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ABSTRACT

Recent research into the "forty-nine" songs and singing of the Kiowa Indians in southwestern Oklahoma is described in this paper. The paper first outlines the value of a process oriented approach to communication analysis that accents three primary variables: indexicality (the inherent situational nature of communicative acts), reflexivity (individuals' presuppositions about events and the relation of their presuppositions to those of other members of the culture), and intentionality (the intent of speakers). Two primary data gathering procedures used in the research are then described: intensive interviews, led by a Kiowa collaborator, designed to build a reflexive account of forty-nining; and field observation of forty-nines. Finally, an analysis of Kiowa forty-nining is presented, in which the following topics are among those addressed: the origins, functions, and general characteristics of forty-nines; historical, linguistic, and thematic patterns of the songs; the effect of performer intent on the meaning of song themes and performance; and established procedural rules related to turn-taking by song leaders, the use of insult exchange as a means of social bonding and sensitization, and the meaningful sequencing of songs by song leaders. (GW)

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Song composition and singing play an important role in the preservation and transmission of a group's culture.[1] One distinctive example of this phenomenon is the "forty-nine" songs and singing of the Kiowa Indians in southwestern Oklahoma. In the days before tribal confinement to the Anadarko, Oklahoma, area, these activities were primarily a prelude, celebration, or postscript of raiding parties. These raids not only brought wealth to the Kiowa, but also provided adventure and opportunities to demonstrate bravery and manliness. To perform these acts of bravery was, however, alone insufficient; they also required public recognition. Forty-nining provided an opportunity to depict these actions. Thus forty-nining is a kind of folkloric activity, more specifically a mythmaking process, which includes the composition and performance of songs.[2]

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During the twentieth century, forty-niming began to change. Currently it serves to train young men for performance in other ritualized events such as Gourd Dance and War Dance singing, and to provide an opportunity for males to attract and meet young women. Even with these contemporary adaptations, forty-nining continues as a primary vehicle for maintaining and transmitting cultural norms and roles. It remains a valuable means of social recognition and cultural identity, a rite of passage in which young men grow, develop singing and dancing skills, and meet young women en route to manhood; as such, forty-nining entails traditional qualities and contemporary adaptation. The unique integration of the traditional and contemporary make these activities especially illuminating for ethnographic study by communication scholars. From this base the intracultural and intercultural communication behavior of the Kiowa may be better understood.

This paper proceeds from one central assumption: The essential nature of a culture is deeply rooted in the dynamic patterns of oral communication maintained by that culture.[3] Thus, if we can explain the oral interaction of a cultural group, we can better understand and predict the intracultural communication behavior, which, in turn, may produce the necessary sensitivity for better intercultural communication. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to describe, and possibly explain, Kiowa forty-nine singing within a communication framework. Two major sections report the study: The first section

provides a discussion of the philosophical-methodological perspective guiding the research. A second section elaborates a tentative set of descriptive statements and categories derived from early stages of our research.

Process Oriented Communication Analysis

Our knowledge of cultural events benefits from research generated by a number of theoretic and philosophical perspectives. Despite the various contributions of these perspectives, some discernable shortcomings urge an alternative approach to address the unique nature of Kiowa forty-nining.[4] The more obvious difficulties with present research originate in their emphasis on textual analysis to explain what is in essence dynamic, performative events. This message orientation leads us to perceive such events as static cultural constants. Whereas this research is often useful in capturing some of the structural characteristics of the events studied, it deals inadequately with the process nature of the phenomena. To address these shortcomings, this section summarizes an alternative approach which builds upon existing approaches but further provides a focus and set of presuppositions more applicable to the process nature of the data involved. First, this section argues for a more process-oriented approach to communication analysis which accents three prima variables. From these more philosophical underpinnings, the section then describes the specific stages of our research and operationalizes the data gathering procedures.

Three Salient Variables

Viewing Kiowa forty-nine singing as a communicative process requires a different sort of analysis. A process orientation demands that variables be considered dynamic, that is, they are expected to exhibit fluid values and interrelations. Although generic similarities may surface, this orientation requires each event to be considered for its uniqueness as well as its commonalities. Alfred North Whitehead characterizes this perspective accurately: "The how an actual entity becomes constitutes what that actual entity is; so that the two descriptions of an actual entity are not independent. Its 'being' is constituted by its 'becoming'."[5] To view forty-nining primarily as a cultural product denies this fundamental process dictum. Singing as communication has meaning and function primarily in its operation as a social process. Because process dictates the interactive, fluid aspects of the variables, a product, textual approach is only partially useful.

Collectively, communication patterns assist and reveal the development and maintenance of cultural perspective or "world view." Put another way, world view is a negotiated set of rules and body of information which is generated and purveyed through communicative acts among cultural members.[6] These acts are dynamic and fleeting, not to appear except in elliptical, residual form as product or artifact. Analysis of these acts must therefore recognize, in addition to their mani-

fest content, at least three major communication variables or sets of variables, which are often neglected or slighted by other approaches. The first of these, indexicality, refers to the inherent situational nature of any communicative act. The second, reflexivity, is an individual's "account" of his particular set of presuppositions concerning a specific event or object and the relation of the personally held presuppositions to those generally held by other members of the culture. The third is the intentional nature of any utterance, that is, the intent with which any speaker assigns meaning to an utterance. These three variables tap the process nature of the phenomena to produce a perspective useful for the analysis of Kiowa forty-nine singing.

Indexicality refers to the notion that any speech act occurs within a specific situation containing events, objects, and rules which are dynamic rather than static. Unquestionably, cultural context adds important information to the interpretation of the utterance. Without knowledge of the proper "context" of an utterance, the meaning becomes non-indexical and partially meaningless, because the observer lacks knowledge of the rules governing the circumstances of its utterance. When one acquires a foreign language, for example, the contextually bound bases of meaning are the last and the slowest rules to acquire; without them, however, much of the meaning of interaction is lost. In his discussion of the "principle of the presumption of knowledge," P. F. Strawson clarifies this idea:

> . . . There are hosts of cases of very rich and full identifying knowledge, and. . . in general, our identifying knowledge of particulars forms an immensely complex web of connexions and relations --the web, one might say, of our historical and geographical knowledge in general, . . . but also knowledge of the most unpretentious kind about the particular things and people which enter into our minute-to-minute or day-to-day transactions with the world.[7]

Thus, indexicality--situationally based aspects of meaningfulness-- is a major determinant of meaning assignation on the part of a cultural member.

Closely related to indexicality, reflexivity deals with the integral interaction by a member with the context of the utterance and refers specifically to an individual's account of that interaction. In other words, reflexivity is a partial statement of world view by an individual, within a specifiable cultural context. As Filmer explains in his discussion of Garfinkel's conception of reflexivity:

> The process of a member accounting for his experience is a process of making unique, specific and individual experiences commonly known, by organizing them in a coherent fashion--such organization (given the typifying properties of everyday language) being an endemic feature of their expression. The result of the expression of their experience by members in all cases is to make the process of accounting-for an essentially (that is, inevitably, necessarily and unavoidably) reflexive one.[8]

If the context as accounted by the member is not apprehended by the research observer, then the reflexive nature of the event will be insufficiently interpreted at a thematic level and thus lost.

Because communicative acts, including singing, are responses to situations and reflect an awareness of them, within any communicative act is some sort of intention. As Leonard C.

Hawes notes, "Speaking, as one mode of communication, is intentional inasmuch as speaking both constitutes and evidences consciousness and consciousness-of. That which is spoken about is brought into being in the act of speaking itself; it does not exist independent of the speaking."[9] Whenever a forty-nine song is performed, its indexicality and reflexivity reveal the member's intent as the act relates that individual to other members. Although the determination of intentions is difficult, and according to some impossible, one can ascertain from the interactional process an idea of the necessary, if not sufficient, aspects of intentionality for satisfactory social behavior. That may not totally capture a person's intentions, but it does reveal aspects which may collectively identify social patterns.

Thus, indexicality, reflexivity, and intentionality are prominent characteristics of the communication process. Our view of forty-nining as a communication phenomenon accents these variables; this view may aid in a reconceptualization of similar events and more broadly assist our research of intercultural communication. Although these are not the only applicable communication variables, they are especially salient in determining the reciprocal relation of culture and communication. To analyze these variables is difficult, and that may explain why most approaches tend to study product more than process and neglect these interactional aspects. We must now turn, therefore, to a more specific method for gathering data regarding these variables as they operate in Kiowa forty-nining.

Data Gathering Procedures

Because of the likelihood of error and deceit in intercultural field research, data veracity concerned us continually. This is especially a problem with Native Americans who have often been abused or exploited by researchers.[10] As Joseph Trimble noted of his research with Native Americans, "Some respondents take the position that exploitation deserves exploitation; that is, if researchers use me then I will use them to my advantage."[11] During the course of our research, we were occasionally aware of misleading information by subjects who sought to determine how interested and knowledgeable we were about the subject. Many of the individuals with whom we talked were already skilled in dealing with researchers or had heard rumors sufficient to make them cautious.

Solutions to this problem are by no means certain. We sought to minimize these potential dangers in two ways: First, persons active in the research project spent a good deal of time in those areas where the research was to be conducted establishing entrée, rapport, and credibility. This required almost weekly trips to Anadarko, Carnegie, and Mountain View, Oklahoma. All research was conducted in field settings to make the subjects more relaxed and cognizant of our genuine interest and concern. Our current acceptance and welcome to the relative privacy of forty-nines reveal our present success.

Another way we addressed the data veracity problem was also our most useful asset. We received the assistance of a Kiowa collaborator who took the lead in conducting interviews.[12] The interviewer is a native of the area in which we worked, and his

family is known by most tribal members. The presence of a fellow tribal member in the research project indicated a real concern for the people studied and the applicability of the results to community goals such as the preservation of cultural identity.[13] The interviewer was instrumental in generating preliminary categories and was invaluable in helping to formulate new directions for investigation during interviews. The interviewer also played a key role in interpreting data in such a way as to render new perspectives on seemingly unimportant information. Our association with subject-participants through our interviewer was consciously designed to allow maximum participation of well informed people in the generation and subsequent validation of our descriptive categories.

Because of the innumerable obstacles to data gathering in an intercultural context, especially the obstacles related to the variables we address, our research has proceeded slowly and in three interrelated stages. Each progressive stage was designed as a validation and extension of its preceding one. Currently we are well into the second stage and planning for the final stage in which we will not only exercise more control on the data gathering situation, but will also secure participant-subject evaluation of our entire study and directions for continued investigation of Kiowa communication behavior.

Stage one consisted of intensive interviews designed to build a reflexive account of forty-nining. Our subjects were of varying ages and very familiar with the events. In fact, all subjects are Kiowa Indians who have participated frequently and extensively in forty-nines. At this time we have interviewed four subjects intensively.[14] Although we have progressed beyond

this initial stage of our research, we will continue to secure these interviews to check and enrich our data bank. The questionnaire and interview schedule were designed to allow subjects maximum latitude in accounting for their understanding of the event. An unstructured format was employed with nondirective, open-ended questions forming general boundaries for the interview. Each interview was recorded on audio tape. Appendix I provides the interview schedule and matches the questions with the variables under investigation. Appendix II graphically correlates the major variables, information sought, and some of the general categories of results. The final result of these preliminary interviews was a set of descriptive statements and categories regarding forty-nining. The results are further discussed in the following section.

Stage two of the investigation has involved actual field observation of forty-nines. We frequented traditional forty-nine meeting places such as "Corn Bread Corners" and "Half-Moon Mile" on evenings likely to yield such sings. In addition, we attended the almost weekly succession of dances and pow-wows which occur during the summer months. Our purpose with these observations was to determine if the categories generated from reflexive and indexical accounts could be verified in a field setting. In this way we were able to observe the actualizations of previously accounted phenomena by our subjects and many other participants. Field observation also provided an opportunity to refine those categories which lacked precision and to develop new ones. What this stage produced is the focus of discussion in the following

section.

Stage three will advance our research into a more manipulative environment. We are currently planning a simulated forty-nine session with some of our earlier subjects who have become interested in the research. For this stage we will ask these people to forty-nine for us in a controlled situation. As the event proceeds we will not only observe, but also interrupt the participants for questions and discussion of the event and activities. At this point we are moving into participatory observation by the researchers and the final validation of our results.

Analysis of Kiowa Forty-Nining

Kiowa forty-nine singing originated as a social activity to acknowledge and reward war and hunting activities. The singing served to affirm and transmit male roles and norms crucial to tribal survival. The current absence of wars and raiding parties obviously necessitates a shift of subject matter; whatever the topic of the songs, however, they must continue to provide material appropriate for the development of the male role and norms and for the general function of assisting the male maturation process. Although the importance of the forty-nining activities for physical tribal survival is now reduced, they remain important for the psychological and social sense of tribal and cultural identity. Thus these activities are now perhaps more frequent, though less profound in topic, and reflect the male efforts to maintain tribal identity which is threatened internally and externally by cultural assimilation. The intensity and frequency of forty-nines may now attest to the implicit awareness of their participants for the

problems not only of establishing and maintaining cultural identity in the "great melting pot" of the overculture, but, perhaps more importantly, of developing respectable male identity as a minority group member in an overculture which inhibits their self-actualization.[15]

This preliminary functional characterization requires refinement to address the specifics of forty-nining as a communication activity. Accordingly, the first part of this section will characterize forty-nining in terms of the three primary variables identified earlier. From that base the second part of this section will provide a set of rules which capture some of the interactive aspects of the events.

General Characteristics

Forty-nines begin in the spring as soon as the weather warms sufficiently to allow all-night singing out-of-doors. Sings rarely occur indoors and typically consume a large portion of a singer's evening hours during the summer months. There is no regular schedule of events; rather, they occur almost nightly and consistently in the same locations. In the Anadarko, Oklahoma, area, for example, forty-nines occur at sites well known to all Kiowa. These are often located at section-line highway intersections a few miles outside of town. The list of singers tends to remain fairly stable over a period of weeks, and it is not unusual for singers to attend three nights a week or more.

Unlike many other ritualized events less dependent on the unique contributions of individual participants, forty-nine songs are often created in the ongoing social facilitation of the event within a framework of general rules. The creative,

variable aspects of the event underscore the significance of its indexicality and intentionality. For example, the event is partially regulated according to male and female participation. Quality male singers are important both because of their singing skill and because of the large variety of songs they can usually perform; their prowess doubtless contributes to their relative location in the group's social power structure. The presence of young women is always desirable, at least in the early stages of the event, because in many respects the songs are often aimed at them. The event is generally viewed by older tribal members as "crook singing," i.e., reserved for those "crazy kids;" thus, the attendance of older people is unusual. On those occasions when older singers do appear, their participation is limited to the early stages of the event, tends to influence a conservative tone, and tends to mark the event as traditional.

Reflexive accounts of forty-nining acknowledge distinguishable changes as the event progresses. In the earlier stages of the event more traditional songs are sung in a conservative style, perhaps because older singers or women are present. Whatever the reason or stage of the event, the presence of particular individuals partially determines the course of activities. For example, many songs exhibit a variety of phrasings dependent upon the participants; a song exhibiting male authority might be sung conservatively in the early stages of the sing, such as:

She can do whatever she can do,
I can do what I want to.

As older singers and women retire for the evening and as the

consumption of alcohol increases, the content and intent of the songs will alter. Those who sing loud and frequently remain, a few women remain, and the thematic content of forty-nining moves away from the more conservative, traditional lyrics and uses of the songs. The melody of the songs continues as before, but the words and their meanings become more risque and less reflective of traditional Kiowa values. For example, the song cited above might be changed as follows:

> She can do whatever she can do,
> I can screw what I want to.

The indexical nature of Kiowa forty-nining is also marked by its physical and social separation from other traditional activities. In the first fifty years of the twentieth century forty-nines frequently occurred after pow-wows and attracted a wide variety of participants. Although viewed somewhat suspiciously by parents, forty-nining was still traditional in many respects and performed in close proximity to family and tribal authority. By comparison, the current events exist primarily in an illegitimate version outside tribal and familial boundaries. With few exceptions younger members of the tribe comprise the sings without the direction or control of older non-participants.

In their reflexive accounts of forty-nining, our primary subjects identified three general and interrelated sets of characteristics for the songs: (1) historical patterns, (2) linguistic patterns, and (3) thematic patterns. To maintain their legitimate, traditional base, historical precedents and patterns are crucial. Either in melody, lyrics, or some combination of the two the historical continuity of the event is preserved. As a

preceding example noted, despite modernization of lyrics forty-nine songs will often employ traditional melodies. Because of the importance of spontaneously generated lyrics, the use of old melodies is important to ensure predictable patterns for ease of participation. Songs whose lyrics, as well as melody, are traditional often date to the pre-World War era and even back to the days before confinement. Even with modern adaptations singers stress the traditional nature of their songs. Although the historical base is crucial for the sense of cultural continuity, it is currently eroding because many young people do not know their native language. The singing often employs Kiowa and thereby further accents tradition, but the extensive use of English compromises the preservation of tradition.

A second set of characteristics focuses on linguistic patterns. One obvious pattern confounds outside observers: Many Kiowa forty-nine songs consist of phonological units which are less than words, but represent a manageable, predictable repertoire. These "wordless" songs are performed like chants, but the phonological components are used in ritualized and non-ritualized patterns which can elicit predictable, meaningful responses amongst knowledgeable participants. On the other hand, songs with words tend to fall into two general groups: traditional songs with formulary lyrics or adaptations of traditional patterns with spontaneous lyrics. Another linguistic pattern involves the use of Kiowa and English. Songs sung in Kiowa are generally the more traditional; songs sung in English typically date from the 1940's up to the present. The ignorance of Kiowa renders more

important its use in traditional songs so that younger people who do not know their native language are socially pressured and provided an opportunity to familiarize themselves with this aspect of their cultural identity, even if they are not conversant in the language. From a research standpoint, the vacillation from Kiowa to English may be perplexing, but is also very revealing. As the participants attempt to translate, they make explicit their understanding of the translation of some of their perceptions and values as well.

Thematic patterns constitute the third general set of characteristics. One obvious characteristic of themes is the division along male and female boundaries. Songs pertaining to males typically involve personal jokes, drinking, sexual prowess, and related macho topics; for example:

> Maybe I'll stick it in you,
> So lie down with your legs spread.

This particular song is a "razz" and most likely would be aimed at the boyfriend of the girl razzed in the song. That is, although the song is overtly aimed at a woman, the covert intent is to joke with the boyfriend. Songs which better represent a feminine perspective deal with romantic themes. Even these, however, are sung from a masculine perspective and never initiated or written by females; for example:

> Oh my darling I am far away from you.
> As I sit alone tonight I am thinking of you.
> If I don't come back, remember that I love you.

Any attempt to categorize forty-nine songs according to content is potentially dangerous, because such an endeavor neglects the intent of the singer in favor of textual analysis. As noted

earlier, these songs do not exist simply as texts; that is, they develop their full meaning potential in their performance. Without an understanding of the indexical nature of the event for example, it would be difficult, if possible, to understand the difference between a song sung in a conservative style and one sung much later in the event. This leads to a final general characteristic of forty-nining: The meaning of its themes and performance is mediated by the intent imposed by the performer. Typically, a singer who chooses songs continues to select the next song as long as he desires. The order of these songs is important, because they form meaningful patterns which reflect the intent of the singer. Predictably, one of our primary subjects exhibited great difficulty in reproducing songs outside of the indexical boundaries provided by the actual event. Singers asked to reproduce songs in an artificial setting, although willing, found it difficult to reproduce more than a few songs, and these were typically the traditional classics. Because so many factors dynamically interrelate to render forty-nining meaningful, it "means" something largely insofar as the singer intends the songs within the indexical and reflexive boundaries afforded by the event.

This preliminary description of forty-nining indicates a cultural event of a dynamic process nature. It is dynamic in its relation to social change, i.e., its relation to the contemporary as emergent from the traditional. The event is further dynamic as the indexical, reflexive, and intentional qualities of the event vary from week to week, from night to night, and from moment to moment. Despite the usefulness of this kind of preliminary general characterization, the examination is certainly not complete; and

may never be complete. One must not only proceed further with the study of these characteristics, but also proceed to ascertain the rules governing the performances.

Performance Rules

Even a hasty examination of the data indicates that forty-nines proceeds according to an established set of procedural rules. One major rule cluster relates to turn-taking. Although a singer continues selecting songs as long as that individual chooses, rules operate by which the next song leader may be selected. One noticeable aspect of this turn-taking involves the women. They are never selected as song leaders. Their role can be described as participatory, but non-manipulative; even though songs are sung for their benefit and often as a reaction to their behavior at the event, their status at forty-nines is clearly subordinate within the context of the event.

Another aspect of this turn-taking rule addresses the power structure which develops within the group. Once a singer withdraws as leader, the next singer is often the next best singer in attendance. Thus, the event proceeds under the domination of those individuals who have the best voices and who are in command of the widest variety of songs. This turn-taking further indicates a clique group formation among dominant male singers. This, of course, is not to suggest that other less impressive singers never initiate songs. For the most part, however, a core group of good singers tends to dominate the direction of the event.

A variation of the turn-taking rules governs the means by which individuals may interrupt the above-mentioned turn-taking system and thus command the song leader's role. For example, an individual or group of individuals may decide to "take over" a forty-nine. This is done acceptably by waiting until a song has been sung once. Beginning with its repetition, the challenging individual or group attempts to sing the song louder and higher than the leader. If the current song leader is unable or unwilling to match the challengers with equal volume and force, he forfeits his role as song leader. The duel winners take control of the event, at least until the next challenge.

Another rule cluster involves the use of insult exchange as a means of social bonding and sensitization. In fact, forty-nines provide a forum whereby individuals engage in a kind of friendly verbal dueling. Usually the participants are well acquainted with each other and direct very personal barbs at one another in their songs. No one intends to seriously insult the target of such a song; rather, the songs are understood and accepted as friendly personal jokes. Such songs may address almost any facet of an individual's life; drinking, love and clumsiness are common examples. These songs are directed toward both males and females, although many songs directed at females are designed to razz that individual's boyfriend. These insult songs serve well to objectify personal problems, intensify interpersonal relations, and through mutual awareness of personal flaws insure group cohesiveness.

Many of the insult songs are formulary. Into the lyrics anyone's name or situation may be substituted. Most of these songs are contemporary and often crude; for example:

> You went around the mountain to
> take a shit and we saw you.
> I came back later to cover it up
> and it was gone.
> (Insert name) must have eaten it.

Another example, directed at a woman with the idea of rousing her boyfriend, invites infidelity:

> To hell with your old man, (insert name),
> Come up and see me some time.

Were there animosity between the singer and the target, especially if the song were sung late in the evening, the words would likely intensify:

> To hell with your old man, (insert name),
> Come up and screw (or fuck) me some time.

Many women attending forty-nines are not dating any particular individual. Often such individuals become the target of insult songs. A married woman and her husband are certainly not exempt from insult, however, especially if the husband is a good target. The following example is addressed to the wife of a targeted husband:

> Oh honey dear I love you.
> I don't care if you're married,
> I'll get you in the end.

Despite the apparent seriousness of the insult songs, the target person is expected to react in a friendly fashion. One who takes such barbs too seriously will likely bear the brunt of several insult songs during the course of an evening.

A final rule cluster dictates meaningful progression of songs by the leader(s). Participants expect songs to be strung together into meaningful units by the current song leader. Collectively these songs reveal storylines and involve participants actively in the negotiation of their own myths and social fabric. This interweaving of songs partially explains why individuals asked to perform these songs outside the forty-nine context have difficulty in remembering songs. The sequencing is typically associated with moods, emotions, memories, tactics, and strategies of the singer. This is especially evident with "wordless" songs which are particularly valuable to bide time while choices of lyrical songs are being made and serve to fill in the storyline information gaps with innuendo. Our subjects readily indicate that songs without words carry meaning, but express difficulty when asked to specify those meanings out of context. However concatenated, the strings of songs reflect a selection procedure indicative of a conscious effort by the participant to create a meaningful experience.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to report an ongoing effort to study Kiowa forty-nine singing within a communication framework. The paper advanced a process-oriented approach to investigate the dynamic features of this cultural activity. Three primary variables or sets of variables--indexicality, reflexivity, and intentionality--were studied through intensive interviews and field observation of forty-nines. On the basis of this information,

we generally characterized forty-nining and identified some performance rules.

At this stage much remains to be done. Indeed, one of the delights of an exploratory, preliminary study is the generation of more questions and deeper insight about the problems of conducting the research. At this time, we are planning to produce a simulated forty-nine session as a final effort to refine and expand our current description. After the simulated event, we will then refine and broaden the entire study. We particularly need to accumulate more data from as many subjects and events as possible to weigh the different perspectives regarding forty-nining, as well as to refine our current understanding and develop a more systematic checklist or other data gathering vehicle for field observation. More specifically, we need to interview Kiowas who are not forty-nine participants, such as some of the older people and younger women, for contrastive viewpoints; and to interview more participating Kiowas to keep our description current with developments in forty-nining.

More data is crucial to our understanding of the dynamic variables involved. Because subjects were unable to remember aspects of forty-nining in a non-indexical atmosphere, we must develop a means for securing reflexive accounts of indexical and intentional information during actual events. More data will also aid the expansion of our focus to other communicative variables which may interrelate forty-nining with other intracultural and intercultural communication behavior of the Kiowa. Obviously,

forty-nining is only a point of entry to these broader concerns, but its unique integration of traditional and contemporary values and behaviors provides a very good point of departure.

Endnotes

[1]For innumerable examples and discussions of this proposition, see the Journal of Ethnomethodology.

[2]See William R. Kennan and L. Brooks Hill, "Mythmaking as Social Process: Directions for Myth Analysis and Cross Cultural Research," Paper presented at the Conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research, Phoenix, Arizona, February 25, 1978. This paper provides a more complete expression of the conceptualization underlying the current research project.

[3]Ibid., p. 2.

[4]For a more detailed analysis of the weaknesses of other approaches and development of the alternative summarized here, see ibid., pp. 2-15.

[5]Alfred North Whitehead, Process and Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 34-35.

[6]This notion is well developed by Walter Ong in three primary works: "World as View and World as Event," in Michael H. Prosser, ed., Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), pp. 27-44; The Presence of the Word (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); and The Barbarian Within (New York: Macmillan, 1962). Also see Kennan and Hill, op. cit., p. 11.

[7]P. F. Strawson; "Identifying Reference and Truth Values," Theoria, XXX (1964), p. 97.

[8]Paul Filmer, "On Harold Garfinkle's Ethnomethodology," in New Directions in Sociological Theory, Paul Filmer, Michael Phillipson, David Silverman, and David Walsh, eds. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1972), p. 215.

[9]Leonard C. Hawes, "Conversation as Sociality," Paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1977, p. 2.

[10]For a good overview of research problems with subcultures, see the latest issue of the Journal of Social Issues, XXXIII, No. 4 (1977). The entire issue focuses on "Research Among Racial and Cultural Minorities: Problems, Prospects, and Pitfalls."

[11]"The Sojourner in the American Indian Community: Methodological Issues and Concerns," ibid., p. 160.

[12]The authors wish to express their strongest appreciation to Mr. Philip Lujan, Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication and Director of the Native American Studies Program, University of Oklahoma. Without his assistance, this research was virtually impossible.

[13]See Vern L. Bengtson, et al., "Relating Academic Research to Community Concerns: A Case Study in Collaborative Effort," Journal of Social Issues, XXXIII, No. 4 (1977), pp. 75-93.

[14]Each of these enumerated interviews was complete and in-depth. Numerous other partial interviews were conducted, but the interruptions and other noise at forty-nines curtailed them prematurely or rendered them less reliable. Another entire paper would be necessary to recount the logistical problems in gathering the data for this project.

[15]For consideration of these inhibitions as they relate to another Native American tribe, see L. Brooks Hill and Philip Lujan, "Rhetoric of Self-Identity: The Case of the Mississippi Choctaw," Paper presented to the Fifth Annual Conference on Rhetoric of the Contemporary South, New Orleans, Louisiana, June 30, 1978. The recent march on Washington indirectly addresses this cultural inhibitition and suppression.

[16]See Kennan and Hill, op. cit., pp. 12-27.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This guide was designed as a non-structured instrument with open-ended questions to facilitate reflexive accounts by subjects. The questions below were chosen to address topic areas that we anticipated would open areas of revealing information. Our purpose in choosing this mode of interview was to allow, as much as possible, the interviewee to provide the basic categories and specific data in their own configurations.

1. What is a forty-nine? How is it different from other tribal activities? Who participates? Do the participants assume different roles in the event? What are those roles?

2. What is the traditional view of forty-nine singing? How did it get started? Does that traditional view reflect your own experience? Do you think forty-nine singing has changed over the years? How does the tribe view forty-nine singing?

3. When are forty-nines most likely to occur? Where are they most likely to occur? Who is most likely to attend? Are there any times or places in which they are more likely to occur?

4. Once you reach a site where a forty-nine is likely to occur what are the events which lead up to it?

5. Who starts the singing? What kinds of songs are sung? How are forty-nine sings different from gourd dances, war dances, etc.? Can you think of some songs? What are they generally about?

6. How does the singing proceed once it gets started? Who is likely to become the lead singer? How is the next lead singer chosen?

7. What makes a good singer? Are there many good forty-nine singers? How many songs might a forty-nine singer know? Are there rewards for being a good singer?

8. How does a forty-nine singer select the song to be sung? Are some songs sung about someone in attendance? How might someone come back to a song sung about them?

9. Is there much competition among lead singers: How is that competition manifest? What strategies might a good singer use to display his skills? Is there a difference between a good singer and a good lead singer?

10. What is the role of women in such an event? Do they serve as lead singers? Do they second? Are songs sung about women?

APPENDIX II

INTERRELATION OF VARIABLES, RESULT CATEGORIES, AND INTERVIEW GUIDE