejected a Wailaki story for similar reasons. Thus, a motifemic analysis is useful for getting at versions of a story which show a considerable degree of consistency, and a similar linear sequence from beginning to end. But it is questionable whether such an analysis really gets at the storyteller's intention for the very reason that the structuralist aims at the most general meaning possible while the storyteller weaves his tale out of specific details. It would seem that the analyst of a speech event, once having discovered the bare bones of the structure, would do well to get back as closely as possible to the story's specifics in order to be more in accord with the story as understood by the storyteller himself. For this purpose, I present the motifemes of the story along with repetitions and variations of specific

actions across versions:

FIRST SEQUENCE:

Equilibrium: The only **relevant difference across versions is that in** most versions the female is a girl, whereas in the Wintu versions, she is an old woman. There is another difference: some versions report the woman going out "every morning," whereas other versions say, "all the time." This kind of a difference, i.e. a variation in reporting habitual aspect, does not seem to be significant. It is one of the primary tasks of the analyst, when getting back to the details of the story, to sort out what the relevant differences are. One of the ways to do this is to look at the relationship between the detail and the motifeme, and between details within one motifeme and another.

Interdiction: In the versions where the woman is young, there is an explicit interdiction, although the specifics of the interdiction may vary: in the Hupa versions, she is not to dig twin-stalked ones; in the Wiyot version, it is a single-leafed one; in a Yurok version, she is not to dig one that grows in the middle of the prairie.

Violation: Same across versions, although it may be questionable whether the digging activity can be considered a violation in the Wintu versions, where there is no interdiction. An interesting fact of the two Wintu stories is that both contain an Interdiction-Violation sequence later on in the story, at a place where no other versions have it.

Consequence: A baby cries in every version. A point which I may as well make here as any other place is that the storytellers do not usually link actions explicitly. In no version of the story does the storyteller say, "she dug one, and this resulted in a baby crying." Sometimes cause-effect chains are implied through connectives, however, and in David's versions, certain implications can be drawn also from gestures and other non-verbal behavior. (And this could form the basis for an entire study in itself.)

Attempted Escape: There is considerable variation here. In the Hupa versions, the girl, who is now called the mother, is reported leaving every morning and returning every evening; after this goes on for awhile, the boy follows her. According to Dundes' scheme, it is appropriate to refer to an action reported as a pursuit, as an escape, because what is important is the abstract unit of action. In the Yurok versions, the girl pursues the boy. In the Wintu versions, the boy leaves after violating an interdiction given by the old woman. She tells him not to go East, and that is exactly where he goes.

SECOND SEQUENCE:

Disequilibrium: In the Hupa, Shasta, and Wintu versions, the now grown O-HUL-WOM meets two girls. In the Achomawi version, he meets Flower-Maiden. This can be considered a Disequilibrium motifeme because it sets up a sequence of actions wherein the hero tries to prove himself.

Task: There are always a series of tasks, rather than one task, and they are always different from storyteller to storyteller even within tribes, although there is the least amount of variation within one tribe, and David's versions are always the same. In his versions, O-HUL-WOM catches a salmon filled with dentalium, he shoots an eagle which falls to the ground full of dentalium, and finally he engages in a shinny contest first with Fox and then with Thunder. The order of the tasks and of the sub-tasks is always the same. In the 1901 Hupa version, the tasks include the shinny contest, but instead of the salmon and eagle

tasks, O-HUL-WOM eats two baskets of dentalium that Indians can't swallow and he carries wood to 10 sweathouses. In versions from other tribes there are other contests: in the Achomawi and Shasta versions, the contest is teetering on the pole and trying to dislodge the opponent who is either Moon or Grizzly Bear; the Wintu versions contain a series of tests, but no contests. In the Wiyot version, there is only a shinny contest; in general, across motifemes, this version of the story is the most sparse. This version does not contain the Attempted Escape, for example, perhaps because the storyteller lost his mother when she was killed in the Gunther Island massacre and he was only an infant. (Reichard: 1925)

Task Accomplished: In every version, he wins.

Equilibrium: There is always a return to a regular, implicitly normative state of affairs, although specifics differ. In most of the versions there is reference to the Sun and other heavenly bodies following their courses. In the Hupa versions, we are told that O-HUL- and his family still live in heaven having fun today.

Explanatory Motif: There is no "that's why..." in the Hupa version but in the others there is. In the Shasta version, "that's why" an arc now exists at a certain spot in the Salmon River. It is really the petrified body of O-HUL-WOM lying there with his arms and legs uplifted

There is enough consistency across versions to suggest that if motifemic sequences may not actually be there in the storyteller's mind as he tells the story, at least these sequences are useful in reflecting plot structure. Thus they can be used as the basis for Sequential Rules for Plots. The important point to be made is that these rules are applicable to storyteller's intention because they provide a way of relating specific actions to each other in the story. The assumption here is that related actions are what is most basic to the story. The reason for this is that through actions characters make manifest their natures. What I have tried to do in adding a more specific level of generalization to the rules is to get closer to what can be assumed to be the meaning of the story to the storyteller, since it is getting closer to the language he actually uses.

III. Rules for Formulas: The third kind of sequential rule focuses on formulaic expressions. To paraphrase Lord's definition, formulas can be defined as saying the same thing the same way. (1973: 30) Lord's criteria include having the same metrical conditions governing a group of words as well as having semantic equivalence. One might add that there are also frequent non-verbal equivalences as well. The sheer frequency of formulas in Hupa stories makes it likely that they are related to storyteller's intention, i.e., that they are readily available phrases which the storyteller can call on to put his story together as he thinks of what he is to say, (as he must do) during the actual performance. In considering how formulas might function in terms of sequencing rules, we will take a passage directly from David's O-HUL-WOM and look at some of the things formulas are doing. Since formulas occur throughout the story, any passage would do; the following passage occurs immediately preceding the part of the story where O-HUL-WOM decides to follow his mother up to where she goes:

- 1 Pretty soon, he's getting big.
- 2 A squirrel sits on a rock.
- 3 He killed that same squirrel
- 4 With that same bow and arrow.

5 They grow up with him.
 6 He grows up with it.
 7 He killed with that bow and arrow.
 8 And he grows bigger.
 9 That bow grows a little longer.
 10 While he's growing, too. Getting bigger.
 11 It grows too, that bow.
 12 And then he only had one arrow.
 13 And he killed with it.
 14 It had a point on it.
 15 Pretty soon the boy grows up.
 16 He goes off and hunts.
 17 A little fawn he shot with the bow.
 18 He killed.
 19 And then his mother goes off someplace,
 20 She went up to heaven,
 21 She's picking acorns up there.
 22 He goes off.
 23 Pretty soon, a large one, a big one, a buck.
 24 He killed that buck, then.
 25 The grandmother has it in that carrying basket.
 26 She packs it in. She has it in that basket.
 27 She packs it in. Big buck.
 28 The mother talks to him, her son.
 29 When he had tasted the deer meat.
 30 So she talked to him after eating deer.
 31 Pretty soon, after eating deer, they talked.
 32 He's growing up to be a young man.
 33 Then he thought he wanted to find out
 34 Where she goes.

The above passage has been arranged into lines which are consistent with the metrical patterns of David's speech, with ends of lines reflecting intonational signals and pauses.

One of the ways for formulating sequential rules for formulas is to find a formula which reoccurs and to look at the conditions for re-occurrence. For example, there are four occurrences of "pretty soon" in the above passage and these co-occur with the four actions reported. This rule could be put as follows:

Pretty soon: he shoots a squirrel

Pretty soon: he shoots a little fawn

Pretty soon: he shoots a large one, a buck

Pretty soon: they talk. (the boy and the mother)

Putting the rule in this form makes it possible to see that the formula "pretty soon" co-occurs with the four separate actions reported in the passage. But note that this rule does not really describe the relationship between the formula and the actions as they are actually reported. Whereas "pretty soon" occurs at the head of the first three actions, it does not occur until the fourth action has been going on for three lines (at 1. 31). Thus, even though it is a linking formula, related to sequence, it does not occur in parallel ways in relationship to all of the actions. One of the interesting things about this is that there is no way to predict the embedded nature of "pretty soon" within the fourth action. If one were to devise the rule that the fourth time is a variation, one

could hardly expect this to hold true across passages across stories. In fact, one of the ways in which formulas function in these stories is to provide the storyteller with a way of creating a new experience with each telling. The phrases themselves are well-known; thus their appearance, in terms of linear sequences, can be something new. This is why there can be no sequential rules written in terms of the formulas themselves.

There are certain types of patterns, however, which can describe various orders of occurrences for formulas. For example, one could take an approach of looking at specific points in a story, such as beginnings, middle, and ends, and noting what formulaic expressions are appropriate. In Hupa stories, there are certain formulaic ways of beginning: a Hupa storyteller may use $\text{ʔ-} \text{XOL-} \text{ʔWE-} \text{DÓN'}$ ('Before creation or $\text{HÁ-YO'-} \text{ʔ-} \text{DELTC'E'}$. (They were living there.) There are formulaic ways of ending: XUT HÁ-YOH HWO-NE (That's all) or HÁ-YO NON-D+K . (The end.) Also, certain connective formulas appear in linking actions. Besides NE-JO-XO-M+H (which can mean either "pretty soon" or "after a while") there is HÁ-YOH (therewith). One thing that can be said with respect to predictability of occurrence is that some formulas which are found in stories are found across versions of the same story, across stories told by the same storyteller, across stories within a tribe, and in stories as well as in other modes of discourse. Other formulas are more restricted. HÁ-YOH is used elsewhere but associated particularly with storytelling and with ceremonial recitatives. Golla notes that HÁ-YOH or a variation thereof can be expected to introduce a new every sentence in a formal recitations, HÁ-YOH being a very frequently used locative phrase and connective in this context. (1964: 282)

But although it is possible to talk about formulaic occurrences descriptively, such as "pretty soon" in the above passage, and to talk generally and prescriptively about some kinds of formulas, such as connectives, there are a great bulk of formulas which cannot be adequately described by sequential rules for discourse. In David's stories, in addition to formulas for beginnings, for ending, and for linking actions there are formulaic ways of describing characters, or recounting actions or describing particular places. If one were to take a structuralist approach to analyzing these formulas, one could write up rules based on Boas' approach when he discusses North American Indian Art. He says that "rhythmic repetition" is basic to "decorative form" and decorative form is the most important feature of this art. (1955: 40) Formulas can be thought of as rhythmic repetition, since there is co-occurrence of syntactic repetition with prosodic and stress identities. And within one story, formulas referring to a character will be interwoven with formulas referring to his actions and both these formulas will be repeated. If one were to write up rules for such sequences, they could look like the rules Boas writes for visual formulas: AXAYA or AXYAAB . But the problem with rules such as these is that they are so abstract that they are unable to distinguish one set of formulas from another. Because formulas are intricately related to the concrete details of the story (they are the concrete details of the story), they can be assumed to be an essential part of the storytelling event as it is told and as it is experienced by storyteller and listener.

In making this sort of assumption, I am taking the view that the storyteller himself views the story as a performance in context, and he takes that context to consist both of the words and non-verbal language of

the story and also including the immediate social situation involving storyteller and listener, as well as the cultural and personal background which the storyteller and listener share to varying degrees. That this is the case is demonstrated by the differences in the stories which are told to strangers in contrast to those which are told to people who have had a long acquaintanceship with the Hupa people or who are Hupa themselves and who have grown up in the culture. To take my own experiences as example, it was four years before I heard any stories in the Hupa language, and this was only after I had demonstrated that I was learning to speak the Hupa language. The stories I heard first were much shorter than the ones I heard after years of knowing David and other Hupa storytellers, and one of the key differences was that the stories I heard earlier lacked the same degree of formulaic repetition and variation. I don't want to underestimate the amount of formulaic repetition in the earlier stories I heard, however, because David has always told me stories in the same style. But because I lacked the understanding of what he was doing, or lacked the recognition of some of the formulas as being formulas in the earlier stories, he was not free to expand on the formulas or to repeat them with the knowledge that I would recognize his repetitions as being formulaic. Much of the storyteller's intention revolves around his ability to recycle, as it were, many of the formulas, and to thereby play with his listener's sense of what the linear sequence of the story actually is.

To take the passage quoted above, within the passage, there are ambiguities about linear sequence which are only resolved because of the listener's knowledge of formulas. Take the line, "And then he only had one arrow." (1. 12) This occurs immediately after the line referring to a growing bow. Since we usually think of bows and arrows going together, and of "and then" as linking two events in time, at first glance it might not seem appropriate to insert the connective at this point. Why not just say, "he only had one arrow?" The reason is that the connective functions as a signal to the listener that the boy is getting ready to shoot. The listener who knows the O-HUL-WON story knows that "having only one arrow" must refer to the character O-HUL-WON because "only having one" is a formulaic way to refer to him, and is what distinguishes him from all the other males in the story, none of whom are able to get the hunting prey or the fishing catch with "just one." Because of the "and then" in 1. 12, the listener expects the killing action which is reported in 1. 13.

There is a similar level of understanding which can be reached only by the listener who knows the formula in 1. 16 which reports: "He goes off and hunts," This might seem to be redundant with 1. 3 where the boy is reported killing a squirrel, but knowing the formula, "he goes off" we know that this is a marker of an advance in the boy's growth because now he is "going off" or leaving his immediate surrounds when he does his hunting. Similarly, knowing the meaning of the formula, "a large one, a big one," in 1. 23, we know that again, there is another sequential development in the growth of the boy. Now, instead of hunting relatively small prey, such as squirrels and fawns, he is after "the large one." We may not know exactly what type of animal it is, it may be an elk, a deer, or some other large animal, but we know what the significance is in terms of plot development and in terms of the growth of the boy.

There are other formulas in this passage which are clear to the m aside from those relating specifically to sequences, as 1. 26, "she packs it in," which refers here to the grandmother putting the remains of the buck in her basket so she can carry home the meat, but which has the general meaning of someone packing anything they want to carry, be it fish, deermeat, or basket-making materials. Any Hupa knows this.

There is one more point to be made regarding formulas and that is that when formulaic repetitions occur, especially within a passage, the storyteller is telling the listener something beyond the fact that he is repeating the formula. There is always new information implicit in the formulaic repetition, and an example of this can be seen in the line referring to the mother talking to the son. (11. 28-31) This is somewhat of an important talk since it is the event which separates the character O-HUL-WOH's boyhood from his manhood. Up until the point when this talk occurs, he has been "getting big," "growing bigger," "growing up." After the talk, "he's growing up to be a young man." The talk between mother and son is all the more unusual because up until this point in the story they haven't talked at all. We are told earlier that the grandmother raised the boy, the girl who was his mother ran away from him when she first heard him cry, and as he grew into boyhood, she continued her daily activities, leaving him with his grandmother. Now, at this point in the story, she talks to him, and we are meant to understand by this that she acknowledges him as her son. We are not **told** this explicitly by the storyteller, but by the use of his repetition, we are given to know. And our implicit knowledge is reinforced by the next line which reports the boy getting ready to follow the mother to where she goes. Throughout the story, the listener's knowledge of what is occurring, what has happened, and what is to happen, is communicated by the storyteller in much the same way as in the passage I have just discussed.

The important point to be made is that the storyteller cannot get across his intention unless he is assured of a high degree of shared knowledge on the part of his listener. This is because in addition to getting across a plot and to demonstrating his skill in manipulating formulas, one of the primary aspects of storyteller intention relates very directly to maintaining a shared experience with his listener. The basis for this sharing rests on the fact that meanings don't have to be made explicit; the storyteller tells the story, he does not interpret. A high degree of explicitness in a story would amount to interpretation, and this would alter the nature of the relationship between storyteller and listener, and this is something the storyteller does not want to do. Thus it would seem that the "interactive process" (a term used by Gumperz and Gumperz relating to contextualization and goals in a non-narrative context; 1976: 5) is present in a storytelling event, and that any sequential rules which are developed for stories must ultimately take this into account as an important aspect of storyteller intention. In the process of taking this into account, the analyst discovers that abstract, structuralist rules are useful; that furthermore, getting back to the most specific level possible for various versions of a story can be useful as well; and that in handling rules for formulas each story has to be considered on its own terms, which consists of recognizing what is traditional about it, what is present because of the previous past experience of storyteller and listener, and what is being signalled through the storyteller's largely unpredictable manipulation of formulas as he proceeds.

Another way of saying this is that the audience is an important consideration in the analysis of storyteller's intention; this reminds me of Becker's distinction between the essential and the non-essential audience, where the non-essential audience are those who happen to be around and who may or may not hear the narrative, but the essential audience are the ones to whom the story is really told. (1976: 33) In Becker's analysis the essential audience is thought to be the spirits of the ancestors; one major distinction between the Javanese narratives he writes about and the Hupa stories I have heard is that in the Hupa stories, the essential audience is the immediately present and available listener. The listener may throw off his role and choose not to listen, but this would not be congruent with the intention of the storyteller. There are a number of cues I have been given that this is the case: once, when I left momentarily because of having to handle a problem involving some children in the next room, I discovered, upon my return to hear the rest of the story, that David had no more to tell.

¹O-HUL-WOM is the name of the central character and is a Hupa word which literally means "take-it-out" and refers to human birth. The orthography I am using here and throughout the paper is the Indian Unifon developed for the Northern California Indians and currently in use by them.

²As he acknowledges, Dundes got his theory of the motifeme by combining Propp's "function" with Kenneth Pike's "-emic" unit.

³Shinny is called "stick game" by Hupas. It is played somewhat like Lacrosse on a rectangular grassy field with two teams and matched pairs of offending-defending players. The object is to take a stick wrapped with deerhide and get it across the field.

NOTE

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TABLE I

SOME TYPICAL SPEECH EVENTS IN HUPA CULTURE

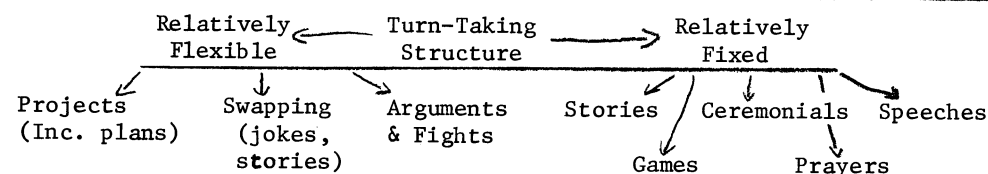


TABLE II

HOW HUPA STORYTELLERS TOPICALIZE THEIR STORIES

Stories Recalling Unusual Events:	Ceremonial Occasions:	Character-Centered:	Medicine:	Season:	Time of Day:
Dreams & Visions*	How to perform	Coyote	Bear	Spring	Daytime
Catastrophes	Why a dance is done	Skunk	Deer	Summer	Evening
Miracles		Fox	Love	Fall	Night
		O-HUL-WOH		Winter	

*These examples are intended to be illustrative, not all-inclusive.