

AGNES EDGAR'S "SUN'S CHILD"  
VERSE ANALYSIS OF A BELLA COOLA TEXT

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0. This paper is possible because of the admirable work of Philip Davis and Ross Saunders. By making clear the morphological makeup of the texts in their Bella Coola monograph (1980), they have enabled others to investigate relationships among morphemes that contribute to the structure of discourse.

I venture to present this verse analysis of one of the texts in the hope that my ignorance of things Salishan will be outweighed in the judgment of specialists by the interest of an example of what a Bella Coola text might be like from such a point of view. There is already some indication of such patterning in two Salishan languages in recent work of M. Dale Kinkade (1982), and I understand from Larry and Terry Thompson that there are indications of it in Thompson as well. There are indications of it in Wakashan as well: I have been able to sketch it in a Nootka text (Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 14-18, 'What mosquitoes are made of'), and Judith Berman has found such patterning in more intensive work in Kwakiutl (1982a, 1982b). Thus it is not surprising that something analogous to the kind of patterning found in Chinookan (D. Hymes 1981a, 1981b, 1982a) and Sahaptin (V. Hymes, 1981, 1982) and Kalapuya (D. Hymes 1981c) should be detected in Bella Coola. Still, so far as I know, no Bella Coola text has been approached as yet in this way. And Mrs. Edgar's telling of 'Sun's child' suggests some of the aesthetic interest of such analysis, as well as suggesting perhaps some of the linguistic features and problems that such analysis may encounter in other Salishan languages.

My hope is that those who are intimately acquainted with Bella Coola and with other Salishan languages will correct the errors and overcome the limitations of the present analysis, and make us all more fully aware of the important contribution these languages have to make to what does seem to be a fundamental kind of discourse patterning. It is a level of organization, it should be added, that appears to be

simultaneously linguistic and cultural, a joint shaping of linguistic form and recounted experience and belief that may have been all the more potent for being tacit. If Bella Coola narrative discourse consistently makes use of such patterning, it may be that the consistent arousal and satisfying of expectation in terms of the patterning gave the narrated world an implicit sense of order. We are used to thinking of phonology as a way of giving selective order to the continuum of vocal sound, and of grammar as a way of giving selective order to the continuum of possible meanings. Our view of language as mediating systematically between sound and meaning perhaps needs to be expanded to include systematic mediation of storied experience as well. This mediation occurs through the selection and grouping of a level of discourse that it seems best to call 'verse'. At this level the shape of language and the shape of culture seem two faces of the same coin.

1. In Mrs. Edgar's telling of "Sun's Child" the patterning appears to be in twos and fours, as one would expect in a Salishan language. The regulating principle in verse relations appears always to go together with the pattern number (ceremonial number, sacred number) of a community. Where that pattern number is five, as in Chinookan, Sahaptin, and Kalapuyan, one finds relationships in narrative in terms of sequences of three and five units. Where that pattern number is four, as in Takelma and Tonkawa and Zuni, one finds sequences of two and four. These relationships are not the only kind to be found, to be sure. Exceptions for what appear to be special expressive purposes occur: a six-line sequence in a Tonkawa text when Coyote prepares for combat in what may be mockery of a ritual in which six directions are used; a ten-line sequence in a Clackamas Chinook myth (D. Hymes 1982b) which can not be subdivided without violence to the arc of pronominal shifting that integrates it. In this text from Mrs. Edgar there are some instances of a three-part sequence within the pervasive two and four part patterning. And Boas (1898) contains some indications of a three and five part patterning marginal to the main stream of the culture: the five levels of the world that McIlwraith found to be not general but the belief of one or two families (cf. Maud 1982); the way in which four brothers as mythological heroes together with a sister gives five siblings, or that nine male deities concerned with the kusiut ceremonial makes

a total of ten (Boas 1898: 32-3). McIlwraith (1948: II: 64).

Verse analysis never depends upon the mechanical application of any one criterion, of course. The general principle is that of parallelism, associated with covariation of form and content. One expects to find parallelism, patterns of repetition, insistence, and cumulation, associated with a variety of features: changes of scene, changes of actor, turns at talk, words denoting passage of time, quoted speech as an ending point of a small unit, an object of perception as ending point of a small unit. The recurrent numerical principle serves to organize features into patterns of arousal and satisfying of expectation at every level, small and large.

Change of predicate has commonly been found to indicate a change of line, whatever the number of lines in a verse unit, or the other criteria by which verse units are marked. I have followed this practice in presenting Mrs. Edgar's text here. At the same time I have tried to maintain a transparent connection with the presentation by Davis and Saunders. Their numbering of units has been maintained as the basis of the numbering given here to lines. Where more than one line or verse unit seems to be present within a unit given a single number in Davis and Saunders, their number has been retained, supplemented by lower-case letters (a, b, c). Should verse analysis be validated for Bella Coola, however, it would be preferable to present texts with separate sequential numbering of each line.

Since this is an exploratory presentation, I include the observations and inferences with each part, partly as explanation, partly as suggestions for whoever may carry such analysis further. To repeat, my hope is that this preliminary analysis, by casting a number of features and relationships into relief, will encourage deeper analysis. Even with texts whose languages I have long known, I find that a first analysis changes as one grows more intimate with the internal proportions and details of the performance.

Let me explain how I came to tackle Bella Coola. Having been asked to speak to a class at Simon Fraser University last July, I was met at the Vancouver airport by my host, Ralph Maud, who gave me a copy of Davis and Saunders, and then explained that his class was attempting to apply the approach of 'In Vain I Tried to Tell You' to it. Perhaps I would look at the book. In the two hours or so before the class I did so, and noticed that the two-part form glossed as 'Prep-then', (')a-tx<sup>w</sup>, seemed to participate sometimes in the organization of sections of the story. Quite unlike Chinookan, however, initial particles seemed to have quite a minor role, and indeed, initial elements of any kind, apart from a few recurrent initial stems and initial stem-constructions. That was surprising, since languages as diverse as Takelma, Tonkawa, Zuni and Karok gave initial elements a significant role (Hymes 1981b, 1980), as does English. The one feature which appeared to enter consistently into an organization of the text of the sort found in other languages was the quotative suffix, -k<sup>w</sup>-, frequently in combination with the following suffix for the perfective, -c'.

On return to Rhododendron, I went through the chosen text more thoroughly, and found that relations of the kind discovered in other Native American literatures could indeed be detected. The quotative suffix was the key, as had been recognition of the role of the initial particle pair aGa kwapt 'now then' in Louis Simpson's Wishram texts a decade earlier (see. ch. 4 of 'In Vain').

The particular text, "Sun's child", was chosen that afternoon in the Vancouver airport because of an interest in stories of the Sun and children of the Sun, growing out of work with the Kathlamet Chinook "Sun's myth" (Hymes 1975) and related texts, work which I hope to present in the not too distant future in a book, Fathers and Sons. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Edgar's story and Charles Cultee's Kathlamet story are parallel in their two main parts: arrival at the house of the Sun at the end of the first, return because of homesickness at the start of the second, and that people die because of misuse of the Sun's power in both.

The English headings, including the titles of the two main parts, have been provided by myself. Such headings are important to grasping the patterning of a story, and one can imagine a narrator keeping track of parts of a story in terms of tacit notions semantically equivalent to them.

It makes sense to title the first half 'The Foster Child and Stump', since it revolves around the girl's relationship to Stump. In each of the four sections Stump is involved in the outcome: the girl is taken by him, recaptured by him, pursued by him, he is turned to charcoal (but still has a namesake in the village). The girl is given no name, but her identity as a foster child is noted and fundamental to setting both main parts in motion. At least it seems likely that what makes her mad at the start of the first part has to do with feeling slighted as a foster child (cf. her son's being teased about having no real father in the second part); and it is explicitly her recollection of her foster parents that initiates her return and her son's adventure in the second part.

The second half becomes, of course, the story of the relationship between Sun and his son with the girl. Sun has entered the story in the first part as a resolution of the girl's successive flights from home and from Stump. In the second part he is involved in the outcome of each of the four sections: his son is teased for saying Sun is his father; his son joins him; his son is advised by him as to how to proceed across the sky, but does not do as advised, with consequences for people and creatures; he transforms his disobedient son. More exactly, Sun initiates essential possibilities of action at the start of each half of this part (naming the son, and, reading his wife's thoughts, enabling her to return below; advising his son), and consummates the action at the end of each half (taking his son into his boat, transforming him into mosquitoes). But it is his son who is the main protagonist, being teased, reaching his father by an arrow-chain, burning the land below, being transformed into mosquitoes as a result. "The Sun's son tries to be the sun" seems a reasonable title.

The conventions followed in marking the parts and units are these: ONE, TWO indicate major parts, the largest level of organization. Capitalized Roman numerals (I, II) indicate acts within major parts. Italicized Roman numerals (*i*, *ii*) indicate scenes within acts. Capital letters (A, B, C) indicate stanzas, and small letters (a, b, c) indicate verses. As already explained, the unit numbers assigned by Davis and Saunders are adapted to mark lines.

Further analysis of Mrs. Edgar's stories and of her stylistic preferences would be needed to be as sure as possible that the assignment of units to levels in this one text is the best. The two major parts are quite clear, given the obvious major changes in central participants and direction of the action (the death of Stump, the birth of Kank'ii). The assignment of units to the level of 'act' or 'scene' within the first major part is not as clear. The identification of lines, verses and groups of verses as 'stanzas' is the most consistent.

2. A comparison of Mrs. Edgar's story with other versions of part or all from Bella Coola sources sheds some light on its structure, on details of the plot, and on the identity of the Sun's son.

There appear to be twelve published stories with relevance to Mrs. Edgar's "Sun's Child". Let me enumerate them in the chronological order of their publication.

- (1) 'Der Mink' (Boas 1895: 246)
- (2) [#2. under same title] (Boas 1895: 246-7)
- (3) 'Tradition of Nusqápts' (Boas 1898: 69-70)
- (4) 'The Mink' (Boas 1898: 95-7)
- (5) 'The Woman who Married the Stump' (Boas 1898: 100-3)
- (6) [An A'alk origin myth] (McIlwraith I, 280-2)
- (7) 'Stump and his Wife' (McIlwraith II, 489-94)
- (8) 'Stump and his Wife' (2nd version) (McIlwraith II, 494-5)
- (9) 'The Girls who Visited Nusmát'a' (McIlwraith II, 495-8)
- (10) 'The Sun's Captor' (McIlwraith II, 498)
- (11) 'The Sun's Child' (McIlwraith II, 499-500)
- (12) 'Sun's Child' (Davis and Saunders, 95-126)

There is a major division between stories involving a magic obstacle flight by a young woman (or women), going to or from the Sun's house, and stories involving the Sun's son, going to his father, usually on an arrow-chain, usually because of being mocked by playmates, and usually causing the earth to burn as a result. The only version beside that of Mrs. Edgar which combines both actions, and only both, is the one Boas titles 'The Woman who Married the Stump' (5). The other four stories published by Boas lack the magic obstacle flight, and deal only with Sun's son. One of the stories published by McIlwraith (7) has the magic obstacle flight from Stump followed by the Sun's son returning to his father's house, but no further action; it broaches the second half, but does not tell about trying to be the Sun. Two other McIlwraith texts (8, 9) contain the magic obstacle sequence, but have nothing at all of Sun's son. Three McIlwraith texts involve Sun's son without any magic obstacle flight (6, 10, 11).

Some four groups of elements can represent the main parts of all these stories:

- (A) magic obstacle flight
- (B) Sun's son rejoins his father
- (C) the earth is burned
- (D) other actions

More specifically:

(A-1) girls reach Sun's house, and escape on ogre with magic obstacles on return (9);

(A-2) a girl reaches Sun's house, having escaped an ogre with magic obstacles on her way (5, 7, 8, 12).

(B-1) a girl bears Sun a son (or grandson (6)), who joins his father (or grandfather (6)) by means of a chain (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12) or sunbeams (2);

(B-2) the boy rejoins his father because of having been mocked by playmates (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12) (=a subset of B-1).

(C-1) the boy, taking his father's role, burns the earth, by mistake or malice, and is transformed (a) into Mink (1, 2, 4, 5, 6) or (b) mosquitoes (11, 12) or (c) wasp (3);

(C-2) the father (Sun) permits (2) or causes (3) burning on earth in retribution for his son's mistreatment. (= a subset of C-1).

(D-1) the boy's father sends a flood (2);

(D-3) the boy traps his father, the Sun (10).

A table can show the occurrence of these elements among versions.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A-1									+			
A-2					+		+	+				+
B-1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+
B-2	+	+	+	+	+		+				+	+
C-1a	+			+	+	+						
C-1b											+	+
C-1c			+									
C-2		+	+									
D-1		+										
D-2										+		

Another table can show the scope or sequence of the versions.

	A-1	A-2	B-1	B-2	C-1	C-2	D-1	D-2
1			-----					
2			-----	(+)	-----			
3			-----	(+)				
4			-----					
5		-----						
6			-----	(-)	-----			
7		-----						
8		---						
9	---							
10			---					---
11			-----					
12		-----						

Let me now review the content of the several texts with a view to fleshing out the analyses just given and to providing some of the details which make them of interest in relation to Mrs. Edgar's text.

The two earliest versions, short summaries published in German by Boas, begin directly with Sun's son being teased by playmates, because he has no father (1), or because his face is always dirty (2). In the latter he warns them that his father, the Sun, will burn them, but they do not listen or believe him. Since they continue to torment him, he tells them that he will go to his father and take revenge. His father allows him to take the Sun, which toward mid-day he makes hotter and hotter, so that houses and trees begin to burn. At evening he returns to the village to warn them again, but they do not believe him. He had now become fairer and handsomer, and told them, "If you torment me again, I will go to my father and burn you all".

The people however resolve to kill him. Mink perceives their intention, rises again on his father's eyelashes, complains of the people. Sun says only, 'People do not like you, because you are full of foolish tricks' He lets his son carry the sun again, who makes earth so hot that all burns; the Bear presses only his throat against a stone, so that his skin becomes black except there; the ermine hides under a stone, except for its tail, which hence is black; the mountain goat crawls into a hole, and so is wholly white. When the Sun saw what his Son had done, he became angry and threw him down to earth, transforming him into a Mink.

In the first version Sun welcomes his son, as his wife had told him he would, and says that he is old and his son should take his place. In the first half of the day Mink observes his father's cautions how to proceed, but toward mid-day came low to see the earth. The stones burst and the sea boiled, covering the earth. Men saved themselves in boats, but many were lost, others driven away. Mountain goats hid under stones, thereby remaining white, while all other animals were burned dark. When Sun saw what Mink caused, he grabbed him, tore him in pieces and threw him down to earth, where he was transformed into Mink.

These two versions of the most popular element of the connected set of stories well illustrate the general fact that details of motivation and outcome vary greatly in closely related texts. One response is to seek what is constant, as most important, because oldest in tradition, perhaps most basic, and the like, neglecting what varies as 'mere' detail. Another response is to welcome what is constant as a frame within which to recognize the play of imagination and personal interest. It is through reinterpretation of motivation and details of outcome that narrators find personal expression in traditional stories of which they are not considered authors, but knowers and performers.

The sympathy extended to Mink in the second of these two versions (2), such that his revenge is well motivated, may go together with the fact that only in this version does he travel to his father on his father's eyelashes (sunbeams), rather than an arrow-chain of his own making. Travel to and from the house of the Sun is in fact a central ingredient of the Bella Coola traditional cosmology, figuring in the origins of the people themselves, coming from there, and in the return there of the dead. The frequency of such travel in these stories, then, is not particular to them.

The 'Tradition of Nusqápts' (3) is of interest as the only known version in which Sun's son is Wasp. The plurality of sons (Mink, Wasp, and, perhaps distinctly, Kanklil in Mrs. Edgar's story) and of wives fits the centrality of travel to and from the Sun's house just mentioned, the fundamental notion of many households having descent from the Sun's house, and the plurality of names for the women who become mothers of a son of the Sun. It seems mistaken to look for a single structure here, and appropriate, rather, to consider these stories alternative examples of the florescence of a popular framework.

Let me summarize this text, later giving an overview of the names for major actors in the set of stories. The Sun sends down three brothers and their sister. The Tsimshian want the place the one brother, Təqō'mnōi, had gotten Sun to send them, and his two brothers are killed. He and his sister, K'imilqān travel up river to return to the Sun; along the way she declines to marry a bear, because she would think of her brothers. The Sun takes them

up and marries her; she has a son, Wasp (Sqōt) the next day, who grows tall over night. Sun sends the woman and boy back, saying that if attacked, the boy should use a bow he gives them to make a chain of arrows to the sky. One morning playmates push the boy, who tells them not to do so or his father will be angry. The children laugh and ask who is father is. When told it is the Sun, one says, 'How is it your father is so beautiful and you are so ugly', and they mistreat him. He cries, goes home, makes next morning an arrow chain, reaches his father, tells his father what had happened. His father says, 'Tomorrow I shall punish those who mistreated you'. He stretches his eyelashes down to his wife's house and has the boy return along them. Early next morning he looks at the house of those who had mistreated the boy, wipes his forehead, the perspiration falls upon the house, it catches fire at once. The people rush outside and jump into the water, but the water begins to boil. Only his wife's house does not burn. She says, 'I am glad to see you are being punished'; the people perish in the water of the lake. Then Sun wipes his face again, the fire ceases to burn. The people who escape know the boy is Sun's son, treat him kindly, and since then have increased in number.

The motive of justified revenge is shared with (2), such that these two versions contrast sharply with those in which the son becomes responsible for the earth's burning through curiosity, impatience, neglect or the like.

The remaining story published by Boas that has only the Sun's son part has yet another wife and location. (3) is associated with Nusqāpts, (4) with Ts'ē'qōē. A woman refuses to marry young men of the tribe (cf. refusal of Bear in (3)) because she wants to marry the Sun. She goes to his house and does that. Here the Sun is referred to as Smaiyakila 'the sacred one' (Boas 1898: 29). She returns on his eyelashes, after having had a child in one day, who could walk and talk on the second day of his life. It is desire to see her parents that makes her homesick, leading Smaiyakila to provide for their return. The village children tease Mink (T'otqōāya), saying he has no father. He gets bow and arrows from his mother, makes the chain, finds his father's house, tells him what has happened, and asks to be allowed to carry the sun. The father says it is too difficult. The son insists, and the father

lets him, giving him careful instructions about the use of the torches. The son becomes impatient, lights all at once, the trees begin to burn, many animals jump into the water, the water begins to boil. His mother covers people with her blanket, saving them. The ermine creeps into a hole, save for its tail; the mountain-goat hides in a cave. All that did not hide were scorched and so have black skins, but the lower side remains lighter. Smaiyakila told his son, 'Why do you do so? Do you think it is good that there are no people on the earth!' (Boas gives here in a footnote the Bella Coola, suggesting that the native language originals of these texts may exist: Iafa tōtō t'afix k'a k'ās L'Emstatalōs?). He casts Mink down, saying 'You shall be the Mink, and future generations of man shall hunt you'. There follows the story of Smaiyakila causing the flood, its subsidence, and the re peopling of the world. This part may suggest acquaintance with the Old Testament, but if there is such an influence, its joining with the preceding part is appropriate: destruction by fire, destruction by water.

The most closely related stories published by McIlwraith, those which also deal with the Sun's son and not with the magic obstacle flight, are (6, 10, 11), and it seems best to take them up here. (6) is given no title. It is the first of two examples of the kind of origin myth associated with membership in the A'alk society, a group whose dances were a feature of many potlatches (see McIlwraith I, 273ff). It is distinctive in that A'alkuntam, as the controller of the sun is always identified (except (10)) in McIlwraith's versions, in his capacity as supreme deity, is grandfather, not father. To dispel the fear of supernatural beings on the part of people, he arranges marriage between his daughter, Sinxan'a and a human being; the daughter is won in a contest by a poor orphan, Bo'ostom, who becomes prosperous. Their boy grows unusually fast, and one day asks for bow and arrows, with which he makes an arrow chain. (Here as in several of the texts the details of the arrow chain, an apparent focus of interest, are elaborated). The boy reaches his grandfather, who says he is weary of carrying the sun's light. The boy listens to instructions, and his grandfather goes on holiday. But the

throws on log after log until the earth begins to sizzle and burst into flames, and the water to boil. His mother rubbed her hand over the planks of her house, so those within survived, but only those. Most animals escaped by hiding, but the weasel's tail was burnt black. The grandfather felt the heat, hurried home, and told the boy he would henceforth live on earth as a mink. The survivors multiplied until the world was repopulated from the one household; each took an a'alk name from the burning, transmitted until this day, such as 'The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks'; 'The Track of the Sun'; 'The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log'.

In this origin myth we can see the weaving of the popular story into ritual privilege and performance.

'The Sun's Captor' (10) is related only through the presence of Sun and his son, and a ladder. A woman is made magically pregnant by the sun. The child is born rapidly and grows rapidly. Asking his mother's permission, he goes to see his father by means of a long ladder (not specified as to makeup). The father agrees to see both son and mother on a later visit, but when they come, ignores them. Angered, the son uses a public hair of his mother's to make a noose to catch the sun. He releases it, once it promises not to shine all the time (perpetual summer), but to keep at a distance in winter.

'The Sun's Child' (11) neatly parallels the second major part of Mrs. Edgar's story and of Boas (5). Copper, a chief's daughter, is restless and disobedient, wandering off, too friendly with men. Her father sends her off, she goes to Sun's house. She returns home on his eyelash, giving birth to a male child in the one night she had spent with him, equivalent to a year on earth. Two sisters confirm that it is she, she tells them to spread clean sand before she enters. Because he has some of his father's power, her son burns some of his playmates; they call him a bastard. He goes above on an arrow-chain, and complains. His father says he will let him do his work and then he will be more powerful than anyone on earth. The angry boy augments the heat when he goes, and seeing children at play, swoops down; water boils, all mankind roasts to death. Most animals escape by hiding, but the bear is burnt black, and the grizzly

scorched rusty; the tails of the deer and weasel are burnt black. Aiquntam, angry at his son, restores all to life, and breaks the child into pieces, which he throws down to earth as mosquitoes. (Here the father is again named Aiquntam; probably the father and sun is not named in (10) because he is not there the supreme deity, but controlled).

The remaining published stories (5, 7, 8, 9, 12) are those which have the magic obstacle flight. 'The Woman who Married the Stump' is the only Boas text with this part. It is fairly close to Mrs. Edgar's story. A woman loses her way while going berry-picking. Stump refuses to tell her where her father's village is and she is constrained to follow him. He tells her to louse his head, but on the way outside to do so, she is called by a woman rooted to the floor of the house, who gives her an awl, explaining that the lice are actually toads. She must not scream on seeing them, or he will kill her. She is to catch the toads with the awl, and pretend to bite and eat them by biting her nail. The young woman succeeds in this deception. The next day, her husband gone, the young woman asks for hope of escape. The older woman warns that Stump's chamberpot is his watchman. The woman does try to escape the next day, but the chamber-pot calls its master, and he catches her. The next day the older woman tells the young wife to make holes in the rim of the pot with the fire-drill. After she has done so, she gives her a bladder filled with urine, a comb, a grindstone, and tells her to run westward. When the pot calls, its voice is not as loud. Stump does hear and pursue, but is delayed by a lake (urine), a thicket (comb), and a large mountain (grindstone), which carries her up to heaven. There Sun welcomes her, and she jumps through the fire of the doorway safely, as instructed. Stump arrives and is told to enter, but walking in, is consumed.

The woman has a boy, T'otoqoŋya, very ugly with a face covered with sores. When Sun finds the woman is homesick, he enables her to return on his eyelashes. The boy's playmates make fun of him, and laugh at him when he says his father is the Sun. He makes an arrow chain, and reaching Sun's house, says, 'Father, I wish to take your place tomorrow.' The Sun consents, but gives advice to be careful. The boy soon lights all the torches, the woods begin

to burn, the rocks to crack, many die. His mother waves her hands to keep her own house cool, and the people in it are safe. Sun catches the boy and throws him down to earth: "Henceforth you shall be the mink".

As has been said, this version published by Boas (5) is the only version of the twelve to parallel precisely Mrs. Edgar's version in containing both major parts and only both major parts. Boas himself does not discuss versions of the first major part (the magic obstacle flight from Stump) in his major comparative study, the Tsimshian Mythology of 1916 (see p. 1000, where the page references to his Bella Coola do not specify the first part, but only the second part involving Mink and Sun (1898: 102)).

McIlwraith's longest version (7) comes close to being a full parallel. It begins with a girl secluded for the year following puberty, whose elder brother steals the food she saves to eat, then seduces her in the night. She succeeds in identifying him through paint, put on in an embrace, the day following their third night (cf. many versions of the dog-husband story). Mortified, she attempts to leave, though forced finally to tie up her younger sister to prevent being followed. Following a dried-up water course, she is on the track between Aikuntam's house and the world. She comes upon Stump (T'miax, the water-scoured tree stump with branching white roots found in all rivers) in the form of a man working at a salmon-weir. He takes her home, where she is advised by an old woman who has lost the use of her legs not to eat the food he gives her, and not to crack the lice she is to pick from his hair, but to stab them, since they are toads. She succeeds in the deception. She runs off when he is gone, but the chamber-vessel calls out, and he catches her. The old woman tells her to bore its rim, and after she has done so, gives her a whetstone, comb, mountain goat bladder filled with oil, and bone needle. The pot is ineffective at first, and after a well described flight with the magic obstacles delaying Stump, the girl reaches Sun's house at last. There Stump is consumed by fire, the girl had entered safely because Aikuntam had rubbed his hands over her face, but he throws open the door suddenly, when Stump arrives and calls, and his branching head catches fire.

The second major part of the story, as in Mrs. Edgar's text and Boas (5), is begun: the woman has a child, who grows rapidly and at age three has the intelligence of a man. He tells his father his mother is lonely, the father shows her her mother below and sends her down on his eyelashes (sunbeams). Two girls of her old household successively confirm that it is indeed she. Her son, angry because playmates tease him for his feeble eyes, and say that Aikuntam cannot be his father because of that, returns to his father. There the story stops.

McIlwraith's second version (8) is quite similar, but ends with Stump being burned. McIlwraith appears not to give it in full. There is nothing mentioned of a child.

"The Girls who Visited Musmät'a" is interesting (9) because it reverses the relation of the flight to Sun's house. Four sisters, confined by their mother, escape and reach Sun's house, where he already has a wife. He sends them down again on his eyelashes, after they have been fed and cared for; his wife gives them a whetstone, comb, eagle down and a basket so thickly woven that it can hold water. The youngest insists on taking the road they had been told not to take, and the others feel obliged to go with her. On that road they meet Lake-Swallower. A woman paralyzed from her knees advises them. Lake-Swallower's ability to drink an entire lake apparently takes the place of the first obstacle, and the role of the basket that can hold water (which is not mentioned again). While he is drinking, the girls do not lift his head, as he had told them to do, and he cannot stop until the lake is dry. Making up for this headstart of theirs, he is delayed in turn by a steep mountain (whetstone), forest of tangled undergrowth (comb), and mist (eagle down), the latter causing him to abandon pursuit. The girls reach home safely.

These versions clarify some details in Mrs. Edgar's story. One might wonder why the woman found in Stump's house does not herself flee, if it is not good to stay, since she has the magic objects. The other versions show that she is rooted to the floor of the house and named because of that (5, 8) or has lost the use of her legs (7, 9). Mrs. Edgar's waterpot is probably a bit of bowdlerization, given the chamberpot elsewhere (5, 7, 8). Notice that the object given the girl in (5) to make water is a bladder



filled with urine. Perhaps the 'wool' of this text is a euphemism, or perhaps, in forgetting a fourth object, Mrs. Edgar has remembered wool as something equivalent in function to the fog-causing clour (8) or mist-causing eagle down (9), and miscast its function as causing a body of water.

The whetstone (or grindstone (5)) and the comb are the two constants of the set of elements in the magic obstacle flight. It is noteworthy that (5) speaks only of 3 objects, and does not suggest, as does Mrs. Edgar, that a fourth has been forgotten. And (9), while mentioning a fourth object, the thickly woven basket capable of carrying water, does not use it in the flight; delay due to a body of water is built into the habits of Lake-Swallower himself. Yet something to produce a body of water is present throughout: bladder filled with urine (5), mountain goat bladder filled with oil (7), goat bladder filled with grease (8), basket thickly woven and capable of carrying water (9), wool (12). A body of water, a thick forest or undergrowth, and a mountain or stone barrier are the three constants in the function of obstacle. Beyond that, Mrs. Edgar says she has forgotten a fourth, Boas (5) does not mention a fourth, McIlwraith's longest version (7) has a bone needle that becomes many small needles, and his other two versions with flight have something to cause difficult visibility, clouds producing fog (8) or eagle down producing mist (9). (Mrs. Edgar's wool may be related to this last, as suggested above). All this seems to indicate that the fourth obstacle was less firmly rooted in tradition.

The order of the obstacles is various, as is the order of the functions:

(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(12)
bladder	bladder	cloud	basket/lake?	comb
comb	comb	bladder	whetstone	wool
grindstone	needle	whetstone	comb	whetstone
	whetstone	comb	eagle down	

(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(12)
lake	lake	fog	lake?	forest
forest	forest	lake	mountain	lake
mountain	needles	mountain	forest	mountain
	stone rampart	forest	mist	

There are partial affinities, but clearly here, as generally with the magic obstacle flight, the conception itself is the main thing, not the details.

Mrs. Edgar's story appears to be unique in one interesting detail, the name of the Sun's son. It appears not to be the name of any creature associated with the outcome of the story. The mosquito into which the son is transformed in this and another version (11) is -pk'm here (pk'im in McIlwraith). Mink is T'ōtk'oāya (Boas 1895: 246-7), T'ōt'qoāya (Boas 1898: 95-7, 100-3), and t'ōka in McIlwraith. Wasp is sqōL (Boas 1898: 69) (3). Given that Mrs. Edgar's text states that the Sun gave his son this name, most likely it is a proper name, like a title. Perhaps it reflects a myth which would have been part of a secret society, in which telling Kankāii would have been a privileged ritual name.

An overview of the names associated with each story may be useful.

	SON	MOTHER	FATHER	OGRE
(1)	T'ōt'k'oāya (Mink)	?	Snq(Tā'atau) (Sun(Father))	
(2)	"	?	Snq	
(3)	sqōL (Wasp)	K'imilqān	Sun	
(4)	T'ōt'qoāya	Nūspuselx-sak'aix'	Smāiyakila, Sun	
(5)	"	?	Sun	Stump
(6)	(mink)	Sinxan'a	Āiquntām (GrFa)	
(7)	?	?	Bo'ostom (Fa)	"
(8)	-	?	Āiquntām (Fa)	"
(9)	-	-	"	Osčālikeq <sup>w</sup> (Lake-Swallower)
(10)	?	?	(sun)	
(11)	?	Copper	Āiquntām	Stump (T'mix <sup>w</sup> )
(12)	Kankāii	Tā'aqamūc	snX 'sun' -man-ī 'our Fa'	

The old woman is Nusqēxtēlpōtsā'ax in (5) and Nusqīilsutsāx in (8), explained there as the name for a person thus fastened to one spot.

The first comparative observation on these stories appears to have been that of Boas (1898: 125), who wrote:

"The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable."

(Cf. Maud 1982: 88). As we have seen, and as Boas later stressed, variation of incident is to be expected. One might hope to find consistency of pattern, integrating the incidents in a particular culture, as Boas proposed, and as can indeed sometimes be found, though not to the degree in Bella Coola that Boas first implied (cf. again Maud 1982: 88). The appropriate expectation would seem to be one of finding consistent basic principles, both of content and of form, together with great individual flexibility in their use, by groups, individuals, and in different performances. Against such comparative background as can be assembled, and in the light of the proportions and emphases revealed by verse analysis, we can detect the tacit hand, or rather the workings of the mind, of the individual narrator.

In Agnes Edgar's story of "Sun's Child" one can infer not only the maintenance of a particular tradition, joining the two major parts of the story, amidst a variety of materials which do not, but also an integration. Consider the variety of motivations associated with the girl who becomes the mother of Sun's Child. In Mrs. Edgar's story one can detect an integration in a girl leaving a house in which she lacks a parent (as foster-child) in the first part, and a boy leaving a house in which it lacks a parent in the second part. One can detect a parallel between the anger of the girl, explicitly stated, and the anger frequently cited for the boy in other versions of the second part. Such an integration through parallelism of situation and motivation is not found in the one other story precisely parallel to Mrs. Edgar's (Boas 5). That it is found here may be the contribution of Mrs. Edgar.

# PART ONE. THE FOSTER CHILD AND STUMP.

## [Preface]

Okay, I'll just tell about these things. 1  
It's been really a long time since it's been told how the world 2  
was formed.

## [I] [A girl goes off angry and is taken to the house of Stump]

(A)  
A young girl went, they say, 3a  
she got mad. 3b  
She was the adopted child of her foster parents. 4  
She got mad about something, they say. 5  
It happened, they say, 6a  
she wandered about, they say, 6b  
then she followed the edge of the river. 6c  
She got mad, they say, then. 7

(B)  
It happened, they say, then, 8a  
~~she heard someone pounding poles in the river.~~ 8b  
She went, they say, 9a  
she began to (walk) faster, then, 9b  
~~she wanted to~~ 9c  
to see him. 9d  
It turned out to be a person, they say, 10a  
he was pounding (poles), they say, in the middle of the river. 10b  
Maybe, they say, he's making fishtraps. 11c

The young girl hollered out, they say, there, to be fetched. 12  
(C)  
It was heard, they say, then, 13a  
hollering then. 13b  
She was gone to by him, they say, to be fetched. 14  
Actually, they say, this one was taken to his house, 15a  
made to go inside. 15b

(D)  
She was fed, they say, by him, the person. 16  
She was fed, then, 17a  
by him, then. 17b  
That one finished eating, they say, then. 18

PART ONE. THE POSTER CHILD AND STUMP.

[Preface]

Way tm-'ay-uc-timut-i-c s-ka-sma-c x-ac.  
keyxi-c' s-'ayk'-m-s wixii-sma-yank-im s-kamai-k'wai-tn-im-ck  
wa-sunx-ac.

[I] [A girl goes off angry and is taken to the house of Stump]

(A)

b'ap-s-k'-c' i-cacti-i ,  
s-ka-sx-lx-lik-m-s.  
'i-mna-m-im-'i x-tu-amat-alaxt-timut-s-tx'.  
sx-lx-lik-m-amk-cut-s-k'.  
'ay-k'-c',  
s-'ay-s' wa-mnta-s-k'-c',  
'a-tx' s-k'n-ax-uc-is wa-'anuxum'-ac.  
sx-lx-lik-m-s-k'.

(B)

'ay-s-k'-c', a-tx',  
s-'ax'snix-ak-is ta-tixtix-m-tx.  
b'ap-s-k'-c',  
s-ka-ti-lx-ut-timut-s, 'a-tx',  
s-'ax'k'-s  
s-ka-k'-x-is.  
'a-'ay-ak-k'-tu-ya ta-b'msta-tx,  
s-tixtix-m-s-k' 'a-ta-anukali-s ta-anuxum-tx'.  
tam-simk-k' ma-ku tx.  
'ax's-k'-c' i-cacti-i 'u-tx' s-ka-k'n-im.

(C)

'ax'snix-im-k'-c', a-tx',  
s-'ix-'ax's 'a-tx'.  
b'ap-m-im-k'-c' x-tx s-ka-k'n-im.  
c'xmayx-k'-c' s-ak'a-a-tum o'ayx 'u-tu-sut-s-tx',  
s-us-tx-tum.

(D)

'aips-tum-k'-c' x-tx ... ta-b'msta-tx.  
'aips-tum, 'a-tx',  
x-tx a-tx'.  
cay-uc-k'-c' 'i'ay s-'aips 'a-tx'.

21

22

1

A preface, such as that of the first two lines here, is found sometimes in texts in other languages, preceding the action of the narrative. Notice that this preface has no quotative suffix.

2

Among the features of this first set of lines, notice that there is no one constant marker associated with lines and groups of lines, but that there are a number of local parallelisms in marking. Thus, lines 3a-7 seem to form a group, associated with the girl's getting mad. The presentation brings out the parallelism (3b, 5, 7). In this group 'then' occurs as a final element, perhaps with an effect of adding weight and local closure (cf. the end of the whole sequence (18)). In the second half of this group there is first a pairing of quotative-perfective (QP), then a pairing of lines with 'a-tx' 'then'.

3a

3b

4

5

6a

6b

6c

7

Again in the next lines, there is a double pairing of QP followed by 'then' (8a, 9a; 9a, 9b).

8a

8b

9a

9b

9c

9d

10a

10b

11

12

Notice what appears to be a three-step run in 10a, 10b, 11, where the quotative appears without the perfective marker in describing what the girl finds.

In the next group a pairing of 'then' (13a, 13b) is followed by a pairing of QP (14, 15a), though QP occurs with the first 'then' as well (13a).

The fourth group appears to show a bit of filling out of pattern with markers (17a, 17b) in the midst of QP, 'then', 'then', QP 'then'.

This set of lines does appear to constitute a group, not only in terms of markers, but also in terms of culminating content. Notice feed as topic in the fourth group here, and in the fourth group in the next set. The fact that the woman is fed by Stump and by Sun may be important as a clue to the story overall. Perhaps she left at the outset because of dissatisfaction over feed (there are stories elsewhere about in-law tensions over who gets what to eat). In any case relations integral to the text seem to establish eating as an ending point.

Notice that the line presentation brings out lexical parallelism, as in the initial elements in 12, 13a, and 16, 17a, and the apparently generally significant recurrence initially of 'ay- 'de' and b'ap- 'ge'.

16

17a

17b

18

## [II] [The girl runs away and is brought back]

(E)

He went, they say, then  
 outside to the river to pound peles.  
 It was then, they say, then,  
 that one was hollered to by a woman in front of the house.  
 The woman, they say, was making floor mats.  
 "You won't be any good  
 if you do like me,  
 staying here forever,"  
 the young one was told, they say, by the other.  
 "Leave him.  
 "Go on this path."

(F)

That one (thought) the path clear, they say, to the back of their house.  
 This one went, they say,  
 then she ran from the man.  
 She ran away, they say, then.  
 That one got pretty far away, they say, as before then.

(G)

That person's waterpet hollered, they say:  
 "Stummp!  
 "Come here!  
 "Your wife is running away,"  
 Stump's waterpet said, they say.

(H)

That one went, they say, then  
 to follow that other one,  
 to return her, then  
 to his house.  
 It was then she was made, then,  
 to eat inside his house.  
 That person was good, they say,  
 in keeping the young one sated then.

## [II] [The girl runs away and is brought back]

(E)

19a	b'ap-s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' a <sup>ax</sup> x <sup>w</sup>	19a
19b	s-ka-us-qa-s s-tix <sup>w</sup> -m-s-tu-c' 'ū <sup>u</sup> -tu-'anux <sup>w</sup> um-tx <sup>w</sup> .	19b
20a	wix-k <sup>w</sup> -i-c'i-ka tx <sup>w</sup>	20a
20b	s- <del>ka</del> <sup>w</sup> -m-im 'i <sup>i</sup> 'ay <sup>i</sup> x-i <sup>i</sup> -b'msta-y <sup>i</sup> 'a <sup>i</sup> -ta-as-ūc-tx <sup>w</sup> .	20b
21	tam-st'x <sup>w</sup> m-s-k <sup>w</sup> i <sup>i</sup> -b'msta-y <sup>i</sup> .	21
22a	"ax-ku-ya-nu	22a
22b	ka-ay-nu x-'nc	22b
22c	s-ka-anu-s-'ay-anm-nu, 'al-a-ax <sup>w</sup> a,"	22c
22d	<del>cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'</del> i <sup>i</sup> -cāctī-i x-'i <sup>i</sup> -b'msta-y <sup>i</sup> .	22d
23	"wal-tx <sup>w</sup>	23
24	"ay-a <sup>i</sup> -nu 'al-a-mamta-ac."	24

(F)

25	nu-ya-ya <sup>i</sup> -nix-is-k <sup>w</sup> -c' i <sup>i</sup> 'ay <sup>i</sup> ta-mamta-tx <sup>w</sup> 'ū <sup>u</sup> -ta-ku <sup>i</sup> -āx-s tu-sui-aw-tx <sup>w</sup> .	25
26a	b'ap-s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' c'ayx	26a
27	'al-a- <del>qa</del> s-ka-b'ikm-timut-s wix <sup>i</sup> -ta-b'msta-tx.	26b
28	b'ikm-timut-s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' a <sup>i</sup> -tx <sup>w</sup> .	27
29	'ix <sup>w</sup> -lx-k <sup>w</sup> -alu-tu 'i <sup>i</sup> 'ay <sup>i</sup> 'a <sup>i</sup> -tx <sup>w</sup> .	28

(G)

31	'ax <sup>w</sup> s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' ti-nusqlata-s ta-b'msta-tx:	29
31b	"t'miix <sup>w</sup> ;	30
31c	"a <sup>i</sup> -x	31a
	"b'ikm-timut i <sup>i</sup> -xnas-nu,"	31b
32a	cut-s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' ti-nusqlata-s ta-t'mix <sup>w</sup> -tx.	31c

(H)

32b	b'ap-s-k <sup>w</sup> -c' t'ax <sup>w</sup> 'a <sup>i</sup> -tx <sup>w</sup>	32a
32c	s-ka-'a <sup>i</sup> - <del>'aw</del> <sup>i</sup> -is 'i <sup>i</sup> 'ay <sup>i</sup>	32b
32d	s-ka-lip'cut-tus 'a <sup>i</sup> -tx <sup>w</sup>	32c
33a	'ū <sup>u</sup> -ta-sui-s-tx <sup>w</sup> .	32d
34a	wix-i-c'i-ka tx <sup>w</sup>	33a
34b	s-'a <sup>i</sup> ps-tus 'a <sup>i</sup> -ta-as-tx <sup>w</sup> -s ta-sui-s-tx <sup>w</sup> .	33b
	yaa-k <sup>w</sup> ta-b'msta-tx	34a
	s-'anuk <sup>w</sup> pt-tus 'i <sup>i</sup> -cāctī-i 'a <sup>i</sup> -tx <sup>w</sup> .	34b

Again in this section one finds no constant marking of units, but local parallelisms. In (E) the first two verses share QP-'then'. The second half contains the speech of the woman making fleermats, and has simply Q, and QP. An alternative analysis would be to take the first portion of quoted speech as a unit enclosed by the two occurrences of the quotative, and have each occurrence of contiguous quoted speech count as a verse (21-22d; 23-24). If the occurrence of the quotative is taken as indicating a unit in and of itself, then the verses are (21; 22a-24).

In (F) there are four occurrences of the quotative, the second pair with 'then'. The last quotative lacks the accompaniment of the perfective, and the second co-occurs with what seems from translation to be another expression of 'then' (-ac). Thus one has: QP; QP/(then); QP/'then'; Q/'then'.

In (G) one has just two occurrences of QP, preceding and following the quoted speech. As in (E), one could take the pattern to be one of enclosing the direct speech with a quotative on each side, or one could take the pattern to be (29; 30-31c). I incline to the latter.

In (H) one has a proliferation of 'then' (32a, 32c, 33a, 34b). The first pair and the second pair seem balanced, each co-occurring with one instance of the quotative (32a, 34a).

[III 1] [The girl runs away again: preparation]

(I)

He went, they say, as before  
to pound poles in the river,  
to finish  
what he was doing.  
This one was making a fish trap, they say;  
He was doing that then.

35a  
35b  
35c  
35d  
36  
37

(J)

"All right, come here.  
"Look in his toolbox.  
"Drill holes around the edge of his waterpot.  
"Maybe it won't be able to heller",  
the woman, they say, told the young girl.

38  
39  
40  
41a  
41b

(K)

The young girl went, they say,  
to look in the person's box.  
She began, they say,  
to drill holes around the waterpot.  
She finished, they say, then  
was called as before by her.  
She was handed, they say, then....  
handed to her were a comb  
and wool  
and a whetstone.  
(I forget one of them).  
(There are four of them).

42a  
42b  
43a  
43b  
44a  
44b  
45a  
45b  
45c  
45d  
(46)  
(47)

(L)

"Okay you can go.  
"When you're just about caught by him,  
"by him catching up to you;  
"you throw this one behind you,"  
was said, they say, by the woman.

48  
49a  
49b  
49c  
49d

[III 1] [The girl runs away again: preparation]

h'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c',  
 s-ka-tix<sup>w</sup>-m-s 'ui-ta-'anux<sup>w</sup>um-tx<sup>w</sup>  
 s-ka-cay-ak-timut-m-is  
 ta-ks-tus-tx.  
 tam-silmak-k<sup>w</sup> t'ayx;  
 'a<sup>1</sup>-ay-s 'a<sup>1</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>.

(J)

"Way, h'a-i-i-X.  
 "ixas-nm-nu 'al-a-nu-s-c'k-ak-sta-s t'aw-tx.  
 "x<sup>w</sup>ul-uc-ix<sup>w</sup> wa-nusqlata-s-c.  
 "ax<sup>w</sup>-m-i-c'i-k ka-'ax<sup>w</sup>-s-'ay-layx-s,"  
 cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'i<sup>1</sup>-h'msta-y<sup>1</sup> 'u<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>-cacti-i<sup>1</sup>.

(K)

h'ap-liwa-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'i<sup>1</sup>-cacti-i<sup>1</sup>  
 s-ka-ixas-nm-s 'a<sup>1</sup>-tu-paqiyala-s ta-h'msta-tx.  
 h'ap-ak-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'  
 s-ka-x<sup>w</sup>lx<sup>w</sup>ul-uc-is ta-nusqlata-tx<sup>w</sup>.  
 cay-ak-m-i<sup>1</sup>-c' a<sup>1</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>  
 s-uq'X-im-tu-c' x-'i<sup>1</sup>.  
 cy-us--im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a<sup>1</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> ....  
 x-tu-cy-us-im-tx<sup>w</sup> ta-ak'ma-tx  
 'n ta-q'wasta-tx  
 'n ta-st'awit-tx.  
 (nu-na-nix-ik-m-ic-'i-c'i-k.ti-s-maw-t'ayx.)  
 (m<sup>1</sup>s-k<sup>w</sup> ac.)

(L)

"Way h'la-it.  
 "kama<sup>1</sup>-inix-a-yaq-nay-nix-i-ct x-tx  
 "s-ka-pak<sup>w</sup>-nix-ct x-tx  
 "s-ka-tay-amk-ix<sup>w</sup> t'ayx 'al-a-ka-tx-amat-i<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-nu,"  
 cut-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-i<sup>1</sup>-h'msta-y<sup>1</sup>.

This series of sections seems unified by the theme of the girl's escape, amplified by the use of magical objects (a world-wide motif) to delay the pursuer. There are four objects, Mrs. Edgar specifically states, but only three are recalled by her. Had a scene been built around the fourth object, it seems likely that the overall structure would have paired the two scenes involving the waterpot and the elder woman's advice (stanzas E-H and I-L), leaving four scenes of escape with magical object to constitute III. In either case, III is the most elaborated of the acts in part ONE, just as the third act, VII, is the most elaborated of the acts in part TWO. And as it is, we have an initial scene of preparation here, followed by three of escape with magical object.

There is an internal parallelism in this initial scene in that the second and fourth stanzas (J, L) present the elder woman's advice. First what the man is doing, then advice; then what the girl does, then again advice. And the first stanza of each pair (I, K) begins with h'ap-.

Guided by the criterion of distinguishing turns of talk, associated with change of actor, (J) is clearly distinct, the elder woman speaking to the girl. That leaves the preceding stanza (I) marked by QP in the first four lines, and Q and 'then' in the complementary pair (36, 37). (J) itself has the single closing marker, QP. (K) is more elaborated in this regard: initial h'ap- with QP in one pair (42a-42b, 43a-43b), QP with following 'then' in the other pair (44a, 45a).

Lines have been given to each item in the inventory of objects, and the metanarrative comments about forgetting one of four are put in parentheses to indicate that status for them. (45b, c, d; 46, 47).

The fourth stanza has the same pattern as the second: four lines of quoted speech, followed by a line with QP.

## [III ii] [The girl runs away again: comb undergrowth]

(M)

That one went, they say,  
to run then.

She got just so far, they say, then  
the waterpot succeeded/in hollering to Stump then.

"Huluhuluhuluhuluu,"

he said, they say,  
the waterpot trying to heller then.

(N)

In a little while, they say, the waterpot was able to speak.

"Come here, Stump!

"Your wife has gone running away again,"  
that one said, they say, the waterpot.

(O)

The young girl had done then, they say, just that.

Just as she was about to be caught, then,  
she threw it, they say, down behind her.

(P)

The woman had said, they say,  
instructing her, she should do like that then.

The young girl threw it, they say, on her path.

The comb became dense growth, they say.

(Q)

Okay.

The place behind the young girl got all bushy, they say.

This one, Stump, got caught up here, they say,  
trying to fellow, they say, the young girl.

(R)

This one got loose as before, they say, here.

The young girl had gotten far, they say,  
by the time that person got untangled, they say.

It was then, they say,  
he ran as before  
to fellow her.

## [III ii] [The girl runs away again: comb undergrowth]

(M)

50a

b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' i<sup>h</sup>ay<sup>h</sup>

50b

51a

s-ka-b'ikm-s 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

51b/c

'ix<sup>w</sup>-am-s-k<sup>w</sup> 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>

52a

s-tulu-amk-cut-s ta-nusqlata-tX

52b

s-ax<sup>w</sup>-m-is ta-t'mix<sup>w</sup>-tX 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

52c

"Xuluxuluxuluxuluu,"

cucut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'

53

s-'ix-'ax<sup>w</sup>-s-'alu ta-nusqlata-tX 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

54

(N)

55a

'a<sup>h</sup>-tu-wayx-I-k<sup>w</sup>-c'-tX s-ik'm-ay-layx-s ta-nusqlata-tX.

55b

"'a<sup>h</sup>-X, T'miix<sup>w</sup>!

"b'ap-i-su-c' i<sup>h</sup>-xnas-nuu s-b'ikm-timuuut-i-s,"

56

cut-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k t'ax<sup>w</sup> ... ta-nusqlata-tX.

57a

(O)

57b

'a<sup>h</sup>-ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-tX<sup>w</sup> 'i<sup>h</sup>-cacti-i.

'inix-a-yāq-nay-nix-I-t-im 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>

58a

s-tay-amk-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'u<sup>h</sup>-ta-si-alūX-āX-i<sup>h</sup>-s-tX<sup>w</sup>.

58b/c

(P)

59

'a<sup>h</sup>-ay-uc-k<sup>w</sup> i<sup>h</sup>-b'msta-y<sup>h</sup>

60

s-ka-'a<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> nta-liwa-t-is

s-ka-a<sup>h</sup>-ay-s x-tX<sup>w</sup>.

61

tay-amk-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'i<sup>h</sup>-cacti-i 'u<sup>h</sup>-ta-nta<sup>h</sup>-i<sup>h</sup>-s-tX<sup>w</sup>.

62

tq'-āX-am-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-sk'ma-tX.

63a

(Q)

63b

Way.

tq'-āX-am-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-alūX-i<sup>h</sup>-s le-cacti-i.

64

'ix-aq<sup>w</sup>-ayx<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ayx... T'mix<sup>w</sup>... 'a<sup>h</sup>-tu-mnta-s-tX<sup>w</sup>

65a

s-'a<sup>h</sup>-aw<sup>h</sup>-is-k<sup>w</sup>-alu 'i<sup>h</sup>-cacti-i.

65b

(R)

66a

x<sup>w</sup>p-ayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' t'ayx 'al-a-ac.

66b

'i<sup>h</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'i<sup>h</sup>-cacti-i

66c

s-x<sup>w</sup>p-ayx-nimut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-b'msta-tX.

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k ac

s-b'ikm-s-tu-c'

s-ka-a<sup>h</sup>-aw<sup>h</sup>-is.

66a

66b

66c

This section shows clearly the flexibility of relationship between units of action and markers of verse form. It seems clear that there are four units of action: the waterpot warns Stump; the girl is almost caught but throws down the comb; Stump is caught up; Stump gets loose and continues the pursuit. These units of action, to be sure, are inferred in important part from the parallelism in the language of the text itself. Thus, way 'okay' (61) seems always to occur initially in a unit or stretch of speech, indicating some sort of break here. Each of the units of action has a consistent enough fit with the principle of pairing of markers. But the distribution of markers seems clearly to be in important part expressive, not only demarcative. Some patterning of markers seems to be required for mark off the units. What patterning of markers appears to be an expressive, or stylistic, choice.

Thus, the four occurrences of 'then' in (50-52) appear part of a single stanza. There may be contexts in which one would think it appropriate to consider each pair a separate verse or stanza, but here the second occurrence is in the same sentence with the third. (51a, b). There is indeed a pairing of content: she ran, she got so far; the waterpot succeeded in hollering, the waterpot trying to heller. But sentence structure appears to link them together. The four occurrences of 'then' thus seem in important part intensifying. The associated pairing of content may be indicated by the two occurrences of QP (50a; 52b).

The next sentence seems part of a distinct unit, beginning as it does with a word indicating lapse of time (53). Here the stanza has just two occurrences of QP as markers.

The two stanzas (MN) go together as one of the four main parts of the scene: Waterpot warns Stump. So do the next two stanzas, whose parallelism concerns the girl throwing down something behind her (OP). The first has QP and a form of 'then' (x-tX<sup>W</sup>); 'then' and QP. The second (P) has Q, a form of 'then' (x-tX<sup>W</sup>), QP, QP.

As mentioned, way seems an initial marker. The stanza it introduces has thus way, QP, QP, Q, describing Stump caught up in the bush.

The stanza seems distinct both because of the initial way, but also because of the fullness of marking in what follows (R). Here one has four occurrences of QP in connection with Stump's getting loose and starting in pursuit again.

On this analysis, thought needs to be given to a structural unit at the level of pairs of stanzas, such as (MN) and (OP). Notice that the parallelism has the doubling in the first half of the scene. That the scene divides in this way is suggested by the following scene, which reduces the action essentially to just two parts, one in which the girl uses a magic object, and one in which Stump copes with it.

Let me mention here that the running translation of the text contains words which would belong at the end of this scene, but are not represented in the text itself:

"Again he was just about to catch her when she threw down the second thing. I don't remember what it was but it slowed him down and she got away."

The running translation continues, 'When he was just about to catch her for the third time, she threw down the wheel down on the trail behind her.' No expression for 'third' is found in the text either. Apparently all this was said in the course of translating the dictation. It does indicate that the next scene, III iii in this analysis, is in fact properly the location of the third magic obstacle, and III iv of the fourth.

Two remarks here on translation. L'ap- with perfective -c' seems to be idiomatically 'to start to go', perhaps the inceptive force being in the perfective itself. I have not carried over this sense, but maintained in the translation the parallelism of occurrences of L'ap- in the sense of 'go'. Also, the Confirmative suffix -tu- is usually translated as 'again' in the interlinear rendition. I have adopted 'as before', suggested by the use of 'before' for -tu- in the interlinear translation of sentence (72). There and elsewhere 'before' seems to capture a nuance of renewal of a state, as against sheer repetition.



## [III iii] [The girl runs away: wool lake]

(S)

It happened, they say, as before, then,  
 she was just about to be caught by him.  
 She went, they say, as before  
 to throw the wool on the spot behind her.  
 The path she had taken, they say, became a pond.  
 The pond, they say, became a really big lake.  
 Perhaps, they say, it became an ocean, then.

(T)

Stump did as before, they say, then,  
 walking along the edge of the young girl's path.  
 He got loose as before, they say, then, ...  
 from where she had gone through.

## [III iv] [The girl runs away: whetstone mountain]

(U)

She threw something as before, they say,  
 she was just about to be caught by him then.  
 It was then, they say, then  
 it became a mountain, they say.  
 It was a whetstone, they say,  
 this one threw then on ~~the~~ path.  
 It became a mountain, they say.

(V)

He managed, they say, then,  
 Stump, not to get blocked then.  
 She kept trying to climb the mountain, they say...  
 the young girl.  
 (There were four, they say, of these.)  
 (I've forgotten how to do one of them).

## [III iii] [The girl runs away: wool lake]

(S)

67a 'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 'a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> 67a  
 67b s-'inix-a-yāq-nay-nix-ī-t-im x-tx. 67b  
 68a h'ap-tus-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 68a  
 68b s-ka-tay-amk-is ta-q'wasta-tx 'u<sup>h</sup>-ta-si-alūx-āx-ī-ī-s-tx<sup>w</sup>. 68b  
 69 nuca<sup>h</sup>-anm-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-mnta-ī-ī-s-tx<sup>w</sup>. 69  
 70 āk<sup>w</sup>-anac-am-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' s-nuca<sup>h</sup>-s. 70  
 71 sulut-an-s-k<sup>w</sup>-ma-c' a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>. 71

(T)

72a 'a<sup>h</sup>-ay-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 'a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> 72a  
 72b T'mIX s-kwn-ūo-is tu-mnta-ī-s 'ī-ī-cāctī-ī. 72b  
 73a x<sup>w</sup>p-ayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 'a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> ... 73a  
 73b 'a<sup>h</sup>-ta-alūx-am-tx<sup>w</sup>. 73b

## [III iv] [The girl runs away: whetstone mountain]

(U)

74a tay-amk-is-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 74a  
 74b s-'inix-a-yāq-nix-ī-t-im x-tx<sup>w</sup>. 74b  
 75a wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c' i-ka tx<sup>w</sup> 75a  
 75b s-smt-am-s. 75b  
 76a st'awāt-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 76a  
 76b t'ayx ta-tay-amk-is a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> 'a<sup>h</sup>-ta-mnta-ī-ī-s-tx<sup>w</sup>. 76b  
 77 smt-anm-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'. 77

(V)

78a 'a<sup>h</sup>-ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> 78a  
 78b T'mIX, s-'aX<sup>w</sup>-c' 'aq'w-ayx-s 'a<sup>h</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>. 78b  
 79a lq'lum-s-k<sup>w</sup>-alu-c' 'a<sup>h</sup>ti-smt ... 79a  
 79b 'ī-ī-cāctī-ī. 79b  
 (80) mūs-k<sup>w</sup> 'ac. (80)  
 (81) na-nix-ik-m-ic-i-c' i-k ti-s-maw-t'ayx. (81)

As mentioned, III iii has two parts, what the girl does and what Stump does. Stump's part (T) is simply marked: QP 'then' in each of its own two parts (72a, 73a). The girl's part is more complex. Its two elements, her action and its outcome, might be taken to be framed by an initial and final QP 'then' (67a, 71); and indeed, the girl's part and Stump's part are alike in each having two occurrences of this sequence of markers. In the girl's part, however, while the first element, her action, has a pair of ingredients (about to be caught, throws the wheel), the second element, the outcome, has three: the path becomes a pond, which becomes a lake, which perhaps becomes an ocean. This run of three recalls the run of three early on (IB, 10a, b, 11), and suggests again that groups of three can be used for local effects against the pervasive background of pairing and double-pairing.

III iv again has just two parts, what the girl does and what Stump does. Her part has four occurrences of QP. The first two go together with 'then' in the form of  $x-tx^w$  and  $tx^w$  alone (74b, 75a). The third has  $at-tx^w$  medially. Stump's part has paired 'then' with QP, accompanied by the girl's response, also with QP, and a phrase after hesitation that seems a balancing line (79b). As with (46-7), the metanarrative comments are bracketed here.

We can now see something of the projection of the narrative elements onto the possibilities of verse design. In the girl's first attempt to escape, described in II, there are four units: the older woman's advice, the girl's flight, the waterpet's warning, and Stump's successful pursuit (EFGH). In the girl's second attempt to escape, the content of (E), the older woman's advice, is elaborated into four stanzas, a full scene (IJKL) (=III i). The content of (F), the girl's flight, becomes in the first instance just the first half of a stanza (M 50a, b, 51a), and is picked up only once more (65a) incidentally. The content of (G), the waterpet's warning, is elaborated as the second half of stanza (M) and all of (N), dominating the first quarter of scene ii. The content of (H), Stump's pursuit, is elaborated as the rest of the scene, beginning with his catching up, but followed by the girl's throwing down of a magic obstacle and his temporary delay, while she again flees.

If one can see (H) elaborated into (OP) and (QR) in ii, one can next see (OP) and (QR) simplified into (S) and (T) in iii, and (U) and (V) in iv.

Schematically:

II	III <u>i</u>	III <u>ii</u>	III <u>iii</u>	III <u>iv</u>
E	I, J, K, L			
F		M(50-51a)		
G		M(51b-52), N		
H		OP	S	U
		QR	T	V

In terms of contents:

II		III <u>i</u>	<u>ii</u>	<u>iii</u>	<u>iv</u>
E	Older woman's advice	-J-L			
F	girl's flight		M		
G	waterpet's warning		MN		
H	Stump's pursuit				
	obstacle (III only)		OP	S	U
	obstacle overcome (III only)		QR	T	V

## [IV i] [The girl is accepted by Sun]

(W)

She must have been close, they say, to the sun here.

She ran and ran, they say, then.

She reached, they say, his house.

That one stood, they say, in front of it.

(X)

That one was hollered to, they say, by him.

"Come here!

"Come inside,

if you are the one who get angry,"

she was told, they say, by him.

(Y)

That one opened the door, they say, to the house,

And heat, they say, did strike her.

(Z)

She closed the door, they say, as before.

"Come here!

"Don't be afraid,"

she was told, they say, as before by him.

(AA)

It is then, they say, this was done by the Sun,

this began to be done to her by the Sun,

to have her body rubbed by him.

Her body was rubbed, they say, by him then.

(BB)

It happened, they say, then

she got inside.

She was made, they say, to eat by him.

(CC)

She got inside the house:

There was nothing, they say, on the walls inside the house ...  
nothing.

(DD)

This one went, they say, then

to sit down.

This one was fed, they say, by our father.

## [IV i] [The girl is accepted by Sun]

(W)

'inix-a-'i-k<sup>w</sup>-ma-lu-ku-c'n 'iā 'uā-ti-snX-t'ayx 'al-a-ac. 82

'i-k<sup>w</sup>-s s-'i-k<sup>w</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup> 'ā-tX<sup>w</sup>. 83

c'kt-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'uā-ta-suā-s-tX<sup>w</sup>. 84

im-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'uā-ta-suā-s-tX<sup>w</sup>. 85

(X)

'ax<sup>w</sup>-s-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iā'ayā x-tX. 86

"āi-X. 87

"us-tX<sup>w</sup>-nu, 88a

ka-inu-s ci-sx-lx-lik-t-m-ck," 88b

cut-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c'n x-tX. 88c

(Y)

q<sup>w</sup>i-yuc-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'iā'ayā tu-suā-tX<sup>w</sup>. 89

'āi-'ay-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-ya ti-s-k<sup>w</sup> 'uā-'iā. 90

(Z)

num-uc-is-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c'. 91

"āi-X. 92

"ax-tX<sup>w</sup> pāXu-nu," 93a

cut-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' x-tX. 93b

(AA)

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka-'... 94a

'ac s-b'ap-m-im-c'n c'ayx x-ti-snX-c'n-t'ayx 94b

s-ka-yul-ūā-a-t-im x-tX. 94c

'āi-yul-ūā-a-t-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-tX 'āi-tX<sup>w</sup>. 95

(BB)

'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' āi-tX<sup>w</sup> 96a

s-us-tX<sup>w</sup>-ayx-s. 96b

'ay-tum-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iā x-tX s-'āps-tum. 97

(CC)

'us-tX<sup>w</sup>-ayx uā-tu-suā-tX<sup>w</sup>; 98

'ax-k<sup>w</sup> ti-ka-'āi-t'q-ī ti-ka-stam 'āi-ta-as-tX<sup>w</sup>-s ta-suā-tX<sup>w</sup> 99a

.... ti-ka-stam. 99b

(DD)

b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' c'ayx 'al-a-ac 100a

s-ka-'m-t-ī-s. 100b

'āps-tum-k<sup>w</sup>-c'n c'ayx x-ti-man-ā-t'ayx. 101

[IV 11] [The girl is accepted by Sun: end of Stump]  
(EE)

It was when, they say, that one had finished eating,  
the one who followed her showed up.

He did arrive,  
the one who followed her,  
....Stump.

(FF)

It was then, they say, then  
the person went inside.

They say  
this one, the sun, did not go  
to rub that one's body.

(GG)

It happened, they say, then  
Stump's hair did burn.  
His hair burned, they say, then.  
Perhaps that is why it happened then  
he died then....  
Stump.

(HH)

It was then, they say, then  
he cast that one away then.  
Stump, they say, was charcoal.  
(It is this one, they say,  
okay, 'Stump' in our village is named after.  
Perhaps it is from that, they say, he is 'Stump'.)

[IV 11] [The girl is accepted by Sun: end of Stump]

(EE)

102a wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k s-cay-uc-s 'i<sup>h</sup>ay<sup>h</sup> s-'a<sup>h</sup>ips  
102b s-tuin-m-s ta-'a<sup>h</sup>-aw<sup>h</sup>-t-tX.  
103a c'kt-s-tu-c'  
103b ta-a<sup>h</sup>-aw<sup>h</sup>-t-tX  
103c ....T'mix<sup>w</sup>.

102a

102b

103a

103b

103c

104a (FF)

104b wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k tX<sup>w</sup>  
104a s-us-tX<sup>w</sup>-s ta-h'msta-tX.  
104b 'ax-k<sup>w</sup>-c'

104a

104b

105a

105b

105c

105c h'ap-s t'ayx ti-snX-t'ayx  
s-ka-yul-ū<sup>h</sup>-a-t-is t'ax.

106a (GG)

106b 'ay-k<sup>w</sup>-tu a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>  
107 s-sx<sup>w</sup>m-ā<sup>h</sup>Xi-s T'mix<sup>w</sup>.  
108a sx<sup>w</sup>m-ā<sup>h</sup>Xi-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

106a

106b

107

108a

108b

108c

108b si-'ay-s-ck 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>  
108c s-'at'ma-s 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>....  
T'mix<sup>w</sup>.

109a (HH)

109b wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>  
110 s-'ik<sup>w</sup>ā-ank-is t'ax 'a<sup>h</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.  
(111a) s-q'm-ā<sup>h</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ax t'mix<sup>w</sup>-tX.

109a

109b

110

(111a)

(111b) (tix-k<sup>w</sup> t'ayx

(111b)

(112) way ti-t'mix<sup>w</sup>-tum 'al-a-amat-i<sup>h</sup>-ac s-'apsu<sup>h</sup>-i<sup>h</sup>.  
wix-k<sup>w</sup>-m-i-c'i-k ac si-t'mix<sup>w</sup>-tum.)

(112)

The fourth act of Part One introduces a new actor, Sun. The first scene establishes the relationship between Sun and the fleeing girl, while the second scene deals with the relationship between Sun and the pursuing Stump. He rubs the one and not the other for protection from his heat; the one sits and is fed, the other is scorched and dies.

The stanzas are brief and perhaps not more than verses, actually, but the analysis brings out the parallelism of structure. In the first scene the girl stands before the house (W), and Sun speaks (X); she opens the door (Y) only to close it because of the heat, (Y), and again Sun speaks (Z). On the criterion of changes of actor and turns at talk, (Y) ought to consist of (89-91); some three sentences with three occurrences of Q. On the criterion of parallelism in the distribution of Q, (Y) ought to consist of (89-90), and (91) ought to pair with the quotative of (92-93b). The latter choice is adopted here, tentatively.

The second half of the first scene begins with two stanzas, or verses, with rather parallel markings: QP, QP 'then' in (AA), and QP 'then', QP in (BB). The girl is rubbed, then gets inside and is fed. The remaining lines parallel these preceding, having two elements: the barrenness of the inside of the house, and the girl again being said to be fed, with the additional remark, by 'our father'. But in the lines about barrenness there is a single Q, although there is intersecting parallelism of lexical repetition: inside the house/ nothing...inside the house/...nothing (98, 99a, 99b). In the last two lines there are two occurrences of Q, and the feeding of (DD) parallels the feeding of (BB).

In the second scene the initial recurrence of wix-k<sup>w</sup> 'it is then' ('be at' in the morphological translation) 'they say' that most clearly shows the relationships. Three of the four stanzas are so marked (EE, FF, HH) and the other has a similar initial construction, 'ayek<sup>w</sup> 'it happened' ('de' in the morphological translation). (The occurrence of wix-k<sup>w</sup> in (112) is part of a metanarrative comment about the 'Stump' living in the village now. Incidentally, the causative passive suffix -tum seems to be the basis of what is to be rendered 'named after'.)

Within the first stanza of IV ii there is only the one quotative together with a second perfective (103a), and lexical repetition (102b, 103b). Still, the parallel initial 'wix-k<sup>w</sup>' seems clearly to demarcate what follows as a separate unit, as does the parallelism between the ending of (EE) itself "....Stump" and the ending of the first stanza of the second part of the scene (GG), also "....Stump". The second stanza (FF) has QP tX<sup>w</sup>, QP (104a, 105a). The third stanza has Q, QP in its first two sentences (106a, 107), and 'then' in these and the first two lines of the remaining sentence, for four occurrences in all. Altogether, the marking is fairly rich: Q twice, 'then' four times, the final parallelism of 'Stump', ~~the same initial construction~~ construction in parallel with wix-. The fourth stanza (HH) has the initial construction with wix-, together with two occurrences of QP, the first with tX<sup>w</sup> 'then' as well.

Both scenes of IV have one stanza in which a feature recurs four times, whereas the other stanzas have no more than pairs of markers: (W) in scene i, where there are four occurrences of Q as the girl reaches the house of Sun; (GG) in ii, where there are the four occurrences of ab-tX<sup>w</sup> 'then' just noted. This observation fits the general finding of flexibility for expressive as well as demarcative purposes.

If the major part just concluded focusses on the young woman, the major part to follow focusses on her son. In reflecting on the first part, one can notice more than <sup>one</sup> kind of relation among its components. The successive outcomes do show four clear sections, or acts: she goes and is taken to Stump's house and fed there; she runs away, but is taken back to Stump's house and fed better; she runs away and is not caught but, having used up her magic obstacles, goes up a mountain, still pursued; she reaches Sun's house, as does Stump, where she is fed and he is burned.

Within this structure, I and II have the girl end at Stump's house, while III and IV end with her away from Stump's house. On the other hand, II and III are linked by the escape, felled and unfelled, and could be taken to be framed by I and IV, her first and second places of arrival (Stump's house, Sun's house). And while I and II have her fed at the end (by Stump), III is wholly given over to the flight, after which IV has her fed again (by Sun).

Part Two seems also to have four parts, divided between two for the boy and his mother, and two for the boy and his father. And as in the Part One, the third of the four parts appears to be an elaborated account of a journey.

In act V (I make the enumeration of acts continuous throughout the story for clarity of reference), the woman has a boy, then thinks of her foster parents and wants to go back; she arrives home, then the boy is teased by playmates.

In act VI, the boy grows up rapidly, and makes an arrow chain; he bids farewell to his mother, then reaches his father.

In act VII, he asks to be the Sun, and, finally permitted, is instructed; but does not follow the instructions; the sky burns, some people die, some survive; the sky burns, what happens to clam, and to weasel, is reported.

In act VIII, his father punishes him and turns him into mosquitoes.

# PART TWO. THE SUN'S SON TRIES TO BE THE SUN.

[1/1] [The girl has a boy]

(A)

They say,

the young girl didn't know

okay, what she was doing with him...

with the sun.

It happened, they say, then,

she was pregnant then.

(B)

They say,

that one didn't know

she would be pregnant from the sun.

That one was pregnant, they say.

She was pregnant, they say, then.

(C)

They say,

that one wasn't long, then...

okay, giving birth to her boy.

It was a boy, they say, that one gave birth to.

(D)

From the beginning this one was named, they say.

The baby knew, they say, he had been named by our father.

He was named Kankkii.

She had her first child with Kankkii.

113a

113b

113c

113d

114a

114b

115a

115b

115c

116

117

118a

118b

118c

119

120

121

122

123

## PART TWO. THE SUN'S SON TRIES TO BE THE SUN.

[X41] [The girl has a boy]

(A)

'ax-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-cq̄i-k  
 'aṇap-liwa-cut-s 'iṭ-cāctī-ṭ  
 way s'aṭi-s 'aṭ-tX ...  
 'aṭ-ti-snX-t'ayx.  
 'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' aṭ-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 s-'aciw-lt-s 'aṭ-tX<sup>w</sup>.

(B)

'ax<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-c'  
 'aṇap-is 'iṭ'ayṭ  
 s-ka-'aciw-lt-nix-im x-ta-snX-tX.  
 'aciw-lt-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iṭ'ayṭ.  
 'aciw-lt-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' aṭ-tX<sup>w</sup>.

(C)

'ax-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k  
 ayk'-s 'iṭ'ayṭ 'aṭ-tX<sup>w</sup>...  
 way....s-nūsqa-s x-ti-immīkī-s.  
 'immīkī-k<sup>w</sup> ta-s-nūsqa-s 'iṭ'ayṭ.

(D)

sm-'aṭ-pāX-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ayx.  
 'aṇap-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-qīqtī-tX wa-sk<sup>w</sup>acta-tum x-ti-man-ṭ.  
 Kankṭī-tum t'ayx.  
 'as-xṭ-mna-lx-s cx 'aṭ-ti-kankṭī-t'ayx.

This scene appears to have two pairs of stanzas, the first dealing with the woman's pregnancy, and the second with the birth and name of the child. Indeed, each pair begins identically: ax-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k 'net-they say-....'.

(In the three stanzas that begin with 'ax-k<sup>w</sup>- in this scene, as in (105) earlier, I adopt the convention of putting the translation of the quotative, 'they say', first, in an attempt to match the syntactic distinctiveness of the construction, which is literally Neg-Quet....Perfective as matrix of the first word of the sentence.)

All three stanzas before the fourth in fact begin with the negative construction. The first two stanzas are alike in that the verb negated is 'knew' (113a,b; 115a, b), apparently linking them as the elements of the first half of the scene, and anticipating the positive 'knew' in the fourth stanza (121). These linkages appear to underlie the patterning of the scene as a whole.

Within the pattern three of the stanzas are alike in having each a pair of occurrences of Q: A, C, D. (B) has three, but the overall parallelism of the scene as a whole sets it apart as a unit as well. Its first line is parallel as a first line to those of the stanzas that precede and follow. It is internally coherent in repetitions of 'pregnant'. The following lines (118b, b) include a reference to passage of time, which is normally initial in a unit, and introduce the next step, giving birth.

In (A) QP is followed by way, as occurs also in (C), suggesting a further parallelism between the initial stanzas of each half. The pairing in (A) of QP, way, is followed by two intensifying occurrences of 'then' (114a, b), the first again with QP.

In (B) all three occurrences of Q are with P, the last followed by 'then', a further parallel with (A).

In (C) the initial occurrence of QP is followed by 'then', and way; the other marker is simply Q.

In (D) the first two sentences both have QP. The remaining two lines have no marker, but are parallel in giving the child's name, Kankṭīi.

[V 11] [She thinks of her foster parents]

(E)

It happened, they say, with that one then.  
Suddenly, they say, she thought of her foster parents.  
Perhaps she was lonely for them then.  
This one's thoughts were heard, they say, by the Sun.  
"Be brave,  
"Go in the morning",  
the person said to her, they say.

(F)

It is they, they say,  
the sun's eyelashes (are)  
the sunbeams to the surface of the earth on which we dwell.  
It is they, they say,  
the young girl walked the center of.

She went, they say, then.

It happened, they say, that one started from fright then.  
that one did start from fright then.

"Can I really walk on this sunbeam?"  
that one said, they say.

"Yes, you can go.

"You can go.

"Go on!"

124  
125  
126  
127  
128a  
128b  
128c

129a  
129b  
129c  
130a  
130b.

131  
132a  
132b

133a  
133b

134  
135  
136

[V 11] [She thinks of her foster parents]

(E)

'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-tX<sup>w</sup> 'iā'ayā. 124  
tī-ūā-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' s-lq'-tis wa-amat-alāxt-s. 125  
swalut-ayx-s-ck 'uā-tX<sup>w</sup> 'ā-tX<sup>w</sup>. 126  
'e-nu-ax<sup>w</sup> snix-ik-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' c'ayx x-ti-snX-t'ayx. 127  
"Yaya-liwa-timut-X, 128a  
"ka-b'ap-nu ka-Xim-s," 128b  
cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'. 128c

(F)

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-c' c 129a  
wa-sk'āyayx-s ti-snX-t'ayx 129b  
wa-snX-āā-'ac 'uā-ti-kuā-ulm ti-amat-iā-t'ayx. 129c  
wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k tX<sup>w</sup> 130a  
wa-ā-k<sup>w</sup>n-ik-is 'iā-cācti-ā. 130b

b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ā-tX<sup>w</sup>. 131  
'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 132a  
'iā'ayā s-nu-qic'-lx-ik-s 'ā-tX<sup>w</sup>. 132b

"ka-b'ap-ayx-c-a-ma-tu 'ā-ti-snX-āā-t'ayx?" 133a  
cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'n 'iā'ayā. 133b

"aw, b'ap-ayx-nu-tu. 134  
"b'ap-ayx-nu-tu. 135  
"b'la-it!" 136



This scene is a unit in terms of the initial occurrence of a reference to time (it happened...suddenly), motivating the return to earth, and as containing the interaction of the woman and Sun about the prospective return. It contains six pairings of lines and sentences: (124-6), (127-128c), (129a-130b), (131-132b), (133a,b), (134-6). The clearest internal criterion is the repeated sequence of the girl's thoughts or words, responded to by the sun. Taking the sun's response as closing unit gives two units in the first half of the scene, and four in the second. These units are not labelled, but lowercase letters would serve.

In the first half (E), the first part, dealing with the girl, has QP 'then' twice (124: 125, 126). The second part, dealing with Sun, has QP twice.

In the second half (F), the first unit has parallel initial construction and QP twice (129, 130).

The second unit has QP 'then' twice (131; 132a, b).

The third unit has the girl's speech with QP, and the fourth has the Sun's speech with no marker. Notice that it consists of a run of three lines, each with 'go'.

It may be significant that it is the girl's emotion--lonely for her foster parents in (E), frightened in (F), that occurs with 'then'.

[V iii] [She arrives home]

(G)

That one walked the center of the sunbeams, they say,	137a
down to us where we dwell,	137b
we live.	137c
She led by the hand, they say, her son...	138a
Kankii.	138b
(H)	
Her mother was crying, they say, in their bedroom.	139
She reached, then, the back---	140
her path led, they say, to the back of their house.	141
The woman hollered, they say, to one of her daughters,	142a
to see who was playing tricks on her.	142b
"Go	143a
see who's at the back of the house,"	143b
their mother said, they say.	143c
The girl went, they say,	144a
running outside.	144b
"It's L'aqamuuts,"	145a
that one said, they say,	145b
returning to her mother.	145c
"On ne!",	146a
their mother said, they say.	146b
"You must be teasing me.	147
"It's been a long time	148a
since she left us.	148b
"She must be dead now,"	149a
the person said, they say, to her daughter.	149b

[V 111] [She arrives here]

(G)

k<sup>w</sup>n-ik-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'i<sup>2</sup>ay<sup>2</sup> ta-snx-ā-tx<sup>w</sup>, 137a  
 'ūi-imiā 'ūXnk 'ūl-a-amat-iā-c'n-'ac 137b  
 s-'apsuā-āi. 137c  
 'āi-k<sup>w</sup>n-ak-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-mna-s-tx ... 138a  
 Kankāi. 138b

(H)

k<sup>w</sup>anat-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'iā-stan-s-iā 'āi-ta-sXicta-naw-tx<sup>w</sup>. 139  
 c'kt-s 'āi-tx<sup>w</sup> uā-tu-kuā-āX-aw-tx<sup>w</sup>. 140  
 'āi-ay-uā-ūs-k<sup>w</sup>-lu-c' ta-mnta-s-tx 'ūi-ta-kui-āX-s ta-suā-aw-tx<sup>w</sup> 141  
 'ax<sup>w</sup>s-m-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iā-b'msta-yā ci-nu-maw 'āi-tu-mamnc-tx<sup>w</sup> 142a  
 s-ka-k'yuk-is ti-yayaX-m-t. 142b  
 "b'ap-x 143a  
 s-ka-k'yuk-ix<sup>w</sup> ti-kuā-āX-ck," 143b  
 cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iā-stan-aw-iā. 143c  
 b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' iā-cāctī-i 144a  
 s-b'ikm-s s-'us-qā-s. 144b  
 "cix iā-b'aqamūc-ayu," 145a  
 cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k 'i<sup>2</sup>ay<sup>2</sup> 145b  
 s-lip'-cut-s 'uā-iā-stan-s-iā. 145c

"'ananācn'ay", 146a  
 iā-stan-aw-iā. 146b  
 "'ul'ulX-uc-timut-nu-ma 'uā-'nc. 147  
 "'āi-tu-'ayk'-tx<sup>w</sup> 148a  
 s-wal-tuā. 148b  
 "'āi-'at'ma-ma-ku-c'i-ks," 149a  
 cut-s-k<sup>w</sup> 'iā-b'msta-yā 'uā-iā-mna-s-iā. 149b

(I)

She hollered, they say, as before, to another one. 150  
 She didn't believe her. 151  
 The other one went, they say, as before, 152a  
 to see. 152b  
 She said, they say, the same as the first. 153  
 "It's her all right," 154a  
 she said, they say. 154b  
 "It's her all right. 155  
 "She's got a child..." 156a

(J)

Okay. 156b  
 "She said for us/to put sand on the floor here. 157a/b  
 "When there is fresh sand, 158a  
 she'll come inside the house, she said," 158b  
 the little girl said to her mother, they say. 158c  
 They went, they say, 159a  
 to get fresh sand, 159b  
 Really, they say, 160a  
 they rushed then 160b  
 to get their houses spread with sand. 160c

[V 1v] [The boy is teased about his father]

(K)

The mother's children and her child's son, they say, 161a  
 went to play then outside. 161b  
 The boy would begin, they say, 162a  
 to be rolled by his playmates. 162b  
 That one would explain, they say, 163a  
 that it was the sun who was his father. 163b  
 "I am called 'Kankāi', 164a  
 the young boy would try to tell his playmates. 164b

(L)

His playmates said, they say, 165a  
 "Ha...his name is Kankāi. 165b  
 "He has good-looking eyes." 166  
 The boy had tears in his eyes, they say. 167  
 "This one keeps saying 168a  
 that the sun is his father... 168b  
 "He's no good nevertheless," 168c  
 they said to him, they say. 168d  
 They made fun of him, they say. 169

(I)

'ax<sup>w</sup>-s-m-is-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' 'i<sup>w</sup>-nu-maw-'i<sup>w</sup>.'anu-s-q<sup>w</sup>i-nix-is.b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' i<sup>w</sup>-nu-maw-i<sup>w</sup>

s-ka-k'x-is.

'ay-uc-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' x-'i<sup>w</sup>."a<sup>w</sup>-ci-cix-tu cx,"cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'."a<sup>w</sup>-ci-cix-tu cx.

"as-mna-yak-I cx ..."

(J)

way

"ay-uc-i-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ks-ka-sqc'-ulmx-i<sup>w</sup> 'ac."ka-wayx-i<sup>w</sup> ka-sqc',s-ka-us-tx<sup>w</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup>,"cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' i<sup>w</sup>-cācti-i<sup>w</sup> 'u<sup>w</sup>-i<sup>w</sup>-stan-aw-i<sup>w</sup>.b'ap-liwa-na-k<sup>w</sup>-lu-c'

s-ka-ka-sqc'-aw.

c'Xmayx-a-k<sup>w</sup>-c's-'a<sup>w</sup>-a-i<sup>w</sup>-cut-aw 'a<sup>w</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup>s-ka-sqc'-ulmx-ay-nix-it tu-su<sup>w</sup>-aw-tx<sup>w</sup>.

[V iv] [The boy is teased about his father]

(K)

b'ap-liwa-na-k<sup>w</sup>-c' wa-mamnc-s 'i<sup>w</sup>-stan-'i<sup>w</sup> 'n ti-mna-s 'i<sup>w</sup>-mna-s-'i<sup>w</sup> 161as-ka-x<sup>w</sup>ism-aw 'a<sup>w</sup>-tx<sup>w</sup> 'a<sup>w</sup>-ta-as-qa-tx<sup>w</sup>. 161bb'ap-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> ta-qīqtī-tx 162as-ka-'a<sup>w</sup>-liq<sup>w</sup>-im x-tu-stam-x<sup>w</sup>ism-s-tx<sup>w</sup>. 162bk<sup>w</sup>pap-lx-timut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> t'aX<sup>w</sup> 163a

s-tix-s ti-snX-t'ayx ti-man-s. 163b

"Kankāi-tuminic," 164a

cucut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-alu-k<sup>w</sup> ta-qīqtī-tx u<sup>w</sup>-tu-stam-x<sup>w</sup>ism-s-tx<sup>w</sup>. 164b

(L)

'ay-uc-a-k<sup>w</sup>, ta-stam-x<sup>w</sup>ism-s-tx<sup>w</sup>, 165a

"he... Kankāi-tum-c'. 165b

"nu-ya-yu<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup>s." 166'anu-x<sup>w</sup>um-u<sup>w</sup>-aq<sup>w</sup>s-i-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-qīqtī-tx. 167"ay-uc-k<sup>w</sup>u t'ayx 168a

s-tix-s ta-snX-t'aX ti-man-s ... 168b

"ax<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k-tū ya-s," 168ccut-a-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k t'aX<sup>w</sup> 'u<sup>w</sup>-tx. 168dqIXlix-it-k<sup>w</sup>-c'. 169

291

[V iii] appears to have two main parts, the first and second reports of daughters as to who has come. Each in turn has two parts. (G) brings the girl to earth, and (H) describes the first outcome: she reaches the back of her mother's house; where her mother is crying; the mother sends a daughter; the daughter reports that it is she; the mother can not believe it. (G) has a pair of QP as markers, while (H) has pairs of GP as markers in each of its four units, together with an initially intensifying 'then' in the middle of the first unit (140).

The second half parallels (H), but with some differences in content and form. (I) in effect parallels (H) insofar as consequence is concerned: a daughter goes and reports. (J) seems distinguishable in virtue of the way marker, which introduces instructions as to the preparation of the house and their being carried out. It is as if (I) completes the question of the fester child being dead or alive and returned, and (J) completes the return.

This interpretation is tentative, and clearly the four stanzas identified in this scene are of varying scope. (G) has two verses; (H) has eight; (K) and (J) each have four, if occurrences of QP are taken as marking verses. Just such variation in scope, however, is part of the artistry of narrative in other thoroughly analyzed cases in Chinookan, Takelma and Tenkwa.

Within the calibration provided by verses, there can be variable elaboration of lines. Within the calibration provided by scenes and stanzas, there can be variable elaboration of verses. A musical analogy is the variable relation of type and number of notes to bars, and of number of bars to a section or movement.

(The poignant theme of reunion first doubted is salient in the Shealwater Chinook myth of Šaxā and the Clackamas Chinook myth of Gitskux and his elder brother.)

[V iv] shows the motivation recurrent in other versions and the Kwakiutl story of M<sup>w</sup>ak, the sun's child being teased by playmates. It could be considered a single stanza, but the parallelism of reference to his saying the sun is his father in the second and fourth pairs of verses suggests two parallel stanzas (K, L). There are four pairs of Q in the scene, the first and last three QP, the second, third and fourth Q with usitative, the fifth just Q. The run of usitative in (162, 163, 164), following the initial QP with 'then', further suggests the unity of a stanza, while the paired remarks of the playmates unite (L).

TWO VI [He goes to his father]  
[VI 1] [He grows rapidly and starts an arrow chain].

55

(M)  
The boy did, they say,  
grew by leaps and bounds.  
It would dawn, they say,  
that one would again be bigger.  
It would dawn, they say,  
he did the same, then.

(N)  
He did, they say, then  
ask his grandfather/to make arrows.  
He asked, they say, his grandmother  
to make a quiver.  
(It's the quiver where his arrows will be put to keep).

(O)  
The boy began to go, they say,  
to shoot arrows into the sky then.  
When he had no more arrows, they say,  
he returned to his grandfather.

(P)  
He went to ask him, they say, again  
to ask him politely,  
to make arrows.  
"What are you doing to your arrows  
that you use them up so fast?"  
the man said, they say, to him.  
"They hung up on the tree branches.  
"There's no way I can get them,"  
the person said, they say...  
his grandchild.  
He began again/to make arrows for him.

(Q)  
It was dawn the next day again, they say,  
he went/hunting, they say, again.  
It happened, they say, then  
he was just able then  
to hang on to the arrows.  
They got longer, they say, toward him.  
He was unseen, they say, by the people.

293

170a  
170b  
171a  
171b  
172a  
172b  
  
173a  
173b/c  
174a  
174b  
175a/b  
  
176a  
176b  
177a  
177b  
  
178a  
178b  
178c  
179a  
179b  
179c  
180  
181a  
181b  
181c  
182 a/b  
  
183a  
183b/c  
184a  
184b  
184c  
185  
186

TWO VI [He goes to his father]  
[VI 1] [He grows rapidly and starts an arrow chain]

56

(M)  
'aš-ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>, ta-cāctī-tX  
s-six-siq<sup>w</sup> i-s s-pus.  
Xim-s-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>,  
s-ik<sup>w</sup>-s-tu-c' t'aX.  
Xim-s-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>,  
s-'aš-ay-s 'aš-tX<sup>w</sup>.

(N)  
'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup> x-tX<sup>w</sup>  
s-k<sup>w</sup> nta-cut-s 'uš-ta-kuq<sup>w</sup> pi-s-tX / s-ka-tam-t'ksnimta-tum.  
k<sup>w</sup> nta-cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tū 'āš-iā-kikya-s-'iā  
s-ka-tam-nusik<sup>w</sup> iktā-tum.  
(ti-ka-c'ulapla ka-amat-q<sup>w</sup> tu-t'ksnimta-s-tX<sup>w</sup> s-ka-aš-nmp-aw.  
175

(O)  
š'ap-ak-s-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> u ta-cāctī-tX  
s-ka-t'ksnān-a-s 'ul-a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac 'aš-tX<sup>w</sup>.  
kamaš-q<sup>w</sup> ala-yak-s-k<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> u t'aX 'aš-ta-t'ksnimta-s-tX<sup>w</sup>  
s-lip'-cut-s 'uš-ta-kuq<sup>w</sup> pi-s-tX.

(P)  
š'ap-uc-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' t'aX  
s-ka-ašq<sup>w</sup> aš-t-is  
s-ka-tam-t'ksnimta-tum.  
"stam-l-tu-tu-ks wa-c'kta-tutix<sup>w</sup> wa-t'ksnimta-nu-c  
šā-b'iyak<sup>w</sup> nūns-q<sup>w</sup> ala-yak-m-tix<sup>w</sup>?"  
cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-b'msta-tX uš-tX.  
"Ti-lx-uš-aw-k<sup>w</sup> al-a-slip'nakt-s wa-stn-c.  
"aX<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k ti-ka-yaš-'ay--ak-m-tic,"  
cucut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-b'msta-tX ...  
ta-ašmo-s-tX.  
š'ap-ak-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' t'aX / s-ka-tam-t'ksnimta-tus.

(Q)  
Xim-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac  
s-š'ap-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c' t'aX / s-ka-'a-šXan-m-s.  
'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-tX<sup>w</sup>  
s-cx<sup>w</sup> y-ak-s 'aš-tX<sup>w</sup>  
s-ka-ip<sup>w</sup> us-m-s 'uš-ta-t'ksnimta-tX<sup>w</sup>.  
'aš-tam-cāq<sup>w</sup>-lx-a-k<sup>w</sup>-c' 'uš-tX.  
'aX<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-c' āš-k'x-im x-ta-b'msta-tX<sup>w</sup>.

170a  
170b  
171a  
171b  
172a  
172b  
  
173a  
173b/c  
174a  
174b  
175  
  
176a  
176b  
177a  
177b  
  
178a  
178b  
178c  
179a  
179b  
179c  
180  
181a  
181b  
181c  
182a/b  
  
183a  
183b/c  
184a  
184b  
184c  
185  
186

294

Act VI seems a unit in that it contains the actions of the boy to rejoin his father. The very next sentence (201) launches the boy's plan to be the sun himself, and the very first sentence here (170) initiates the boy's rapid growth. Within this scope, there seem clearly two scenes, that of the arrow chain being prepared, and that of the taking leave and traveling upward to his father. Each of these two scenes in turn appears to have two topical parts: the rapid growth, and the arrow chain (VI i); taking leave of the mother, joining the father (VI ii).

The first of the two scenes is more variable, and in one respect, irregular. The boy's rapid growth is a short stanza (M), analogous to the short initial stanza (G) in [V iii], and indeed is a three-step run, marked by Q, Q-usitative, Q-usitative... 'then'. The arrow-chain is a four-stanza part (NOPQ), and regular until the end. The boy asks his grandfather and asks his grandmother (Q 'then', Q), followed by a metanarrative explanation (N). He goes to shoot and returns (Q-usitative... 'then', Q-usitative)(O). In a more elaborate stanza, he asks his grandfather again, is questioned, replies, and the grandfather goes again to make him arrows (P). Each verse has QP. A time change goes together with paired Q for him to go hunting again, and the lengthening of the chain so that he can grasp the lowest arrow. QP 'then', and QP. But this leaves an orphan sentence (186). There seems no way to integrate (186) into the double and quadruple patterning of the text. The next line, way (187), seems to mark a new point, and to form part of the regular patterning of the next scene, given its separate status as an entire sentence. (Cf. the assignment of way, following quoted speech, to the next stanza in V iii (J), and to the beginning of a stanza in III ii (Q), following the evident initial status of way in III i (J, L). The mid-sentence uses in VI i (A, C) may appear different, but there too way is part of the first half of a pair). This orphan status seems simply to be a fact of the narrative at this point.

'then' again seems an intensifier, of growth (172), of beginning the arrow chain (176), of completing it (184a, b).

[VI ii] [He takes leave of his mother and reaches his father]

(R)

Okay.

"Be brave,"

he told, they say, his mother.

"I'm going to leave you when day comes,"

he told, they say, his mother.

"Don't cry that I have left you.

"I'll see you wherever I'm going,"

the boy told, they say, his mother.

(S)

It happened, they say, as expected then.

It dawned, they say.

She accompanied him, they say,

to where he was going to leave.

He went, they say,

to climb to where he and the sun would meet.

(T)

The sun arrived, they say,

to meet him then.

It was then, they say,

the sun stopped then,

arriving there

where he was.

(U)

A beat, they say, is ~~that sun is~~ transportation.

It happened, they say, then,

he got in.

He went, they say,

to move then

where the sun, they say, goes down.

[VI ii] [He takes leave of his mother and reaches his father]

(R)

Way.

"ka-yaya-liwa-tamut-nu-ma",

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'aX u<sup>u</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>-stan-s-i<sup>i</sup>.

"wal-cinu ka-Xim-s a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'aX u<sup>u</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>-stan-s-i<sup>i</sup>.

"aX-tX<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>anat-nu ka-wal-ay-nix-cinu.

"ka-'a<sup>i</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-x-cinu-ma-tu, 'a<sup>i</sup>-a-ka-mta-c-'ac,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-qiqti-tX 'u<sup>u</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>-stan-s-i<sup>i</sup>.

(S)

'a<sup>i</sup>-ay-k<sup>w</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>-lu-c'i-k x-tX<sup>w</sup>.

Xim-k<sup>w</sup>-c'.

'a<sup>i</sup>nayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a<sup>i</sup>-tX

'ul-a-ka-tx-amat-i<sup>i</sup>-a<sup>i</sup>-s s-ka-b'ap-s.

b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'aX

s-ka-q'lum-s 'ul-a-ka-si-kal-us-m-tmax<sup>w</sup>-aw 'n ta-snX-tX.

(T)

'umat-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-snX-tX

s-ka-nu-q<sup>w</sup>p-a<sup>i</sup>-is 'a<sup>i</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>

s-ti-lx-u<sup>u</sup>-s ti-snX-t'ayx 'a<sup>i</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>

s-c'kt-s 'u<sup>u</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>

'a<sup>i</sup>-ta-amat-s-tX<sup>w</sup>.

(U)

balas-k<sup>w</sup> ti-'aci-s ti-snX-t'ayx.

'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-tX<sup>w</sup>

s-nmp-ayx-s.

b'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c'

s-ka-q<sup>w</sup>X<sup>w</sup>-m-s 'a<sup>i</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>

'ul-a-ka-si-k<sup>w</sup>-s-k<sup>w</sup> ta-snX-tX.

The second scene of act VI seems rather regular. The boy informs his mother in four verses marked by way, QP, QP, QP (R). With the dawn he departs in four verses marked by QP 'then', QP, QP, QP (S), accompanied to the place by his mother.

In the second half of the scene his father comes to meet him in two verses marked by QP 'then' in each case (T), and the boy joins his father in four verses marked by Q, QP 'then', QP 'then', and again Q. The four occurrences of 'then' seem to intensify the two actions on the part of the father (196, 197) and the two actions of getting in and starting again when the boy does join his father in his boat (199, 200).

187

188a

188b

189a

189b

190

191a

191b

192

193

194a

194b

195a

195b

196a

196b

197a

197b

197c

197d

198

199a

199b

200a

200b

200c

TWO VIII [He tries to be the Sun]

[VII 1] [He gets the chance to be the sun]

(V)

The boy, they say, had a plan.

"I want to be the sun tomorrow,"  
that one said, they say.

"I'll be the sun tomorrow."

"You must be kidding",

his father said, they say, to him.

"You must be kidding.

"You might not do it right,"

he told his son, they say.

(W)

"Let me be the sun tomorrow,"

the boy said, they say, to his father.

This one did not, they say, agree then.

(X)

Okay.

This one began, they say, , then  
to say all right.

He made him bundles of kindling, they say, then  
for him to use for light.

(Z)

"Be brave,"

he said, they say, then, to his son.

"Use this for your light

when you first appear.

"When you get ~~substantially~~ further downstream,  
you add a bundle,"

his father said, they say, to him.

"When you get ~~substantially~~ further downstream again,  
you use the third bundle.

"When you get to the middle of the sky,  
you use the fourth bundle.

"It is there you use the fourth bundle for your light."

61

TWO VII [He tries to be the Sun]

[VII 1] [He gets the chance to be the sun]

(V)

k'wnta-cut--s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-cāctī-tX.

"anayk-c s-ka-snX-c kaynuxs,"

cut-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k t'aX<sup>w</sup>.

"nc ti-ka-snX kaynuxs."

204a "ax-ku,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tū ta-man-s-tX 'uā-tX.

204b "ax-ku.

205 "ka-'aX<sup>w</sup> ka-yaya-liwa-nu,"

cucut-m-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c'.

206a (W)

"nc-tX<sup>w</sup> ti-ka-snX kaynuxs,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-cāctī-tX 'uā-ta-man-s-tX.

207b 'aX<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-k yaX<sup>w</sup>-nimut-s t'ayx 'al-a-ac.

208

209 (X)

Way.

210a h'ap-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ayx 'al-a-ac

s-ka-way-lit-m-is-c'.

210b qwit-āX-uc-ak-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c' aā-tX<sup>w</sup>

ka-s-nu-Xy-ak-s.

211a (Y)

212a "Yaya-liwaōtimut-X,"

cucut-m-is-k<sup>w</sup> aā-tX<sup>w</sup> ta-mna-s-tX.

212b "s-nu-Xy-ak-nu x-t'ayx

ka-Xilxus-nu.

213a "ūl-a-s-ka-taq'<sup>w</sup>ā-lx-ī-nu,"

s-ka-s-tq'-āX-uc-ak-m-nu,"

214b cucut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-man-s-tX 'uā-tX.

214c "ūl-a-s-ka-taq'<sup>w</sup>ā-lx-ī-nu-tu-c'

s-ka-'asmūs-āX-uc-ak-am-nu.

215a "ūl-a-s-ka-nu-kal-ik-s ti-sunx<sup>w</sup>-t'ayx

s-ka-mūs-āX-uc-ak-am-nu.

216a "wix c s-ka-mūs-āX-uc-ak-am-nu x-a-s-nu-Xy-ak-nu-c."

216b

62

201

202a

202b

203

204a

204b

205

206a

206b

207a

207b

208

209

210a

210b

211a

211b

212a

212b

213a

213b

214a

214b

214c

215a

215b

216a

216b

216a

217

(VII 1) has two parts, one in which the son asks to be the sun, and one in which the father, finally consenting, prepares and advises. Each in turn has two component parts. In (V) and (W) the boy proposes the plan, but the father does not agree. ('You must be kidding' seems an idiomatic equivalent of 'ax-ku 'Negative-Surprisative'; Davis and Saunders give 'no way' the first time (204), 'never' the second (205)). Both (V) and (W) have each two occurrences of Q (both QP in (V), Q and QP in (W)). In (X) and (Y) the father first prepares bundles of kindling, then advises the boy on their use. In marking there is somewhat of a puzzle in (X). One reading of it would be to say that it has free-standing way (208), QP 'then' (210a), affixed way (210b), and QP 'then' (211a). In any case it has two occurrences of QP 'then'. (Y) also has two occurrences of Q, one with 'then' (212), one QP (214c). Each occurrence of the quotative serves an elaboration, two quoted remarks and four lines in the first instance (212ab, 213ab), four sentences in the second instance (214, 215, 216, 217).

The pair of quotatives with the father's speech in (Y) match the pair of quotatives with his speech in (V), but there the pair is taken to be part of a quartet. The variation in relation between quotatives and sentences in this scene is a good example of the nature of form/meaning covariation in establishing the pattern. A strict counting of quotatives, or pairs of quotatives, would find ten, or five, units in the scene. A strict counting of turns at talk would find six units, four of talk and two not (201-3; 204-6; 207; 212-7, for talk, and 208, 209-10 for indirect speech). The present analysis identifies the sequence as an overall unit of the action (201-17); and finds a pattern of parallelism and repetition: son asking, father saying no, twice, as one half, and father acceding, then advising, as a second half. The placement of way as a marker is a supportive clue, as to the division. On either side of it, difference in elaboration seems motivated and consistent with the fundamental principle of marking in pairs and multiples of pairs. The first exchange between son and father is longer (Q four times), the second shorter (Q twice). The first part of the father's assent is relatively short (Q twice), the second no longer in marking by Q (twice), but a very long speech for this text (six sentences in all). There are of course four lights, each mentioned once, but preceded by exhortation (be brave), and followed by a redundant remark about the fourth to complete the pattern

[VII 11] [He disobeys instructions]

(Z)

They say,	218a
the boy did not do as expected then,	218b
going	218c
to move.	218d
From the beginning that one had two bundles lit, they say,	219a
when the sun came up.	219b
From the beginning the world was hot, they say, then.	220
They say,	221a
not far downstream then,	221b
he added a bundle again.	221c
He had three bundles lit, they say.	222
A little further downstream they say, again,	223a
he added a bundle, they say, again.	223b
They say,	224a
this one did like that then, then	224b
the lights were gone.	224c



## [VII 11] [He disobeys instructions]

(2)

'ax-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k  
 'aš-ay-s ta-cāctī-tx 'aš-tx<sup>w</sup>  
 s-b'ap-s  
 s-ka-q<sup>w</sup>X-m-s.

sm-ānus-āx-uc-ak-sk<sup>w</sup>-c' t'aX  
 s-Xilxus-s ta-snX-tX.  
 sm-k<sup>w</sup>l-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' wa-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac 'aš-tx<sup>w</sup>.

(4.)

'ax<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k taq<sup>w</sup>š-lx-ī-s 'aš-tx<sup>w</sup>  
 s-s-tq<sup>w</sup>-āx-uc-ak-m-s-tu-c'.

'asmūs-āx-uc-ak-sm-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c'.

s-taq<sup>w</sup>š-lx-ī-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c'  
 s-s-tq<sup>w</sup>-āx-uc-ak-m-s-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-c'

'aš-ay-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k t'ayx x-tx<sup>w</sup>, 'aš-tx<sup>w</sup>  
 'ūl-s-s-q<sup>w</sup>ala-s ta-s-nu-Xy-ak-tum-tx<sup>w</sup>.

(VII 11 presents a problem in that different criteria point to different relations among the verses.

There are eight occurrences of OP, and a simple solution would be to pair them, giving ~~four~~ four units: 218, 219; 220, 221; 222, 223a; 223b, 224. To do so would be to cut across a sentence unit (223), and to ignore both the adjacent parallelism initially of 219, 220, and the parallelism of construction initially in 218, 221, 224, a parallelism taken into account in VII 1 (ABC)) as a basis of organization.

Simply to count the last-mentioned parallelism does not suffice. If the scene is taken as having two parts, each introduced by the identical construction initially in 218a, 221a, then the first part has three occurrences of OP, and the second part has five. The three occurrences in the first part can be seen as having some motivation. All have to do with the onset of the boy's journey, and can be seen as a run of three, parallel to (VI 1 M). But the grouping of five occurrences of OP in the second part has no apparent motivation.

To count the parallelism of (218) and (221) also is to overlook the near parallelism to both of (224). To take the parallelism of all three as significant suggests an organization that fits the other kinds of parallelism in the scene.

The first unit, introduced by (218), is taken as a run of three, parallel to (VI 1 M) as a run whose second and third parts are themselves parallel.

The second unit, introduced by (221) in parallel to (218), has two occurrences of OP. The third unit is taken to be (223), parallel to the second in having reference to movement downstream, and the adding of a bundle, and also being marked by two occurrences of OP. The fourth unit, introduced by (224a) in parallel to (221, 218), has one occurrence of OP, and, surprisingly, two occurrences of the marker 'then': x-tx<sup>w</sup>, 'aš-tx<sup>w</sup>. This unique double occurrence of tx<sup>w</sup> 'then' may balance the absence of a second Q. Altogether the scene suggests improvisation, or special attention: the three-part run, the repetition of quotative and confirmative tu- 'again' within a sentence (223a, b), the doubling of 'then' (224a).

[TWO VII] [He tries to be the Sun]

[VII iii] [The sky burns: people]

(BB)

It is then, they say, then

the sky burned.

The sky burned, they say.

The people began, they say,

to run around, then, on the ground.

They were looking

for a place to hide then.

They tried to throw themselves into the water, they say, then.

It was they, they say,

who died.

The water, they say, was hot.

(CC)

This happened, they say, then with the woman.

Her friends went, they say, to her

to have their bodies rubbed.

And she rubbed their bodies, they say.

They say

they did not feel the heat of the sun.

They were all, they say,

to be alive then.

[VII iv] [The sky burns: animals]

(DD)

It happened, they say,

that the sky burned.

It was then, they say, then,

the tip of the clam's penis was showing, they say.

It is thence, they say, then,

it's tip is black.

(EE)

The tail of the weasel was sticking out, they say, then.

The weasel tried, they say, to get inside.

It is thence, they say,

its tail is black.

They used to tell us this,

telling stories...

the old people.

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[TWO VII] [He tries to be the Sun]

[VII iii] [The sky burns: people]

(BB)

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>

s-sx<sup>w</sup> m-s a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac.

sx<sup>w</sup> m-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac.

h'ap-liwa-na-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-h'msta-tX<sup>w</sup>

s-ka-h'ixh'ikm-aw 'a<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup> 'a<sup>w</sup>-ta-ku<sup>w</sup>hulmx-tX.

'ixa'nap-cut-aw

'ul-a-ka-si-ipu-wayx-nimut-aw 'a<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

~~q<sup>w</sup>-amk-cut-a-k<sup>w</sup>-alu 'a<sup>w</sup>-ta-qla-tX<sup>w</sup> al-tX<sup>w</sup>.~~

wix-ana-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k tX<sup>w</sup>

wa-at'ma.

wa-s-nu-k<sup>w</sup> l-s-k<sup>w</sup> ta-qla-tX<sup>w</sup>.

(CC)

'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup> a<sup>w</sup>-h'msta-i<sup>w</sup>.

h'ap-a-k<sup>w</sup>-c' tu-smatmx-s-tX<sup>w</sup> 'u<sup>w</sup>-i<sup>w</sup>

s-ka-yul-u<sup>w</sup>-a-tis 'i<sup>w</sup>-h'msta-i<sup>w</sup>.

'a<sup>w</sup>-yulyul-u<sup>w</sup>-a-tis-k<sup>w</sup>-c'.

'ax-k<sup>w</sup>-c'

lu<sup>w</sup>-nix-it ti-s<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup> l-s ta-snX-tX.

cay-na-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-c'i-k 'ac

s-ninic-aw 'a<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

[VII iv] [The sky burns: animals]

(DD)

'ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac

s-sx<sup>w</sup> m-s.

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>

s-tuin-u<sup>w</sup>-u<sup>w</sup>-s ti-xli-s ti-c'ik<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>.

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>

s-sk<sup>w</sup>x-u<sup>w</sup>-u<sup>w</sup>-i-s-c'.

(EE)

nu-twi-l<sup>w</sup>qs-ik-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k ci-lmk'mani 'a<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

x<sup>w</sup>up-cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-alu ci-lmk'mani.

wix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-ka tX<sup>w</sup>

si-nu-sk<sup>w</sup>x-lqs-nk-s.

cucut-aw-k<sup>w</sup> taX<sup>w</sup>

s-smma-yus-tu<sup>w</sup>it...

tu-l<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup> l<sup>w</sup>x-l<sup>w</sup>-tX<sup>w</sup>.

68

Scene iii of the act appears to have two parts, one in which some die and one in which some live. Within the first part there is a short first unit, containing lexical repetition ('the sky burned'), and marked by QP 'then', QP. The longer second unit has four occurrences of Q. The first two are intensified by three occurrences with them of 'then'; this is the passage in which people run, seek to hide, throw themselves into the water. The second two give the outcome. Overall the marking is QP 'then', 'then', Q 'then'; QP, q.

Within the second part the initial constructions of (232) and (235) seem to show them to be the component units. The first deals with the woman's rubbing of bodies, the second with the outcome. There are, however, five occurrences of QP in this part, and apparently three are to be treated as a run (232, 233, 234). This makes semantic sense. (232) is introductory, perhaps to emphasize what follows by framing it. The two parts of the action are in (233) and (234).

The overall marking is QP 'then', QP, QP; QP, QP 'then'.

Scene iv of the act begins in parallel with scene iii, stating that the sky burned. Its two parts describe the consequences for the clam and the weasel, respectively. The first part has four occurrences of Q, distributed as QP (237), QP 'then', QP (238a, b), QP 'then' (239a). (Since tx<sup>w</sup> is glossed as 'then' in (238a), I take its parallel occurrence in (239a) and (242a) to merit the same gloss, although the morphemic translation shows 'it' in the latter two cases.) The rendering 'it is thence' attempts to capture the specific force of the stem wix- in (239) and (242).

The second part of iv has just three occurrences of Q, distributed as QP 'then' (240), Q (241), QP 'then' (242). Perhaps the unmarked remark about the old people telling stories is inherently quotative in semantic force?

[VIII] [His father punishes him]

(PF)

That one got back, they say, to his father.	244
His father began, they say,	245a
to spank him.	245b
"You have caused pain to these human beings,"	246a
his father said, they say.	246b
He was taken, they say,	247a
to be spanked by him.	247b

(GG)

That one really, they say,	248a
made his child a cloud of dust.	248b
(It is thence, they say,	249a
he did it to the human beings,	249b
being angry at them.)	249c
His father really, they say, made him a cloud of dust.	250 a/b
That one gathered, they say, his child's bones.	251
He began, they say,	252a
to blow them into the sky.	252b
Okay.	253
"Maybe this one will be the mosquitoes to these come after us,"	254a
his father said, they say, to himself.	254b
It is this one, they say, who is the mosquito...	255a
the Sun's son.	255b
Okay.	256

## [VIII] [His father punishes him]

(FP)

lip'-ayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ax<sup>w</sup> 'uī-ta-man-s-tX.b'ap-ak-m-im-k<sup>w</sup>-c' x-ta-man-s-tX

s-ka-sp'-nalus-tum.

"anana-yak-I-nu 'ai-ta-s-b'msta-nalus-i,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-man-s-tX.b'ap-tum-k<sup>w</sup>-c'

s-sp'-nalus-tum x-tX.

(GG)

c'Xmayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' t'ayxs-q<sup>w</sup>p-m-tus ta-mna-ii-s-tX.(wix-k<sup>w</sup>)s-'ay-tutis ta-s-b'msta-nalus-tX<sup>w</sup>

s-sx-lik-t-m-tis.)

c'Xmayx-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c's-q<sup>w</sup>p-m-tum x-ta-man-s-tX.cq'-is-k<sup>w</sup>-c'n t'ax tu-cap-ii-s ta-mna-s-tX.b'ap-tus-k<sup>w</sup>-c's-ka-apsw-ank-is 'māta-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac.

Way.

ka-tix-ma-c' t'ayx ti-ka-pk'm 'al-a-ka-alūX-ai-ii,"

cut-s-k<sup>w</sup>-c' ta-man-s-tX 'uī-ta-s-cnī-s-tX.tix-k<sup>w</sup>-i-c'i-k t'ayx ti-pk'm ...

ti-mna-ii-s ta-anX.

Way.

244

245a

245b

246a

246b

247a

247b

248a

248b

249a

249b

249c

250a

250b

251

252a

252b

253

254a

254b

255a

255b

2 256

The last act is brief, but conclusive. It notably has no occurrences of 'then', perhaps because it is somewhat anticlimactic and not seen as needing intensification by the narrator.

The act has two parts, one dealing with the punishment of the sun and one with his transformation.

The first part has four verses, each marked by QP. The second and fourth are parallel, stating the spanking.

The second part has four units; if, as before, way 'okay' is counted as an independent element, as the presentation of it in the published text would indicate (253, 256), and if the observation in (249) is taken as a metanarrative intrusion.

All verses except these constituted by way have QP (248, 249; 250; 252; 254; 255), except the wild card of (249), which has only Q, and (251) which has Q with imperfective, not perfective.

(248, 250) are quite parallel: he makes his child a cloud of dust in each.

(251, 252) gather the bones and blow them into the sky.

(253, 254) predict the outcome for the world to come.

(255, 256) affirm the outcome.

Thus within the part having to do with transformation, the first two units present the physical disposition of the child, and the second two present the new identity.

The parenthetical remark in (249) is really odd, inasmuch as the father has just told the child he is to be punished for having caused pain to human beings. The text contains nothing that motivates a change in the father's attitude to one of anger. Still, it is a more tempered anger than centuries of original sin. Mosquitoes, after all, are seasonal, and can be slapped. Is it possible that in slapping a mosquito a later human is repeating the original spanking?

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