COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN
ATHAPASKAN "SLAYER OF MONSTERS" MYTH

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF
ANTHROPOLOGY

WE ACCEPT THIS THESIS AS CONFORMING TO THE
REQUIRED STANDARD

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

SEPTEMBER, 1974

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the distribution of three portions of narrative action, or motifs, which are found in the mythology of the Northern and Southern Athapaskan peoples. In the Eagle motif, a man enters an eagles' nest, in the Bull motif, a man slays a large monster with the help of a rodent or small rodent-like animal, and in the Cliff Ogre motif, a man pushes a monster off a cliff to its death. These motifs, wherever they occur in Athapaskan mythology, are found in close association, and are carried out by the same culture hero, or culture heroes.

The Eagle motif, the motif with the widest distribution among the Northern Athapaskans, is broken into episodes. An episode is defined as a segment of a particular version of a motif which is not shared with another version under consideration, or which is shared by all versions under consideration.

The NEST episode, the only episode of the Eagle motif found for all the Northern and Southern Athapaskan versions examined here, is broken into elements. An element is defined as a segment of an episode which is small enough to adequately describe the text, but which is sufficiently large to enable comparison without the

interference of minor details. The elements are determined as well, so as to permit a one-to-one correspondence in comparison of elements.

Versions of the Nest episode are compared on the basis of the elements which they contain, and a coefficient of similarity is calculated. It is found that those versions of the Eagle motif which share more than one episode tend to have higher scores on the coefficient of similarity than those which share only one episode.

Non-Athapaskan versions of the Eagle, Bull, and Cliff Ogre motifs from the Southwest, Basin, Plateau, and Plains, are compared with Northern and Southern Athapaskan version of the same motifs.

In view of the content and distribution of the three motifs it is concluded that it is most highly probable that they were carried to the Southwest by the precursors of the Southern Athapaskans.

An Appendix contains a translation of Chipewyan, Dogrib, and Hare texts from Petitot's "Traditions Indiennes du Canada nord-ouest" (1886).

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PREFACE

This thesis culminates a study which I began in 1970-1971 on the mythology of the Western Apache. Claude Lévi-Strauss, whose work has done much to revive and give new direction to the study of myth, remarked on a recent visit to the University of British Columbia that little work had been done on the mythology of the Northern Athapaskan peoples. It is hoped that this thesis, despite its incompleteness, will make a contribution to investigations in that area.

Thanks are due to Elli Kōngās Maranda who supervised this thesis and made many helpful suggestions, to David F. Aberle whose help with statistical and comparative problems was invaluable, and to Robin Ridington, who helped me to understand the meaning of the myths to a people whose lives they still influence, the Beaver Indians.

I would also like to express my thanks to Annette M. Clark of the National Museum of Canada, who permitted me to use portions of her unpublished field recordings of Koyukuk River Indian mythology, and to Michel de Virville of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris, who helped me to develop the comparative method used here.

"The gigantic shells of completed
systems . . . stand revealed in
irregular clefts across the land."

Andre Breton, Young Cherry
Trees Secured Against Hares
Translated by Edouard Roditi,
University of Michigan Press,
1969.

INTRODUCTION

Within the recorded mythologies of many of the Athapaskan-speaking peoples there is a myth in which a hero slays monsters that are troubling the world and in which he gives the world its present form. I first studied this myth as it is found among the Southern Athapaskans (Tyhurst, n.d.). I found versions of this myth among the published mythologies of all the Southern Athapaskan peoples (except the Kiowa Apache whose mythology has not, to my knowledge, been published), and among neighbouring non-Athapaskan peoples. I have since found myths which, in some respects, closely resemble the Southern Athapaskan "Slayer of Monsters" myth in the published mythologies of such Northern Athapaskan peoples as the Beaver, Slave, Kaska, Chipewyan, Dogrib, Hare, Han, Tanana, and Chilcotin Indians.

The Slayer of Monsters myth is almost always set in a period close to the time of the creation of the earth, or at least in a time previous to that of everyday experience. That this is not always the case in the other narratives of the Athapaskan peoples and that it is especially so for the Slayer of Monsters myth is emphasized in a number of ways.

First, the myth may be linked in actual narration, and so as to form a continuing part of the story, with accounts of the creation and setting up of the world. Second, animals which men use for food instead prey on them, presenting an inversion of the situation prevailing at the time of narration. And men are often portrayed as lacking culture in the sense of kinship ties and patterns, techniques of obtaining that which they need for survival, and ways of behaving which are necessary for social life.

The set of conditions prevailing at the time when the monster slayer lives varies from one version to another, but, in general, the monster slayer moves through an unpredictable, protean world where massive supernatural powers oppose and help him in both animal and human form.

An understanding of the symbolic meaning and structural significance of myth requires reference to information outside of and accessory to that contained in myths themselves. Ethnological information concerning kinship patterns, material culture, exchange relationships, cultural ecology, and other aspects of culture are all necessary if the meaning and structure of myth are to be discerned.

While the nature of the work presented here precludes such investigations, it should be remembered that

the texts dealt with here as if they were things are in fact ways of seeing and understanding the world. They are derived from experience, and were told by men and women who themselves, or whose ancestors, knew them to be true.

I have had to follow a single problem as best I could. The diverse mythologies touched upon here and the meaning which they contain and reflect would be better understood if they were examined one by one.

After having spent more than three years analyzing and comparing the various versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth, I found reference to, and obtained on loan, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Tamie Tsuchiyama (1947) entitled: "A Comparison of the Northern, Southern, and Pacific Athapaskans: A Study in Stability of Folklore within a Linguistic Stock." In the Introduction to her thesis, Tsuchiyama writes:

The approach utilized in the dissertation is to discuss, first of all, the resemblances found in the mythology of the three Athabaskan groups and then trace the distribution of these motifs in the North American continent north of Mexico to determine whether the similarities are due to former contact or to importation from a common source. The aim of the paper is not to seek the ultimate origin of each motif but to determine its source for the Athabaskan group (p. 7).

Tsuchiyama discusses similarities which she finds in the mythology of the Northern and Southern Athapaskans; of the Southern and Pacific Athapaskans; and of the Atha-

paskan peoples as a whole (she finds no similarities between the Northern and Pacific Athapaskans which are not shared with the Southern group). Of the eighteen similarities which she found in comparison of Northern and Southern Athapaskan mythology, she considers that only seven of these " . . . could with any degree of reasonableness be interpreted as indications of former [Southern Athapaskan] contact with their Northern relatives." (Tsuchiyama, 1947: 143).

Tsuchiyama's method, which consists of comparison of Athapaskan mythological texts with those of other North American Indians is painstaking, exhaustive of available texts, and cautious in its conclusions. Her attempt to examine the whole of available Athapaskan mythology proceeds at the level of the written text as presented by the ethnographer and covers an immense geographic and cultural territory.

With my own work well under way, I came upon Tsuchiyama's dissertation. I found that my own intuitive conclusions as to the Athapaskan origin of parts of the Slayer of Monsters myth among the Southern Athapaskans were supported by her findings. Of the seven "motifs" which Tsuchiyama had considered as having an Athapaskan origin among the Navajo and Apaches, three, "Visit to Eagle's Nest," "Killing of a Giant Bull with a Rodent Ally," and "Cliff Ogre," (to use Tsuchiyama's nomenclature, p. 143) were found in versions of

the Slayer of Monsters myth from both North and South.

My own work, however, had convinced me the case for the Athapaskan origin of these motifs could be put more forcefully than Tsuchiyama had done. Nowhere in her conclusion does she mention the fact that significant proportion of the motifs which she believed to have an Athapaskan origin occurred within a single myth (that is, they occurred in close proximity within the bounds of an oral narrative considered by a myth-teller to be a unit). Furthermore, close analysis of the texts has revealed details of narrative action shared by Northern and Southern Athapaskan versions of these motifs which Tsuchiyama did not touch upon.

While agreeing with Tsuchiyama's conclusions insofar as I am familiar with the relevant material, and insofar as my work on the "origin" of the motifs discussed by her overlaps with her own, my own findings have caused me to disagree partially with her preferred explanation of the " . . . great diversity of Athabaskan mythology . . . " (1947: 148). That is that "the original body of Athapaskan folklore was in all probability an extremely meagre and colorless one to have left so little impress on the traditions of the two groups [Pacific and Southern] separated at present from the main stock." (148).

At least among the Apache and the Navajo, the Slayer of Monsters story, with its apparently Athapaskan

origin, was preserved, with some modification, as a myth accounting for the present condition of the world, and portraying the actions of an important culture hero.

Of the three motifs which Tsuchiyama identifies as having a possible Athapaskan origin among the Southern Athapaskans, the motif of the "Visit to Eagle's Nest"¹ has the widest distribution. It is found among the Chipewyan and the Tanana, and among the following Athapaskan-speaking peoples whose traditional homelands lie between them: Beaver, Slave, Kaska, Dogrib, Hare, Han, and Chilcotin. For this reason, I have decided to focus comparative analysis upon this motif. The NEST episode (see below for discussion of "episodes"), the central episode of the motif, and the one by which the motif, despite variations, is recognized by Tsuchiyama, will be broken into elements and the elements compared. The results will be discussed, and compared with those obtained by a mapping (as opposed to a strict content comparison) of the elements, and by a mapping of the other two motifs mentioned by Tsuchiyama as having a possible Athapaskan origin among the Southern Athapaskans. In addition, non-Athapaskan versions of these motifs will be considered.

Texts available to me in which Northern Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif were found included two for the Beaver (Ridington, n.d. and Goddard, 1916), one each for Slave (Williamson, 1955) and Kaska (Teit, 1917), three for Chipewyan (Petitot, 1886, Goddard, 1912, and Lowie, 1912), one for the Dogrib (Petitot, 1886), two for the Hare (Petitot, 1886 and Osgood, 1931), and one each for Han (Osgood, 1971), Chilcotin (Farrand, 1900), and Tanana (Chapman, 1949).²

The last mentioned version, contained in a collection of "Ten'a Texts and Tales from Anvik," is identified simply as "From Tanana" by the author (Chapman, 1914: 101), presumably referring to the village of Tanana near the confluence of the Tanana and Yukon Rivers in Alaska. This would place the point of origin of the version within the area occupied by the people called "Tanana" in Osgood's article "The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians" (1936).

Another collection of "Ten'a" texts from Nulato, Alaska (Jetté, 1909),--in other words, from a location within the territory occupied by what Osgood, (1936) terms Koyukon--contains a tale in which a version of Eagle motif is found. However, as Jetté states that the tale is " . . . presented by natives as a Russian tale . . . containing many evidences of a foreign origin" (p. 502),

the possibility of the importation of the tale (and the version of the Eagle motif that it contains) from elsewhere within historic times cannot be discounted. For this reason, this version will not be further considered here.

A version of the Eagle motif is contained in a collection of Tales from Good Hope, N.W.T. (Voudrach, 1967). Voudrach, an Athapaskan Indian, wrote the stories out himself. Cohen and Osterreich, who prepared the collection for publication, state in their introduction that " Mr. Voudrach was born in Arctic Red River, a Loucheaux [Kutchin, to use Osgood's terminology (1936)] Indian settlement, but has lived with many years with the Hare Indians of Fort Good Hope" (Voudrach, 1967: 3). It is thus impossible to determine what Northern Athapaskan people's version is being represented in Voudrach's collection. He might have learned the stories as a youth among the Kutchin, they might represent a pure Hare version which he had learned later at Fort Good Hope, or they might represent a mixture of Kutchin and Hare traditions. Because of this, Voudrach's version will not be considered in the general comparison.

Because of important dissimilarities in the two

Beaver versions, both will be dealt with in the comparison by elements. The three Chipewyan versions, however, exhibit a higher degree of uniformity, and only the oldest recorded version (Petitot, 1886), will be considered in the wider comparison by elements. All three versions are coded, however, and a comparison between these is carried out. Of the two Hare versions, Petitot's alone is compared by elements. The Osgood version is told in abstract form in a discussion of Satudene and Hare Indian mythology, and thus is probably a less than entirely reliable record of the myth.

Among the Southern Athapaskans, only one version of the Slayer of Monsters myth (and Eagle motif) was available for the Lipan (Opler, 1940) and Mescalero (Hoijer, 1938). For the other Southern Athapaskans, the version of the Slayer of Monsters myth selected was chosen on the basis of completeness in comparison with other texts, and on the basis of ethnographic reliability. The texts selected were Navajo (Matthews, 1897), Western Apache (Goodwin, 1939), Chiricahua (Hoijer, 1938), and Jicarilla (Opler, 1938).

The intent of this thesis is to examine the distribution of the Eagle, Bull, and Cliff-Ogre motifs among both Northern and Southern Athapaskans, and among peoples with whom they may have been in direct or indirect contact. The

analysis will provide inference as to whether these motifs were: 1) transmitted to the Northern and Southern groups after the separation of the Southern Athapaskans from the North, or, 2) carried by the precursors of the Southern Athapaskans from the North when they migrated.

METHOD

The motif of the "Visit to Eagle's Nest," to be analyzed here, will, for the purposes of comparison, be considered to include all events in the text which occur between the time the hero leaves the ground, and the time the hero is back on the ground after having finally left the eagle's nest. The text will divide into "episodes," the episodes being arrived at as follows: if in Version A, a segment of the text--for instance, lowering of the hero from the sky into the eagles' nest--is present while in Version B it is absent, the segment may be considered to be an episode.³

Each episode under consideration will be divided into "elements," the elements being, hopefully, small enough to adequately describe the text, but sufficiently large to enable comparison without the interference of minor details. Episodes shared between versions will be compared on the basis of the elements which they contain. The elements themselves are partially determined by comparison so that, for instance, a single element in one version does not correspond to two or more elements in another version.

Elements in different versions of an episode will be examined for "equivalence." Two elements are considered equivalent if they are homologous or analogous. Homologous elements are those which are, for practical purposes, identical. Analogous elements which do not correspond in detail, but in the type of action or information which they contain. For example, in the Beaver text collected by Goddard, the young eagle tells the hero that his father will return with "hail and a big wind"; in the Slave text the hero is told that the eaglet's father will return with "rain." These elements (they are considered such in the coding of the texts) are considered equivalent by analogy--the return of the father is accompanied by a "meteorological phenomenon"--although they are not identical. An element in one version will be considered to have no equivalent in another version if no element homologous or analogous to it is found.

The number of equivalent elements in each pair of episodes under consideration will thus be determined, and a coefficient of similarity (C) will be calculated. The coefficient, suggested by Michel de Virville, is calculated as follows, for a comparison of episodes A and B:

$$\underline{C} = \frac{\text{number of equivalent elements in A and B}}{\text{number of elements in episode A} + \text{number of elements in episode B}} \times 2$$

The coefficient thus approaches 1.00 as complete agreement is reached, and 0.00 as complete disagreement is reached in comparison of episodes.

Validation of the coding procedure has not been carried out. However, the coding procedure has been discussed with de Virville, and his coding of three of the texts considered here has been compared with my own. In general, it was agreed that my initial coding of texts was too detailed, and criteria for deciding upon the "size" of elements were worked out.

MAPPING OF EPISODES

Only one episode, the one in which the hero is in the eagles' nest ("NEST"), is shared by all versions. All three Chipewyan versions share with the Beaver (Goddard) version, an episode in which the hero follows an arrow into the sky ("ARROW"), and they share, as well, an episode in which the hero is lowered through a hole in the sky into the nest ("LOWER"). All Chipewyan versions share an episode to the exclusion of others - that in which the hero has certain adventures in the sky ("SKY"), and another in which the hero flies with the help of the eaglet ("FLIGHT").

The Kaska, Slave, Beaver (Ridington), and Han share an episode in which the hero is told to go into the eagles' nest to get feathers for arrows by an evil man (or bear - Han only) ("TASK"). Both Dogrib and Hare contain an episode in which the hero goes into the nest to get arrow feathers for himself ("FEATHERS"). Both Beaver versions share with Slave and Dogrib an episode in which the hero teaches the eaglet how to eat fish ("FISH"). Tanana alone contains an episode in which the hero is told to go and kill the eagles in order to gain possession of his brother's wife ("WIFE").

All Southern Athapaskan versions share an episode in which the hero transforms the eaglets into various birds

("BIRDS"). They share as well an episode in which the hero wraps himself in an animal intestine (Navajo, Lipan, Mescalero, Chiricahua) or in an animal hide and a blood-filled stomach (Western Apache and Jicarilla) and is carried by an eagle into the nest ("CARRY"). The hero is also carried into the eagles' nest in an episode in the Chilcotin version, but here he is wearing a skin coat to protect himself and is gathering feathers below the nest when he is picked up ("GATHER").

The Western Apache, Navajo, and Jicarilla share an episode to the exclusion of the other Southern Athapaskans, that in which the hero is helped to the ground by Old Bat Woman ("BAT"). The episodes may be mapped as follows:

TABLE I

Distribution of Episodes in Northern and Southern
Athapaskan Versions of the Eagle Motif

BR	BG	S	K	CP	CG
	ARROW			ARROW	ARROW
TASK		TASK	TASK	SKY	SKY
NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	LOWER	LOWER
* [FISH	FISH	[FISH		[NEST	[NEST
NEST		NEST		FLIGHT	FLIGHT
				NEST	NEST
CL	D	Hr	Hn	T	Ch
ARROW					
SKY					
LOWER	FEATHERS	FEATHERS	TASK	WIFE	GATHER
NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST
[FLIGHT	[FISH				
NEST	NEST				
W	N	J	M	Ch	L
CARRY	CARRY	CARRY	CARRY	CARRY	CARRY
NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST
[BIRDS	[BIRDS	[BIRDS	[BIRDS	[BIRDS	[BIRDS
NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST	NEST
BAT	BAT	BAT			

* Certain parts of the NEST episode occur after the episode within the brackets.

Symbols used: BR, Beaver (Ridington); BG, Beaver (Goddard); S, Slave; K, Kaska; CP, Chipewyan (Petitot); CG, Chipewyan (Goddard); CL, Chipewyan (Lowie); D, Dogrib; Hr, Hare; H, Han; T, Tanana; Cn, Chilcotin; W, Western Apache; N, Navajo; J, Jicarilla; M, Mescalero; Ch, Chiricahua; L, Lipan.

The most striking characteristic of the distribution of episodes is that, whereas in the North there are eight different types of combinations of episodes, in the South, there are only two--one set comprising Western Apache, Navajo, and Jicarilla in which the BAT episode is found, and another set comprising Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Lipan, from which the BAT episode is absent.

Despite the greater heterogeneity of episodes in the North, however, only two versions--the Tanana and Chilcotin--share no episodes other than the NEST episode with other Northern versions. The three Chipewyan versions, which are identical with respect to episodes, share with the Beaver (Goddard) version, the ARROW and LOWER episodes; the Beaver (Goddard) version shares the FISH episode with Beaver (Ridington), Slave, and Dogrib. The Beaver (Ridington), and Slave versions, in turn, are linked to the Han and Kaska by sharing the TASK episode, while Dogrib and Hare share the FEATHERS episode.

It should be mentioned at this point that the Beaver (Goddard) version appears to be intermediate in content between the versions of the Chipewyan, who lived to the east of the Beaver, and versions of such peoples as the Kaska and Slave, who lived to the North and West of the Beaver. In the Chipewyan versions, the hero follows an arrow which he has shot into a tree up to the sky.

Once in the sky, the hero has a series of adventures which are shared, with minor variations, by all the Chipewyan versions: he follows a trail to an inhabited place; an old woman blackens his face to prevent him from being loved by her daughters; when she washes his face, her two daughters, who are identified as mouse-girl and weasel-girl, fall in love with him; when he lies between them, he is swallowed up by the earth; he is dug up by a wolf and takes his revenge on the girls, destroying them. The hero is then lowered on a line made of sinew through a hole in the sky by the girls' mother. He lands in the eagles' nest.

In the Kaska and Slave versions, the hero comes upon a family. He sleeps with the daughter (or daughters - Kaska), and the father, who wishes to kill him, tests him and sends him on a number of dangerous errands, including a series which have to do with obtaining the materials for making arrows--sinew,⁴ canes for the arrow shafts, and feathers. To obtain the feathers, he is sent to the eagles' nest.

In the Beaver (Goddard) version, the hero follows an arrow into the sky, but the adventures found in the Chipewyan versions are absent. The hero stays in the sky " . . . a short time . . . " (Goddard, 1916: 234), and is lowered, as in the Chipewyan versions, by an old

woman into the eagles' nest. Following the NEST episode (and the FISH episode), the hero then comes upon a family. The father of three daughters tests the man and sends him on a number of dangerous errands in which he must obtain the materials necessary for making arrows. To obtain feathers, the hero must get them from eagles--but here the "NEST" episode (as such) is extremely short, consisting only of the following sentence: "He killed all the birds with his club, took the feathers, and went home" (Goddard, 1916: 236).

The Beaver (Ridington) version, which was recorded some fifty years after Goddard's version, closely resembles the Slave and Kaska versions. Whether this version, from which the "Chipewyan" characteristics are absent, represents, for example, a later "learning" of the Slave- and Kaska-type tale, or whether the Goddard version represents an "aberrant" mixture of Chipewyan and non-Chipewyan characteristics, is, because of lack of additional information, impossible to determine.

To the best of my knowledge, the set of episodes comprising the ascent of the hero to the sky, his adventures there, and his descent on a line made of sinew, are found only among the Chipewyan and the Athapaskan-speaking Indians of the Koyukuk River in Alaska (part of Osgood's "Koyukon" (1936)). In two unpublished tales collected by Annette Clark at Huslia, Alaska, in 1970, and transcrib-

ed from tape by myself in the summer of 1973 (Clark, n.d.), the hero ascends to the sky, slays monsters and evil people, and descends to the earth on a sinew line made by an old woman. The presence of these episodes in two widely separate locations, and their apparent absence in the intervening area, indicates perhaps that they are an "old" Athapaskan tradition.

COMPARISON OF ELEMENTS IN THE NEST EPISODE

In the following comparison, each version of the NEST episode is given in its coded form. Elements considered equivalent are indicated, and the measure of similarity C is calculated. In the pairs of elements marked (*) I have had to divide a single "element into two elements for purposes of comparison. For example, in the Slave version, the man asks the eaglets when his parents will return. In the Beaver (Ridington), (and other) versions, he asks, first, when the mother will return, and then, when the father will return, each question being considered an element.

Beaver (Ridington)

- 1) Man is in eagles' nest
- 2) There are two eaglets in nest
- 3) He asks which one will tell parents
- 4) Girl eaglet says she will
- 5) Man kills her
- 6) Boy eaglet says he won't tell his parents
- 7) Eaglet says he will tell his parents girl
eaglet killed herself
- 8) He says he will say nothing about the smell of
man
- 9) Man tells eaglet to fool his mother if she
smells anything
- 10) Man asks when mother comes back
- 11) Eaglet says she will return with heavy rain
- 12) Mother eagle comes back with heavy rain
- 13) She is carrying a half-eaten person
- 14) She asks where eaglet's sister is
- 15) He says she killed herself
- 16) She smells something
- 17) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 18) Man kills her
- 19) Man asks when father comes back
- 20) Eaglet says he will return when rain turns
to hail
- 21) Man tells eaglet to fool father about death
of mother
- 22) Father returns
- 23) He is carrying dead people
- 24) Father asks where mother is
- 25) Eaglet tries to fool him by telling him she
went back for meat
- 26) Father asks where sister is
- 27) Eaglet says she killed herself
- 28) Father says he smells something
- 29) Eaglet tries to fool him
- 30) Man kills him
- 31) Man lets eaglet live
- . FISH episode
- .
 - 32) Man takes feathers from eagles for arrows
 - 33) He returns to evil family.

Beaver (Goddard)

- 1) Man is on large birds' nest
- 2) There are three young birds
- 3) He asks them questions
- 4) Two of the young birds say they don't like him
- 5) He knocks them down with a club
- 6) Surviving eaglet warns man
- 7) Man asks when father will return
- 8) Eaglet says with hail and big wind
- 9) Man asks when mother will return
- 10) Eaglet says with rain and big wind
- 11) Father returns with hail
- 12) Says he smells an animal
- 13) Eaglet tries to fool his father
- 14) Father looks for man walking around nest
- 15) Man kills him
- 16) Mother returns with rain
- 17) Says she smells something
- 18) She goes looking for it, walking around nest
- 19) Man knocks her down and kills her
- 20) Man allows eaglet to live
- 21) He leaves nest with small eagle.

Slave

- 1) Man is in eagles' nest
- 2) He finds two eaglets in nest
- 3) He asks where parents are
- 4) Eaglet warns him they hunt people
- 5) Says he won't tell his parents
- 6) Girl eaglet says she will tell her parents
- 7) Man kills her
- 8) Man asks eaglet when mother will come home*
- 9) He asks when father will come home*
- 10) Eaglet says mother will return with hail
- 11) Father will return with rain
- 12) Man turns himself into a piece of hay
- 13) Mother returns with hail
- 14) She is carrying female breast
- 15) She asks eaglet where his sister is
- 16) He says she has a headache
- 17) Mother says she smells something
- 18) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 19) Mother eagle walks around nest
- 20) Man kills her
- 21) Father returns with rain
- 22) He is carrying buttock of boy
- 23) He asks where mother eagle is
- 24) He says she went back to hunt for meat
- 25) He asks where mother and sister are
- 26) Father walks around nest
- 27) Man kills him
- 28) Man allows eaglet to live
- 29) Man leaves nest with eaglet

•
FISH episode

- 30) Man takes feathers for his arrows
- 31) He returns to evil family

Kaska

- 1) Beaver is in eagles' nest
- 2) There are two eaglets in nest
- 3) He asks when their mother will return*
- 4) He asks when their father will return*
- 5) They say mother will return with wind and rain at noon carrying the legs of a man
- 6) They say father will return with wind and hail in the evening carrying the upper part of a man
- 7) One of the eaglets tells its parents everything
- 8) Beaver kills the eaglet he cannot trust
- 9) He tells the surviving eaglet to tell its mother the dead one is sick
- 10) He tells him not to eat meat brought to him
- 11) He tells him to try to fool his mother if she smells anything
- 12) Mother eagle returns
- 13) She is carrying meat
- 14) She asks why her son is dead
- 15) Eaglet tells her dead one is sick
- 16) Eaglet refuses to eat meat
- 17) Mother eats it and chokes
- 18) Beaver kills her with a club
- 19) Man tells boy to repeat story to father
- 20) Father eagle returns
- 21) He is carrying meat
- 22) Father eagle asks where wife is
- 23) Eaglet says she has not come yet
- 24) He refuses to eat meat
- 25) Father eats meat and chokes
- 26) Beaver kills him
- 27) Man allows eaglet to live
- 28) He plucks feathers for arrows
- 29) He returns to evil family

Chipewyan (Petitot)

- 1) Man is in nest of huge eagle
- 2) There are human skulls and bones
- 3) There is one young eagle
- 4) He tells man to hide under his wings
- 5) Eaglet says father comes with light
- 6) Mother comes with dark
- 7) Man hides under eaglet's wings
- 8) Father returns with light
- 9) Says he smells human flesh
- 10) Eaglet tries to fool him
- 11) Father flies away
- 12) Mother comes back with thunder and darkness
- 13) She is carrying human remains
- 14) Says she smells fresh meat
- 15) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 16) Mother flies away
- 17) Father discovers man
- 18) Eaglet tries to protect him
- 19) Man is allowed to live
- . FLIGHT episode
- 20) Eaglet is allowed to live
- 21) Man flies away

Chipewyan (Goddard)⁵

- 1) Man is in nest of "Flying things"
- 2) Nest is on an island surrounded by rapids
- 3) There is one young eagle
- 4) Eaglet warns man
- 5) He hides him under his wings
- 6) Eaglet says mother will arrive with dark
- 7) Father will come with light
- 8) Mother comes in dark
- 9) Says she smells something
- 10) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 11) She finds the man
- 12) Eaglet tries to protect him
- 13) Father returns with light
- 14) Says he smells something
- 15) Eaglet tries to fool him
- 16) Man is allowed to live
- 17) Mother leaves*
- 18) Father leaves*

•
• FLIGHT episode

- 19) Man piles brush in tree next to nest
- 20) Eagle asks man what he is doing
- 21) Man asks for fire drill
- 22) Man sets nest on fire
- 23) He clubs mother
- 24) He clubs father
- 25) He lets eaglet live

Chipewyan (Lowie)

- 1) Man is on island surrounded by rapids
- 2) He arrives at eagles' nest
- 3) There is one young eagle
- 4) He warns the man
- 5) He hides him under his wings
- 6) Eaglet says mother will come with dark
- 7) Father will come with big wind
- 8) Mother returns with dark
- 9) Says she smells something
- 10) Eaglet tries to fool his mother
- 11) Father returns with wind
- 12) Says he smells something
- 13) Eaglet tries to fool his father
- 14) Mother leaves*
- 15) Father leaves*
- FLIGHT episode
- 16) Man flies off again.

Dogrib

- 1) Man is in eagles' nest
- 2) There is one young eaglet
- 3) He warns man
- 4) Man asks how he will tell when father returns*
- 5) Man asks how he will tell when mother returns*
- 6) Eaglet says father makes snow fall
- 7) Mother makes rain fall
- 8) Eaglet hides man under his wings
- 9) Mother returns
- 10) She is carrying meat
- 11) Man kills her
- 12) Male eagle returns with a beating of wings
- 13) He is carrying a child
- 14) Says he smells something
- 15) Man kills him
- 16) Man lets eaglet live
- . FISH episode
- 17) Man plucks feathers for arrows.

Hare

- 1) Man is in eagles nest
- 2) There are two eaglets in the nest
- 3) He asks if there is a tell-tale
- 4) Eaglet says his sister will tell her
parents
- 5) Man kills her
- 6) Man asks what happens when father comes home
- 7) Eaglet says father will arrive with bright
light
- 8) He asks what will happen when mother comes
home
- 9) Eaglet says when mother arrives it will be
black night
- 10) Father returns with noise of wings and
thunder and lightening
- 11) Says he smells something
- 12) Eaglet tries to fool him
- 13) Father flies away
- 14) Mother arrives with noise of wings in
darkness
- 15) Says she smells something
- 16) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 17) Mother flies away
- 18) Man plucks eaglet's feathers
- 19) He kills eaglet
- 20) He burns nest
- 21) He leaves nest with feathers.

Han

- 1) Man is in eagles' nest
- 2) There are two eaglets in nest
- 3) He asks which one talks most
- 4) One eaglet says he will tell parents
- 5) Man kills him
- 6) Man asks eaglet when mother returns
- 7) Eaglet says with gust of snow
- 8) Man asks when father returns
- 9) Eaglet says with gust of hail
- 10) Man hides under nest
- 11) Mother eagle returns with snow
- 12) She is carrying upper half of man
- 13) She asks where other eaglet is
- 14) Answers that he went down where it was cool
- 15) Mother eagle says she smells something
- 16) Eaglet tries to fool her
- 17) Man kills her
- 18) Father returns with hail
- 19) He is carrying lower half of man
- 20) He asks where mother is
- 21) He says he smells something
- 22) Eaglet tries to fool him
- 23) Man kills father eagle
- 24) He lets eaglet live
- 25) He gets feathers for arrows.

Tanana

- 1) Man is in eagles' nest
- 2) There are two little Fish-Hawks
- 3) Man kills one
- 4) He asks where parents are
- 5) Eaglet says they are out hunting
- 6) Man tells surviving little hawk he will not kill her
- 7) He asks when mother comes back*
- 8) He asks when father comes back*
- 9) Little hawk says her mother will come with rain
- 10) Her father will come with snow
- 11) Man says he will hide
- 12) Little hawk says father will kill man
- 13) Mother comes back
- 14) She asks where brother is
- 15) Little hawk says he fell and killed himself
- 16) Mother cries
- 17) Man kills her
- 18) Father comes back
- 19) He asks where mother is
- 20) Little hawk says she has not come back yet
- 21) Man kills him
- 22) He kills little hawk
- 23) Goes to brother

Chilcotin

- 1) Man is carried into eagles' nest by eagles
- 2) Man ties stone to male eagle's feet
- 3) Makes him fly around nest
- 4) Eagle returns to nest tired out
- 5) Man kills him
- 6) Man ties stone to female eagle's feet
- 7) Makes her fly around nest
- 8) She comes back tired out
- 9) Man kills her
- 10) Man kills eaglets
- 11) He lets one eaglet live
- 12) Eaglet carries him down
- 13) Man tells eaglet he must live on cliffs
- 14) He must not kill men

Western Apache

- 1) Eagle drops man against rock near nest
- 2) He sits down
- 3) Man says "cd cd" to eaglets
- 4) Eaglet tells father man has said "cd cd" to it
- 5) Father says it is just muscular twitching
- 6) Father flies away
- 7) Man kills all eaglets except one
- 8) Man asks surviving eaglet when brother returns
- 9) Eaglet says he will come with a kind of rain
- 10) Brother eagle returns with rain
- 11) He drops boy
- 12) Man kills him
- 13) Man asks when sister of eaglet returns
- 14) Eaglet says she will come with yellow rain
- 15) Sister eagle returns with yellow rain
- 16) She drops girl
- 17) Man kills her
- 18) Man asks when mother returns
- 19) Eaglet says with female rain
- 20) Mother returns with female rain
- 21) She drops woman
- 22) Man kills her
- 23) Man asks when father returns
- 24) Eaglet says with male rain
- 25) Father returns with male rain
- 26) He drops a man
- 27) Man kills him

•
 . BIRDS episode
 •

- 28) Man sees Old Woman Bat at foot of rock

Navajo

- 1) Man is dropped on ledge next to nest
by eagle
- 2) Eagle sits on pinnacle nearby
- 3) Man says "Sh!" to eaglets
- 4) Eaglets tell father
- 5) Father says it is air escaping from body
- 6) Father flies away
- 7) Man asks when father will return
- 8) He asks where father will sit
- 9) Eaglets say father will return with a
he-rain
- 10) They point out where he will sit
- 11) Man asks when mother will return
- 12) He asks where she will sit
- 13) Eaglets say mother will return with a
she-rain
- 14) They point out where she will sit
- 15) Father returns with rain, thunder, and
lightning
- 16) Man kills him
- 17) Mother returns with rain
- 18) She drops body of Pueblo woman on ledge
- 19) Man kills her
- .
. BIRDS episode
.
- 20) Man sees Bat Woman

Jicarilla

- 1) Man is dropped on rock next to nest by eagle
- 2) Eagle sits on rock beside nest
- 3) He tells his children to eat the man
- 4) Man says "Cit, cit!"
- 5) Eaglets tell their father man has said "Cit!"
- 6) Father says it is air coming from wounds
- 7) He flies away
- 8) Man asks when mother returns
- 9) Eaglets say with fine rain
- 10) Mother returns
- 11) She drops Pueblo Indian on rock
- 12) Man's ear tells him how to kill mother eagle
- 13) Man kills her
- 14) Man asks when father returns
- 15) Eaglets say with hail
- 16) Man asks where he sits
- 17) Eaglets tell him
- 18) Man's ear tells him to lie down
- 19) Father returns
- 20) He is carrying a human being
- 21) Man kills him
-
- BIRDS episode
-
- 22) Man sees Old Woman Bat approach rock

Mescalero

- 1) Man is carried to eagles' children
- 2) Eagle tells its children to eat man
- 3) Eagle flies away
- 4) Man asks which of the eaglets can fly
- 5) There are four eaglets
- 6) Man kills three of the eaglets with stone club
- 7) Man asks surviving eaglet when father will return
- 8) Eaglet says with falling water
- 9) Eaglet points out where father will sit
- 10) Father eagle returns with falling water
- 11) Man kills him
- 12) Man asks when mother eagle will return
- 13) Eaglet answers in the evening with falling water
- 14) Man asks where she alights
- 15) Eaglet points place out
- 16) Mother eagle returns
- 17) Man kills her
-
- BIRDS episode
-
- 18) Man returns home to mother

Chiricahua

- 1) Man is thrown into eagles' nest by eagle
- 2) Eagle children are told to eat the man
- 3) Eagle sits down on the nest
- 4) Man says "Sss--!"
- 5) Eaglets say their food has said "Sss--!" to them
- 6) Father tells them noise is air coming from wounds
- 7) Father flies away
- 8) Man kills all the eaglets except one
- 9) Man asks when father eagle will come back
- 10) Eaglet answers with male rain and water dust
- 11) Man asks eaglet where father will sit
- 12) Eaglet points it out
- 13) Father eagle returns with noise
- 14) Man kills him
- 15) Man asks when mother will come back
- 16) Eaglet answers with female rain and water dust
- 17) Man asks where she will sit
- 18) Eaglet points it out
- 19) Mother eagle returns
- 20) Man kills her
-
- BIRDS episode
-
- 21) Man returns home to mother

Lipan

- 1) Man is carried to nest by eagle
- 2) Eagle tells children to eat man
- 3) Man says "Shush"
- 4) Eaglets tell their father
- 5) Eagle tries to kill man with his talons
- 6) He says it is only air coming out
- 7) He flies away
- 8) Man asks when father comes home
- 9) He asks where he sits
- 10) Eaglets say he comes home with heavy rain
- 11) They say where he sits
- 12) Father returns with rain
- 13) Man kills him
- 14) Man asks when mother returns
- 15) He asks where she sits
- 16) Eaglets say she comes with heavy rain
- 17) They say where she sits
- 18) Mother returns with rain
- 19) Man kills her
- .
. BIRDS episode
.
- 20) Man returns to mother

ELEMENTS CONSIDERED EQUIVALENT*

BR-BG	BR-S	BR-K	BR-CP	BR-D	BR-Hr
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-5	2-2	2-2	11-6	10-5	2-2
10-9	4-6	4-7	12-12	11-7	3-3
12-16	6-5	5-8	13-13	12-9	4-4
16-17	10-8	7-9	16-14	13-10	5-5
18-19	11-10	9-11	17-15	18-11	10-8
19-7	12-13	10-3	20-5	19-5	11-9
20-8	13-14	11-5	22-8	20-6	12-14
22-11	14-15	12-12	28-9	22-12	16-15
28-12	15-16	13-13	29-10	23-13	17-16
29-13	16-17	14-14	31-20	28-14	19-6
30-15	17-18	15-15		30-15	20-7
31-20	18-20	18-18		31-16	22-10
	19-9	19-4		32-17	28-11
	20-11	20-6			29-12
	22-21	22-20			32-18
	23-22	23-21			
	24-23	24-22			
	25-24	25-23			
	26-25	30-26			
	30-27	31-27			
	31-28	32-28			
	32-30	33-29			
	33-31				
$\underline{C}=0.52$	$\underline{C}=0.78$	$\underline{C}=0.74$	$\underline{C}=0.41$	$\underline{C}=0.56$	$\underline{C}=0.59$

* Symbols used are as in Table I.

BR-Hw	BR-T	BR-Cn	BR-W	BR-N	BR-J
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
2-2	2-2	5-10	5-7	10-11	10-8
3-3	5-3	18-9	10-18	11-13	11-9
4-4	10-7	30-5	11-19	12-17	12-10
5-5	11-9	31-11	12-20	13-18	13-11
10-6	12-13		13-21	18-19	18-13
11-7	14-14		18-22	19-7	19-14
12-11	15-15		19-23	20-9	20-15
13-12	18-17		20-24	22-15	22-19
14-13	19-8		22-25	30-16	23-20
15-14	20-10		23-26		30-21
16-15	22-18		30-27		
17-16	24-19				
18-17	25-20				
19-8	30-21				
20-9					
22-18					
23-19					
29-20					
28-21					
29-22					
30-23					
31-24					
32-25					
$\underline{C}=0.83$	$\underline{C}=0.54$	$\underline{C}=0.21$	$\underline{C}=0.39$	$\underline{C}=0.38$	$\underline{C}=0.40$

BR-M	BR-Ch	BR-L	BG-S	BG-K	BG-C
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-6	5-8	10-14	5-7	5-8	6-4
10-12	10-15	11-16	6-4	7-4	8-5
11-13	11-16	12-18	7-9	8-6	10-6
12-16	12-19	18-19	8-11	9-3	11-8
18-17	18-20	19-8	9-8	10-5	12-9
19-7	19-9	20-10	10-10	11-20	13-10
20-8	20-10	22-12	11-21	15-26	16-12
22-10	22-13	30-13	14-26	16-12	17-14
30-11	30-14		15-27	19-18	20-20
			16-13	20-27	
			17-17		
			18-19		
			19-20		
			20-28		
			21-29		
$\underline{C}=0.39$	$\underline{C}=0.36$	$\underline{C}=0.35$	$\underline{C}=0.62$	$\underline{C}=0.44$	$\underline{C}=0.48$
BG-D	BG-Hr	BG-Hn	BG-T	BG-Cn	BG-W
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
6-3	5-5	5-5	5-3	5-10	5-7
7-4	7-6	7-8	7-8	15-5	7-23
8-6	8-7	8-9	8-10	19-9	8-24
9-5	9-8	9-6	9-7	20-11	9-18
10-7	10-9	10-7	10-9		10-19
11-12	11-10	11-18	11-18		11-25
12-14	12-11	12-21	15-21		15-27
15-15	13-12	13-22	16-13		16-20
16-9	16-14	15-23	19-17		19-22
19-11	17-15	16-11			
20-16		17-15			
		19-17			
		20-24			
$\underline{C}=0.63$	$\underline{C}=0.52$	$\underline{C}=0.61$	$\underline{C}=0.45$	$\underline{C}=0.29$	$\underline{C}=0.41$

BG-N	BG-J	BG-M	BG-Ch	BG-L	S-K
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
7-7	7-14	5-6	5-8	7-8	2-2
8-9	8-15	7-7	7-9	8-10	6-7
9-11	9-8	8-8	8-10	9-14	7-8
10-13	10-9	9-12	9-15	10-16	8-3
11-15	11-19	10-13	10-16	11-12	9-4
15-16	15-21	11-10	11-13	15-13	10-5
16-17	16-10	15-11	15-14	16-18	11-6
19-19	19-13	16-16	16-19	19-19	13-12
		19-17	19-20		14-13
					15-14
					16-15
					20-18
					21-20
					22-21
					23-22
					24-23
					27-26
					28-27
					30-28
					31-29
<u>C</u> =0.44	<u>C</u> =0.42	<u>C</u> =0.51	<u>C</u> =0.48	<u>C</u> =0.44	<u>C</u> =0.70
S-C	S-D	S-Hr	S-Hn	S-T	S-Cn
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
10-6	4-3	2-2	2-2	2-2	7-10
11-5	8-5	6-4	6-4	7-3	20-9
13-12	9-4	7-5	7-5	8-7	27-5
14-13	10-7	8-8	8-6	9-8	28-11
17-14	11-6	9-6	9-8	10-9	
18-15	13-9	10-9	10-7	11-10	
21-8	14-10	11-7	11-9	13-13	
28-20	20-11	13-14	13-11	15-14	
	21-12	17-15	14-12	16-15	
	22-13	18-16	15-13	20-17	
	27-15	21-10	16-14	21-18	
	29-16	30-18	17-15	23-29	
	30-17		18-16	24-20	
			20-17	27-21	
			21-18		
			22-19		
			23-20		
			27-23		
			28-24		
			30-25		
<u>C</u> =0.36	<u>C</u> =0.58	<u>C</u> =0.50	<u>C</u> =0.75	<u>C</u> =0.56	<u>C</u> =0.22

S-W	S-N	S-J	S-M	S-Ch	S-L
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
7-7	8-11	8-8	7-6	7-8	8-14
8-18	9-7	9-14	8-12	8-15	9-8
9-23	10-13	10-9	9-7	9-9	10-16
10-19	11-9	11-15	10-13	10-16	11-10
11-24	13-17	13-10	11-8	11-10	13-18
13-20	14-18	14-11	13-16	13-19	20-19
14-21	20-19	20-13	20-17	20-20	21-12
20-22	21-15	21-19	21-10	21-13	27-13
21-25	27-16	22-20	27-11	27-14	
22-26		27-21			
27-27					

$\underline{C}=0.41$ $\underline{C}=0.39$ $\underline{C}=0.42$ $\underline{C}=0.41$ $\underline{C}=0.39$ $\underline{C}=0.35$

K-C	K-D	K-Hr	K-Hn	K-T	K-Cn
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-6	3-5	2-2	2-2	2-2	8-10
6-5	4-4	3-8	3-6	3-7	18-9
12-12	5-7	4-6	4-8	4-8	26-5
13-13	6-6	5-9	5-7	5-9	27-11
20-18	12-9	6-7	6-9	6-10	
27-20	13-10	12-14	7-4	8-3	
	18-11	20-10	8-5	12-13	
	20-12		12-11	14-14	
	21-13		13-12	15-15	
	26-15		14-13	18-17	
	27-16		15-14	20-18	
	28-17		18-17	22-19	
			20-18	23-20	
			21-19	26-21	
			22-20		
			26-23		
			27-24		
			28-25		

$\underline{C}=0.28$ $\underline{C}=0.57$ $\underline{C}=0.32$ $\underline{C}=0.70$ $\underline{C}=0.58$ $\underline{C}=0.23$

K-W	K-N	K-J	K-M	K-Ch	K-L
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
3-18	3-11	3-8	3-12	3-15	3-14
4-23	4-7	4-14	4-7	4-9	4-8
5-19	5-13	5-9	5-13	5-16	5-16
6-24	6-9	6-15	6-8	6-10	6-10
8-7	12-17	12-10	8-6	8-8	12-18
12-20	13-18	13-11	12-16	12-19	18-19
13-21	18-19	18-13	18-17	18-20	20-12
18-22	20-15	20-19	20-10	20-13	26-13
20-25	26-26	21-20	26-11	26-14	
21-26		26-21			
26-27					

$\underline{C}=0.42$ $\underline{C}=0.41$ $\underline{C}=0.43$ $\underline{C}=0.43$ $\underline{C}=0.40$ $\underline{C}=0.37$

C-D	C-Hr	C-Hn	C-T	C-Cn	C-W
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
3-2	5-7	5-9	5-10	20-11	5-24
4-3	6-9	6-7	6-9		6-19
5-6	8-10	8-18	8-18		8-25
7-8	9-11	9-21	12-13		12-20
8-12	10-12	10-22			13-21
9-14	11-13	12-11			
12-9	12-14	13-12			
13-10	14-15	14-15			
20-10	15-16	15-16			
	16-17	20-24			

$\underline{C}=0.58$ $\underline{C}=0.52$ $\underline{C}=0.48$ $\underline{C}=0.23$ $\underline{C}=0.11$ $\underline{C}=0.25$

C-N	C-J	C-M	C-Ch	C-L	D-Hr
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-9	5-15	5-8	5-10	5-10	4-6
6-13	6-9	6-13	6-16	6-16	5-8
8-15	8-19	8-10	8-13	8-12	6-7
12-17	12-10	12-16	12-19	12-18	7-9
13-18	13-11				9-14
					12-10
					14-15
					17-18
$\underline{C}=0.29$	$\underline{C}=0.28$	$\underline{C}=0.26$	$\underline{C}=0.24$	$\underline{C}=0.24$	$C=0.47$
D-Hn	D-T	D-Cn	D-W	D-N	D-J
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
4-8	4-8	11-9	4-23	4-7	4-14
5-6	5-7	15-5	5-18	5-11	5-8
6-9	6-10	16-11	7-19	7-13	6-15
7-7	7-9		9-20	9-17	7-16
9-11	9-13		10-21	10-18	9-18
10-12	11-17		11-22	11-19	11-19
11-17	12-18		12-25	12-15	12-12
12-18	15-21		13-26	15-16	15-13
13-19			15-27		
14-21					
15-23					
16-24					
17-25					
$\underline{C}=0.67$	$\underline{C}=0.45$	$\underline{C}=0.26$	$\underline{C}=0.49$	$\underline{C}=0.54$	$\underline{C}=0.55$

D-M	D-Ch	D-L	Hr-Hn	Hr-T	Hr-Cn
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
4-7	4-7	4-8	2-2	2-2	5-10
5-12	5-14	5-14	3-3	5-5	
6-8	6-10	6-10	4-4	6-8	
7-13	7-16	7-16	5-5	7-10	
9-16	9-19	9-18	6-8	8-7	
11-17	11-20	11-19	7-9	9-9	
12-10	12-13	12-12	8-6	10-18	
15-11	15-14	15-13	9-7	14-13	
			10-18	19-22	
			11-21		
			12-22		
			14-11		
			15-15		
			16-16		
			18-25		
$\underline{C}=0.51$	$\underline{C}=0.48$	$\underline{C}=0.49$	$\underline{C}=0.70$	$\underline{C}=0.45$	$\underline{C}=0.11$
Hr-W	Hr-N	Hr-J	Hr-M	Hr-Ch	Hr-L
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-7	6-7	6-14	6-7	6-9	6-8
6-23	7-9	7-15	7-8	7-10	7-10
7-24	8-11	8-8	8-12	8-15	8-14
8-18	9-13	9-9	9-13	9-16	9-16
9-19	10-15	10-19	10-10	10-13	10-12
10-25	14-17	14-10	14-16	14-19	14-18
14-20					
$\underline{C}=0.33$	$\underline{C}=0.34$	$\underline{C}=0.33$	$\underline{C}=0.36$	$\underline{C}=0.33$	$\underline{C}=0.34$

Hn-T	Hn-Cn	Hn-W	Hn-N	Hn-J	Hn-M
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
2-2	5-10	5-7	6-11	6-8	5-6
5-3	17-9	6-18	7-13	7-9	6-12
6-7	23-5	7-19	8-7	8-14	7-13
7-9	24-11	8-23	9-9	9-15	8-7
8-8		9-24	11-17	11-10	9-8
9-10		11-20	12-18	12-11	11-16
11-13		12-21	17-19	17-13	17-17
13-14		17-22	18-15	18-19	18-10
14-15		18-25	23-16	19-20	23-11
17-17		19-26		23-21	
18-18		23-27			
20-19					
23-21					
$\underline{C}=0.58$	$\underline{C}=0.26$	$\underline{C}=0.43$	$\underline{C}=0.44$	$\underline{C}=0.47$	$\underline{C}=0.47$
Hn-Ch	Hn-L	T-Cr	T-W	T-N	T-J
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-8	6-14	3-10	3-7	7-11	7-8
6-15	7-16	17-9	7-18	8-7	8-14
7-16	8-8	21-5	8-23	9-13	9-9
8-9	9-10		9-19	10-9	10-15
9-10	11-18		10-24	13-17	13-10
11-19	17-19		13-20	17-19	17-13
17-20	18-12		17-22	18-15	18-19
18-13	23-13		18-25	21-16	21-21
23-14			21-27		
$\underline{C}=0.43$	$\underline{C}=0.40$	$\underline{C}=0.22$	$\underline{C}=0.39$	$\underline{C}=0.42$	$\underline{C}=0.40$

T-M	T-Ch	T-L	Cn-W	Cn-N	Cn-J
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
3-6	3-8	7-14	5-27	5-16	5-21
7-12	7-15	8-8	9-22	9-19	9-13
8-7	8-9	9-16	10-7		
9-13	9-16	10-10			
10-8	10-10	13-18			
13-16	13-19	17-19			
17-17	17-20	18-12			
18-10	18-13	21-13			
21-11	21-14				
C=0.49	C=0.45	C=0.42	C=0.19	C=0.18	C=0.17
Cn-M	Cn-Ch	Cn-L	W-N	W-J	W-M
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
5-11	5-14	5-13	2-2	2-2	2-2
9-17	9-20	9-19	3-3	3-4	3-4
			4-4	4-5	4-5
			5-5	5-6	5-6
			6-6	6-7	6-7
			18-11	18-8	18-8
			19-13	19-9	19-9
			20-17	20-10	20-10
			21-18	21-11	21-11
			22-19	22-13	22-13
			23-7	23-14	23-14
			24-9	14-15	24-15
			25-15	25-19	25-19
			27-16	26-20	26-20
			28-20	27-21	27-21
				28-20	28-22
<u>C</u> =0.19	<u>C</u> =0.17	<u>C</u> =0.18	<u>C</u> =0.67	<u>C</u> =0.68	<u>C</u> =0.48

W-Ch	W-L	N-J	N-M	N-Ch	N-L
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
2-3	3-3	2-2	6-3	2-3	3-3
3-4	4-4	3-4	7-7	3-4	4-4
4-5	5-6	4-5	9-8	4-5	5-6
5-6	6-7	5-6	10-9	5-6	6-7
6-7	18-14	6-7	11-12	6-7	7-8
7-8	19-16	7-14	12-14	7-9	8-9
18-15	20-18	8-16	13-13	8-11	9-10
19-16	22-19	9-15	14-15	9-10	10-11
20-19	23-8	10-17	15-10	10-12	11-14
22-20	29-9	11-8	16-11	11-15	12-15
23-9	25-12	13-9	17-16	12-17	13-16
29-10	27-13	15-19	19-17	13-16	14-17
25-23		16-21		14-18	15-12
27-24		17-10		15-13	16-13
		18-11		16-14	17-18
		19-13		17-19	19-19
		20-22		19-20	

C=0.61 C=0.54 C=0.86 C=0.68 C=0.88 C=0.85

J-M	C-Ch	J-L	M-Ch	M-L	Ch-L
1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1
7-3	2-3	3-2	2-2	2-2	2-2
8-12	3-2	4-3	3-7	3-7	4-3
9-13	4-4	5-4	6-8	7-8	5-4
10-16	5-5	6-6	7-9	8-10	6-6
13-17	6-6	7-7	8-10	9-11	7-7
14-7	7-7	8-14	9-12	10-12	9-8
15-8	8-15	9-16	10-13	11-13	10-10
17-9	9-16	10-18	11-14	12-14	11-9
19-10	10-19	13-19	12-15	13-16	12-11
21-11	13-20	14-8	13-16	14-15	13-12
	14-9	15-10	14-17	15-17	14-13
	15-10	16-9	15-18	16-18	15-14
	16-11	17-11	16-19	17-19	16-16
	17-12	19-12	17-20	18-20	17-15
	19-13	21-13	18-21		18-17
	21-21				19-18
					20-19
					21-20

C=0.55 C=0.79 C=0.76 C=0.82 C=0.79 C=0.93

TABLE II

Coefficients of Similarity of Northern and Southern Athapaskan
Versions of the NEST Episode

	BR	BG	S	K	CP	D	Hr	Hn	T	Cn	W	N	J	M	Ch	L
BR	+	0.52	0.78	0.74	0.41	0.56	0.59	0.83	0.54	0.21	0.39	0.38	0.40	0.39	0.36	0.34
BG		+	0.62	0.44	0.48	0.63	0.52	0.61	0.45	0.29	0.41	0.44	0.42	0.51	0.48	0.44
S			+	0.70	0.36	0.58	0.50	0.75	0.56	0.22	0.41	0.39	0.42	0.41	0.39	0.35
K				+	0.28	0.57	0.32	0.70	0.58	0.23	0.42	0.41	0.43	0.43	0.40	0.37
CP					+	0.58	0.52	0.48	0.23	0.11	0.25	0.29	0.28	0.26	0.24	0.24
D						+	0.47	0.67	0.45	0.26	0.49	0.54	0.55	0.51	0.48	0.49
Hr							+	0.70	0.45	0.11	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.36	0.33	0.34
Hn								+	0.58	0.26	0.43	0.44	0.47	0.47	0.43	0.40
T									+	0.22	0.39	0.42	0.40	0.49	0.45	0.42
Cn										+	0.19	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.17	0.18
W											+	0.67	0.68	0.48	0.61	0.54
N												+	0.86	0.68	0.88	0.85
J													+	0.55	0.79	0.76
M														+	0.82	0.79
Ch															+	0.93
L																+

Symbols used: BR, Beaver (Ridington); BG, Beaver (Goddard); S, Slave; K, Kaska; D, Dogrib; Hr, Hare; Hn, Han; Cn, Chilcotin; W, Western Apache; J, Jicarilla; M, Mescalero; Ch, Chiricahua; L, Lipan.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

The NEST episode, the only one shared by all versions, shows a pattern of similarity which corresponds, in part, with that shown in comparison of episodes. In the North Beaver (Ridington)/Slave, Kaska/Han, and Chipewyan (Petitot)/Chipewyan (Goddard)/Chipewyan (Lowie), have relatively high scores on the measure of similarity--0.78; 0.70; and 0.60, 0.76 and 0.73,--and these three sets are the only ones identical with respect to episodes. Those Northern Athapaskan versions which are not identical with respect to episodes but which share more than one episode have scores which tend to be lower than the above, but which are still relatively high. Beaver (Ridington)/Beaver (Goddard); Beaver (Ridington)/Slave; Beaver (Ridington)/Kaska; Beaver (Ridington)/Dogrib; Beaver (Ridington)/Han; Beaver (Goddard)/Slave; Beaver (Goddard)/Chipewyan (Petitot); Slave/Kaska; Slave/Dogrib; Slave/Han; Kaska/Han; and Dogrib/Hare all belong to this category and have scores on comparison which range from a high of 0.83 in the Beaver (Ridington)/Han comparison, to a low of 0.47 and 0.48 the comparison of Dogrib/Hare and Beaver (Goddard)/Chipewyan (Petitot), respectively.

Northern versions which share only the NEST episode tend to have lower scores on comparison than are generated

by comparison of versions which share more than one episode, from a high of 0.70 in a comparison of Hare/Han, to a low of 0.11 in a comparison of Chipewyan (Petitot)/Chilcotin and Hare/Chilcotin (the lowest score generated in the whole comparison).

There are two sets of Southern Athapaskan versions which are identical with respect to episodes. Mescalero/Chiricahua/Lipan, with scores of 0.82, 0.79, and 0.93 (the highest score generated in the whole comparison), and Western Apache/Navajo/Jicarilla, with slightly lower scores of 0.67, 0.68, and 0.86. Scores generated by a comparison between these two sets range from a high of 0.88, in a Navajo/Chiricahua comparison, to a low of 0.48, in a Western Apache/Mescalero comparison.

The comparatively greater linguistic similarity (and lower glottochronological "time depth") of the Southern Athapaskans⁶ seems to be reflected in both the range and magnitude of C scores generated by a comparison of the NEST episode. Scores found in the comparison of Northern versions range from a high of 0.83 (Beaver [Ridington]/Han) to a low of 0.11 (Chipewyan [Petitot]/Chilcotin and Hare/Chilcotin), for a difference of 0.72. The highest score in the South (Chiricahua/Lipan at 0.93) is 0.10 greater than the highest Northern score; the lowest Southern score (Navajo/Chiricahua at 0.48) is 0.37

greater than the lowest Northern score; and the difference between maximum and minimum scores in the South is 0.45.

Elements found in both Northern and Southern

Athapaskan versions of the NEST episode are as follows:

- 1) Location of man in nest
- 2) Killing of one or several eaglets before parents have returned
- 3) Man asks when father will return
- 4) Man asks when mother will return
- 5) Eaglet says when father will return and specifies with what type of "weather" (rain, thunder, light, dark, etc.)
- 6) Eaglet says when mother will return and specifies with what type of "weather"
- 7) Father eagle returns with "weather"
- 8) Mother eagle returns with "weather"
- 9) Father eagle is carrying meat or human remains
- 10) Man kills father eagle
- 11) Man kills mother eagle

In the coded form, this comprises twelve elements.⁷

The best score between a Northern and Southern version is between Dogrib and Jicarilla at 0.55--these two versions sharing eleven elements. Dogrib and Jicarilla, by virtue of containing relatively few elements, (seventeen and twenty-two respectively), achieve this relatively high score, whereas Beaver (Ridington) and Western Apache, for example, which share twelve elements, achieve a score on comparison of only 0.39 because of the relatively greater number of elements they contain (thirty-three and thirty-eight respectively). The lowest score found for a comparison of Northern and Southern versions is 0.17 for Chilcotin/Jicarilla and Chilcotin/Chiricahua, where only three elements (location of man in nest, and killing of parents) are shared.

The majority of the scores generated by comparison of Northern and Southern versions, however, (forty-six out of sixty), range between 0.33 and 0.55.

A "descriptive" comparison of the versions considered here, based on units of comparison more general than the myth elements is shown in the following table. Included here to provide a basis for discussion of variation in versions, it is not intended to be exhaustive of the content of the NEST episode, but rather to represent the majority of important variations in content.

The Northern versions fall into two main types, one represented by Han, Kaska, Slave, and Beaver (Ridington) ("Han type"), and the other represented by Chipewyan (Petitot); Chipewyan (Goddard), and Chipewyan (Lowie) ("Chipewyan type"). The principal characteristics of the Han type are as follows: There are two eaglets in the nest. One of the eaglets which will inform its parents of the man's presence is killed by him. The man asks when the parent eagles will come back, and is told by the eaglet. The parents, when they return, are carrying meat. Both smell something and ask about the dead eaglet. The man kills both parent eagles, and the father eagle, on his return, and asks the surviving eaglet where its mother is (not in Han or Kaska). The man spares the surviving eaglet,

TABLE III

Northern and Southern Athapaskan Versions of the NEST Episode

	T	Hn	K	S	BR	BG	D	Hr	CP	CG	CL	Cn	W	N	J	M	Ch	L
Man is in nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
One eaglet							+		+	+	+							
Two eaglets	+	+	+	+	+			+										
Three eaglets						+												
Four eaglets																+		
Number not specified												+	+	+	+		+	+
Man is warned						+	+		+	+	+							
Eaglets are told to eat man															+		+	+
One eaglet will tell parents			+	+	+	+	+											
Man makes noise													+	+	+		+	+
Man kills eaglet(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+			+	+	
Man asks when mother returns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+
Eaglet says she comes with "weather"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Man asks when father comes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+
Eaglet says he comes with "weather"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Eaglet hides man under wing							+		+	+	+							
Eaglets say where parents sit															+	+	+	+
Mother returns with "weather"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
She carries meat		+	+	+	+		+		+				+	+	+			
She smells something		+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+							
She asks about dead eaglet	+	+	+	+	+													

TABLE III (continued)

	T	Hn	K	S	BR	BG	D	Hr	CP	CG	CL	Cn	W	N	J	M	Ch	L
Man kills her	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
She flies away								+	+	+	+							
Father returns with "weather"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
He carries meat		+	+	+	+		+						+		+			
He smells something		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
He asks about mother	+	+	+	+	+													
He asks about dead eaglet				+	+													
Man kills him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Man takes feathers		+	+	+	+	{+}	+	+					{+}					
Man returns to family			+	+	+	{+}												
Man burns nest								+		(+)								
Transformation of eaglets			(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)							(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)
Man sees Bat Woman													+	+	+			
Man returns to mother																+	+	+

Symbols used: + present; (+) present within Eagle motif, but not in NEST episode;
T, Tanana; H, Han; K, Kaska; S, Slave; BR, Beaver (Ridington); BG, Beaver
(Goddard); D, Dogrib; Hr, Hare; CP, Chipewyan (Petitot); CG, Chipewyan
(Goddard); CL, Chipewyan (Lowie); Cn, Chilcotin; W, Western Apache;
N, Navajo; J, Jicarilla; M, Mescalero; Ch, Chiricahua; L, Lipan

and taking feathers from the dead eagles, returns to the evil family.

In the Chipewyan type, there is one eaglet. It warns the man, and hides him under its wings. The man is told (but does not ask) when the parents return. The parents, when they return, are not carrying meat (except in Chipewyan (Petitot), where the mother carries "débris humains" (Petitot, 1886:360)). The parent eagles fly away from the nest and are not killed by the man (except in the Chipewyan (Goddard) version where this occurs after the FLIGHT episode, and where the hero burns the nest). The man spares the eaglet and flies away from the nest on wings given to him by the eaglet.

Tanana resembles the Han type, but lacks a few of the units found in that type. Dogrib and Hare have resemblances to the Han type which that type does not share with the Chipewyan type, and other resemblances to the Chipewyan type which that type does not share with Han. Beaver (Goddard), in which the number of eaglets (three) is unique among versions considered, and which shares with the Chipewyan type the warning of the hero by the eaglet, for the most part resembles the Han type, although it lacks some of the units found in that type. Chilcotin shares the killing of the parents and of some of the eaglets with the Han type, but lacks most of the units characteristic of that type.

The Southern versions of the NEST episode fall into two types: Western Apache, Navajo, and Jicarilla, where the man is helped down from the nest by Bat Woman, and where one or both of the parents carry meat to the nest; and Mescalero, Chiricahua and Lipan, where the man makes his own way down from the nest, and where the parents do not carry meat to the nest. One "unit"--the killing of some of the eaglets--is shared by Western Apache, Mescalero, and Chiricahua, and is thus found unevenly in both types, and another, in which the man makes a noise to stop the eaglets from eating him, is found in all Southern versions except Mescalero. The number of eaglets is not specified, except for Mescalero, where there are four.

COMPARISON OF ATHAPASKAN AND NON-ATHAPASKAN VERSIONS
OF THE EAGLE, BULL, AND CLIFF OGRE MOTIFS⁸

The content of the Southern Athapaskan Slayer of Monsters myth is shared, to a great extent, by similar myths from such neighbouring peoples as the Yavapai, and the pueblo-dwelling Zuni, Hopi, Sia and Cochiti. It would seem logical to assume that the mythologies of these latter peoples, who had lived in close proximity in the Southwestern United States before the arrival of Europeans, should have had common content, as did, for instance, the mythology of the peoples of the northwest coast of North America where the content of many myths from the Raven cycle was shared.

In the Slayer of Monsters myth of the Southern Athapaskan peoples, and of the non-Athapaskan peoples of the American Southwest mentioned above, a hero, or twin heroes, are born from a woman and sun, or sun and water. In some Southern Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan versions the heroes go to their father, the sun, and are tested by him. He then gives them the weapons with which to slay monsters. In all versions, the heroes slay monsters, including the Eagle, Bull, and Cliff Ogre. In some versions, as in some of the Northern Athapaskan versions of the NEST episode, the slaying of monsters is accompanied by the gathering of material to make arrows.

In certain versions, also, the hero or heroes are helped by such characters as Bat Woman or Spider Woman.

To accurately identify those portions of the Southwestern versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth which have a non-Athapaskan origin would require a thorough analysis of the mythology of the area. My own incomplete investigations, however, have led me to the following conclusions, which are presented merely as suggestions, and which are not given further proof here: The mythology of the non-Athapaskan peoples of the Southwest probably contained the birth of culture heroes from a woman and sun, or sun and water, as well as their testing by the sun, and the adventures of a hero or twin heroes before the arrival of Athapaskan peoples in the area. The mythological figures, Spider Woman and Bat Woman, probably predate the arrival of the Southern Athapaskans as well.

Athapaskan peoples have been living in the vicinity of the Yavapai, Zuni, Hopi, Sia, and Cochiti, since at least the beginning of the 17th century,⁹ and there are numerous reliable accounts of contacts between both Pueblo Indians and Yavapai and Southern Athapaskans in historic times.¹⁰ It would seem probable that a syncretic modification and transmission of myth content has occurred both within and between the mythologies of the Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan peoples of the Southwest since the

times of first contact between them.

The Southwest, as an area, is unique in containing a large number of non-Athapaskan versions of the Eagle, Bull, and Cliff Ogre motifs which are very similar to Athapaskan, and especially Southern Athapaskan, versions of these motifs. The Plains and Plateau areas contain few such versions, and the Basin area, virtually none.¹¹

Non-Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif are compared in the following table with the Northern Athapaskan Beaver (Ridington) and Southern Athapaskan Western Apache versions of the Eagle motif, these latter two versions being selected because they share a large number of the elements of comparison used in Table III.

Among five peoples of the Basin area, the Uintah Ute (Mason, 1910), Northern Shoshone (Lowie, 1909), Wind River Shoshone (Lowie and St. Clair, 1909), Kaibab Paiute (Sapir, 1930), and Moapa (Lowie, 1926), are found myths involving a man and a flying monster. These myths, which in many ways are similar to each other, bear little resemblance to either Northern or Southern Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif.

In the Uintah Ute, Northern Shoshone, Wind River Shoshone, and Kaibab Paiute versions, a man (two men in the Uintah Ute version) is carried to an island by a winged monster. In the Wind River Shoshone, Uintah Ute,

TABLE IV

Athapaskan and Non-Athapaskan Versions of the Eagle Motif

	BR	W	Sh	Ku	Th	Sa	Ui	NS	WS	KP	Mo	Zu	Ho	Si	Co	NY	WY	Gr	Ar	Wi	Ki
Man is in nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
No eaglets mentioned					+			+	+	+	+										
Two eaglets	+																				
Four eaglets																		+			
Number not specified		+	+	+		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Eaglets are told to eat man		+										+	+	+						+	+
Man kills eaglets	+	+																		+	
Man makes noise		+										+	+			+	+				
Man asks when mother returns	+	+		+								+	+	+				+	+		
Eaglet says she comes with "weather"	+	+		+								+	+					+	+		
Man asks when father returns	+	+		+								+						+			
Eaglet says he comes with "weather"	+	+		+								+						+			
Mother returns with "weather"	+	+		+								+	+					+	+	+	+
She carries meat	+	+											+								
Man kills her	+	+		+								+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
Father returns with "weather"	+	+		+									+					+		+	+
Man kills him	+	+		+								+	+	+		+	+	+			
Man kills single eagle			+				+	+	+	+	+				+						
Man asks where eagles sit		+												+			+				
Man takes feathers	+	+			+						+	+			+				+	+	+
Man kills surviving eagles			+				+							+		+					
Man transforms eaglets	+	+	+									+	+		+						

TABLE IV (continued)

	BR	W	Sh	Ku	Th	Sa	Ui	NS	WS	KP	Mo	Zu	Ho	Si	Co	NY	WY	Gr	Ar	Wi	Ki
Man is helped from nest												+	+		+		+	+			
Helper is Bat												+	+				+	+			
Helper is squirrel															+						

Symbols used: +, present; BR, Beaver (Ridington); W, Western Apache; Sh, Shushwap; Ku, Kutenai; Th, Thompson; Sa, Sanpoil; Ui, Uintah Ute; NS, Northern Shoshone; WS, Wind River Shoshone; KP, Kaibab Paiute; Mo, Moapa; Zu, Zuni; Ho, Hopi; Si, Sia; Co, Cochiti; NY, Northeastern Yavapai; WY, Western Yavapai; Gr, Gros Ventre; Ar, Arapaho; Wi, Wichita; Ki, Kiowa.

and Kaibab Paiute versions, the island is inhabited by other victims of the winged monster, and in the Uintah Ute, Northern Shoshone, Wind River Shoshone, and Kaibab Paiute, the winged monster is killed by the man. Young of the winged monster are not mentioned in the texts, except in Uintah Ute, where they are killed by the man, after he has killed their parent. In the Wind River Shoshone and Uintah Ute versions, the man escapes the island on a boat made from the wings of the slain monster. In Northern Shoshone, he escapes using wings of the slain monster given to him by its mother, and in Kaibab Paiute, he leaves the island on a bridge of dirt and feathers.

In the Moapa version, the man is carried off by a condor. There are no "eaglets" mentioned, and the man kills the single monster. As in Uintah Ute, Northern Shoshone, Wind River Shoshone, and Kaibab Paiute, there is no mention made of the sex of the single parent bird, there is no association of the parents with weather, and the parent bird does not carry meat. As with the other basin versions, except Uintah Ute, there is no mention of young birds.

In the Moapa version, however, as in both Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan versions from the Southwest, the man collects feathers for arrows, and is helped from the nest by Bat Woman. The absence of these units from other Basin accounts, and the location of the Moapa in Southern--most

Utah and Nevada (Lowie, 1924: 1) to the immediate west and north of the Yavapai and westernmost Southern Athapaskans and Pueblo Indians, would indicate that these units are probably borrowings from the Southwest.

Of the four Plateau versions--Shushwap (Teit, 1909), Kutenai (Boas, 1918), Thompson (Teit, 1898), and Sanpoil, (Gould, 1918)--Kutenai alone bears any great resemblance to the Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif. In the Shushwap and Sanpoil versions, a man seeks feathers, but for adornment, rather than for arrows. The man is carried into eagles' nest. In the Shushwap version, he kills the single parent eagle, transforms the eaglets from monsters into ordinary eagles, and takes feathers " . . . to decorate [him]self" (Teit, 1909: 649). In the Sanpoil version, he ties up, but does not kill, the parent eagles, and no mention is made of his taking feathers, although the text indicates that his purpose was " . . . to get feathers for a head-dress" (Gould, 1918: 108).

In the Thompson version, a man desires feathers for his arrows. He approaches an eagle's nest, and in struggling with the eagle, falls off a cliff, but is saved by the eagle, which flaps its wings. The man chokes, but does not kill, the eagle, and takes its feathers for arrows.

The return of the parent eagles, their association

with weather, and the questioning of the eaglets are not found in Shushwap, Thompson, or Sanpoil, but occur in the Kutenai text, where Coyote and a man find themselves in a thunderbirds' nest. The man asks the young birds when their parents return, and they reply that they " . . . come back in the evening in the form of a thunderclouds" (Boas, 1918: 286). The man kills the thunderbirds when they return, but spares their young.

Among the Arikara (Dorsey, 1904a), Assiniboine (Lowie, 1910), Crow (Lowie, 1918), Mandan-Hidatsa (Beckwith, 1938), and Skidi Pawnee (1904b) of the Plains are found myths which are very similar to each other, but which have little resemblance to Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif. In the Crow version, for example, a young hunter is transported while unconscious into an eagles' nest. The eagles feed the man, and ask him to protect their young from water monsters. The man kills the monsters and saves the eaglets from them. The man does not question the eaglets, and the parent eagle is not associated with weather. Furthermore, his role, in protecting, rather than destroying, the eagles, constitutes an inversion of the hero's role in the Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif. These Plains versions, because they share no significant elements of content with Athapaskan Eagle motif, are omitted from the comparative table.

More similar to Athapaskan versions are myths from

the Gros Ventre (Kroeber, 1908), Arapaho (Dorsey and Kroeber, 1903), Wichita (Dorsey, 1904), and Kiowa (Parsons, 1929). In the Gros Ventre and Arapaho versions a man (two men in Gros Ventre) goes into a thunderbirds' nest, and questions the young as to when their parents will return. As in the Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif, the young answer that their parents will return with a certain kind of weather (the man asks only about the mother bird in the Arapaho version). When the mother returns, the man challenges her to pull his arrow out of a rock. She cannot, the arrow stretches, and she is dashed on the rocks. In the Gros Ventre version alone, the men kill the father as well, and in the Arapaho, the man kills the eaglets. In both versions, the eagles' feathers are plucked for arrows.

In the Wichita version the man asks the young birds who their parents are. Those which say their parents are a type of weather which the hero likes are spared; the others are killed. In the Kiowa version, two boys go into a birds' nest for arrow feathers. The parents (Thunder and Lightning) attack them, but they succeed in getting feathers.

Of the non-Athapaskan versions from the Southwest, Zuni (Benedict, 1935) most closely resembles the Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif, especially the Southern Athapaskan versions. The man asks when the mother comes

in this version and in the Hopi (Stephen, 1929) and Sia (Stevenson, 1902), and she is associated with weather in Zuni and Hopi. In the Zuni, as well, the man asks when the father comes, and he is associated with weather in the young birds' answer.

A mother and a father bird return and are killed by the man in all of the above Pueblo versions, as well as in the Northeastern and Western Yavapai (Gifford, 1933) versions. Units of content shared by the Pueblo and Yavapai with Southern Athapaskan versions are numerous. The eaglets are told to eat the man in Zuni, Hopi, and Sia, and the man makes a noise to stop the eaglets from eating him in Zuni, Hopi, Northeastern Yavapai, and Western Yavapai. The man asks where the parent eagles sit in Sia, and the man is helped down from the nest by Bat Woman in Zuni, Northeastern Yavapai, and Western Yavapai (by squirrel in Sia). As in certain Northern Athapaskan versions, where the man teaches the eaglet to eat fish and turns it from a man-eating monster into a normal eagle, and all Southern Athapaskan versions, where the eaglets are changed into various, less dangerous, birds, the eaglets are transformed in Zuni and Hopi, but are killed in Sia.

In the Cochiti (Dumarest, 1919) version, the Pueblo version least similar to the Southern Athapaskan versions, a single parent eagle is killed, feathers for arrows are

taken, and the eaglets are transformed.

The Bull motif, in which a man kills a large monster with the help of a rodent, or small rodent-like animal such as a shrew, is found among the Northern Athapaskans for Han, Kaska, Slave, Beaver (Ridington). Beaver (Goddard), and Dogrib, and takes place in all cases because the man needs sinew for arrows. The rodent helper digs a tunnel up to the monster, and in all except Beaver (Goodard), answers that it needs fur to keep its children warm when questioned by the monster. The man enters the tunnel, approaches the monster unseen, and kills it. In the Kaska and Beaver (Ridington) versions, the dying bull digs into the ground in an attempt to reach the man. In all Northern Athapaskan versions, the man takes sinew from the dead "bull."

The Southern Athapaskan versions--Western Apache, Navajo, Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Lipan--are identical to the Northern versions except that in all, the rodent helper, a gopher, digs four tunnels. The dying bull digs into the ground in all Southern Athapaskan versions. The taking of sinew by the hero is found only for Western Apache.

Two instances of a small animal aiding in the killing of a large monster are found in the Plateau area, for Pend d'Oreille (Teit, 1917) and Flathead (McDermott, 1901). In both versions, Coyote's helper, a mouse, digs

TABLE V

Athapaskan and Non-Athapaskan Versions of the Bull Motif

	Hn	K	S	BR	BG	D	W	N	J	M	Ch	L	P	F	Sv	KP	Zu	Ho	Si	Co	NY	WY	Ki	Ma
Helper digs tunnel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
There are four tunnels								+	+	+	+	+	+					+						
Helper asks for fur	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+					+	+
Man kills bull from below	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
He talks to bull													+	+										
Man kills bull from above													+	+										
Helper kills bull															+	+								
Dying bull digs ground		+		+				+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Man takes sinew	+	+	+	+	+	+	+																	+

Symbols used: +, present; Hn, Han; K, Kaska; BR, Beaver (Ridington); BG, Beaver (Goddard); D, Dogrib; W, Western Apache; N, Navajo; J, Jicarilla; M, Mescalero; Ch, Chiricahua; L, Lipan; P, Pend d'Oreille; F, Flathead; Sv, Shivwits; KP, Kaibab Paiute; Zu, Zuni; Ho, Hopi; Si, Sia; Co, Cochiti; NY, Northeastern Yavapai; WY, Western Yavapai; Ki, Kiowa; Ma, Mandan-Hidatsa.

a tunnel so that Coyote may approach a monster. Coyote emerges from the tunnel, surprising the monster. Coyote talks to the monster, tricking him into laying down his weapons, and kills the monster.

In the mythology of the Shivwits (Lowie, 1926) and Kaibab Paiute (Sapir, 1930), two Basin peoples, a snake which Coyote is carrying in a bag escapes, tunnels to a giant antelope, and kills it.

In the Pend d'Oreille, Flathead, Shushwap, and Kaibab Paiute versions, Coyote's helper does not ask for fur, nor does the dying monster dig into the ground. No mention is made of taking sinew.

In four versions from the Plains--Arapaho (Dorsey and Kroeber, 1903), Gros Ventre (Kroeber, 1908), Crow (Lowie, 1918) and Cheyenne (Kroeber, 1900)--a mole or gopher tunnels to the home of a buffalo which has carried off a woman. The woman escapes through the tunnel and rejoins her people.

Two Plains versions more similar to the Athapaskan versions of the Bull motif are found for the Kiowa (Parsons, 1929) and Mandan-Hidatsa (Beckwith, 1938). In the Kiowa version, two boys seeking sinew turn into a mole which tunnels towards a buffalo. When questioned by the buffalo, the mole says it wants fur for its children. The mole pierces the side of the buffalo with a stick and the buffalo, in its death throes, follows the mole in its tunnel. The boys take sinew for their arrows.

In the Mandan-Hidatsa version, a man is aided by a mole which tunnels to a giant elk. The man goes into the tunnel and kills the elk. There is no mention of the mole asking for fur, or of the elk digging into the ground.

In the Southwest, the Hopi (Stephen, 1929), Zuni (Benedict, 1935), Sia (Stevenson, 1902), Cochiti (Dumarest, 1919) and, Northeastern and Western Yavapai (Gifford, 1933) versions of the Bull motif closely resemble the Southern Athapaskan versions. The helper asks for fur in the Zuni, Hopi, and Western Yavapai versions; the monster is killed by a man who follows the tunnel to a point below the monster, and the monster digs the ground in all of the above versions. Only in Zuni, however, are there four tunnels, and all versions lack the taking of sinew from the dead monster.

In the Cliff Ogre motif, a man pushes an adversary over a cliff to his death. This motif is found among the Northern Athapaskans for Kaska, Beaver (Ridington), and Beaver (Goddard). The man involved in this motif is the hero of the Northern Athapaskan version of the Slayer of Monsters myth. That is, he also slays the Eagle and the Bull, as well as other monsters. Similarities in Southern Athapaskan versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth which are not shared with Northern versions, have

been outlined above, and are dealt with in greater detail in "The Distribution of Myth Elements in Southern Athapaskan Mythology" (Tyhurst, n.d.). Northern Athapaskan versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth also share incidents which are not found in Southern Athapaskan mythology. For example, in the Beaver (Ridington), Beaver (Goddard), Kaska, Slave, Dogrib, Hare, and Han texts referred to here, the hero who has slain the Eagle and the Bull (the Hare version alone lacks the slaying of the Bull), must overcome a monster which has swallowed a large amount of water. He is helped by a bird with a sharp beak who flies at the monster, piercing its stomach, and releasing the water. While I have not yet myself carried out an exhaustive comparison of Northern Athapaskan versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth and other myths, it appears that such a comparison would reveal many important similarities.

In the Kaska version of the Cliff Ogre motif, Beaver, the hero of the Kaska Slayer of Monsters myth, is told by Sheep-Man to look over a cliff at some sheep below. Beaver tricks Sheep-Man into looking first and pushes him over the cliff. Sheep-Man's wife, who is waiting below for victims to fall from the cliff, clubs him before she recognizes who it is. In the Beaver (Goddard) version, an elk tries to kick a man over a bank. The man succeeds in throwing the elk over the bank, and the elk is killed by his wife who is waiting below and who " . . . thought it

was a stranger she was killing . . . " (Goddard, 1916: 236).

In the Beaver (Ridington) version, as in the Kaska version, a man is told to look over a cliff at some sheep below. The "Cliff Ogre," here an evil man, is pushed off the cliff, and is badly injured. There is no mention of his wife waiting below. Instead, the hero turns him into an owl.¹²

Among the Southern Athapaskans, the Cliff Ogre is found for Western Apache, Navajo, and Jicarilla. In the Western Apache version, a monster identified as a mountain sheep (Goodwin, 1939: 22) tries to kick a man off a cliff. The man cuts the monster's head from a rock to which it is attached, and throws the monster off the cliff to its death. There is no mention of anyone waiting below.

In the Navajo and Jicarilla versions, as well, a monster tries to kick the hero of the Slayer of Monster's myth off a cliff. In the Navajo version, as in the Western Apache version, the man cuts the monster's head from rocks to which it is attached. In both Navajo and Jicarilla, the man succeeds in pushing the monster off the cliff. His children, waiting below, devour his body.

In three similar versions from the Plateau area--Pend d'Oreille (Teit, 1917), Flathead (McDermott, 1901), and Sahaptin (Farrand, 1917)--Coyote is pushed over a

cliff by a "Cliff Ogre" after being told to look at some sheep below. The "Cliff Ogre" is identified as a sheep in Pend d'Oreille and Sahaptin, but not in Flathead. Coyote is killed by the fall, but is revived by an ally--Fox in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille, Magpie in Sahaptin. Coyote goes back to the cliff and pushes the Cliff Ogre off, killing it. None of the Plateau versions mention anyone waiting at the bottom of the Cliff.

In a Northern Shoshone (Lowie, 1909) version from the Basin, a giant tries to throw Weasel off a cliff, but Weasel approaches the giant unseen, and throws him over the cliff to his death. As in the Plateau versions, there is no one waiting below.

Three versions are found in the Plains area--Arapaho (Dorsey and Kroeber, 1903), Crow (Simms, 1903), and Blackfoot (Grinnell, 1913)--but only in Crow and Blackfoot is there any mention of someone waiting at the bottom of the cliff for victims. In Crow, a man tries to push two boys off a cut bank, but they elude him. The man falls off the cliff and is eaten by his father who is waiting in the water below. In Blackfoot, a woman trips passers-by with a rope so that they fall from a cliff. A man cuts her rope and causes her to fall into water below, where she is eaten by a monster fish.

TABLE VI

Athapaskan and Non-Athapaskan Versions of the Cliff-Ogre Motif

	K	BR	BG	W	N	J	P	F	Sn	NS	Zu	Si	NY	Ar	Cr	Bl ¹³
Monster is sheep	+			+			+		+							
Man is told to look at sheep	+	+					+	+	+							
Monster falls from cliff	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Monster is attached				+	+								+			
Monster's relatives wait below	+		+		+	+					+		+		+	
Monster fish waits below																+

Symbols used: +, present; K, Kaska; BR, Beaver (Ridington); BG, Beaver (Goddard); W, Western Apache; J, Jicarilla; P, Pend d'Oreille; F, Flathead; Sn, Sahaptin; NS, Northern Shoshone; Zu, Zuni; Si, Sia; NY, North-eastern Yavapai; Ar, Arapaho; Cr, Crow; Bl, Blackfoot.

In Arapaho, "Clot-child" is led to the edge of a big hole by a man. The man tries to push the boy into the hole, but falls into the hole himself, and is killed.

In the Southwest, non-Athapaskan versions of the Cliff Ogre motif are found for the Zuni (Benedict, 1935), Sia (Stevenson, 1902), Northeastern Yavapai (Gifford, 1933), and Taos (Parsons, 1940). Both Zuni and Northeastern Yavapai closely resemble the Southern Athapaskan Navajo and Jicarilla versions. In the Zuni version, a one-horned giant tries to kick two boys from a cliff. The boys throw him over the cliff and he is eaten by his children. The same incidents occur in the Northeastern Yavapai version, except that here a single man opposes a monster called "Cliff-person-kick-down" (Gifford, 1933). In Northeastern Yavapai, as in Navajo and Western Apache (but not Zuni), the monster is attached to the cliff and the man cuts him free before throwing him down.

In the Sia version, a cougar tries to convince two boys to pass in front of him on a narrow path on a cliff. The boys convince the cougar to let them pass behind him, and push the cougar off the cliff, killing him.

The Taos version, of all Southwestern non-Athapaskan versions of the Cliff Ogre motif, resembles Athapaskan

versions the least. A giant repeatedly pushes a boy from a cliff but cannot kill him. The boy tricks the giant into letting himself be burned to death on a fire which the boy builds. In the Taos version also, the killing of the giant is related to a single, isolated myth. In all other Southwestern versions of the Slayer of Monsters myth, the killing of the Eagle, Bull, and Cliff Ogre are carried out by the same hero, or twin heroes, and their actions take place within the same, continuing narrative.

CONCLUSION

The central episode of the Northern and Southern Athapaskan Eagle motif, the NEST episode, has been compared by elements. It was found that, as a rule, those Athapaskan versions of the Eagle motif which shared more than one episode were more similar in the contents of the NEST episode than those which shared only the NEST episode.

The Northern Athapaskan versions of the NEST episode, the Eagle motif showed considerably more variation in content than did Southern Athapaskan versions of the same episode.

The three motifs considered here are found together only among the Northern Athapaskans (Kaska and Beaver), the Southern Athapaskans (Navajo, Jicarilla, and Western Apache), and among the peoples of the Southwest with whom they were closely associated (Zuni, Sia, and Northeastern Yavapai). In each of the above cases, the motifs are found together within a single myth and are carried out by the same hero.

All three motifs are not found in the mythology of any other non-Athapaskan people considered here. Such a distribution is best accounted for by the motifs being carried to the Southwest by the precursors of the Southern Athapaskans when they migrated from the North.

If it is assumed that the motifs originated in the

Southwest--the only location where all three motifs are found in the mythology of non-Athapaskan peoples--and were transmitted from there to the North, the motifs might have been transmitted:

1. Through Athapaskan-speaking peoples to the North at a time when a string of migrating Athapaskans stretched from Canada to the Southwest, or
2. In severalty through non-Athapaskans.

The first possibility must be rejected as it involves far more steps than migration with full retention. The second possibility likewise involves more steps than migration with full retention, and in addition assumes steps in which one or more of the motifs was lost among the non-Athapaskan peoples through whom the transmission occurred.

The content of the three motifs also furnishes evidence in favour of migration with retention.

Some elements of content of these three motifs are shared only between the Northern and Southern Athapaskans; others among the Northern and Southern Athapaskans, and neighbouring peoples in the Southwest, with extremely limited occurrence among other non-Athapaskans.

A minimal reconstruction of the proto-myth may be carried out by including all elements of the motifs shared between the Northern and Southern Athapaskan versions of the three motifs. Such a reconstruction is a minimal one, since elements originally shared by the precursors of both groups

may have since been lost. Using the elements of comparison of content from Table IV, Table V and Table VI, those that are shared between Northern and Southern Athapaskans are as follows:

1) Eagle Motif

1. Man is in nest
2. Man kills eaglets
3. Man asks when mother returns
4. Eaglet says she comes with "weather"
5. Man asks when father returns
6. Eaglet says he comes with "weather"
7. Mother returns with "weather"
8. She carries meat
9. Man kills her
10. Father returns with "weather"
11. He carries meat
12. Man kills him
13. Man takes feathers

2) Bull Motif

1. Helper digs tunnel
2. Helper asks for fur
3. Man kills bull from below
4. Dying bull digs ground
5. Man takes sinew

3) Cliff Ogre Motif

1. Monster is sheep
2. Monster falls from cliff
3. Monster's relatives wait below

Only two of the Northern and Southern Athapaskan elements of comparison in the Eagle motif are not found among non-Athapaskans (see Table IV). These elements--the carrying of "meat" by the parents--are, however, units which are highly significant in that it is human meat which they

are carrying, and it is this which makes them monsters.

In the Han, Kaska, Slave, and Beaver (Ridington) versions of the Eagle motif, it is specified in the text that both parents return to the nest with either human parts or with dead people. In the Chipewyan (Petitot) version, it is the mother who returns to the nest with débris humains, and in the Dogrib version it is the father eagle who carries a child to the nest.

Among the Southern Athapaskans, both mother and father eagles return to the nest carrying people in the Western Apache and Jicarilla versions of the Eagle motif. In the Navajo, the mother returns carrying the body of a Pueblo woman.

In the Bull motif, the man takes sinew from the dead monster in the Northern Athapaskan, Han, Kaska, Slave, Beaver (Ridington), Beaver (Goddard), and Dogrib versions. This element is found in the Western Apache version, and, among non-Athapaskans, only among the Kiowa (see Table V), who have long been associated with the Athapaskan-speaking Kiowa Apache.

In the Cliff Ogre motif, the monster's relatives wait below in the Northern Athapaskan Beaver (Goddard) and Kaska versions, and in the Southern Athapaskan Navajo and Jicarilla versions. This element is found in the Southwest for Zuni and Northeastern Yavapai. Outside the Southwest, however, it is found only for Crow (see Table VI).

The three motifs are present together within a single myth among the Northern and Southern Athapaskans. No non-Athapaskan group aside from those in the Southwest has all three motifs. Thus the myth itself, or at least the minimal reconstruction of the proto-myth presented above, is most likely to have originated among the Athapaskans in the North, or among those peoples of the Southwest whose mythology contains all three motifs. Transmission from the Southwest to the North, however, is less likely than migration with retention because it involves more steps, whether through a string of migrating Athapaskans, or in severalty through non-Athapaskans.

The Eagle and Bull motifs themselves contain elements found only among the Northern and Southern Athapaskans (with a single occurrence of the element of taking sinew, from the Bull motif, among the non-Athapaskan Kiowa). The element of "relatives waiting below," from the Cliff Ogre motif, is found in the mythology of two non-Athapaskan peoples of the Southwest, but outside the Southwest, only among the Crow.

In addition, several of the underlying ideas of the Slayer of Monsters myth are found in both Northern and Southern Athapaskan versions of the myth. In the Eagle and Bull motifs, not only is a monster slain, but it also becomes something useful for hunters. In the Eagle motif, feathers for arrows are taken from the dead eagles (Northern Athapas-

kan - Han, Slave, Kaska, Beaver (Ridington), Beaver (Goddard), Dogrib and Hare; Southern Athapaskan - Western Apache). In the Bull motif, sinew is taken from the dead monster (Northern Athapaskan - Han, Kaska, Slave, Beaver (Ridington), Beaver (Goddard), and Dogrib; Southern Athapaskan - Western Apache).

The idea of making the world a safe place for people to live is found in both Northern and Southern Athapaskan versions of the myth. The monsters which kill people and make the world dangerous, are themselves killed or transformed. In the Chipewyan (Petitot) version of the Slayer of Monsters myth (see translation in Appendix of this paper), the monster slayer attacks the girl "Breast Full of Mice." Vermin come out of her body and spread over the earth. As a result of this, misery, sickness, famine, forced fasting, death, and cold have plagued people since. In a Navajo version of the Slayer of Monsters myth not previously considered here (Navajo History 1971: 68 - 69), Hunger Man, Poverty Man, Sleep Man, Lice Man, and Old Age are five monsters which the monster slayer did not kill. Thus in a Northern and a Southern Athapaskan version of the myth, the monster slayer, despite his powers, is responsible for the presence of certain human problems upon the earth.

In view of all the above facts, it is most highly probable that the three motifs were carried to the Southwest by the precursors of the Southern Athapaskans when they migrated.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "motif" is used by Tsuchiyama to refer to whatever specific portion of Athapaskan mythology she is considering. She calls those parts of Athapaskan mythology in which a visit is made to an eagle's nest, a "bull" is slain, or a "cliff ogre" is defeated, "motifs." Her usage is followed here.

In the "Visit to Eagle's Nest" motif, the hero makes his way into the nest of a large bird monster (usually identified as an eagle). With few exceptions, he questions the eaglets in the nest as to when their parents will return, and kills the parent eagles, making his way to the ground.

2. My own translations of Petitot's Chipewyan, Dogrib, and Hare texts (1996) are appended as sample texts.

3. If only two texts were being compared and they agreed in the content of all major actions, both would be considered to consist of a single episode. Any portion of a text shared by all texts under consideration would be considered an episode, as well.

4. It is during the obtaining of the sinew that the hero comes upon and slays the "Giant Bull."

5. The Chipewyan (Goddard) and Chipewyan (Lowie) versions of the NEST episode, while not included in the wider comparison by elements, are compared with each other here:

Elements Considered Equivalent

<u>CP-CG</u>	<u>CP-CG</u>	<u>CG-CL</u>
1-1	1-2	1-2
3-3	3-3	2-1
5-7	5-7	3-3
6-6	6-6	4-4
7-5	7-5	5-5
8-13	8-11	6-6
9-14	9-12	7-7
10-15	10-15	8-8
11-18	11-15	9-9
12-8	12-8	10-10
14-9	14-9	13-11

<u>CP-CG</u>	<u>CP-CG</u>	<u>CG-CL</u>
15-10	15-10	14-12
16-17	16-14	15-13
20-25	21-16	17-14
		18-15
<u>C</u> =0.60	<u>C</u> =0.76	<u>C</u> =0.73

6. See, for example, Hoijer (1956).

7. Whether the man lets the eaglet live is, in the Southern Athapaskan versions, part of the content of the BIRDS episode. And even here a comparison with Northern versions is difficult. The eaglet, for example, is turned into an owl (Western Apache), or is made smaller (Jicarilla and Lipan). In no case are all the eaglets killed, but this "element" which resembles, for example, element 31 of Beaver (Ridington (man lets eagle live)), is because of difficulties in comparison, not included in the list of elements shared between Northern and Southern versions.

The Western Apache version of the NEST episode considered here takes place within the context of a search by the hero for materials to make arrows--he has himself carried into the nest in order to get feathers. However, while he obtains the feathers, he does not do so within the NEST episode, and thus another possible similarity between Western Apache and such Northern versions as Beaver (Ridington), Slave, Kaska, Dogrib, Hare and Han (e.g., Han element 25: He gets feathers for arrows) is not represented in the comparison by elements.

8. Many of the non-Athapaskan texts referred to below are referred to in Tsuchiyama (1947). All have, however, been examined first hand.

9. According to Spanish accounts ([Zarate-Salmeron 1899-1900] and [Benavides, 1916] cited in [Hill, 1940]).

10. See, for example, Goodwin (1942) for accounts of trading between Western Apache and Hopi (p. 74), and of intermarriage between Western Apache and Yavapai (pp. 88-92).

11. The area classifications used here follow Kroeber's culture area classifications (1963), with slight modifications in terminology. Such modifications are made to

facilitate discussion of the motifs considered, and do not, I believe, depart excessively from Kroeber's classification.

As with Kroeber, the Pueblo Indians (Cochiti, Hopi, Sia, Taos, Zuni), Yavapai, Navajo, and Apache are termed as belonging to the Southwest culture area. Kroeber includes the Lipan Apache in the South Texas culture area (Kroeber, 1963: 37), but they are included in the term "Southwest" here, so as to include them with other Southern Athapaskans.

All peoples referred to here as being within the Plateau area--Flathead, Kutenai, Pend d'Oreille, Sanpoil, Shushwap, Sahaptin, and Thompson--are included in Kroeber's "Columbia-Fraser Plateau" area (1963: 55).

Peoples referred to as being within the Basin area--Kaibab Paiute, Northern Shoshone, Moapa, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, and Wind River Shoshone--are referred to as "Great Basin" by Kroeber (1963: 49).

Peoples referred to here as Plains are included in Kroeber's "Southern Plains" (Kiowa) (Kroeber, 1963: 79) and "Northern Plains" (Arapaho, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Crow, and Gros Ventre) (Kroeber, 1963: 80).

Referred to as Plains here, but placed in the "Prairie" culture area by Kroeber are the Arikara and Mandan-Hidatsa. They are described by him as ". . . agricultural prairie tribes who entered the plains but retained their prairie culture" (1963: 83).

Also termed Plains here, are the Wichita and Skidi Pawnee, whom Kroeber places in the "Red River" area, to the immediate south and east of the Southern Plains (1963: 74).

The terms "Northern Athapaskan" and "Southern Athapaskan," do not, of course, refer to culture areas, but rather to those Athapaskan speaking peoples living north of the Canada-U.S. border, and in or near the Southwest, respectively.

12. In a Chilcotin "version" which has little similarity to Kiowa, Beaver (Ridington), or Beaver (Goddard), a man is pushed off a cliff and escapes by turning himself into a flying-squirrel.

13. The Chilcotin and Taos versions are omitted as they share none of the units of content shown in the Table.

14. These translations were made by myself, and checked by Elli and Pierre Maranda. They are included here as sample texts. To facilitate typing, accents found in Petitot's original have been omitted. The phonetic symbol ρ is represented by R.

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APPENDIX

ELTCHELEKWIE ONNIE

(Petitot 1886: 352 - 362)¹⁴

(Chipewyan)

At the beginning of time, there was an old man who had two sons. One day he told them, "My children, get into your dugout canoe, and go hunting, because there is nothing to eat here."

The two obedient boys got into the canoe and left at once to go hunting. The old man said to them, "You should go west, because that's where your first homeland is, and only there will you live happily." So they left.

On the fourth day of their journey, they came to a waterfall called Eltsin nathelin or the whirling chasm. There they captured some Canada geese. But when evening had come, they didn't know where they were, and they got lost altogether.

The next morning, and during the following days, the two brothers didn't get any further ahead. In the meantime they had eaten their little geese, and went along the deserted and steep shores of Great Slave Lake, on the shore of which they came upon a mountain called Dene-chath-yaRe--the mountain with men inside.

"Older brother," said the younger of the boys to his brother, "This country isn't anything like our own. Where do you think we are?"

"Alas, younger brother," answered the older, "I don't know any more than you. But don't let it trouble you at all. Let's keep on going."

All of a sudden the two brothers heard voices under the ground--the voices of giants (OtchoRe) who lived on the northern shore of Great Slave Lake. In front of the mountain a little giant and his sister were playing together. The cone-shaped mountain was their tent.

"Oh, what little men," they cried joyfully, seeing the two Dene brothers.

They ran to them, and took them in their hands. They put them in their mittens, like little birds fallen from a nest which one wishes to warm up, and took them in this way to their parents.

"Look father, mother, what little bits of men we have just found on the shore," they said laughing.

"Don't make fun of them," said the giant father, who was a very kind man. "My children," he added, speaking to the two brothers. "Stay with us. No one will do you harm."

Saying this the giant gave each boy the eye of a giant trout to eat.

The little Dene lived then at Dene-chath-yaRe on the north shore of Great Slave Lake. They went to inspect the fishing hooks and nets in the company of the giant's children, and didn't want for anything.

But in the end they grew tired of this comfortable and easy life, and asked to continue their journey.

"Of course," said the giant.

He made them fish pemmican, and gave to each one two arrows.

"You will kill male moose with this male arrow," he told them, "and with this female arrow you will pursue the female. These two arrows are very powerful. They come back by themselves after you have shot them. Therefore, do not go after them to retrieve them, for if you do so, misfortune will occur. I forbid it absolutely."

The two brothers promised everything and left.

As they were leaving, the kind giant indicated to them the setting sun as the point on the horizon where their first homeland lay, and told them to move in that direction.

A little after leaving the home of the good giant, the younger of the two brothers sighted a squirrel perched on a large fir tree, and shot one of his arrows at it. Then he ran right away to retrieve it.

"Oh, my younger brother, take care, don't take hold of it at all," cried out the older boy. "You know that we were told not to. It is very bad, they think, to disobey."

But the younger boy persisted.

"It's in my grasp," he shouted to his brother, "I can reach it."

He then held out his arm to grasp it, but it went higher, following the squirrel, who mocked the hunter.

"Ah, see here, I have it!" he shouted triumphantly.

But the arrow, escaping him, went higher again, and kept going up. At last the young man got hold of the arrow. But immediately it took off like a lightning bolt and shot with great speed towards the sky, carrying after it the unfortunate younger brother. The arrow went right up into the sky.

Up there was a superior Land, in all ways similar to that which we live in. When the young man arrived there, he found it covered with white frost, and on the snow he saw a large number of the tracks of all sorts of animals whose flesh is edible.

He saw also a big white road. It was wide and along it were trees bearing fruit, and signposts. On the road a pair of completely new snowshoes were planted in

the snow. They appeared to be waiting for him.

The younger brother, carried far from his country by his disobedience, put on these snowshoes, and followed the white path. He arrived in this way at an immense tent in which he found three women who showed him hospitality.

The oldest woman, mother of the two others, said to him in secret, "My son-in-law, I must warn you that my girls are evil. They trick humans. Do not trust them. Do not lie with them, and do not even watch them sleeping."

Saying this, and to prevent any relations between this young man--whom she found handsome--and her daughters, the old woman blackened his entire face with charcoal. She did this for fear that he would be loved by them.

In the evening, the two celestial maidens arrived home from the hunt, for they were "amazon huntresses." The older one was named "breast full of weasels" (DelkRayle-tta-naltay), and the younger one "breast full of mice" (Dlune-Ha-naltay).

As soon as they saw the little black boy who was sitting in their mother's tent, they couldn't stop laughing, and made fun of him.

The old woman had won. But the next day, the young man, stung to the quick, and having washed his face and hands, appeared so handsome to the two sisters that

both shouted at the same time, "I want to have him! I want to have him! He will be mine!"

In vain the old woman opposed herself to their union. The two girls threw themselves on the handsome young man, carried him to their bed, and made him sleep between them.

But they had not even spent one night together--despite the mother's protection--before a chasm opened beneath the young man and he was swallowed up alive in the bosom of the earth above.

"Nari (poor unfortunate!)," cried out the old woman when she saw him disappear. Here is another handsome man whom you have taken away from me, you evil ones!"

Meanwhile, a huge wolf came up. Smelling human flesh in the place where the young culprit lay, he set himself to digging the earth with his powerful claws. Through his digging, he freed the man from his horrible grave.

On the white path he waited for "Breast Full of Mice." He wanted to take his revenge on her, but he couldn't kill her, because she was immortal. Then he tore off her clothes and tore her into pieces, and all the mice, rats, moles, snakes, worms, and other harmful creatures which were closed up in her breast came out

and spread over the earth--where they have lived to this day. Since then there has been on the earth so much misery (llay), sickness (tata), famine (dan), forced fasting (ettchieri), death (edzil), and cold (klu). All that has come upon us through the disobedience of the young man, and the malice of the woman.

This is why we kill all mice (klu), moles (dan), insects (llae), and harmful animals (ettchieri), which have caused man's unhappiness.

Then the old woman, who lived in the big tent, said to the handsome young man, "Come here, trust me at last. I am going to get for you the means to return to the earth from which you have come. I know a place on this upper earth where there is a hole from which you can see the earth below. I am going to let you down through this opening."

Saying this, the old woman cut up some elk skins into strips and made a long thong from them, at the end of which she tied the young man under his armpits. Then she let him down through the gaping hole.

"As soon as you feel the earth under your feet," she told him, "let the thong go."

The old woman then let the young Dene down through the hole, and he went down for a long time, since the distance was great and the thong was very long.

At last his foot felt an obstacle "I have arrived on earth," he thought.

So he released the thong which in a wink of an eye went back up towards the sky, and he found himself . . . where?--in the aerie of Orelpale (Whiteness), a huge eagle who lived on human flesh.

All around Dene, in the gigantic nest of the eagle who ate men, he saw nothing but human skulls and bones. He looked down, but he saw with fright that he was far--very far--from habitable ground.

Luckily, the eaglet [who was in the nest], had pity on the man.

"He makes me feel merciful," the eaglet said to himself. "He is so young. Hide yourself under my wings, brother-in-law," he said to the young man. "And if you see it becoming light, that is my father, the giant eagle, arriving at the Nest. But if darkness comes upon us, that is a sign that my mother is arriving."

All of a sudden, Dene, hearing a great noise of wings, went and took refuge under the wings of the eaglet. Immediately it became light, and the male eagle returned to the nest.

"Ah! This smells nicely of fresh human flesh!" he said, sniffing all around.

"Is that surprising," said the eaglet, "since you bring me human flesh to devour every day?"

Orelpale, the father, went away, and Dene regained a bit of confidence. An instant later, the noise of thunder was heard again, it became dark and the female Orelpale entered the nest with human remains in her talons.

"How it smells of fresh meat!" she cried out, sniffing inquisitively.

"Come on, mother, is that surprising, since you keep bringing it to me yourself?" answered the eaglet.

The female eagle in her turn went away.

This couldn't go on for long. It ended with Orelpale realizing that there was a mortal living in his aerie. Angered, he wanted to kill the bold man who had come to defy him even in his own nest.

Then the eaglet threw himself between his father and the man.

"If you kill him," he cried out, "I will throw myself at once from my nest onto the earth."

For fear of causing the death of his son, the father eagle consented to let the man live.

Then the eaglet said to the man, "You cannot always live here. My father will be able to surprise and kill you, for all I know. Here, take these wing feathers of mine, fit them to your body, and try to fly around my nest. If you succeed in going around three times, you are saved and will be able to fly to your own country."

So the young man fitted the feathers of the thunder-bird to his arms and legs and tried to fly. The first time he leapt forward, he fell and hurt himself badly.

But the eaglet picked him up.

"So do like this, and like that," he said to him.

And little by little he taught him how to fly by supporting him on his wings. At last the man succeeded, aided by the eaglet. He could make it around the aerie one, two, and, at last three times. And immediately he flew away towards the earth using the feathers of the helpful eaglet. That is the end.

DUNE YA-MON RIYA

(Petitot 1886: 321 - 328)

(Dogrib)

Then they left for war - for destruction of their fellows - except for one old woman who lived with her son. Many warriors went along the path, and there were also many women. But the old woman took the arrows of her son to stop him from going to war. Vainly she cried, shouting, "Don't go."

They went all the same. After they had left, one young man said to his old mother, "Mother, I want to follow the crowd." And he left by himself.

He followed the great war-path, he examined the countryside, and having discovered a big tent from high on a mountain, he sat on the mountainside and looked over the country. Finally, he went back down the mountain and went to the big lodge he had seen from the mountaintop.

An old man and his old wife lived there. They were cooking rabbit and fish in woven fir-root pots, and gave him some to eat.

The two old people had a very beautiful daughter whom the young man took to ardently desiring. So after

they had eaten what the girl had served them, and after she had gone to sleep, the old ones said to their guest, "Now our daughter is alone. Lie next to her and sleep with her."

So the young Dune man went towards the younger stranger. He lay down beside her, and took hold of her breasts. He wanted to sleep with her. But all at once he felt nothing beside him except a white weasel.

He didn't consider himself beaten at all, however. He slept with her all the same, and became her husband by force.

The next day, the girl said to her father and mother, "This one has robbed me of all my magic."

"So what?" they answered.

"All right then, I'm going to inspect my hare snares," she answered.

The young man accompanied her in her inspection. He took hares through the strength of his medicine. Then he went to a little lake. He threw a stone into the lake and killed an enormous pike.

He didn't have arrows. He threw a piece of wood into the branches of a tree, and the branches fell and turned into arrows. But the arrows weren't feathered.

So he had to get feathers. He looked up and saw the aerie of a bald-headed eagle at the top of a big fir tree. He climbed up and went into the eagle's nest.

There was a single eaglet. "Man," he said to the young magician, "My father and mother are not here. If they find you here when they come back, you are lost. Hide yourself under my wings."

"Then tell me how I will tell your father from your mother."

"The male eagle makes snow, and the female eagle makes the rain fall," said the eaglet.

He put the man under cover and crouched down in his aerie, hiding him under his outstretched wings.

All of a sudden the giant eagle Nontiele came back to the nest with some food. It was the female, and she had a big crown of feathers. She gave her son some fresh meat.

The man killed her, and she died.

A moment later, the giant male eagle arrived in his turn, in a big swoop.

"This smells of human flesh," he cried out. Saying this he put down in the aerie a little child, which he gave as food to the eaglet. The man killed him, but he said to the little eagle who had protected him, "As for you, you will leave and from now on you will live on nothing but the fish you catch." And he let him go.

But he plucked the feathers from the other two eagles, and in that way got feathers for his arrows--feathers of thunder.

Suddenly an Etie-kotcho (gigantic reindeer) appeared on the path. It was lying there, immense and gigantic. It seemed impossible but . . . how to kill it? Everyone was hiding under the trees.

When the young magician said to a mouse, "Dig for me a subterranean route towards the monster."

The mouse went into the earth. It dug and opened up a tunnel right up to a point beneath the sides of the huge man-eater, right under its heart. The magician slid into the tunnel behind the mouse. Both came out of the earth at that place. They pierced the flanks of Etie-kotcho, they stabbed it in the heart, and it died on the spot. The magician took its sinew and went away.

Then he wanted to have heads for his arrows--heads of flint--and he began to look for them. Suddenly he saw an enormous toad who was juggling on a block of flint where he lay. The man took some mud, and made it into hard and compact balls which he threw forcefully at the toad, killing it. Then he took the arrow flints which the toad had made through the strength of his medicine.

Being thus provided with a woman and magic arrows, Dune left for war. Suddenly he heard a dog barking--indicating the presence of men--and saw something like a

wolverine rapidly crossing the path. Having seen it before it saw him, he said to himself, " I saw him first. He's mine."

He ran at the wolverine, reached it, and throwing his cape over its head, pierced it with his arrows, and lay on it. It was a man, an enemy warrior. Immediately he scalped him, and set out again.

There was in this place a river. He cleared it in one leap and found himself on the opposite bank, in the land of the Wolverines. There was a great many Wolverines in this place, and their dwellings could be seen everywhere. He heard the little wolverines crying for food.

Immediately the magician hid himself. He feigned death and put himself on alert. The Wolverines, believing him to be dead, carelessly came up to him. Immediately he struck out and hit one on the nose. The Wolverine sneezed, blew his nose, and pine resin came out.

Then he came back to his wife whom he had left with his mother. "Change yourself into a bear," he said to his wife. The old woman objected to this, for fear that he would then kill her. But he wanted it, and it was done. His wife became a bear.

"Ah, my son-in-law," cried out the old mother, " If the young people see my daughter like this, they will take her for a real bear and kill her." Saying this, she

took away all his weapons. But he threw himself on the bear as she was running away and killed her with arrows.

While she was dying, the bear turned back into a woman and called out to her father for help, demanding revenge and justice. The old man attacked the magician, who ran towards a lake, and threw himself into it. As he plunged into the lake, he changed himself into a beaver.

Then the old man, outraged and furious, over the wickedness of Yamon, changed himself into a hydre (Yikone)--a gigantic animal resembling an ox, except for the wings on its back.

He came down from the sky, set himself down on the waters of the lake and swallowed them all up. Then he rested on the shore. He was so full of water that his immense belly was stretched like a swollen bladder.

The magician then ordered a plover to run at the hydre and to pierce its belly with its sharp and slender bill. The bird obeyed him. It pierced the belly of the hydre, and immediately all the water which it contained came roaring out. Since that time, the great waters have roared.

As for the winged ox, it went back to the sky. And the flood, which caused this great gush of water, drowned the two old people.

The people wanted, however, to get rid of such a fearsome sorcerer. But Dune Yamon-riya threw himself into the water again, again became a beaver, and went up the Naotcha (Mackenzie River), and built an immense dam at Na-deinlin tcho (the Ramparts rapids), where he lived for some time in the form of a fish, on Etie-ndue, or Reindeer, island.

Then, having left this lodging, and always fearful of being surprised by enemies, he again went up the Mackenzie, this time along the shore, accompanied by Porcupine. Having arrived at the second rapids on the river--the rapids called Nadeinlin-tsele, or Sans-Saut, he carried the porcupine across the river on his back, and placed the porcupine upstream from the rapids, so that it would stay there until the end of time, on the left bank.

As for himself, still in the form of a beaver, he made a second dam across the Naotcha which is the Sans-Saut rapids. Then he again crossed the river, and settled on the right bank at the place called Tsa-cho-tRe-niha (the big beaver who dips his tail in the water), so called because the island so named is in fact his tail. That is the end.

KUNYAN (THE SENSIBLE) OR EKKA-DEKINE

(Petitot 1886: 141 - 149)

(Hare)

Kunyan (The Sensible) lived alone on the earth, having for a wife his own sister, a woman as sensible as himself. He was an old man without ancestors or descendants.

Here is how he got married: He was living completely alone when, having gone somewhere, he found a beautiful woman there who pleased him. He asked her for something to eat. She gave him food. So then he lived with this woman, who, as I have already said, was his own sister.

Mice and weasels who were like men lived there also. The mouse said to Kunyan, "My son, what have you come to do here where we live? Don't you have your relatives to live with?"

"The Sensible" lived meanwhile with the mouse and took her for his wife. As they slept, mice and weasels went in through his anus trying to destroy him. But he ejected them, got up, and raged against the woman who had come to trick him.

The mouse left him and went to complain to her

father, the polar bear, a big fellow, to whom she said, "A man has done this and that to me. He was angry with me, and hit and insulted me."

The polar bear, deeply upset, immediately got up and went to "The Sensible" to ask him the reason for his behaviour. But he, who was waiting for them under the wild pear trees which grow abundantly there, began by gorging himself to his fill with pears. Then he killed the bear and his daughter and went away.

After that, "The Sensible" felt like making some arrows. Having seen the largest of the pear trees from a distance, he hit it on the trunk, and at once there fell from its branches a rain of completely finished arrow shafts.

"Now I need some arrow points," he said.

He went from there to the edge of the water, where he saw a big layered stone. He threw it in the water, then into a fire, and immediately the rock divided into a number of flat stones, from which he made arrow points in an instant.

"Now I need feathers for my arrows," he said.

He went to a big fir, on top of which a large white-headed eagle had fixed its aerie. He climbed up, in the absence of the mother and the father eagles, and huddled up in the nest with the eaglets.

"Is there among you a tell-tale who might betray me?" "The Sensible" asked the eaglets.

"Yes," said a little eagle, "my sister over there who speaks ill and is devious."

Kunyan took her, killed her, threw her down below the nest and took her place.

"So tell me, little one, when your father comes back to the nest, what happens?" "The Sensible" said to the eaglet.

"If it is my father who is coming back you will be flooded with a bright light," answered the bird.

"And if it is your mother arriving at the nest, what happens then?" continued the man.

"If it is my mother, it will be black night."

Saying this, the eaglet went back to his place in the aerie. There was heard a great noise of wings which made thunder and lightning, and all of a sudden the big eagle came back, and it was light.

"I smell human flesh! I smell human flesh!" cried out the thunderbird.

"So what! You bring me human flesh to eat every day," answered the eaglet, "and you are surprised to smell its odour!"

The male flew away again. Then there came another noise of wings, and the female eagle arrived at the nest. Immediately it became dark.

"I smell human flesh! I smell fresh flesh!" cried out the carnivorous eagle.

"Mother, you leave some here for me every day. Why are you surprised to smell its odour?" answered the little eagle.

She left in her turn, and the man found himself alone again with his saviour. At once he threw himself on the eaglet. He plucked his new grown feathers, and burned the nest. He took the little one and plucked him, pulling out the feathers one by one. He killed the eaglet and went away with a quantity of these thunderbird feathers which he fitted to his arrows.

From his union with his sister, Kunyan had a son-- a sullen boy who cried all the time.

"Of course, he has no toys," he thought.

He went away to the edge of the sea and climbed into a big fir-tree. He lopped off all the branches except a cluster right at the top. Then he cut the tree off at the bottom and gave it to the child as a rattle. From then on, he didn't cry any more.

After that, Kunyan had a wish to kill all men. Towards this end, he made a great stock of dry willow wood--which is very hard and sharp like iron points. He put points on the dry branches and planted them like a barricade all around his tent. Night came, and everyone came to visit "The Sensible." All were

disembowelled or run through by these stakes.

Then he said to his sister, "With birch bark, make me a baby-carrying sling."

"What do you want to do with that?" said his sister.

However, she made him the sling, which she decorated with moss.

When Kunyan had the sling, he changed himself into a little baby, and sat in the little seat. He fastened the sling around his little body, and went staggering--his legs hither and thither--towards the people who were gathered together beside the sea.

"See this little child who is coming to us," someone shouted.

Throwing away his sling and diapers, the little child became a terrible giant again. He threw himself on the crowd and massacred them with furor.

After that, "The Sensible" said to his sister, "Over there, at Foot-of-the-Sky, I am going to make a big raft."

"And what do you want to do with this?" she answered.

"If, as I foresee, there is a flood, we will take refuge there," he said.

It was part of his plans for what remained of mankind on the earth. They laughed at him.

"Oh! oh! oh! If there is a flood we will take refuge in the trees," they answered.

"That's fine, that's fine," he said. "If there is a flood, I will sail away on my raft."

So he wove thick ropes from roots. He made a great number of them. He worked a lot. He brought together big pieces of wood and made, all by himself, a large raft.

All of a sudden, there was a flood the likes of which had never been seen. It was as if water gushed from every direction. People hastened to save themselves in the trees. But the water went higher and higher, reached them and drowned them. All the people died.

As for "The Sensible," he had a good large raft whose pieces were united and bound with rope. He floated on the waters and did not perish. While floating, he thought of the future and picked up two by two all the herbivorous animals, all the birds, and even all the carnivores which he met on his way.

"Get onto my raft," he said, "for soon there will be no more earth."

In fact, the earth disappeared for a very long time and nobody felt like going to look for it--nobody, it is said. The muskrat dived first and tried to reach the earth. Alas! He came back to the surface of the sea half-dead, and without having touched it.

He dived a second time, and this time, as he got back onto the raft, he said to Kunyan.

"I smelled the earth, but I could not reach it."

After the muskrat, the beaver dove in his turn. For a long time he stayed under water without reappearing. At last, they saw him coming back up on his back, out of breath, and unconscious. But in his paw he held a bit of silt, which he gave to "The Sensible."

The old man placed this mud on the water thinking, "I wish for an earth again."

At the same time, he breathed upon this bit of earth, and as he animated it, it grew. Immediately he put a little bird on it, and it grew more.

The old man began to blow and blow, and the earth kept on growing. Then he put a fox on it, who went around the floating disk in a single day. But the earth increased in volume. The fox ran completely around again, and the earth kept on swelling. The fox ran more, and the earth, hiding before him, grew in dimensions.

The fox went two, three, four, five and six times around the earth, and it always enlarged. When the fox had gone around it the seventh time, it was complete and as it had been before the flood.

Then "The Sensible" made all the animals get off the raft, and put them down on the earth. Then he himself, his wife, and his son disembarked there.

"It is through us," he said, "that this earth will be repopulated."

Then the earth was repopulated with men and women.

After that, Kunyan found himself in the presence of another difficulty. All around him there stretched out the immense sea which had absorbed all the water, and he could not be its master. Then the monster-bird, called Yikone or the Bittern, drank all the water. He saw the difficulty and helped the man. But having drunk the water, he remained lying inert, his belly excessively swollen.

"The Sensible" said to a plover, "The Hydre, the drinker of water, is lying in the sun, his wide belly full of water. Pierce it."

The plover went near the Bittern, who did not suspect a creature similar to him.

"My grandmother doubtless has a stomach ache," he said.

And while seeming to feel sorry for the Bittern, he passed his hand over its stomach as if to rub it.

Suddenly the plover scratched the belly of the Bittern with a vigorous blow of his claws. Immediately the water rumbled, the water was heard to roar. From the belly of the hydre, there came rivers which formed lakes. And the earth, watered again, became habitable once more.