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WARM SPRINGS SAHAPTIN VERSE ANALYSIS

Virginia Hymes with Hazel Suppah

This paper is in three parts. The first part is the text, presented as verse on the basis of the analysis which is discussed in the second part and presented in detail for this specific text in the third part. The page numbering of the text is in lower case Roman numerals; the final two parts are numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals.

In the presentation of the text, stanzas are indicated by uppercase letters of the alphabet and verses are indicated by numbers in parentheses. In the table of contents which precedes the story proper Stanzas are labelled with their appropriate letter but verses within a stanza are not numbered; each is summarized in a line. At the beginning of the table of contents each of the two acts is summarized. In the table itself each scene is summarized before the individual stanzas are presented. A table of contents such as this is helpful to readers who are not familiar with the myths of the area, but more importantly perhaps it serves as a check that the divisions into verses and stanzas, made partly on the basis of linguistic features, do in fact fit the story line of the myth.Being able to make such a table of contents is an essential part of the method of analysis being used in this paper; being able to state the linguistic and rhetorical justifications for the division into verses, stanzas, scenes and acts (part three of the paper) is another essential part of the method.

BASKET-WOMAN AND RAVEN'S CHILDREN*

ACT I.

Raven, returning each day from digging roots, asks her children to fetch her water. After they have ignored her request for five days, she flies away as a raven. Left alone, the children wander crying and are captured by Basket-Woman.

ACT II.

Trapped in Basket-Woman's basket, the children make and put into effect a plan. They escape as she is carrying them home to feed to her own children. Discovering they are gone, she pursues them to where Crane has helped them across the river. His advice to her as to how to cross leads to her drowning.

*This myth was narrated for tape-recording by Hazel Suppah at Warm Springs, Oregon in July, 1979. It was transcribed and translated by Virginia Hymes with the assistance of Mrs. Suppah. Mrs. Suppah gave no title to the story. The verse analysis was done by Virginia Hymes. Thanks are given to Mrs. Suppah for all she has done in the years that she has been my teacher of Warm Springs Sahaptin, linguistic collaborator and friend. Thanks are also due to my husband for valuable suggestions and for the method of analysis used here; and to the members of my class in Native American languages and of Dan Ben Amos' seminar on Oral Narrative who heard earlier versions of this analysis and translation and offered helpful suggestions. Finally I thank my other teachers at Warm Springs.

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Act I

Introduction

Stanza A - Raven and her children are living there.

Scene 1 Five times she asks for water and is refused

Stanza B.- Raven goes ,climbing, to dig wild onions.

She returns and brings them to her dwelling.

She asks her daughter for water in vain

She asks her son for water in vain.

She gets her own water.

Stanza C. Raven goes next day for roots.

She returns.

She asks for water and is refused.

Stanza D. Raven goes for roots, the third time.

She returns and is refused.

She threatens to leave her children.

Stanza E. Raven goes the fourth time.

She returns.

She makes a vain threat to leave and is ignored by the playing children.

Stanza F. Raven goes the fifth time.

She returns and makes a reguest and a threat.

She is refused for the fifth time.

- Scene 2 Rebuffed five times Raven turns into raven and flies away. The abandoned children wander crying and are found and captured by Basket -Woman.
 - Stanza G. Raven flies off cawing.

children offer to get water,

She flies off anyway, having become a raven out of thirst.

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Stanza H. The children, alone, don't know what to do. With no one to care for them they wander off, crying. Basket-Woman ,wandering nearby, hears them.

Stanza HH. Basket-Woman looks for the children.

She finds them.

She puts them in her basket and packs them on her back.

Act II

Scene I. The children try out five times a plan for escape from the basket.

Stanza I. Basket-Woman packs the children uphill.

They cry on the way.

Sister tells brother to make the bag heavy by dancing.

Stanza J. Basket-Woman climbs.

Sister says "let's try itl" (plan)

They imitate voice calling that B-W's children are burning.

B-W stops to listen.

She hurries on.

Stanza K. Sister tells brother to dance hard.

He dances.

They call out again.

B-W stops to listen.

She runs faster.

Stanza L. Sister tells brother to dance hard.

Same way for the third time.

B-W stops to listen.

Stanza M. B-W finishes climbing.

It's the fourth time.

They call out that her children have burned.

Scene 2. B-W abandons basket and-children escape from it. She runs home to find children safe, promises them kids to eat, goes back and finds the

Stanza N. At the fifth time B-W sets her basket down.

She runs off crying that her children have burned.

Sister asks brother for flinte he has under his nails.

They cut their way out of basket.

They escape from basket and run off.

Stanza O. B-W arrives home to find children safe. She makes her children dance and tells them about kids. She chants as they dance, promising kids to eat.

Stanza P. B-W says she'll go to get kids.

She hurries off.

She heads back to where she'd left basket.

Stanza Q. B-W comes to a brook.

have escaped.

She jumps across and gets a thrill.

She jumps again, and gets a nice thrill.

She jumps again.

Five times she jumps.

Stanza R. She goes on.

She arrives back at her basket.

Children have escaped and basket is empty.

Scene 3. The children, escaping, reach a river and are helped across by Crane, B-W arrives just after them and is refused help by Crane Until the fifth time when he gives her instructions which cause her to drown. Crane predicts she'll be a harmless thing to scare children with.

Stanza S, Children arrive at river.

Wonder how to go on.

Crane is there.

The woman would go digging for the day.

(7)

She'd climb for something.

and one boy.

She had one girl child

She'd dig some wild onions.

He lets them cross on his leg.

Stanza T. B-W comes into sight and sees kids have crossed.

She comes down to river.

She asks Crane how to cross.

He ignores her.

At the fifth time he tells her how she can cross.

Stanza U. B-W , following Cranes instructions, stuffs dress with rocks.

She starts to cross.

She falls into the water.

She drowns.

Crane "predicts" her.

Stanza V. Ending formula.

Act I- Intraduction

Unce it was, n. (1)

Awača lai.

A. (1)

There there was Raven, Ravens. they were living, animals, There there was one dwelling. She had two children. A woman there was. (3) (3) Kwná pawačá Xuxúxya, Xuxuxyáima. Naxš áwača pt'iits miyánaš ku naxš áswan. Kwná áwača naxš wáutukaš. Panišaišana Kakyaima. Awača miyánaš nápu. Aiyat iwačá. (5) (3)

Imanaxana aiyat. (†.)

Ixnixana túna nunásna. Lii....kw'i. Ipanáitixana túyau.

Ináčičkana íkwn nišáičtyau, anakwná pawáutňa. Nxana, (9)

lyanawixana.

(2)

" 'ša! Cuuš niaiyatam.

. Cau patálknxana kwiiní miyanašiin. č Cuuž n≨paiyatam."

She'd bring those things to the She'd arrive back,

(?)

where they lived.

"Daughter! Bring me water. She'd say,

(9)

Bring me water,"

those two children. They wouldn't listen to her,

-vii-Kúšxi áswainaká húi im∉taxana, (7) In the same way, in vain she'd order the boy, "Nipaitam čuuš. " Bring me water. Cuut asaas." I'm thirsty," Au čáutya. Then, not at all. (8) Au pníinkni ičúutaxana, (8) Then she'd go for her water herself. auku ičúuxana . And then she'd drink. C. (9) Au ánč'a máisx imánaxana. C. (9) Then again next day she'd go digging for the day. Au lii wkw'i. Then attribed day. . (10) Anč'a iyanawixana. (10) Again she'd arrive back. (11) Anč'a kúšxi imitaxana, (11) Again in the same way she'd order, "Amataš čuuš wnpaitamtk." "You folks bring me water." Ku čau patáiknxana. And they wouldn't listen to her. D. (12) Anč'a maisx, D. (12) Again next day, ánč'a imánaxana. again she'd go digging for the day, (13) Au čau, čáutya au. (13) Then no, not at all then. Iyánawixana. She'd arrive back, Au čáutya au patánipaitaša čuuš. then not at all then do they bring water. (14) "Au", áumataš au wilálakwta. (14) "Now..... 1"m gonna leave you. C'a'átpamataš au wilálakwta. Soon now 1'm gonna leave you. Au winataas au čaat'atki." Now I'm gonna go because of thirst. -viii-E. (15) Auku imánana. E. (15) And then she went digging for the day, piinapamyau. until the fourth.time. Iwinana au. She went then, Imánana. she went digging for the day. (16) Iwiyanawiya au. (16) She arrived back then. (17) Húitya au 'nna. (17) In vain then she said, " Amataš au willakwta. "Now I'm gonna leave you. Winataaš au čúut'atki." I'm gonna go because of thirst." Cáutya au patáikša au: Not at all do they listen to her.now; pałq'iwiša au miynašin. those two children are playing now. F. (18) Au paaxam, F. (18) Then five times. au maisx, Then next day, .y, au páaxatipa lkw'ipa imánana. them on the fifth day she went digging for the (19) Au ánč'a iyanawiya áiyat ánast. (19) Them again the woman arrived at sunset. "Amataš čuuš kwiyatamtk. "You folks do my water for me. Aunaš čauwiyat wáinaša."

(20) Au čau

čau tya áuku.

áuku iwčaiča áuku.

' Au hui au paaxam au.

Act I -Scene 2.

"ka'''' ka'''' ka'''' ka''''

G. (22) Whill the fit ifth time and then that time, and then she took off then:

I'm almost flying!"

no "t at all then.

Then in vain then five times then.

(20) Then no.....

(23) And then she flew, a raven.

(23) Auku iwáinana, xúxux.

Aúku itxánana. And then she became one. "A·····na ila ; "A h, mother! Amatas čuus kwiyaisa." Weire doing your water for you." (24) Auku iwáinana. (24)And then she flew. Auku xúxux itxánana. And then she became a raven. Auku čáať atki. And then because of thirst. H. (25) Au kwná áuku páčtin. H. (25) And then there the brother and sister then. Auku patxánana piiliksá au. And then they came to be alone then. And then, '"I don't know where we'll go!" Auku, "Maanxánata áuku?" (26) Pawinana áuku. (26)And they went then. And no one there to do anything for them at all Čáukušin kwná túmiš míyáitaš áuku. And they cried then. Panaxtíya áuku. Then somewhere there that Basket-Woman (27) Au kwná přícaxašta mná T'at'aliyaiyai would wander around. ıwiyaninxana kwniin. She heard them. Páwiyáikna. " 'c! Anakúštxai túman ktł'íktł'ima "Hey! Sounds maybe like some kids somewhere. panáwa mná. Sure does sound like kids!" Au 'tya panwa ktł'iktł'ima." HH (28) Au pawaq'itna. H. (28) The n she looked for them. (29) Au páyanawiyana. (29) Then she came upon them, t'át'aš šápani. packing her basket. (30) Au kwná au páwnpa, (30) Then there then she grabbed them. pát'aina au t'át'ašpa kwná. she put them then in her basket there. pášapa áuku . and she put them on her back then. Act II- Scene 1 I. (31) Auku pákwnaitiya au. I. (31) And then she packed them then, pákwłtxa au. she packed them uphill then. (32) Auku pawiyánaxtiya áuku páčtin. And then they cried on the way then, the brother and sister. (32) (33) Auku pá'nxana pátin, And then the older sister would tell him, 286 "Wáašak! " Dance! Qu txanáta! Be heavy! Wáašak!" Dance!" J. (34) Auku panaitiya au. J. (34) And then she climber then. (35) Au kwniin,au (35) Then to there then. "Auna awinawiša!" " Let's try it!" (36) "Luu""npam. (36)"You're bu" rning. Luu aá luun. Bu rn, the bright burned, Alitł'asmí miyánašma." Alith'as' children."

	-XI-		
(37)	" 'e!"	(37)	"Hey!"
	Ikamciixwana.		She's listened.
	"Anakušt x ai in á i páwanítša."		"It's as if someone's calling me by name."
(38)	Au ktúktu áuku itúlawaixtikíka áuku.	(38)	And quickly them she walked on at a brisk pace then.
к. (39)	Auku 'ńxana pt'iic páčtpa,	к. (39)	And then the girl would tell her younger brother,
	" Ámaš wáašak!		"You dance:
	Xtúnk!		Try hard:
	Kwná t'át'ašpa ."		In the basket."
(40)	Awaasaxa áuku mni áswan áuku.	(40)	And that boy then dances then.
(41)	Anč'axi,	(41)	Again,
	"Luu"" tmaš miyánašma.		"Your children bu""rn
	Aluun Alitł'asmí miyánašma."		Alithas' children have burned."
(42)	Qátutixana ánč'a T'at'aliyaiyái.	(42)	Basket-Woman again would stop.
	" Autyaaš inái pawanítša."		"Really they are calling me by name."
(43)	Auku maikktú ánč'axi áwila wixaika áuku.	(43)	And then harder again she startedrunning then.
L. (44)	Auku au 'nxáika páčtpa.	L. (44)	A nd then now she said to her younger brother,
	"Xtúxí wáašak.		"Dance hard.
	Xtuń wáašak,		Dance hard.
	áuku qu kúnki itxánata."		and then it will become heavy from that."
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(45)	Au ánč'a au mitamyau.	(45)	Then again then for the third time.
	Au kúšxi au.		Then in the same way then.
(46)	Auku iwáqatutixana.	(46)	And then she'd stop awhile.
	Iwamciixwaxana.		She'd listen.
	"Autya panáwa,		"Really they are saying,
	'Miyanašmaš luun.'"		'Your children have burned.'"
м. (47)	Au ipanáitinaq'íya au.	M. (47)	Then she finished climbing then.
(48)	Au pińapamyau.	(48)	Then for the fourth time.
(49)	Au ,	(49)	Then,
	"Luu" maš miyánašma."		"Your children have bu""rned."
	Act II- Scene	2.	0
N. (50)	Au páaxam áuku,	N. (50)	The "" n five times and then,
	kuuk áuku páwašapitša au kwná.		and now then she sets them down there ϕ
(51)	Auku iwilá wiša áuku.	(51)	for a moment. And then she runs away thon.
	"Miyanašmaš luun."		"My children have burned!"
(52)	"Ktúxi!	(52)	"Quick:
	Mánmaš wa sxáukas?"		Where is you flint?"
			Where is you flint?" (Already the boy had put flint under

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(53) Auku kúnki áuku pašátkukša áuku míni.
Au pašáxntkša kwná t'at'ašna áuku.
Pašápxnaitša kwaaní áuku.

"Ktú!

Auna winaninša!"

(54) Auku pawinaninsa auku.
Payakaitisa auku.

O. (55) Th'anx au T'at'ahiyaiyái yu'''k áwinačitša.

Cítya au kwná ša'áat miyánašma áwa.

" Cau, čau palúuna."

(56) Au kwná au išapáwaašaša au miyánašma.
"Náptaš ktl'iktl'iin kúna wáuxinmš.
Tl'iš náčičta.

. Awaš nipatata."

(57) Awišapawaašaša.

"Atkwátái "tánám ímalímal.
Atkwátái "tánám ímalímal,
Atkwátái "tánám tłatłútłatłu."
Atkwátái "tánám tłatłútłatłu."

(53) And then they're cutting a hole with it then.

Then they're cutting that backet then.

They 're crawling out of there then.

"Quick!

Let's escape!"

(54) And then they're escaping then.

They're starting to run then.

O. (55) Meanwhile then Basket-Woman is arriving fa°r away.

Those children of hers then are safe there.

"No. They didn't burn."

(56) Then there then she's making her children dance.

I'll bring them.

I'll go get them."

(57) She's making them dance.

"You will eat his little penis. [chanted.]
You will eat his little penis.
You will eat her little vulva.
You will eat her little vulva."

P. (58) Awišapawaašaika miyanašsin.

Mł áwača nápu.

"Aunaš."

- (59) Auku ixtúšaikš.
- (60) Auku ixáwapanaitišaikš, anakwná iwášapiča.
- Q. (61) Au iwinaša au.

Waipxt.

Au kwnáta.

(62) Au itłupwawaičxaikš.
" Ana! Tł'£kaš.

'šta ánč'axi."

- (63) Ančaxi itlupwawaičnxa.
 " Ana! Niixaš tl'ikaš."
- (64) Anč'axi itlupwawaičnxa.
- (65) Hai au,

paaxam au.

- R. (66) Au **** ánč'axi iwinaxa.
 - (66a) I ·····yanawixa.
 - (66b) "Čau'''k'aaš au kwná ktł'íktł'ima. Pawinaninxaš.

Čiš au kwná t'at'ašsim iwšá.

P. (58) She made those two children of hers dance.

Two is how many she had.

"Now I'll go!"

- (59) And then she hurries off.
- (60) And then she starts to walk away fast, to where she had put them down.
- Q. (61) Now she's going now.

A brook.

Now right there.

(62) Now she jumps across.

"Aah! A thrill!

I should do it again."

(63) Again she jumps across.

"Aah! A nice thrill!"

- (64) Again she jumps across.
- (65) Until then,

five times then.

- R. (66) No wagain she goes on.
 - (66a) She arrives.
 - (66b) "My kids aren't there at a ""ll.

 They must have escaped,

 Just my basket is lying there."

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Act II- Scene 3.

S. (67) Aukutya auku pawinaninsa.

Pawanwiša au.

Wánaiyau payánawiša.

- (68) "A'''na. Máanata tl'i?"
- (69) Qw'ášqw'ašya xwsaat aníša k'auk. Išakni aníšamš.
- (70) "A na, púša.

 Kwalalínmataš itwápinxa.

 Míškinam n≨patamtaxna?"
- (71) Áuku pášuwaitšamš uxá, ku kwnápa pamáwnpša, ku páčawawaitšaikš au.
- T. (72) Ča áuku miš T'at'ałíya áwiyalpnxamš. Auku míimi au íšaknik'a pawá.
 - (73) Au iwánwixaikš.
 Au kwná au pakáwamš íšakni.
 - (74) "A....nam, ánam au kwná awít,
 míškinam wáičnxa?"

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- (75) Čáu miš pá'nxana kwaaní au.
 Aníša k'auk.
- (76) Au Páa Xamtya au,
 au há'ai au,
 "Ii. Kwná au či yawášulalum.
 Iwá ai tł'u'úup či wána.
 Kwná au ai maikkwná au ai wiyáwaičm.
 Púnxtanam tł'i păwá,

kunam tł'i kúnki ča" au áuku yawaináta." S. (67) And just now then they're escaping.

They're going now.

They're going down now.

They're arriving at the river.

- (68) "O"" h dear! Where we gonna go, or do?"
- (69) Old man Crane is making a boat.
 On the other side he's making it.
- (70) "O"""h, grandfather.

 A dangerous one is following us.

 Could you somehow come get us?"
- (71) And then he puts his leg across, and they grab themselves onto it, and he pulls them across then.
- T. (72) Just then Basket-Woman comes over the hill.

 And then they'r already on the other side.
 - (73) Then she comes down.

 Then they're there on the other side.
 - (74) "You", you my in-law there, how do you cross over?"
- (75) No ***t at all would he tell her then
 He's making a boat.
- (76) The ""n just fi" ve times then, then until then,

" Okay, just come stand in the water there.

It's shallow ,this river.

There,a little further on, cross over.

Put rocks inside your dress,

so you won't float away then."

- U. (77) Au áuku ipšátaša pšwá áuku.
 - (78) Au áuku iwáitša au.
 - (79) Au ixátamanuuša au kwná au.
 - (80) Ii. Lámai áuku itxánaša T'at'alíya.
 - (81) "A''', xwsaatin piiní pá'nša.

"A····páxanamata kuš wáta, áwitkwatašata tanánmaman?

- U. (77) Now, and now she stuffs herself with rocks.
 - (78) Now, and now she crosses now.
 - (79) Now she falls into the water there now.
 - (80) Yes, and now the Basket-Woman drowns.
 - (81) "O"" h", the old man tells her,

eating people?

Autyanam au kau ai wáta šapáwiyaičukt miyánašmaman.

Kúnam čaumná áwitkwatata íkuš tanánmaman."

You'll maybe just be something to scare kids.

And you'll never eat people this way."

V. (82) Kw'ai au kwaal.

V. (82) That's all .

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The text presented here is one of three T'at'ałiya (Basket Woman) stories told to me by Mrs. Hazel Suppah at Warm Springs,Oregon in the summer of 1979. Mrs. Suppah,who has been my teacher and linguistic collaborator since 1973, assisted me in the transcription and translation not only of those three stories but of others narrated by Linton Winishut, Susan Moses and Ellen Squiemphen of Warm Springs. It was she also who, with her linguistic ability and supreme patience, made possible the transcription and translation of the six-hour long Coyote cycle narrated for tape-recording by Linton Winishut. The analysis and presentation of this cycle as my dissertation is near completion. It is through work on this cycle, on the other Warm Springs stories, and through retranslations and verse analyses of some of the stories in Melville Jacobs' two Sahaptin collections (Jacobs, 1929 and 1937) that I have become convinced that the kind of analysis that Dell Hymes has been doing for Chinookan and a number of other languages is fruitful for Sahaptin.

For increasing insight into this method of analysis I have had the benefit, in addition to my own work on Sahaptin, of the labors of a number of students in my course in Native American Languages at the University of Pennsylvania. Together we have, over the past few years, been able to discover verse patterns in the oral literatures of a variety of Native American languages, most recently in Kalapuya, Teton Sioux, Southern Paiute Seneca, and Navaho, and earlier in Nez Perce, Cree, Ojibwa, Zuni and Kwakiutl. In each case the organizing principles are somewhat different and the task is always to discover the principles operating in the particular narrative tradition and, within traditions, for the particular narrator. Experience with its application makes it increasingly apparent that the method proposed by Hymes 1 is not to be thought of as a cookie-press or pasta-machine into which one puts a prose transcription and translation and out of which

a verse analysis automatically emerges. Rather, what is involved is an experience of ever-increasing confidence as one works with the method that verse patterns do exist in Native American oral traditions, and a patience and persistence in teasing out those patterns for each tradition. each narrator and even each story. Narrators within a single tradition do have individual ways of realizing its rhetoric and in different stories may emphasize certain narrative devices to the eclipse of others. It is only through work on a large number of stories within a tradition that one comes to recognize all the devises for organizing stories as verse that are available to narrators in that tradition. The process of analyzing each story is, to repeat a point made above, one of gradual discovery through successive reworkings of the text, working back and forth between linguisitic form and narrative content, until one is satisfied that one has found the organization as verse that is really there. When I read Dell Hymes' first verse analyses of Chinookan myths, I must confess that I did not wholly believe in their reality: he was a poet and had made verse of prose. William Bright hinted at some of the same feeling in his Georgetwon Roundtable talk in March of this year, though he too is a practicing poet. I am not a poet, and now after much work by myself and with my students, I am convinced that the poets in question are the Native American narrators and that, in writing what they have spoken as prose we have been hiding their poetry. In the collections of Native American narratives there is a vast world of poetry waiting to be released from its prose prison by those of us with some knowledge of the languages.

The first step in working out a verse analysis of a text is to discover the organization into lines. For Sahaptin I have started always by assigning a line to each verb. This has been the procedure followed by Hymes ,and by

his students and mine for the languages on which we have worked. It may not be productive for all narrative traditions but we have no evidence that this is so. When one works directly from a tape-recording rather than a previously transcribed text, one may find that pauses and line ends (as arrived at by the above method) do not always coincide. In reading English poetry aloud even the poet does not always pause at line ends. One finds also, in working from a tape-recording, that certain verbless segments seem to be set off as separate lines by the narrator. The Lii'''kw'i of the first verse of Stanza B of this text is such a case. There are others in this text and in several crucial cases it has been important to know that in my original transcription from the tape I had written as lines segments with no verb. Without the tape recording the analysis which depended on their being separate units would have been unlikely to have been made, or been on shaky foundations. In one case material without a verb actually constituted a verse, the final verse of a stanza and a scene. In my work on Sahaptin narratives from Warm Springs I have sometimes made my preliminary verse analysis working from my prose transcription, only checking back with the tapes later. The whole preliminary analysis of the Winishut Coyote cycle into lines, verses and stanzas was done in this way last summer when I did not have the tapes available. Checking this analysis against the tapes this fall produced surprisingly few changes in the division into lines and grouping of lines into verses and stanzas.

To the contrary, checking the tapes of Mr. Winishut's narration served in the most surprising way to confirm an hypothesis about one of his devices for marking stanzas. It had appeared that in a large number of cases the first line of a new stanza was marked by a final occurence of the particle auku, with stress shifted from the first to the last syllable. This particle is, as line intial often a mark of new verses or stanzas. It is usually translated

as 'and then'. However, it was not the case that all stanzas in which one would ,on the basis of the overall pattern, bayecexpected final auku did in fact have it. In relistening to the tapes with my verse analysis before me, I have been finding two things: in a large number of cases where missing punctuation or capitalization had made the placement of the auku uncertain I had put it at the beginning of the next line rather than at the end of the line where listening to the tapes showed it belonged. In other cases I was able to hear an auku that Mrs. Suppah had omitted in her bit-by-bit retelling of the story for transcription. The correct placement or hearing of these missing auku's served to confirm the hypothesized device for marking stanza beginnings.

Mrs. Suppah's omission of some of the particles in the narration, even crucial ones, points up an important fact about the devices that narrators use. They are not necessarily at the conscious level at all. The narrator of the first text I ever recorded in Sahaptin was appalled when she saw my transcription of it that she had used so many au's and auku's. She thinks of them as hesitation pauses and had been unaware that she ever used them very much. At that time I was myself unaware of ther function and have not looked back at that text to see if they were in fact playing a role similar to their role in narrative texts. Her text was an ethnographic one, about naming a child.

This unconsciousness of the narrative or other text segmenting devices one uses is, of course, not peculiar to Native Americans. How many lecturers in English are aware of how they use such words as Okay to mark the start of a new section. Similarly, how many story tellers in American English are aware of their use of the technique first pointed out by Wolfson (1976. 1979) by which narrators segment their stories by switching into and out of the historiacal present tense? Most middle class speakers of American English will

feel certain they never use the historical present at all, much less use it as an important device in their conversational narratives.

Having arrived at a segmentation of the text into lines one does the same for the English translation one is working from and lines the two up opposite each other on facing pages. This arrangement makes for ease in workback and forth between form and content in the next stage- that of grouping lines into verses and verses into stanzas, and further perhaps into scenes and acts. In some narrative traditions or with some stories of some narrators. this job can seem almost done for you; so consistent is the use of particles or, in some cases, evidentials to mark off verses and stanzas or even larger segments. In a Southern Paiute text analyzed by one of my students last semester, every stanza except the introduction and the final summary began with a verse with initial particle "so then". Some stanzas also had the final one of the uniformly three verses per stanza marked by an initial 'so then', so the grouping of verses into stanzas was not wholly on the basis of this particle. In a Teton Sioux myth analyzed by another student in the same semester, every stanza except one turned out to end in an evidential particle 'they say'. (In this case it would have been nice to have a tape to check back to see if the particle had been lost in transcription!). In a Cree text done the preceding year, the student and I found that the story fell logically, from our point of view into two main sections, following the introduction. We then noticed that each of these sections began with a particle 'indeed' occuring nowhere else in the text.

These organizing devices were so prominent and so consistent that they came to the analysts attention rather easily. Further work ,of course, revealed other devices operating well. In most cases of analysing a text as verse, however, the process is slower and involves a constant interaction between one's understanding of the content and one's increasing awareness

of the linguistic devices that are used in that narrative tradition to organize texts. If, as in Sahaptin and Chinookan, one knows that five is a pattern number, and if indeed the narrator states plainly that things happen five times, one is not surprised to find five verses in a stanza, or five: stanzas in a scene, or five or ten lines in a speech. But one must also not be surprised to find that, though no one announces things happening in threes, three is also a pattern number for these narrative traditions. Repeatedly one find sets of three verbs, each a line or each a verse depending on other factors, showing the relationship to each other of onset, ongoing, outcome that Dell Hymes shows to be so important in Chinookan rhetoric, Furthermore, as in Chinookan, sets of three quite complex segments- verses, stanzas, even scenes- may on analysis be seen to bear this relation to each other. Other sets of three , however, may not be this neatly related . In Sahaptin storytelling at least, there just seems to be a tendency to fill out this pattern of using three verbs of parallel construction, even if one of the set of three is just a repetition .For example, from an "experience" story of Hazel Suppah's:

> Kutaš kwna winana. Kutaš winana au. Kutaš au panaitiya.

And we went there.

And we went then.

And we then climbed.

These experience stories of Mrs. Suppah's, by the way, show the same verse patterns as her myth narrations.

For Sahaptin as for Chinookan narratives, most often when one has arrived at the analysis which seems most satisfactory in terms of having sections each of which is a plot unit and can be described simply by a tag in a table of contents, and in terms of being able to give a consistent set of linguisitic reasons for each division of the text, one finds that the text is divided into threes and fives. The text presented here for instance had earlier been divided

into two Acts , one of one scene, and one of four. Stanza A stood apart as introduction. Certain things about the analysis seemed not quite right, and when my husband suggested that the break between acts might in fact be a hit further on , the whole train of consequences of looking at this as a possibility led to the version presented here which has two acts of three scenes each. In the process I discovered places where I had not followed my own rules for new verses or stanzas totally consistently. By making changes that did involve more consistency I achieved an analysis that reflected the pattern numbers more fully and one that was tighter in terms of coherence of each unit as a bit of plot. This experience eased the uneasy feeling one can have that one may be fiddling with the text to make it come out in threes or fives, or for other traditions twos and fours. Earlier experience of quickly dividing a text into lines for a class and making breaks only in places that were either strongly marked by particles, or obvious breaks in content, and then steping back from the board to discover five lines between each pair of breaks had given me a rather strong sense that these patterns were really there; the experience with this text strongly reinforced this assurance.

Let me now discuss in some detail the linguistic bases of patterns that group lines and distinguish sets of them. There are four: morphological parallelism in verbs; use of particles; rhetorical lengthening of vowels; shifts in aspect, tense or directional markers in verbs.

Warm Springs Sahaptin exhibits certain features which are of particular relevance for verse analysis of its narratives. Many of these features are shared by the other Sahaptin dialects. Like the other dialects of Sahaptin, and distinct from Nez Perce, it marks the person and number of the subject and object of the finite verb of each clause through the interaction of a set of clitics, which distinguish first and second person, singular, plural and inclusive and exclusive, and a small set of verb prefixes. The clitics

are: naš vaš vš (1st pers. sg.), nataš vataš v taš (1st pers. excl.). na (1st pers. incl.), nam (2nd pers. sg.), pam (2nd pers. pl.). Two others, mas and matas are set apart by the fact that they indicate the person and number of the subject and object independently of the verb prefix. Mas indicates first person sg. subject with 2nd person sg. object: matas indicates that one or the other is plural. When the other clitics are used, however, their case function depends on the presence or absence of a person marking prefix on the verb. If there is a 3rd person subject prefix on the verb, then the clitic refers to the object. These prefixes are: i- (3rd. sg. subject). pa- (3rd. pl. subject). The prefixes pa- and pata- refer to third person subject with, respectively, third person singular and third person plural object. No clitic will co-occur with these . except nam. In that case the paindicates first person object of the second person subject. The prefix a-, if it co-occurs with one of the first set of clitics, refers to a third person object of a subject whose person and number are indicated by the clitic. In the absence of a clitic it is an alternant of i-, or ,in a possessive construction indicates a third person possessor. In a possessive construction . mas and matas indicate second person possessors. First person possessors are indicated by the first person clitics.

This system of person marking coupled with the fact that noun subjects and objects ordinarily follow the yerb, makes parallel construction of lines possible in a number of ways. On page six I have given an example of the attachment of the person-marking clitic to a particle, in this case ku, to create a series of lines beginning with kútaš. Since these clitics are always placed at the end of the first word in the clause, except in dependent clauses when they are proclitic to the first word, one has only to keep the first word constant to create parallel patterning at the beginning of the line. Particles the most frequently used first words for this purpose. Similarly, the third person prefixes, i-, pa-, pá-, and patá- make paossible a series of lines that

begin alike, with or without initial particles. Both these possibilities for parallel patterning in a series of lines are pervasively used in all the narratives I have recorded, as well as in those recorded by Jacobs.

The possibilities of extending parallel morphological patterning at the front of the verb word go beyond the person-marking prefixes in Sahaptin. Prefixes, in second position, like wi- 'distributive' and sapa- 'causative' as well as a large number of roots that come first in the verb stem-complex, make possible parallel verb constructions that are alike at the front of the word for quite a stretch. Sahaptin hs a very large number of these anterior verb roots. Many have quite concrete meanings: 'with the hand', 'on the head', 'while seated, eating, talking, going etc.' 'on horseback' and so on. While they are sometimes found in lexicalized stems, e.g canp (ca 'with the mouth', -np- 'grasp') = 'bite', they can also be used productively to more finely specify the verbal action. Xásunaiti- is the ordinary stem for 'ride horseback' but one can also compound xasu with any root of motion that makes sease as occuring on horseback. This makes it possible to create a series of verbs with xasu- at the beginning, perhaps following a person prefix and another prefix such as wi- or sapa-. Others of these anterior roots are less concrete in meaning, e.g 'after doing something else'. They offer even more possibility of creating series of verbs whose stems begin the same, because one is less limited semantically. Linton Winishut in his Coyote cycle makes rich use of not only the more concrete anterior roots, but also these rarer (in Modern Warm Springs Sahaptin), more abtract roots. He will often use one of these anterior roots of more abstract meaning on a series of verbs where it makes very little sense semantically after the first verb. One explamation of such words was that "Linton really likes to make his words long." He is well known as a skilled user of the language and people were said to be glad that in his Covote cycle he was 'bringing out' so many of the old words. Yet verse

analysis of the cycle so far has made it seem fairly certain that his use of these anterior roots often serves to unite groups of lines in parallel patterning, and consequently to segment the text as well.

The Sahaptin system of marking aspect, tense and direction palys its own role in grouping lines by parallel patterning, and in segmenting the narrative by shifts from one particular tense, aspect, direction combination to another. Briefly, the linguistic basis is as follows. Sahaptin has three aspects and three tenses, plus two directionals, cis-locative and trans-locative. The marked aspects are habitual, marked by suffix -xa, and the progressive, marked by suffix -ša. The unmarked aspect seems to be perfective when used in the past tense; its semantic value in the unmarked tense is less clear to me. The combination of unmarked aspect, unmarked tense seems sometimes to function as an historical present, sometimes as denoting an event that has just happened or is just about to happen. Perhaps the unmarked aspect is best thought of simply as non-progressive, non-habitual taking its meaning from the tense it is used with and from other factors of context. In the future tense it seems to indicate affuture single event, in contrast to a continuing future activity marked by progressive -sa or an habitual future activity marked by the habitual -xa. The important thing about the unmarked aspect for verse analysis of Sahaptin narratives is that it is in contrast with the other two aspects , and that shifts into it from either of them or from it into either can be and are used by narrators to signal new sections of the narrative. The aspect suffixes precede the tense suffixes, and the directional suffixes (-m 'cis-locative' and -(k)ik- 'trans-locative) come between aspect and tense. The marked tenses are past (-na~-ya~-a) and future (-ta). The present is unmarked except when following either of the directionals. In that case it has the form $-\tilde{s}$. The choice of past tense alternant is phonologically rather than morphologically determined.

In the same way that the person-marking system and the set of verbal anterior roots, and the causative and distributive prefixes are exploited by narrators to create parallel patterning at the beginnings of lines and of verbs, the system of aspect, tense and directionals are used to create sets of verbs alike at the end. What one finds, with all the narrators whose stories I have analysed, are groups of verbs with the same aspect, tense and sometimes also directional markers.,e.g. iwinaxams, ipanáitixamš, iwiyálpnxamš 'he goes, he climbs, he comes up over into view'. Or note in stanzas B,C, and D of the first scene of Act I of this myth. the parallel patterning of verse after verse with verbs in -xana. Similarly, stanzas E and F have all verbs in the unmarked aspect past tense. This, however does not result in as strong patterning because the choice of past tense suffix depends on the phoneme preceding it. The past tense following -Sa or -xa, on the other hand, will always be and because they both end in a. Stanza P is an example of the use of the directional -ik to create parallel patterning and to segement the narrative. Stanza O had been in the past progressive -sana. In stanza P the verbs in verses 59 and 60 are quite reasonably marked for trans-locative; she is leaving that scene, going off. The first verb however, in verse 58, is also marked for translocative and a semantic motivation for this is hard to find. By putting it also in trans-locative Mrs. Suppah has marked the change of setting. One wonders if the choice of progressive in -sa for the verbs of 59 and 60 is influenced by the ša preceding the trans-locative -ik in the first verb. That ša is not the aspect suffix but part of the verb stem waasa- 'dance'. So in fact, in this instance, parallel pattern is achieved by using unmarked aspect on one verb and progressive aspect on the others.

Narrators in Sahaptin use the tense, aspect and directional system not only to create groups of verbs in parallel pattern, but also to

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segemnt the narrative. A new segment, whether verse, stanza or scene will often be marked by a shift of aspect, or of tense, or from cis- to trans-locative or vice versa. These shifts quite often seem semantically unmotivated, or when the shift seems motivated for the first verb in the new section it may not seem so at all for subsequent verbs. This is especially true for the directionals. Thus, Sahaptin narrators seem to be doing with shifts in three categories what Wolfson found American narrators to be doing with shift in tense, between past and historical present. It was my familiarity with her work which led me to look for the possibility of shift in tense and more specifically shift into and out of present tense as a text segmenting device in Sahaptin narratives. I found it, but also found shift in aspect and directional playing the same role.

Another linguistic feature used by Sahaptin narrotors to segment their narratives is rhetorical vowel lengthening. I had been aware of this feature as a characteristic of performed narratives, but had been unaware until recently that at least in Hazel Suppah's stories the lengthening occurs chiefly at the beginning of sections: verses, or stanzas. It occurs in this role ,of course, at the beginnings of lines usually in the particle, the person marking prefix or in a time word or numeral.

Particles play a large role in Sahaptin narratives, both in creating parallel patterning and in marking off sections of the narrative. The most common particles in these functions are au 'now, then', auku 'and then, and now, so then', ku 'and,so', anc'a(xi) 'again', kus 'thus', kusxi 'in the same way' Mr. Winishut in his Coyote cycle also uses ii 'yes, indeed' at the beginnings of verses and stanzas. This use of ii is interesting because of the fact that a response by listeners was traditionally required when myths were told, and that response was ii.... Only one of the myths I have recorded has such a respondent, and I have not yet analysed the position of the responses in terms of a verse analysis of the text.

Of all the particles used for rhetorical purposes au and auku are the most frequent and most important both for creating parallel patterning and for segmenting the narrative. They usually are used at the beginning of the line but may serve either of these functions at the ends of lines as well. Parallel patterning within a verse or a stanza may be achieved by placing the same particle either at the beginning or at the end of lines. Three lines may be grouped together as a verse by the au that ends each of them. Three or five verses may be grouped as a stanza by the auku, or au auku that begins each of them . Mrs. Suppah tends to use several particles at the beginning of larger sections, or particles in combination with time words like maisx 'next day' . Mr. Winishut uses the single particle auku at the ends of first lines of stanzas. Similarly, Mrs. Suppah often ends a stanza with an auku at the end of the last line. The clusters of particles Mrs. Suppah uses to begin larger sections , as well as the final aukus, make difficult translations. Au auku au, or au auku kukuuk, which are literally 'then and then then' and 'then and then at that time' are important segment markers in her texts and must somehow be reproduced in the translation.In general ,in translations based on this kind of verse analysis one tries to translate all the things which are important in that narrative tradition in a way that preserves both identity and contrast.

To summarize this section then, the person-marking system and the system of aspect, tense and directional marking, along with the large number of anterior roots available to delimit the meaning of the main verbal root, and the causative and distributive prefixes, make possible extensive parallel patterning both at the ends and beginnings of verb words, and at the beginnings of lines. The freedom of placement of particles, and the usual position of noun subjects and objects after the verb enhance these possibilities of parallel patterning. Segmentation of the narrative, apart from that which arises from the setting off of groups of lines by parallel patterning, is accomplished

chiefly by the use of particles either initially or finally, by rhetorical vowel lengthening, and by shift of tense, aspect and/or directional.

The rhetorical pattern of 'five times' also serves to segment the narrative. In these myths there will typically be an event or set of events that will be related in a fairly detailed way. Stanza B is a good example. Then it will happen again, usually, but not necessarily signalled by anc'a or anč'axi 'again'. This second occurence may be less fully described or slightly differently related. Subsequent ones may be less complete and perhaps just mentioned by number. By the third time the narrator is likely to mention that it is the third time, and almost always does so for the fourth time. The fifth time is always mentioned by number, and perhaps only by number, but almost always has a different out come than the other four. That outcome is often related in a new section of the narrative. For the analyst it is helpful to look at all five "times", decide what the parts of the five-fold event are, and see which of the parts are recounted in each of the five occurrences. This enables one to tentatively treat each part of the event as a unit, or rather to see if the narrator has done so; to see if s/he has treated each as a line, or a verse, or stanza, or perhaps even as a scene. In the text analysed here there is an interesting interweaving of the five essential parts of the five-fold event in Act I, Scene 1. These parts are: the mother's going to dig for the day, her return home, her request fo water, the childrens failure to respond, and her response to that failure. It was only the later occurrences of the event, where her response is a threat to leave the children, that made me realize that her getting her own water in Stanza B , verse 8 is filling that slot. It is her first response to their failure to honor her request.

In some stories one occurrence of a five times repeated event may be a whole scene and have separate parts which are stanzas. In some of the stories

in Mr. Winishut's Coyote cycle, this seems to be the case. In other cases, each occurrence of the event may constitute just one verse. And, as happens in the inal scene of the text presented here, it may be that only the first occurrence is related and a simple 'five times and then" may stand for all the rest. Interestingly, there is in one of Mrs. Suppah's stories a meta-narrative comment that "everything has to happen five times", spoken in Sahaptin as part of the story.

It should be clear by now that, as suggested at the beginning, the verse analysis of these stories is not a mechanical procedure. The techniques for parallel patterning and for segmentation of the text are used in different ways by each narrator,. The techniques interact with each other and with the rhetorical pattern of five-fold repetition of events, and with such aspects of the narrative as change of scene, of characters, of speaker, to create the particular organization into lines, verses, stanzas and larger units found in each narrative.

Before proceeding to the detailed expalnation of my analysis of the myth presented here, I would like to mention some features of Warm Springs narratives that do not relate particularly to their segmentation into verses and stanzas. One feature common to all the Warm Springs narratives I know, and absent in the myths of their neighbors the Chinookans, is the frequent use of direct speech without any framing by 'he said' or any such formula. Knowing who said what to whom is a major problem for an outsider. In some of the texts in Jacob's collections this practice of failing to frame direct speech seems to be much rarer than at Warm Springs.

Antoher feature of myths in Sahaptin, and not in Chinookan, is the use of a special suffix for characters' myth names. For example xuxux is 'raven', an ordinary raven you might see flying around. Xuxuxya is Raven, the myth

character. This feature makes possible a very subtle narrative device, found in this myth. When Raven flies off, deserting her children, she flies as xuxux, having dropped her -ya suffix. Similarly, at the very end of the Coyote cycle one realizes that Spilyai has now become spilya, the ordinary word for a coyote, and we have meoved into the time of the people whose imminent arrival Spilyai has been preparing everyone for throughout the cycle.

Further special features of this particular story that should be mentioned include the use of a personal name for the well-known myth character T'at'a±iyaiyai. The name Alit±'as used in Act II, Scene 1 is, says Mrs. Suppah, her personal name. Also, the word she uses for the children she captures, kt±'ikt±'ima, is her own word for children of this sort. In addition, the words she uses for penis and vulva in the chant she sings to her children as she makes them dance are her special words for these body parts. Of interest also is the fact that this narrative does not have a single time line of events unfolding as they happen in "real time". Instead there is a setting up of parallel activities for Basket Woman and the children once she has set her basket down. The focus is first on them as they cut their way out and begin their escape, then back to her, then back to them. In each case the shift in focus involves a stepping back in time.

Finally, a few comments about this story made by Mrs. Suppah. It is a story told to children who were slow to get water for theor mothers or grandmothers. A parent in dealing with such a child might just hint at the story by saying "Cauwiyatnas wainasa!" 'I'm almost flying!' As we worked on this and the other two stories about T'at'aliya that she told me that summer, Mrs. Suppah commented on how strange it was that this woman always did the dumb things, the detrimental things that people suggested to her; how she never seemed to suspect them of wishing her ill. In another of the stories she

lets Coyote pound her legs with rocks to make them sound as beautiful as his magically transformed legs; after a few steps the legs collapse under her. She is a frightening figure but always easily outwitted. This story, presented here, is one for which Larry George, the Yakima artist has prepared a beautiful set of slides to accompany his telling of the story. In those paintings T'at'al'iya is indeed a frightening figure.

Finally, some comments about Mrs. Suppah as a narrator. The tight and finely wrought organization of this story is typical of both her myth and her experience story narrations. She will not tell a story until she has had time to think it through and feels really ready. Here style is spare; every detail counts. This contrasts with the rich profuseness of many of the stories in Mr. Winishut's Coyote cycle. The 'predictions" at the end of her myths are concise, in contrast to Mr. Winishuts which are often interjected many times as the myth progresses and repeated several times at the end. His emphasis on the "predictions" made by Coyote is consonant with his stated view of the history of the tribe as the working out of what Coyote had predicted in the Coyote cycle. Mrs. Suppah seems to treat the myths just as good stories. She is very inclined, in speaking of other people's stories to comment on their style of narration , more than on the content. The stories she tells in conversation riding in the car or during visits, even when they are new stories being born as the result of some recent experience, have the same spareness and use the same stylistic devices as the stories long known and told for recording.

Notes on the analysis.

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, the detailed table of contents preceding the verse presentation of the myth indicates the coherence of each verse, stanza, scene and act as a unit of content. The reader should not mistakenly assume that these units and their capsule descriptions were the first part of the analysis arrived at. In fact they were not written out until after I was satisfied that the segmentation had linguistic consistency. Content was taken into account along the way but only in conjunction with close attention to linguistic indications of units. The division into two acts and the point at which the division is made \underline{is} dictated most strongly by content. On page six and seven I have told how the present division was set into motion by my husband. His suggestion was to consider the story as having two parts, in one of which the children are with their mother, and in the other are with or fleeing from Basket-Woman. In reviewing the text with this in mind it seemed to me that the period in which the children find themselves alone, wander crying and are heard by the Basket-Woman, found and put in her basket formed a scene that should be part of the same act as the five times repeated event which had resulted in their abandonment and capture. In further support of this division is the fact that Act II then begins with an event that will be repeated five times, just as Scene 1 of Act I had begun ith an event that was to be repeated five times. That this revised analysis involved revisions in the direction of more consistency in giving weight to the linguistic features discussed in the previous section of this paper, and that it resulted in a text that had scenes , except for the introductory scene, all involving either three or five stanzas strengthened confidence in the new version.

I will continue these notes on the details of the analysis by considering each stanza in turn.

Stanza A is a typical introduction to a myth in Sahaptin (and some other languages.) It tells who was living there. The past progressive form of the verb living is also typical for Sahaptin myth introductions. The division of Stanza A into three verses is not strongly motivated, except that (2) seems nicely set off by the parallelism of its two lines beginning with Kwna awaca and Kwna pawaca. (3) is then what is left of the stanza after (2) is set off as a verse. It has a kind of unity of content and a bit of parallel patterning in the three verb forms iwaca, awaca and awaca, but not as much as one would like if that were the only criterion for making it a verse. Notice that no particles are involved in any of the segmentation of Stanza A.

Stanza B is set off from A both linguistically and in terms of content and the rhetorical pattern of "five times". First, there is a shift at this point into the habitual aspect, past tense (-xana). This combination of aspect and tense continues through Stanza D. Particles play no role in the segmentation of B into its five verses. In terms of content B is the setting out in full of the set of daily events in the lives of Raven and her children which take place on five successive days in the five stanzas of Scene 1. The segmentation of B into verses is almost entirely in terms of the five parts of this five times repeated event. They are: (1) Raven's going digging for the day; (2) Her return home. (3) Her request for water.

(4) the children's ignoring her request. (5) Her response to their refusal (in B by getting her own water, in D by threatening to leave, and in E threatening to leave in place of requesting, or as a request.) Note that B is the only stanza in which all five parts occur. Note also that part 3 and part 4 are arranged in verses (6) and (7) so that rather than one request followed

by one refusal, there is a request and refusal with one child (6) and a request and refusal with the other (7). Other mergings and reorderings of the essential five parts of the event occur in other stanzas as will be seen.

Though the original division into stanzas of Act I Scene 1 was in terms of this rhetorical pattern of five occurences of an event, i.e. a stanza for each re-occurence, there are also strong linguistic clues for the division. Stanza C begins strongly marked by particles: au ánč'a maisx 'now, again, next day....'. Each of the following two verses of C begins with ánč'a, giving a parallel pattern that ties the three verses together as a unit. Furthermore each of these verses parallels in content one of the verses of B: (9) going to dig, (10) returning home, (11) requesting and being refused.

Stanza D again is strongly marked by particles: anč'a maisx "again next day". The first verse- going to dig for the day has anč'a repeated in each of its two lines, forming a unit set off from (13). This second verse of the stanza is a fusion of the return and the refusal. No request is expressed at all in this stanza. Since the refusal <u>au čáutya au</u> is expressed both before and after the return it prevents the return from being considered as a vers of its own. Verse 14, Ravens response to the childrens refusal to get water, is in this case a threat to leave. The rhetorically lengthened vowel seen in the first word of (14) is one of Mrs. Suppah's devices for marking new segments. Thus treating (14) as a unit has both linguistic and content motivation.

Stanza E is doubly marked as a new stanza. There is a shift of aspect, from the habitual of the preceding three stanzas to the unmarked aspect, imanana instead of imanaxana. The particle auku adds evidence for the division, as does the piinapamyau 'until the fourth time' which marks

the fourth occurrence of the event. Verse (15) is a somewhat expanded version of the going for the day to dig, and is a nice example of filling out a pattern of three verbs, even if one is a repetition. (16) is set off as a separate verse by the rhetorical pattern: this is the return. Interesting to note however that the break is re-inforced by the purely morphophonemic circumstance that the pattern of -na endings on the three verb of (15) is broken. The final i of wiyanawi- calls for the -ya alternant of the past tense suffix. (17) is also separated as a verse by being one part of the fife times repeated event. It is the request, in the form of the threat which is Raven's response to the children's refusal in Stanza D. And the last two lines of the verse were placed there on the pattern of Stanza A where request and refusal were in one verse. Looking at this verse again it seems that there is very strong reason the consider the last two lines as a new verse, despite the fact that E would then be the only stanza with four verses. The evidence for treating these two lines as a verse is that there is both a shift of tense and aspect (from past definite to present progressive) and heavy use of particles: two au's and cautya. Furthermore , the beginning of the new verse would then apttern with the beginnings of the previous two verses of the stanza.: iwiyanawiya au..., huitya au ..., cautya au.... The arguments against this change are the previous pattern of request and refusal in one verse (in B and C) and the rarity of Stanzas with four verses, in general and in this text in particular. Note that in the next stanza I have followed similarly strong reasons for setting off the refusal as a separate verse from the request. In fact these parts of the event are re-assorted rather thoroughly in terms of which parts go together in a verse, so the pattern of B and C in this regard is not a strong counter-argument to separating off the last two lines of (17) as a verse.

Paaxam and maisx, which mean'five times' and'next day'respectively in addition to the particle au signal that <u>Stanza F</u> begins here. The first three lines are united as a verse by the repetition of initial au. This verse is a good example of the narrator treating as lines segments without verbs. In terms of the rhetorical pattern of the five parts of the event that is repeated five times, these three lines, with only one verb, represent 'the going digging for the day.

Verse (19) is marked by a double particle, and introduces a new part in the five part event: the return home, in this case united in one verse with a combined request and threat. The refusal is set off as verse (20) because of the combination of au again with rhetorical vowel lengthening. The resulting stanza has three verses, each starting with <u>au</u> and some other indicator of a break. It is possible, however, that the last line of (20) should constitute a verse of its own. That would give four verses all starting with au and some other indicator, and would match the proposed four verses of Stanza E discussed above. In fact it almost definitely should be moved into a verse of its own, taking up the missing number (21).

Scene 2 is very heavily marked for a new section. Its first line has a doubling up of particles, auku kukuuk as well as rhetorical vowel lengthening. The second line begins and ends in particle and the whole verse is the denoument of all that has gone in the first scene. It sets up the situation for the childrens capture by Basket Woman at the end of the scene and act. In the Chinookan myths that D. Hymes has analysed the outcome of the "fifth time" often begins a new major section of the story. My discovery of this division came about in a strange way, and the absence of a (21) is the result of a change made after the text had been carefully typed. It was clear from the start that auku kukuuk and the two aukus of the next line, taken together with the fact that the next two verses also were heavily marked with auku, were strong indications of a new section at this point. Paa·····xam yau , which I

had had as a line at the end of the previous verse seemed worrisome. It had vowel lengthening which made it strange as a last line of a section, and its meaning 'until the fifth time' seemed inappropriate there.

Checking back with my original transcription from the tape I found that Paa "xam in fact had been transcribed as the beginning of the line that continues auku kukuuk. It had somehow in repeated recopyings and reworkings gotten misplaced. Now if one looks ahead to Act II Scene 2 one finds a very similar first verse of a new section; at the fifth time something happens which is the basis for what goes on in the new section. This move of Paa" "xamyau from its mistaken place helped in working out the basic structure of the story as it now stands.

The three verses of Stanza G are quite easily and clearly set off from each other. I assume that (22) ending in the cry of the raven is clearly a unit. (23) and (24) have rather parallel stuctures. Their first two lines are very similar, with only the placement of xuxúx distinguishing them. The direct speech which occupies the final two lines in (23) is the long over due but futile positive response of the children to their mother's fivefold request. The single third line of (24) repeats the cause of the mother's flight which she had given in her threat in (17).

Stanza H is strongly marked as a new stanza by the particles and demonstrative au kwna auku. Within the stanza (26) is set off as a verse from (25) and (27) by the final auku on each of its three lines and by the parallel patterning of its first and third lines which envelop the rather different middle line. In (27) there is a shift to the habitual, which then is followed by an immediate shift back to unmarked aspect. The first, rather long line of (27) is a kind of introductory explanation, and the first mention of Basket Woman.

(a) The Control of the Control of

Stanza HH (whose designation by a double letter has no significance beyond the desire to avoid retyping all subsequent stanza designations because of a late change in the analysis) is doubly marked as a new unit, a new stanza: by vowel lengthening and by the initial particle au. The vowel lengthening alone might suggest only a new verse, as in (36) below. More important , however is the parallel patterning of three verbs in lines all beginning with au, and the fact that the third of those lines clearly forms the opening line of a verse that has three lines with verbs in parallel pattern. Since (30) must be a verse, then (28) and (29) must be verses. The fact that (30) ends in a line final auku, and that the next lines begin with auku rather than au both point to the end of (30) as a stanza break. It is, in fact the end of a scene and of an act. It is the end of the children's being either with their mother or alone. For the rest of the story they will be either captives of Basket-Woman or fleeing from her toward ultimate escape.

The break between HH and Stanza I is certainly adequately marked for a stanza break. The plot organization cited above provides support for the division into a new Act. Scene 1 of Act II is divided into the five stanzas I,J,K,L, and M and treated as a scene separate from sene 2 for reasons similar to those that define Act I,Scene I as a unit. Stanzas I through M are the four unsuccessful attempts of the children to escape from the basket. The fifth and successful try forms the first stanza of Scene 2, and its beginning is marked in a way very similar to that of Act I, Scene 2. The separate parts of the "event" which is repeated five times are less obvious in this scene, however, and working out the separation into stanzas has been difficult. The "first attempt" is spread over stanzas I and J. The clue to the fact that Stanza I ends at the break between (33) and (34), despite the initial particle auku of (34) lies in my analysis of what the five parts of the repeated event are. They are: Basket-Woman's packing the children

uphill , the sister telling the brother to dance, their calling out as if someone is warning that Basket-Woman's children are burning, Basket-Woman's stopping to listen, Basket-Woman's hurrying on. The clue to this for me was that the"fourth time"is in a stanza (M in this organization of the text) that begins Au ipanaitinaq'iya au 'then she finished climbing then'. Now if one looks at the first lines of I and J one sees that they are in parallel pattern as to particles and verb morphology. J's first line does indeed tell of Basket-Woman's climbing, I's tells instead of her packing the children on her back. But the second line of I, which must by all indications be in a verse with the first line, does refer to her climbing. Thus , if one were to try to pack all of I and J into one stanza, the "first happening of the event" one would have to ignore this similarity of the two first verses, ignore the second mention of her climbing, and furthermore ignore the fact that the two verses between (31) and (34), though beginning with auku, do not end in au. It turns out however, that though they are clearly two stanzas, I and J do , despite the second mention of climbing, constitute the first time. Thus only the first and fourth times begin with mention of climbing, and in the fourth it is the finish of the climb. The first and second times the event happens both end in her hurrying on (verses 38 and 43.), the second and third begin with the girl telling her brother to dance. (Verses 39 and 44) . Linguistic clues to the stanza breaks s presented here are as follows. Those for I and J have already been mentioned. In Stanza K we find initial auku going along with a shift into the habitual aspect. Within the stanza the verses are marked by particles and other features. Verse (40) is set off by change of perticipant, and linguistically by the double auku. (41) and (42) ar both marked by anc'a, (41) also by the vowellengthening, and (42) by change of speaker. (43) is clearly set off by its particles, and perhaps the final particle is ,as in HH and J a mark of stanza end.

In any case, Stanza L is sufficiently marked by vowel lengthening, double particle and change of focus on participant to constitute a new stanza. Its second verse (45) indicates that this is the "third time".

Stanza M shifts back to simple past, has a first line marked by initial and final au, and holds together as a unit of three verses all beginning with au by virtue of the second oen stating that this is the "fourth time".

Stanza N has been discussed earlier as heavily marked for scene break, Its first verse has vowel lengthening, a number indicating that this is the fifth and different time (she sets down the basket and takes off), and five particles. There is also a shift into present progressive. Very heavy marking indeed. If one looks at the rest of the stanza one notices very heavy use of auku. Verses (51), (53) and (54) begin with auku but there is also very heavy use of it at the ends of lines in (53) and (54). And as noted before the stanza ends with auku. In a sense this stanza is the high point of the story, for the children at least. Their plan succeeds and they get free at least temporarily, and as it turns out, permanently. Perhaps this heavy use of auku, which is unusual for this narrator, gives it extra weight.

Stanza 0, with thianx au 'meanwhile then', with a change of locale and characters, emphasized by the vowel lengthening of yu'''k 'far away' is strongly marked for a new stanza, I had in fact earlier treated it as the first stanza of a new scene. Instead I settled on this analysis which breaks the scene when the children gre arriving at the river. The final scene then involves interactions between the children and Crane and Basket-woman and Crane but not between the children and Basket-Woman.

Stanza P is set of from stanzas O and Q by its use of the trans-locative in its thre main verbs, verbs that are in the progressive aspect. In the beginning of Q there is a shift to simple present progressive and then back into the trans-locative but now in the habitual aspect.

With Stanza S we find multiple indications of a new scene There is the string particle marking at the very beginning, in addition to a switch out of the habitual into the progressive. The progressive is sustained throughout the stanza. Within S the verses are set off by vowel lengthening (verses 68 and 70), and by particle auku in (71). Verses 69 and 71 also both involve change of focus on participant. Noticie that this stanza also ends in a particle, au rather than auku.

Stanza T is marked as a new stanza by three particle at the beginning of the first line, by a switch from the progressive aspect of the preceding stanza, as well a change of character focus. Within T, (72) is set off from (73) by a shift from cis- to trans-locative for the same subject of the verbs (Basket-Woman). They are also set off from each other by the patterning of the particles in their two lines. (72) has ..auku

whereas (73) has au. au. ... Verse (74) introduced by vowel lengthening is set off as a separate verse that continues to the end of the direct speech. Verses (75) and (76) again each have vowel lengthening. Furthermore, (76) is a typical fifth time verse of agreeing to what one has refused the first four times.

Stanza U is as crucial a stnza for Basket-Woman as N was for the children, and, like N each of the four lines that are crucial is heavily makeded by particles au and auku, enough to set each of these four lines off as a verse. Verse (81), is set off by vowel lengthening. As the final long verse of a stanza it plays exactly the sme role as Cranes speech in the preceding stanza. It is also a typical last part of a Sahaptin myth.; someone who has been doing bad things is set straight about their behavior when the people will be coming.

Stanza V is not properly a stanza at all, and is the most common formula for ending a myth.

Footnotes and References

Footnotes

- 1. The articles in which Dell Hymes has reported the development of this method of verse analysis of oral narratives and its application to a number of narrative traditions have appeared in a number of journals and collections. Most of these papers have now been brought together and will appear in the fall of 1981 as <u>In Vain I Tried To Tell You</u> published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 2. Wolfson's early work on the historical present went on the traditional assumption that the tense had a meaning in and of itself. Collection of hundreds of conversationl narratives and their analysis led her to the discovery that this was a false assumption and that it was the switch into and out of the historical present that was significant. The function of the switch was shown to be the marking of sections of the narrative. Particles also play some role in performed narratives in English but their exact function has not been worked out by Wolfson.

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