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Pragmatic Constraints on Hopi Narrative Discourse

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The model for narratives developed by Labov and Waletzky (1977) for personal narratives and successfully adapted for fiction, a non-oral type, by Pratt (1977) has shown to be inadequate in describing a certain type of oral narrative, the Hopi coyote story (Shaul *et al* 1987). Hopi coyote stories usually lack an evaluation section (evaluative devices occur instead throughout the fabric of the story) and a coda. Further, the coyote story is always structured as a journey. Below, the two schemes are compared.

(1) Abstract-Orientation-Complicating-Evaluation-Result-
Action

Coda

(2) Setting-Coyote's Want-Plan-Journey-Realization-

Backfire

In (1), the Labov and Waletzky plan is given; the Shaul *et al* formulation is in (2). The job of a narrative, the world over, is to relate a memorable series of events centering around a conflict/situation and some consequent resolution/results. These two basic requirements are realized in both story types.

The distinctiveness of Hopi narratives from those of Western tradition is perhaps due to pragmatic features attending the original use of the narratives within Hopi culture. Narratives were performed and the teller and audience interacted to create intertextuality; the need for verification of the genuineness of the tale (evaluation section) and summary (coda) were less needed. In addition, the fact that Hopi stories were never set pieces suggests that the probability of evaluation was largely a matter of individual style, rather than an institutionalized section required in order to create a bonafide narrative.

The coyote stories in Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (1984, 1985) correlate fairly well with the model in (2). There are two major modifications in order: (a) some narrative components (Coyote setting out on a journey and returning home) are optional because in some stories, Coyote happens upon a situation in progress which is intriguing, and (b) Coyote sometimes dies away from home.

There are at least three folkloric functions that must be accommodated by the narrative format. These are given in (3).

- (3) There is always a journey; there may be more than one, but Coyote is always on one of them.
 Some home base is always involved, not always Coyote's.
 Coyote's curiosity always ironically backfires.

There may be more than one journey, but Coyote is always traveling. The stories take great stock in the home bases of both protagonist and antagonist. The trickster nature of Coyote generates ironic expectations throughout the story, helping to account for the lack of a discrete evaluation section.

Do narrative sectional boundaries match the story components given in (2)? There is one linguistic marking (deixis) which is used in Hopi discourse to mark the boundaries of subunits of a discourse. Mention of entities at the beginning of a section is with proximal deixis, whereas subsequent mention or repetition of the same entity within a section is marked with distals. An example of this is found in (4).

- (4) III-9 paniqw nu' YANGQW YANWAT pu' oovi antsa umuy
 Hopiituy IT YAN maatsiwqat McDonalds

consequently FROM:HERE THIS:WAY I that's why
 indeed (to) you Hopis (announce) THIS,
 THIS:WAY for McDonalds

- III-13 ...put novakit aqw... McDonald pam hapi aasakis
 ...into that restaurant... McDoanld that one
 truly regularly (fixes food)

The Roman numerals refer to section numbers; the Arabic numerals refer to major sentence units. Proximals are in caps, and distals are underscored. The first mention of McDonalds and its location (Winslow, Arizona) are marked with distals. Subsequent mention of them (on line 13 later on in the section) is distal in marking. The same process carries over into Hopi coyote stories.

In Appendix One, a text from Malotki and Lomatuwa'ma (1984:2-7) is given in skeletal form. Each section begins with proximal marking (i' 'this, it 'this (OBJ), yan'this way', yep 'here' etc.). The extreme beginning and end are so marked. The second instance of proximal marking ("Pay yantsaki yaw puma'ay...") marks the start of the section that sets the story. The next instance ("Pay pi yang oova i' tuve'tsoki...") marks the start of Coyote's scheme, and the next proximal marking ("Yan yaw pam put ngemnat...") marks the

journey of Coyote back to his home and the hatching of his scheme. The last instance of proximal marking before the end ("Son pi nu' kwaats qa tuwat...") marks the beginning of the section where Coyote's scheme is realized and backfires. The sequence (Beginning-Setting-Set Up-Journey-Realization-End) agrees with that proposed in (2).

Longer texts modify the basic pattern shown in (2). Analysis of a longer story, given in outline in Appendix Two, shows that there are more than six sections. However, after the initial setting (section 1), Coyote's scheme (section 2) is followed by an extended Plan sequence (sections 3-7) ending with a journey (sections 8-9). This is followed by a backfiring (section 10) with subsequent resolution (sections 11-13). Section 13 may be analyzed as a coda, although it recapitulates the content of sections 11 and 12 (11/12: The Oraibis send a youth after Coyote who finds him dead; the youth completes Coyote's journey, and the clouds return to rain; COMPARE this with section 13: in this way, rain returned to the Hopis).

Within a section, remention of a proximally marked item is with distal, just as in (4). So for example, in section 2 of the story sketched in Appendix Two, 'the clouds' are proximally marked as is their location (the Grand Canyon), and subsequent mention of them in the very next line appears as distal for both the entities and their location.

(5) yaw IMA OO'OMAWT YEPEQ ŋngtupqawveq ki'yyungwa...

'they say THESE CLOUDS OVER:HERE at Grand Canyon
were living'

pay kya as pam pangsoqnen paalayamuy pumuy amumi
paalayamuy oovi tuuvingtaqw
pay kya yaw as puma naanakwhe' angqw yoknawisni

may if he went there to ask them for their juice
then just maybe they would assent and from there
go to make it rain' (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1985:
106)

In the translation (mine, not Malotki and Lomatuway'ma's), the pattern appears in miniature: initial mention of 'clouds' (and their location!) is marked with proximals (ima 'these', yepaq 'here (DISTAL)'); note that a distal form of the proximal yep 'here' is used. The next mention of the clouds and their milieu is in the next clause, and both receive distal marking. The patterns obtains with other sections in both stories.

Consistent use of proximal:distal marking allows an audience of Hopi speakers to segment narrative discourse into coherent sections that match narratives functions of an overall cultural pattern.

At the same time, there are means for structuring material within a section (subordination, local topicalization with -wa or -wat, and syntactic movement rules) AND at least one pervasive linguistic way of setting off an entire narrative discourse from all other genres. Nearly all the narrative clauses contain yaw (the quotative particle) and all quoted material is framed by yaw kita 'thus said', which is the quotative plus a metapragmatic verb used only for reporting speech (cf. Kroskrity 1985:197, for a similar use of quotatives in the neighboring Arziona Tewa and Navajo). Investigation of these matters is deferred to later investigation.

In summary, Hopi narrative discourse has distinctive linguistic markers at the discourse, section and subsection levels, thus allowing a flat text (= no indication of prosodic cues) to be segmented into section, with major sectional breaks. Versification (Hymes 1981) using initial particles such as pay 'immediative' and noq 'contrastive' appears to be a likely way of analyzing Hopi discourse to its ultimate levels. It is a shame that little material is available to study intonational cues in Hopi narrative discourse along the lines suggested by Tedlock (1972, 1983), allowing for comparison of the syntactic and prosodic parameters (Kroskrity 1985). Further work at the subsection level (as opposed to the verse level) may proceed by studying indexes of topicality and the like (cf. Payne 1987, after Givón 1983 a and b).

APPENDIX ONE. Analysis of a Short Coyote Story (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1984:2-7).

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Beginning | Noq pep I' IISAW ki'yta.
'So THIS COYOTE was living there' |
| 2. Setting | Pay YANTSAKI yaw puma'ay.
Noq yaw <u>puma</u> pay...
'They kept doing THIS WAY.
So <u>they</u> ...' |
| 3. Set Up | Paypi YANG oova I' TUVU'TSOTSKI a'ni'i...
'ALONG HERE on THIS MOUNTAIN TOP...' |
| 4. Journey | YAN yaw pam put ngemnat pu' yaw pangqaqw
nima.
'THIS WAY he invited him and went home.' |
| 5. Realization | Son pi nu' kwaats qa tuwat nopnakyango,"
yaw pam YAN wuuwaqw...
'I should really feed my friend," he thought
THIS WAY... |

6. Preparation and THIS COYOTE ate and then...
Coyote becomes involved with the ritual.
7. Task Done "we then will keep vigil over THIS OUR
WORK"...
A prayer vigil ensues.
8. Journey THIS CHIEF then woke up THIS COYOTE...
Coyote sets out.
9. Journey THESE DOGS again (wanted) to chase him
...
The village dogs want to pursue Coyote, but his
escort prevents this.
10. Backfire And Coyote, feeling THIS:WAY,...
Coyote travels until he comes to a water hole;
there he pauses to drink and is lured to his death
by a water maiden.
11. Resolution And THESE ORAIBI PRAYER-MAKERS were
waiting...
The Oraibis wait for a month and then send a youth
in search of Coyote. He finds him at the water hole,
but departs when he encounters the water maiden.
12. Resolution and THESE CLOUDS were thick there...
give you THESE PRODUCTS OF OUR LABOR
...
Youth arrives at Grand Canyon; makes prayers to clouds;
he returns home.
13. Resolution IN:THIS:WAY they made it rain
again...
The clouds go to Oraibi and rain.
14. End HERE it is humped.
The end.

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