

AN ANALYSIS OF BEAVER INDIAN AND ALASKAN ESKIMO MYTHS:

A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

by

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ABSTRACT

The methods of analysis of Pierre and Elli Kongas Maranda, Robert P. Armstrong and Vladimir Propp were tested by applying them to two sets of corpora. The corpora consist of ten Beaver Indian myths and ten Alaskan Eskimo myths. The abstracts generated by each method of analysis were then compared and contrasted with each other.

The introduction delimited the field of oral tradition, especially that of myth and presented a historical discussion of the methods of folkloric analysis commencing with functionalism. The three methods of analysis were compared with Piaget's theory of structuralism. Each method was also discussed in terms of Levi-Strauss' definition of logic. Each analyst's method of determining the component parts of a myth were examined. Finally the introduction included an outline of conclusions reached in this study, and posed several questions, the answers to which became apparent in the succeeding chapters.

The three chapters following the introduction were Propp's, Armstrong's and the Marandas' analysis. Each chapter described the analyst's approach and included the analysis of the Beaver Indian and the Alaskan Eskimo myths and their findings. Included also was a comparison and contrast of previous results and a discussion in terms of the analysts' general rules of procedure. Finally the results were examined in terms of Piaget's concept of structuralism, and in conjunction with this, their logic discussed in terms of Levi-Strauss's concept as outlined in the introduction.

The conclusion drew together the findings of the preceeding chapters. It compared and contrasted the results of each method of analysis, discusses the inherent logic and kind of structuralism applied as defined by Piaget. This final section also examined each culture through the different analytical approaches.

The Marandas' method of analysis revealed more about the Beaver and Alaskan cultures than did Propp's and Armstrong's method of analysis.

With regards to the Beaver culture, Propp's method of analysis focused attention on lack of food, cannibalism and kidnapping. Beaver cultures also put great emphasis on winning through the use of cunning and trickery as opposed to the use of force. Punishment rather than reward was often employed to conclude a myth.

With regards to the Alaskan culture, Propp's method of analysis brought attention to the concern over a lack of people. Villainous actions revolved around kidnapping. Force was not used unless necessary and in defense. Great emphasis was placed on reward rather than punishment at the conclusion of a myth.

With regards to the Beaver culture, Armstrong's method of analysis emphasized killing in terms of resistance and attack. Information getting was also considered important, as was the acceptance or avoidance of one's obligations.

With regards to the Alaskan culture, Armstrong's method of analysis also emphasized information getting. The acceptance of one's obligations also seemed important. Few concrete statements were made about either culture based on Armstrong's method of analysis.

The Marandas' method of analysis helped reveal a great deal about both cultures. For example, in the Beaver culture the concept of time was noted; kin relationships were emphasized; the conflict over loyalty to blood relatives as opposed to non blood relatives was brought out; rules regarding marriages were implied; the fact that the Bear has special respect and a place in their lives was brought out; rules on incest were implied; we were

given some insight on how food is preserved and prepared; rules with regards to cannibalism were also implied; the subject of dreaming, of powerful medicine and the importance of the spirit helper was brought out; the land was part of the people and they would go to war over the threat of losing their land. Finally, the different spheres of the universe were emphasized in the corpus, such as the sky world, land and the underworld. The placement of nature's elements, ie. sun, moon, etc. are central to the culture as their memory and daily routines are based on them. Deep messages were realized in the Beaver culture. Such questions as man's origin, born from one or two, the finality of death and rebirth versus resurrection were posed.

In the Alaskan culture the concept of time was also noted; emphasis was given to the heavenly bodies, such as the sun, moon and nature's elements, such as the wind and rain. These played an intricate role in their everyday life, so much so that often inanimate objects were personified. The different spheres such as sky world, land and underworld were also emphasized in the corpus; the importance of the family was made apparent; who makes marriage decisions and rules with regards to marriage and divorce were implied; authority was also a subject that was important in the culture, as was the concept of a non-hierarchical leadership; the importance of magic powers or of spirit powers were also brought out in the corpus. Deep messages were brought out in the Alaskan myths as well, and concerned questions such as man's origin and the finality of death.

There seemed to be more contradictions in the Alaskan myths than in the Beaver myths. For example, statements regarding authority versus a non-hierarchical leadership. This may be due to the fact that the Alaskan myths were taken from a larger geographical area than were the Beaver myths.

Furthermore, the myth, Adventures of Raven, did not seem to fit in with the other Alaskan myths, and was perhaps borrowed.

Thus, the Marandas' method of analysis was shown to be the more structured in its theory and more productive in its practice. This method of analysis helped give many insights into the Beaver and Alaskan culture and has revealed some profound underlying messages.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold. First, the operational approaches to myths of Pierre and Elli Kongs Maranda, Robert P. Armstrong, and Vladimir Propp shall be tested by applying them to two sets of corpora. Second, the abstracts generated by each method of analysis shall be compared and contrasted with each other.

One corpus consists of ten Alaskan Eskimo myths compiled by Ruth McCorkle and published by Robert D. Seal in 1958. The other corpus used consists of ten Beaver Indian myths selected at random from those collected by Robin Ridington in 1966.

Before describing each operational approach and its application to the corpora, we shall define the field of oral tradition, particularly that of myths, and then briefly introduce some of the important perpetrators of folkloric exploration. Although Propp, Armstrong and the Marandas are included among these, their interpretations of folklore will be discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4 respectively. Next, the development of the different analytical approaches shall be outlined giving the reader a general picture of where each method of analysis discussed here fits into the overall history of the development of folkloric analysis.

The study of folklore as a branch of cultural anthropology is fairly recent, and many people often use the terms folklore, folktales, myths and legends indiscriminately. Folklore includes fairy tales, myths, legends, folktales, riddles, songs, jokes, or any other oral narrative that is purposeful and passed on from generation to generation. Carvalho-Neto differentiates between folklore, ethnology, and ethnography by defining the characteristics of a folkloristic act: it is cultural, belongs to any people, is anonymous, non-institutionalized, old, functional and prelogical. The

ethnographic act, he says, has all these characteristics but anonymity and non-institutionalization. In this way he is able to illustrate that folklore does not study culture as a whole, but instead as a specific type of cultural act. (Carvalho-Neto, 1971:91).

Boas questions whether folklore mirrors society or compensates for lacks in that society. Bascom thinks that folklore is important in composing the culture of a people. It sanctions and validates religious, social, political, economic and educational institutions. At the same time folklore provides socially approved outlets against the restrictions which the sustaining institutions impose upon the individual within that culture. (Dundes, 1965:277).

Dundes, in an opinion similar to Bascom's, says the function of folklore is to educate the young, promote a feeling of group solidarity, provide socially approved ways of establishing a class hierarchy, act as a vehicle of social protest, escape from reality and convert dull work into play. (Dundes, 1965:277).

Since we are testing three operational approaches to myths, let us consider Malinowski's and other anthropologists views in regards to myths. Malinowski draws a simple but clear distinction between myths, legends, and tales. A tale is a seasonal performance and an act of sociability, a legend is a semi-historical account of the past. A myth, he declares, is the most important category of folklore. The myth is employed when an important rite, ceremony, social or moral rule demands justification. Furthermore, he sees it as a statement of primeval reality which exists in contemporary life, and a charter for social action. The function it fulfills is closely related to a tradition which strengthens and endows it with a greater value and prestige

by tracing it back to a more elevated and more supernatural existence. Moreover, he sees the function of a myth as codifying belief, safeguarding and enforcing morality, and vouching for the efficiency of ritual. Myths contain practical rules for the guidance of man. They also record inconsistencies in his history. Malinowski claims the importance of myth is its character of a retrospective and ever present live actuality in a culture. It is not a fictitious story nor a historical account of the past. Myth functions where there is a sociological strain, a difference in rank and power. Furthermore, myth presents the idea of fate, of the inevitable, and depicts the yearning for immortality and a resignation to the transiency of life (Malinowski, 1954:143-148).

Eliade, too, conceives myth as a complex cultural reality that explains how such a reality came into being. He alleges that myths describe the many and sometimes dramatic appearances of the sacred or supernatural phenomena of the world. He sees the actors in myths as supernatural beings, and says that myths relate not only to the origins of the world, plants, animals and man, but also to the primeval events in consequence of which man became what he is today — mortal, sexed, and organized in a society. Eliade also states that myth is always related to creation and therefore if the mythology of a culture is understood, so is the creation of that culture. He sees the function of myth as revealing models and giving meaning to the world and human life. It is through myth that the world can be comprehended as an articulate, intelligible and significant cosmos. Myths reveal by whom, why, and under which circumstances a people were created. They furthermore compose sacred history, and serve as a reminder that glorious events still partly recoverable, once took place on earth. (Eliade, 1968:5-6).

Burridge interprets myths as reservoirs or articulate thought on the level of the collective, and both he and Eliade see the purpose of myth as providing a logical model capable of overcoming a real contradiction. Mary Douglas explains this same idea in a different way. She sees the function of myth as portraying the contradictions of the unsatisfactory compromises which compose social life. The nature of myth, she states, is to mediate these contradictions.

Levi-Strauss claims that "myth is the same as language, but at the same time different from it, functioning on a high level of abstraction where meaning succeeds practically at taking off from the linguistic ground on which it keeps rolling." (Levi-Strauss, 1967:206). Furthermore, he says that myth always refers to historical events but that their operational value lies in the specific patterns described, which are timeless — it explains past, present, and future. This concept is best explained by Levi-Strauss' use of *langue* and *parole*. In any culture a *langue* is a given; a total system or word convention and usages, a frame of reference. *Parole*, as grammatical conventions, with tones and accents, is selected from the total system of *langue*, and by placing these in a particular order, information is transmitted. The idea that something equivalent to *langue* and *parole* is alike in one sense yet opposite and interdependent in the other, also is found in many other anthropologists' writings. Myth, Levi-Strauss says, is an intermediary between *langue* and *parole*. More specifically, he finds a meaning in the way in which the elements of the myth are combined. These elements or gross constituent units, or *mythemes*, obtained by breaking down a myth into its shortest possible sentences, are found at the sentence level.

Each mytheme contains a relation, and true constituent units are bundles of these relations as opposed to considering each relation between the gross constituents units separately. Levi-Strauss proceeds to explain that "relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear diachronically at remote intervals, but when they have been grouped together, the myth has been reorganized according to a different time referent of a new nature, corresponding to the prerequisite of the initial hypothesis — namely a two dimensional time referent which is simultaneously diachronic and synchronic, and which accordingly integrates the characteristics of langue on the one hand and those of parole on the other" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:208).

Leach, as well as Levi-Strauss, understands that there are certain binary concepts or principles that are considered to be a part of man's nature, and which are found in many anthropologist's writings. According to Leach, system (parts of speech) opposes syntagm (sentences), metaphor (recognition of similarities) opposes metonymy (recognition of contiguities), paradigmatic series oppose syntagmatic chains. In reference to this, then, Leach does not see the idea of binary principles as new. Furthermore, he points out that Frazer's theory of homeopathic magic, based on the law of similarity, opposes his theory of contagious magic, based on the law on contact, and is rather similar to Levi-Strauss' distinction between langue and parole. Leach brings together all the different forms of terminology that have been used to explain the principle of binary opposition found in structural analysis. He indicates that Barthes opposes system and syntagm, system referring to a complete language, and also to denote the parts of speech of that language, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., and the term

syntagm referring to an assemblage of non verbal signs, corresponds to a sentence in a verbal language. Leach points out that "where Barthes opposes system and syntagm, the corresponding contracts in Levi-Strauss are metaphor and metonym or sometimes paradigmatic series and syntagmatic chain respectively, whereas the former derive from language, and the latter from speech. (Leach, 1970:48). Furthermore, Leach finds that Jakobson believed that metaphor relied upon the recognition of similarity while metonymy relied upon the recognition of contiguity. Leach then, points out that "Fraser's homeopathic contagious distinction is practically identical to the Jakobson-Levi-Strauss metaphoric-metonymic distinction" (Leach, 1970:49)

We can also add Levi-Strauss' two dimensional time referent which integrates system and syntagm, or parole and langue. Levi-Strauss calls these synchronic and diachronic, respectively. Diachronic organization of a myth arranges its components in historical sequences, while the synchronic organization enables one to arrange the components without this particular time referent. He illustrates this concept by employing the analogy of a musical score, which is read both diachronically along the horizontal axis and then synchronically along the vertical axis. The score becomes synchronic when both the horizontal and the vertical axis are read simultaneously to transform a one dimensional interpretation of myth to a two dimensional interpretation. Or more simply a synchronic perspective of something may be obtained by reading two graphic coordinates simultaneously. As we can see here then, a diachronic perspective should serve as a point of departure in any investigation. Putting the above together, we have two groups of dimensions - the metaphoric-paradigmatic-similarity-synchronic and the metonymic-syntagmatic-contiguous-diachronic.

One of our concerns as analysts is with the nature of the logic inherent in the method of analysis. Levi-Strauss searches for the principles of thought formation which are universally valid for all human minds, and sees myths as a collective dream, capable of interpretation so as to reveal its hidden meaning. He claims that "man has always been thinking equally well; the improvement lies not in the progress of man's mind, but in the discovery of new areas to which man may apply himself". (Levi-Strauss, 1967:227). Boas also said that there is no primitive mentality, but basic mental processes in the world. Burridge sees Levi-Strauss as attempting to illustrate the universality of the process of articulate thought, and understands him as saying that "symbols, things and particular relations may differ from culture to culture but the address of the human mind towards them is the same" (Burridge, 1967:100). According to Levi-Strauss it is this sameness found at that level of abstraction which resolves different relations into corresponding relations that constitutes the structure.

All three methods of analysis discussed here are at a different stage of sophistication in terms of the logic applied. Additionally all three methods of analysis are a form of structural analysis as opposed to functional analysis. Levi-Strauss states that the paradigmatic structural analysis comes closest to employing transcendental logic. A short historical discussion of the development of these approaches, commencing with functionalism and an ensuing discussion of the logic involved, will clarify this.

Functionalism concentrates more on individual symbolic meanings rather than the special structural positions which give individual symbols their meanings. It cannot thus apply the principle of substitutability,

unravel transformations or disclose rules (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:XVii). Radcliffe-Brown sees functionalism as "the attempt to see social life of a people as a whole, as a functional unity." (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:185). He distinguishes between structure and function by using an animal organism as an analogy. He explains that the animal organism is an integrated living group of cells, existing as a whole, and arranged in a structure. In other words, the total sets of relations within the organism form the structure, and it is through the continuous functioning of the organism that the continuity of the structure is preserved (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:179). Carvalho-Neto quotes Radcliffe-Brown as saying that function is the contribution made by part of an activity to the entire activity of which it is a part. Malinowski, who, according to Carvalho-Neto is the originator of the functionalist school, claims function to be the role which the very institution plays in the total scheme of culture, where "institution is any fixed model of thought or conduct upheld by a group of individuals (society) that can be communicated, that enjoys general acceptance, and whose violation or change produces a certain disquiet in the individual or the group" (Carvalho-Neto, 1971:37). Folklore has a function in a culture, and myths have a function within the folklore of that culture, but we are not only considering the activities that either myth or folklore performs within its particular frame of reference. We are interested in considering both the functions and their sets of relations. This, in other words, entails a large overview making consideration of the relative positions of individual sets of relations possible. Functionalism tends to concentrate on individual symbolic meanings rather than on the special structural position which gives these symbols their meanings (Leach, 1970:).

The starting point of formalism occurred when a concern with the literary developed into a concern with a narrative's distinguishing features, or motifs. Pure formalism at first ignored form in order to comprehend content. Content analysis, or formalism focused on the component parts themselves, which were obtained by a sophisticated awareness of the comparative implications. In other words, a method of contingency analysis was used in determining the relative content of a myth. Firstly the categories involving empirical considerations were determined, this usually consisting of a complete text or a particular passage of it. Then the items searched for and their occurrences within the text were noted by symbols. Significant contingencies were extracted by comparing the percentages of the number of occurrences of the noted items and symbols. A contingency ratio thus revealed the interrelationships of these significant contingencies. Content analysis depends on its categories for validity, and the validity of the categories selected depends upon the analysts skill in separating these different categories (Sebeok, 1957:132). Sebeok differentiated between content and structural analysis. In content analysis the investigator makes statements about the meaning of the component parts of a tale, while in structural analysis he determines the relationship of these components parts to that of the whole. He sees the distinction between the two techniques as lying mainly in the presence or absence of strict criteria of relevance. Richmond proposed that "content analysis, which involves relatively loose criteria of relevance, is on a much lower level of abstraction than is structural analysis, thus appearing vaguer, more fluid, more arbitrary, more subjective." (Sebeok, 1957:132). Since a fairly large amount of subjectivity is incorporated into content analysis from the outset, it cannot be reproduced or tested very easily.

According to Nathorst, Levi-Strauss sees formalism drawing a sharp distinction between form and content, as only form is considered comprehensible and lends itself to analysis. For example, Kluckholm considers the advantage in studying form to be that the results can be tested and verified empirically. The formalistic approach helps to reveal features common to many of its divergent genres. He states that content may vary but form remains stable. Erlich contented that formalism became structuralism when the formalists disagreed with the concept of form versus content which cut folktale into two parts --- a crude content and a superimposed form. Instead of being explored as separate entities, the parts of a tale were viewed as components of a dynamically integrated whole. Levi-Strauss thus claims that in structuralism the opposition arbitrarily introduced in formalism has been overcome. Form and content are of the same nature and are mutually dependent upon one another.

Since the analysis under consideration are basically viewed from a structuralist perspective, a more detailed examination of structuralism is in order. Piaget sheds a great deal of light on this complex subject. Firstly he states that "what structuralism is really after is to discover natural structures" (Piaget, 1970:30). He states that any kind of a structure, whether mathematical, biological, psychological, etc. is composed of three basic ideas; a) the idea of wholeness, b) of transformation and c) of self-regulation. He goes on to say that all structuralists differentiate between structures, wholes, and aggregates, "composites formed of elements that are independent of the complexes into which they enter" (Piaget, 1970:7). The elements of a structure are subordinated to laws and it is in terms of these laws that the structure is defined. Furthermore,

the properties of the whole are different from the elements — which do not exist in isolation. Piaget further clarifies the idea of wholeness when he points out that there is another type of whole other than the atomistic compounding of prior elements, or emergent totalities, as with these two options there is a risk of bypassing the very important question of the nature the laws of composition of a whole (Piaget, 1970:7-8). The concept of this other kind of whole is operational structuralism. In this the relationships among the elements are the prime considerations, rather than the elements themselves. In other words, "the logical procedures by which the whole is formed are primary" (Piaget, 1970:8-9). Piaget states that if we look at structuralism in this light, we can avoid the trap of choosing "between structureless genesis on the one hand and ungenerated wholes or forms on the other" (Piaget, 1970-9).

With regards to transformations, Piaget relates this idea to the idea of wholeness, by stating that the character of structured wholes depends on their laws of composition which are defined as governing the transformations of the system which they structure. (Piaget, 1970:10). Furthermore, Piaget says that because the elements of a structure undergo transformation or change, it is easy to think of the laws of transformation as immutable, or innate, especially if one is not thinking of the whole in terms of operational structuralism. They should be thought of as being simultaneously structured and structuring, for although they are stable they are still subject to change.

The third basic property of structures is self regulation, which entails self maintenance and closure. Piaget believes that "the transformations inherent in a structure never lead beyond the system but always engender elements that belong to it and preserve its laws" (Piaget, 1970:14).

Self regulation can be achieved in three ways, noted in order of increasing complexity. Firstly we have an operational system which is a perfect regulation because it excludes errors before they are made. Secondly we have those transformations which are governed by laws which are not operations because they are not entirely reversible, but depend upon the interplay of anticipation, correction and are called feedback. Thirdly Piaget points out that "there are regularities in the non-technical sense of the word which depend upon far simpler structural mechanisms, on rhythmic mechanisms such as pervade biology and human life at every level. Rhythm too is self-regulating, by virtue of symetries and repetitions" (Piaget, 1970:16).

With this in mind, let us consider what Piaget says regarding structuralism in the social sciences. He differentiates between two kinds of structuralism — global and analytical. He sees global structuralism as dealing with emergent totalities where the whole is taken as a primary concept, or atomistic compounding, where a whole arises from the union of various elements. He sees analytical structuralism as searching for the details of transformational interactions (Piaget, 1970:97). To quote Piaget, "whereas global structuralism holds to systems of observable relations and interactions, which are regarded as sufficient unto themselves, the peculiarity of authentic (analytic) structuralism is that it seeks to explain such empirical systems by postulating "deep" structures from which the former are in some manner derivable. Since structures in this sense of the word are ultimately logical — mathematical models of the observed social relations, they do not themselves belong to the realm of "fact" ... The search for deep structures is a direct consequence of the interest in the details of transformational laws (Piaget, 1970:98).

All three methods of analysis discussed here are at different stages in terms of the logic applied. Piaget sees the structuralism of Levi-Strauss as analytical as opposed to global. Levi-Strauss illustrated the development of progressive change in the application of these principles of logic in his article "The Deduction of the Crane" in *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition*, edited by Pierre and Elli Kongas Maranda. (Levi-Strauss states that the paradigmatic structural analysis comes closest to employing transcendental logic).

Levi-Strauss sees structural analysis or the logic applies to investigate myths as deductive, as opposed to inductive. He differentiates between two types of deduction — direct or indirect empirical deduction and transcendental deduction. Empirical deduction is based on observation and experiments — on the perception of similarities and contiguities. Direct empirical deduction is based on analogies, indirect on an inversion of these analogical contents. Transcendental deduction is based on the following through of associations. The process by which indirect empirical deductions becomes transcendental deduction is sometimes confusing. Before transcendental deduction can be employed, an indirect empirical deduction must be made, whether based on accurate observation or imagination. Transcendental deduction, states Levi-Strauss, does not rest on the truth or falseness of a situation, but stems from an awareness of a logical necessity; it rests on a relation between concepts no longer bound to external reality but connected according to their compatibilities and incompatibilities in the architecture of the mind" (Levi-Strauss, 1966:407). In other words, the awareness of a certain logical necessity, that of attributing certain properties to a given subject, takes the indirect empirical deduction one

step further because it has previously connected this subject with other properties or characteristics on the basis of a set of correlative analogies, and then inverted them. Thus transcendental deduction acquires the features a posteriori of empirical deduction.

Leach also distinguishes two analytical trends in the structural study of folklore, one from Levi-Strauss and the other from Propp, or one trend using transcendental deduction and the other using empirical deduction respectively. Propp's study lays out the linear sequential structure of Russian fairy tales, whereas Levi-Strauss finds the structure of the corpus in question in paradigms or minimal units as well as in their syntagmatic combinations to form sequences (Leach, 1970:50). Dundes further explains or interprets what Leach has said and further clarifies the difference between the two types of a structural analysis that have been mentioned. Firstly we have Proppian analysis which is the formal organization of a myth as described by chronologically ordering the linear events in the text. This process is called syntagmatic which is taken from the idea of syntax in the study of language in reference to Levi-Strauss' concept of parole and langue. Secondly we have a type of structural analysis which is based on a binary principle of opposition which underlies the myth. This latter type of analysis is not similar to sequential analysis, but instead the elements are taken out of a given order and are regrouped in one or more analytic schema. Dundes explains that Levi-Strauss calls these patterns or organizations in this kind of structural analysis paradigmatic, meaning borrowed from the study of paradigms in the study of language. It is in this second type of analysis that oppositions are mediated and conflicts resolved through the employment of, as Levi-Strauss defines it, transcendental logic.

Furthermore, the linear sequential structure or manifest content is the more obvious, the paradigmatic or latent structure is the more important. (Dundes, 1968:xii). Levi-Strauss emphasized that it is every analysts duty to penetrate the superficial linear structure to the real underlying paradigmatic schema. He also stated that the syntagmatic approach, although duplicated more easily, tends to be empirical and inductive, while in contrast, the paradigmatic approach, while difficult to replicate, is speculative and deductive. Dundes thinks that the subject of content is one of the most important differences in emphasis between syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis. He states that "where the text is isolated from its social and cultural context, a formalisitic structural analysis is as sterile as motif hunting and word (Dundes, 1968:xii). Although Levi-Strauss tries to relate the paradigms he finds to the world in general, it is perhaps too subjective. The subjectivity must be contained within a more reliable framework, so that results obtained can be compared and the analysis reproduced. Furthermore, paradigmatic analysis as applied by Levi-Strauss may fall into the trap of becoming timespace bound. For example, the variables subject to change are the corpora and the culture in consideration. There is nothing that can be sued as a point of reference as his principle of binary oppositions would depend upon the analyst's interpretation in relation to his own logical framework, and therefore, there is no way of determining the amount of change in his method of analysis. The completeness and accuracy of this type of analysis may be proportionate to the amount and kind of the analyst's knowledge of the culture in question, as well as the culture's relative and coincident position in a changing world.

Mary Douglas has an idea similar to the above. She states that structural analysis cannot but reveal myths as synchronic structures

outside time. She finds that Levi-Strauss' analysis contain biases built into the methods of analysis and consequently feels that we cannot deduce anything from the analysis about the attitudes to time prevailing in the cultures in question. If myths have an irreversible order which is significant, this part of the meaning will escape the analysis. She emphasizes that structural methods of analysis should be tested against a background of known ethnographic material, so that we can see the thoroughness of the method, the relevance of the formulae, how it helps the understanding of the culture in question, and lastly the degree of replicability of the method. (Mary Douglas, 67:65). Dundes also notes the potential for error in the structuralist method when he says it is important that a text from ethnographic material be logically related to the culture in which the analysis is applied. Since each culture exhibits a certain logical framework, to incorporate a new concept from another logical framework, sometimes it must first be translated into terminology that can be encompassed by the first particular logical framework in question. Another translation back through the process should facilitate an accurate communication. However, not all concepts can be incorporated into all logical frameworks. Thus many basic errors begin at this initial level, and are often compounded at further stages of their analysis, and an accurate conclusion or statement becomes impossible.

Mary Douglas sees two objectives in analyzing a piece of folklore. The first is to analyse what has been said, (content) and the second is to analyse the languages seen as an instrument of what is said (form). These two objectives aim at discovering a particular structure as opposed to being reductionist of yielding a compressed statement of the theme. She sees

Levi-Strauss as claiming to reveal the formal structure of myths but never putting aside his interest in what the myth discourse is about. Therefore, she sees a reductionist tendency built into Levi-Strauss' structuralism.

When applying Levi-Strauss' method of structuralism the anthropologist must apply his prior knowledge of the culture to his analysis. This does little good if we know very little about the culture from which a myth is taken.

Melville Jacob's viewpoint is another very relevant to this exercise. He concludes that a normative or evaluative approach should be avoided because any non-native of a specific culture lacks sufficient cultural background as well as necessary heritage and aesthetic values to be able to give an accurate interpretation of the approach as applied to that culture.

The field of oral tradition has been described, the main perpetrator of folkloric exploration discussed, and an outline of the development of the different analytical approaches given from functionalism to structuralism. We shall now take a more intense look at the three operational approaches and the two corpora to which they are applied as mentioned at the beginning of this introduction.

An in depth study of ten myths from each culture may reveal what is not already obvious from a subjective viewpoint, and might lend insight into the construction and narrative art of folktales. We believe that the aesthetic value of a myth is not determined by any of its component parts in isolation, but by their synthesis into an integrated whole.

The dismantling of a myth into its component parts for the purpose of discovering some general principal by which to explain the *raison d'etre* of a myth or of folktales in general, is characteristic of recent folkloric studies. These component parts that make up the whole of the myth have been

the object of study and are still of concern in the methods discussed here. In trying to discover a stable level on which these component parts can be worked raises a problem. On the one hand to what extent can we break down a myth without destroying a core that is vital to the culture in which it is found, yet on the other hand, in order to compare myths cross culturally a relatively constant and sophisticated level of abstraction must be obtained. This includes a breakdown into component parts. Perhaps the abstracts generated in this analysis will reveal the interrelationships of these parts in relation to the entire whole, as well as determine a level of abstraction that avoids reducing a myth to only its component parts.

The way in which the component parts of a myth are determined is of paramount importance. Therefore any anthropologists determination of such should be made clear at this point. Conceptually these component parts are single incidents or actions that can have an interdependent existence. The following analogy may exemplify this concept. Each component part of a tale is similar to a sentence structure — subject, verb and object as opposed respectively to actor action and actor object. In other words it is each action of the dramatis personae that defines the component parts of the tale.

The Marandas reveal their concept of single incidents to be verbal propositions, contingent upon the reduction of the tale into separate actions revolving around the first criterion or main actor. Either of these verbal propositions can either exist by themselves as an episode, depending upon the mediating aspect within the myth. Each episode is described by a model. This model is contingent upon the final outcome of a particular episode as opposed to its initial state. Each step through this transition is described by a single incident or verbal proposition and the outcome of each episode is

determined by the use of a mediator which is "the especially fitted agent which ensures the passage from an initial state to a different final outcome" (Maranda, E.K. and P., 1969:8).

Armstrong describes these single incidents as units of behaviour, or an act which consists of three parts, an actor, an action and another actor who is the recipient of the action. Lastly, Propp refers to these single incidents as the smallest narrative units or motifs, which are described in terms of their functions. "Function is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (Propp, 1968:21). In other words, the functions of the *dramatis personae* are the basic components of a tale. A number of functions constitute a move, several of which may be found in one tale. Mediation, or the connective incident, as Propp defines it is also pertinent to this method of analysis although used in a slightly different context than in Marandas' method of analysis. In the Marandas' analysis the mediative aspect is necessary for determining the type of model, it is not necessary for each move in Propp's analysis. More emphasis is put upon the mediative aspect in the Marandas' method of analysis than in the other two types of analysis. However, the important point is that the characteristics for a move in Propp's analysis are similar to those for an episode in Marandas' analysis. The difference lies in the fact that episodes are described by five of these descriptive types of models (0 to IV inclusive) and there can be any number of these in a tale, depending upon the mediation in the tale. Also, moves are described in a numerical linear sequence, 1, 11, 111, etc. There can be many moves in one tale, but usually the number of moves depends upon more functions than just mediation. However, the difference mentioned in each method of analysis are inherent in each. Propp's methods

seem to be more linear in comparison to Marandas' and lends itself to producing fewer moves than Marandas' analysis does episodes.

Since each individual method of analysis will be discussed in detail at the beginnings of chapters 2, 3 and 4, a very brief outline of each shall suffice at this point.

Marandas' method of analysis is based on the excerpt in abridged form, "Structural Models in Folklore" from Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays by E. Kongas Maranda and P. Maranda. Each myth is separated into episodes, established by the reduction of the tale into different actions or verbal propositions revolving around the main actor, that dramatis personae who is mentioned most often in the myth, who is discovered through the means of a frequency and contingency table. Each verbal proposition contains a complete act within itself, and in order to become an episode, a reason to attempt mediation, or an attempt itself (whether successful or not) must exist. Thus, if the tale is long, there may be as many as twelve episodes. After all the tales have been subjected to this method of analysis, the models abstracted are compared and contrasted.

Armstrong uses a simplified metalanguage to interpret folktales. His model used as the basis for the segmentation of the myths is divided into six basic and general categories, such as objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition, resistance and attack, the conduct of affairs, etc. These are stated in terms of units of behaviour which consist of three parts, an actor designated by X, and action and an additional actor, designated by Y, towards or against whom the action is directed. A new act is initiated when there is any change in the actor or action constellation of the tale. The main unit of concern contained within the nine basic

categories is designated by a symbol of action or what Armstrong calls dramatic behaviour. These symbols, once abstracted from the texts, form metalinguistic strings. These are then compared and contrasted with each other.

The final method of analysis is taken from Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale*. In his type of analysis the organization of a tale is described as following the chronological order of the linear sequence of elements in the text. This differs from Armstrong's method in that Armstrong's categories are not necessarily applied in a chronological order, whereas this is essential to a replicable interpretation of Propp. His method of analysis utilizes the alphabet following A through Z. The functions of A to Z and variations of them represent the acts of the *dramatis personae* defined in relationship to the cause of the action. For instance the A's and variations of it represent different forms of villainy, the B's and its variations represent different forms of mediation, and so on. The myths are also separated into different moves, these being contingent upon each new act of villainy or each new lack. Functions that end a move are those employed as a denouement, such as marriage, reward, the liquidation of misfortunes or escape from pursuit. The series of metalinguistic strings thus abstracted are compared and contrasted.

The conclusion will contain three different considerations. Firstly, each analyst's method of analysis will be compared and contrasted in relation to what the other methods reveal, and the questions posed in the introduction. Secondly, the corpus of Beaver and Alaskan myths will be examined separately as seen from each analyst's viewpoint. Thirdly, the three analytical frameworks

will be compared and contrasted. What each approach makes explicit as seen through the application to two different corpora will be made apparent. Thus the abstracts generated in each case can be contrasted and compared with the other two.

Some questions to be kept in mind while working the analyses are whether or not the methods of analysis reveal the rules governing formation, organization and development of a myth, and the mechanisms for shortening or lengthening a myth, and the kind of structuralism applied. Also we might be aware whether or not the analyses reveal universal questions such as the finality of death, the origin of man, whether on a conscious or unconscious level. Hopefully the results obtained may lead to a fuller understanding of the problems of composition and dissemination of oral tradition.

The three methods of analysis were chosen because each separately supplied a foundation for its further practice and examination. These approaches invite application to corpora and therefore criticism as well. They served for a time to define legitimate problems and methods of a research field for succeeding generation of folklorists. Furthermore, the three methods of analysis have been sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing types of folklore analyses. Simultaneously, they are open ended enough to leave many problems for the practitioners to resolve.

Propp's, Armstrong's and the Marandas' analyses help form a base in their field, without which progress in this area would be severely retarded.

CHAPTER II

APPLICATION OF PROPP'S METHOD OF ANALYSIS

II 1.) INTRODUCTION

The title of Propp's book, *Morphology of the Folktale*, gives us the first understanding of his concept of the study of folklore, as "the word morphology means the study of forms. In botany, the term morphology means the study of the component parts of a plant, of their relationship to each other and to the whole --- in other words, the study of a plant's structure" (Propp, 1968:XXV). Propp's method of analysis is derived from a group of fairy tales contained in a collection of four hundred texts by A. N. Afansev. Fairy tales, according to Propp are those tales classified by Aarne under numbers 200 to 749 or "any development proceeding from the function villainy (A) or lack (a) through intermediary function to marriage (w) or to other functions employed as a denouement" (Propp, 1968:92).

Propp's method of separating the tale into its component parts is somewhat vague. Therefore, this should be clarified or standardized now in relation to the following applications of his analysis. Propp's tales are separated into thirty-one functions. Function, according to Propp is "an act of a character defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action of a tale as a whole" (Propp, 1968:21). Moreover, "functions are composed of various themes, a series of motifs, something organically whole, that can be singled out from a number of other themes and studied independently" (Propp, 1968:9). However, a theme is composed of a subject, verb and predicate and the subject and object define the theme while the verb forms the composition. Propp states that the extraction of themes from a tale is left to the analyst, since purely objective abstraction has not yet been refined.

Motifs, according to Propp, are the simplest narrative unit that represents a logical whole, and a complex of such compose a theme (Propp, 1968:12-18). Since motifs can move in and out of themes, Propp states that motifs are of a primary concern, themes secondary. Although Propp states that motifs can be further reduced to different elements, which do not represent a logical whole, it is with motifs that he concerns himself. These make up the component parts of a tale. In his analysis the makeup of the theme was used as a guideline in determining the motifs. Since one motif is used from each function for each move in setting out the linear sequence of a tale, this is a rather stable and replicable method of determining motifs.

Propp begins his analysis by defining the method and materials. His first four rules are very important, and are as follows: 1) "Functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale" (Propp, 1968:21). The *dramatis personae* may change but their actions or functions do not (Propp, 1968:20). Thus, as Propp states, a tale often attributes identical actions to various characters. What the *dramatis personae* do is an important question. Propp states that the functions of the *dramatis personae* are basic components of a tale, but the definition of them does not depend upon the *dramatis personae* who carries out the function, nor can an action be defined separately from its place in the course of the narration (pg.21). In other words, the *dramatis personae* are like a catalyst, necessary for, but not affecting or becoming a part of the outcome, because what is done is of concern, rather than who does it, or how. 2) "The number of functions known to the fairytale is limited" (Propp, 1968:21). As mentioned earlier, there are thirty-one functions, each

of which contain a number of motifs. 3) "The sequence of functions is always identical" (Propp, 1968:22). This rule must be applied if we are to complete a uniform analysis. Two different dramatis personae can fulfill the same function. This however would more than likely be found in two different places in the myth. Also, we can find the same action at different places in a tale. These two examples would constitute two different functions and therefore have two different meanings although the actions and even the dramatis personae are the same. Thus as Propp states, the order of the functions found in the tale is very important although he does allow that there are a few exceptions to this rule. Furthermore, he says that "the means by which functions are fulfilled influence one another and that identical forms adapt themselves to different functions. A certain form is transferred to a different position, acquiring a new meaning, or simultaneously retaining an old one" (Propp, 1968:70). Moreover, the sequence of functions is important because if, for instance, a character such as a donor is missing from a tale, the form of his appearance can oftentimes be transferred to the next character in line. 4) "All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure" (Propp, 1968:22). In other words, tales with identical functions can be considered as belonging to one type, and according to Propp, on this basis an index of types can be created.

Propp continues the explanation of his method of analysis by enumerating the functions of the dramatis personae. He gives a brief summary of each function's essence and its symbol. Some of these are described in the following paragraph.

Propp's tale usually begins with a preparatory section, the first of which is an initial situation. Here the members of a family are enumerated

or the future hero is introduced. There are eight other morphological elements in the preparatory section, all of which prepare the way for the most important function in the tale, villainy or a lack. However, Propp does not include the initial situation, or a preliminary misfortune when he discusses his seven functions. Of these remaining functions he states that "all seven functions of this section are never encountered within one tale" and therefore an absence cannot be considered an omission (Propp, 1968:108). Furthermore, Propp creates three sets of pairs within his section of eight functions, interdiction and violation, reconnaissance and receipt of information, and deceitful persuasions and submission to such. By means of these functions the actual movement of the tale is begun (Propp, 1968:30). Since not all myths begin with a misfortune, some are considered to be at the same state as a morphological equivalent of seizure. Propp points out that insufficiency, as does seizure, determines the next point in the complication (Propp, 1968:35). The second function, mediation, is also important as it brings the hero into the tale. Here Propp differentiates between hero seekers and victimized heroes. Seeker heroes usually have a search as their goal and leave home of their own accord. Victimized heroes usually start on a journey and leave home willingly. An example will clarify the above. If a Chief's daughter is kidnapped, and the narrative follows a brother's search for her, the hero is the brother, a seeker-hero. However, if the daughter is kidnapped and the thread of the narrative is linked to her fate, she is a victimized hero. Propp emphasizes that the morphological significance of the hero is very important, since his intentions create the axis of the narrative. A hero he states, "is that character who either directly suffers from the action of the villain in the complication (the one who senses some kind of lack) or who agrees to liquidate the

the misfortune or lack of another person. In the course of the action the hero is the person who is supplied with a magical agent and who makes use of it or is served by it" (Propp, 1968:50).

Another important group of functions are D (the first function of the donor) E (reaction of the hero) and F (the acquisition or receipt of a magical agent), wherein the hero is tested, interrogated, etc., before he receives a magical agent or helper. Propp differentiates between two types of connections, based on the form of transmission of a magical agent. Simply put, in type I the donors are unfriendly or deceived, in type II the donors are friendly and provisional. Propp notes that objects of transmission are not necessarily connected to forms of transmissions. In other words, a horse is not always given, sometimes it is seized.

Propp carefully differentiates between the H (the heroes struggle with the villain) and I (Victory over the villain) function and the M (difficult task) and N (resolution of a difficult task). In distinguishing between HI, MN or DEF Propp reminds us that it is possible to define a function according to its consequences. He gives the following summation: "all tasks giving rise to a search must be considered in terms of B, all tasks giving rise to the receipt of a magical agent are considered as D. All other tasks are considered as M. (Propp, 1968:67).

The fairy tale reaches its climax with function K (initial misfortune or lack liquidated). From here the tale is usually brought to a close by terminal functions such as K itself, or escape from pursuit, Rs, or marriage W*, unless another move is initiated with another villainy or lack.

Propp notes that many functions join together into one of seven spheres of action. These are the spheres of action of the villain, which is composed of functions A (villainy), H (fight with hero) and Pr (pursuit).

The other six are the sphere of action of the donor, of the helper, of a princess, the dispatcher, the hero, and the false hero. According to Propp, these spheres of action can be distributed among the tale characteristics in three different ways. Firstly, the sphere of action corresponds to the characters involved; secondly, one character is involved in several spheres of action, and thirdly, a sphere of action can be shared by several characters (Propp, 1968:81).

When Propp discusses the tale as a whole, he emphasizes that a development from A through H is considered as one move, and each new villainy or lack within the same tale constitutes a new move. Propp states that singling out a move with exactitude is possible, although not always easy, as moves may interweave, repeat each other several times and so on. These highlights of Propp's method of analysis, as discussed above, may be useful for reference when applying his analysis.

II 2. i PROPP, BEAVER ANALYSIS AND NOTES

#1. The Frog and the Owl

Move

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| 1 α | Initial situation | introduction |
| 1 A ¹ | kidnapping of a person | Old man Owl's daughter is missing |
| 1 B ⁴ | announcement of misfortune | Old Man Owl tells his wife |
| 1 \S | connectives | his wife makes many comments |
| 1 C | consent to counteraction | Old Man Owl decides to ask Little Owl to help find her |
| 1 \uparrow | departure from dispatch of hero from home | |
| 1 *D ⁷ | other requests, with preliminary helpless situation of person making the request | Little Owl asks for drymeat before he leaves on his search |
| 1 E ⁷ | request fulfilled | Old Man Owl feeds him well |
| 1 KF ² | object of the search is pointed out | Little Owl finds Old Man Owl's daughter's footsteps leading into the lake but he is unable to follow them |
| 1 \uparrow D ⁷ | departure (of the hero) | Old Man Owl sends his son (second donor) to find his sister |
| 1 E | reaction of acting hero | his dialogue with the other birds, and the forewarning. Woodpecker Bird advises Owl Boy not to go to the end of the lake |

Move

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1 KF ² | the object of the search is pointed out | He hears his sister and tells his father where to find her |
| 1 ↑ | departure of the real hero | Old Man Owl leaves in search of his daughter |
| 1 G ³ | Hero is led | His son leads Old Man Owl to where he heard his sister crying |
| 1 H ¹ | Hero struggles with villain | Old Man Owl fights with the Frog Chief to free his daughter |
| 1 I ¹ | victory over the villain | Old Man Owl defeats Frog Chief |
| 1 KF ⁷ | object of the search is captured | Old Man Owl seizes his daughter and escapes |
| 1 ↓ | return of the hero | He returns home with his daughter |
| IIIAA ¹⁹ | declaration of war | The Frogs declare war on the Birds |
| II Pr ⁶ | pursuit of hero | The Frogs make war so that they can recapture Old Man Owl's daughter |
| II Rs ⁹ | rescue | Old Man Owl is saved from being destroyed |
| II U | punishment of Villain(s) | The Frog army is defeated and punished, and only one frog is spared to tell the story |

Old Man Owl could be called the seeker-hero, as he implements the search for his daughter, at his wife's suggestion. Because he is old, he is at first unable to search for her, and sends two others in his stead.

The function of departure is transferred twice, once to Little Owl and once to Owl Boy. Although Propp states that a donor is usually acquired accidentally, in this case Old Man Owl makes a direct request to Little Owl. The donor appears in the tale a little sooner than in the Russian fairy tales, but the order has remained as DEF because Little Owl and Owl Boy were also performing those functions that were specific for the hero in this tale. Thus we have two donors, Little Owl and Owl Boy. The third attempt to rescue Old Man Owl's daughter is successful. This trebling effect of DEF is quite common in fairy tales. Propp gives an example of trebling of entire moves --- girl abducted, two elder brothers set out to look for her and fail to find her first and second moves, in the third move the youngest brother succeeds in finding his sister. In this myth, two people (one the father's friend, the other, father's son) set out to search for Old Man Owl's daughter and fail, and Old Man Owl succeeds in the third attempt. (It is interesting to note the switch in emphasis from brothers in the Russian stories to Father, Son and others in the Beaver myths). The two DEF sequences are not considered separated moves in this myth because they are not carried through to degree of completion, nor is there a new lack or a new villainy. Upon looking at the two metalinguistic strings, it also appears that DEKF is a weaker form of $*\overset{1}{D}\overset{1}{E}\overset{2}{K}\overset{2}{F}$.

The return of Old Man Owl with his daughter is tantamount to forcing the Frogs to declare war. The two functions have a cause-effect relationship, but with a new A function another move is created.

#2 The Boy Wabshu

Move

| | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| 1 α | Initial situation | introduction |
| 1 B^2 | death of parents | Wabshu's mother dies |
| 1 D^3 | request for favour after death | Wabshu's mother requests her husband to find a good step-mother for Wabshu, one from where the sun is at dinner time |
| 1 E^3 | favour to a dead person | Wabshu's father tries to find a good mother but is unable to, so he buys a wife from where the sun sets |
| 1 F^- | the agent is not transferred | Wabshu's father finds a wife from where the sun sets |
| 1 η^1 | deceitful persuasions by the villain | Wabshu's stepmother persuades him to shoot rabbits in the head |
| 1 θ^3 | the hero gives in to the persuasions of the villain | Wabshu does as she bids. His step-mother then puts the rabbits under her dress so that they scratch her legs |
| 1 A^8 | demand for delivery, enticement abduction | Wabshu's father pretends to take him hunting, but takes him by canoe to a deserted island instead. Wabshu's stepmother wanted to get him into trouble |
| 1 B^5 | transportation of banished hero | Wabshu is taken by canoe |
| 1 \uparrow | departure of the hero | Wabshu travels by canoe to the island |
| 1 D^2 | greeting and interrogation | Nahata inquires why Wabshu is crying and comforts him |
| 1 E^2 | friendly response | Wabshu responds positively |
| 1 F^2 | agent pointed out | Nahata points out ducks, geese and pitch in which to catch them |

| | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|---|
| I | K ¹ | liquidation of misfortune through application of cunning | Wabshu escapes, leaving his father to perform the difficult task of survival as he had done |
| I | ↓ | return of the hero | Wabshu takes the canoe and leaves his father on island for ten days to force him to survive as he was. However, his father dies instead |
| I | U | punishment of villain | Wabshu kills his stepmother |
| II | α | initial situation | Wabshu takes up with the monster Onli Nachi |
| II | A ¹⁷ | threat of cannibalism | Onli Nachi threatens to his Wabshu's people |
| II | H ¹ | hero struggles with villain | Wabshu tries to prevent Onli Nachi from chasing people |
| II | I ¹ | victory over villain | Wabshu argues and struggles with Onli Nachi and finally shoots her |
| II | K | liquidation of misfortune | threat of cannibalism extinguished |
| II | T ¹ | new physical appearance | Wabshu changes into Usakindji, and then changes into stone |

Notes:

Wabshu becomes the victimized hero in this tale as he suffers from the action of the villain in the complication. It is interesting to note that this tale conforms to Propp's rule regarding parent senders. Propp describes a daughter transported from home by the father, upon banishment by the stepmother. In this case we have a son, banished through his stepmother's trickery.

In this myth we have an example of the DEF sequence before the A function. The donor in this section is Wabshu's mother, whereas the donor in the second DEF sequence is Nahata. This first donor introduces the main dramatis personae, and also seems to be an intensified version of interdiction and violation.

The appearance of Nahata is a very good example of what Propp calls a weakened form of testing. Direct testing and interrogation are absent. Nahata appears in a dream and comforts him. In this example, Wabshu is not really given the choice of answering rudely, thereby receiving nothing from the donor, as Nahata appears in a dream. However, Wabshu demonstrates his positive response when he awakes by acting upon the advise of Nahata.

The narrative peaks when Wabshu escapes. He does this by way of canoe, the same mode of transportation by which he came to the island. Propp states that "a return is generally accomplished by means of the same form as an arrival" (Propp, 1968:55)

There are two separate tales found here in this rather than one, each with one move, rather than one tale with two moves. Although a new villany facilitates a new move, the course of events are entirely separate from one another in each tale. There are two separate themes, and one is not a variant of the other. However, it is difficult to compare themes and variants here in relation to Propp as he really sees fairy tales as a chain of variants. Also the second myth seems to be a rather incomplete version of another longer myth, with no relation to the previous myth except that the Heroes are the same characters, and joined by two words, "after that". This is similar to the continuing tales of Usakindji, where each new experience is considered a new tale.

#3 Usakindji and The Wolverine Man

Move

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 A^{17} | threat of cannibalism | Usakindji discovers a trap set to catch people |
| 1 B | mediation connective incident | initiative, he decides to find out who set the trap |
| 1 \uparrow | departure | Usakindji puts himself into the pit to await Wolverine Man |
| 1 \S | connectives | Usakindji pretends to be dead |
| 1 G^2 | the hero is carried | Wolverine Man carries Usakindji home to his family |
| 1 H^2 | contest | Usakindji pretends he is dead until he sees an opportunity to kill Wolverine Man and his family |
| 1 I^5 | the killing of the villain without a fight | Usakindji kills them before they have a chance to fight back |
| 1 K^1 | direct acquisition through force or cunning | Usakindji has used both. He has succeeded in changing the form of Wolverine Man to a smaller version |

Usakindji is the victimized hero as he suffers from the action of the villain in the complication. The hero is also the person who senses some kind of lack. In the initial situation Usakindji senses that something is wrong, or it could be interpreted as something missing. However, the threat of cannibalism is stronger, therefore, used instead of a function for a lack.

Propp states that the initial situation always contains the family of either the hero or the villain. The family situation in this myth is

centered around the villain, rather than around the hero, and is found towards the end of the myth rather than in the initial situation.

Although function C, consent to counteraction, seems appropriate in this myth, Propp states that it is not found in tales with a victimized hero. Propp sees a victimized hero as unable to demonstrate any volitional decision. Even though the difference between a victimized hero and a seeker hero is sometimes dubious in these twenty myths, and the victimized hero sometimes does seem able to make a free decision, we will apply Propp's rule, and exclude C whenever we have a myth with a victimized hero. A fine distinction can be seen in this case, however, Usakindji does not embark on a journey, but merely an adventure.

The choice of function B, mediation used in this case presents a conflict because B 1-4 is applicable to hero seekers while B 5-7 is applicable to victimized heroes, as the function that comes closest to describing this action is B.3.

There is no return of the hero in this myth just as there is no departure. A DEF sequence or any part of it is absent. The story ends at the peak of the narrative, which leads one to consider that this is a shortened version of a longer myth. Despite the fact that the next myth carries on with Usakindji's adventures, it does not mean to say that this myth is by any means complete.

Transfiguration does not really occur as this function refers to the hero. Therefore, we might look at this action in terms of another function, such as punishment of the villain, or as the liquidation of the initial misfortune.

#4 Usakindji and the Geese and the Fox

Move

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| 1 α | Initial situation | introduction |
| 1 a^6 | lack of food | Usakindji is hungry |
| 1 B | mediation | initiative, he decides to seek food and develops a plan to catch fowl |
| 1 \uparrow | departure of hero | Usakindji acquires a large sack, which he fills with moss to ensure the curiosity of the geese and ducks as he walked by |
| 1 K^1 | direct acquisition through the application of cunning | Usakindji fools the geese and catches them for his food |
| 1 \S | connectives | description of how Usakindji prepares them |
| II a^{6-} | abundance of food, and lack of food | Fox appears, and sees that Usakindji has much food, and he none |
| II η^1 | deceitful persuasions of the villain | the Fox convinces Usakindji that he is lame |
| II Θ^1 | hero reacts to the persuasion of the villain | Usakindji believes him |
| II H^2 | a competition | Usakindji and the Fox race to the end of the lake |
| II I^{2-} | victory for the Fox | Usakindji loses the race because the fox outwitted him |
| II \downarrow | return of the hero | Usakindji limped back to find the geese gone |
| II U | punishment of the villain | Usakindji pursues the Fox with fire Fox escapes, although his fur is singed. |

Usakindji is the victimized hero in this myth simply because he is definitely not a seeker hero. He is on a continuing journey, and encounters numerous adventures en route. Therefore, there is no C function present either.

Although we find no donor, there is an implication that the acquisition of the big pack could have been given him by a donor in order that he could capture his food, the geese. However, no detail is mentioned.

Function a5- is used to depict Usakindji's abundance of food in relation to Fox's lack of food. This function is employed because it best describes the situation in relation to the rest of the narrative as well as retian Usakindji as the hero. In other words, the means by which functions are fulfilled influence one another, and identical forms adapt themselves to different functions (Propp, 1968:70). As Propp notes, the actions of the dramatis personae as defined from relative to the meaning for the hero and for the course of the action are more important than considering any function independently.

It is difficult to determine whether or not we have one or two moves, or one or two tales. According to Propp, if the hero acquires the object of his quest through battle or cunning, we have an H function, but if the hero acquires an agent for the purpose of further searching as the result of an unfriendly encounter, we have a D function. Based on this premise, the myth as been divided into two moves because although DEF sequence does occur, with the geese and ducks seen as unwilling donors, the K function is the climax and end of the first move, rather than DEF preparing for the Fox's entry into the tale. Although Usakindji's gain of geese and ducks is precisely the reason for the fox's deceitful persuasions, this is a linear continuation of the myth. There is no mention of Usakindji wanting to obtain

the fowl for the purpose of further searching. However, the implication could be that Usakindji cannot continue his journey unless he has food, but on the other hand, he manages to obtain the object of his quest through cunning with no apparent thought to another journey. At this point there is no new villainy or lack as far as Usakindji is concerned. His gain initiates Fox's interest in him. Based on the given information, the overabundance of food that Usakindji is left with and the lack of food that fox has is taken to an a5-, thus creating a new move. Another version of the same myth would more than likely change the analysis somewhat, and definitely have a direct bearing on whether it is a single tale with two moves, or a two move tale, or even two separate tales. For instance, in this version of the narrative, the second move is less intertwined with the first than in most stories, and in fact it is possible that this should be a separate story altogether, and be viewed as another adventure that Usakindji experiences as he travels.

#5 How the Animals Got Their Fat

Move

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 a ⁶ | lack of food | Usakindji is hungry |
| 1 D ² | greeting, interrogation | He meets a bear |
| 1 E ² | positive reaction | The bear agrees to keep him company |
| 1 F ⁷ | the agent is eaten | Usakindji kills and eats the bear |
| 1 K ¹ | direct acquisition through the application of cunning | Usakindji tricks the bear and alleviates his lack of food |

Move

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| II ∞ | initial situation and connective | Usakindji leaves the food he is eating and goes to the toilet |
| II A ¹⁵ 5 | imprisonment, and detention plundering | Usakindji becomes trapped by a tree and the birds devour the rest of the bear meat |
| II § | connectives | Usakindji tells the tree that someday it will be used by people |
| II B ³ | release | Usakindji is freed by the tree after the birds finish eating |
| II ↑ | departure | Usakindji prepares the hot bear fat to take with him |
| II H ² | hero struggles with villain | Usakindji and Muskrat argue, and call each other names |
| II I ² | victory over villain | Usakindji wins the argument |
| II K ¹⁻ | acquisition through force | Muskrat is forced to cool the fat, but he spills it while trying to cool it |
| II W ⁰ | other forms of material gain at the denouement | Although Usakindji loses his fat, all the animals receive some |

... This story is again another of Usakindji's adventures as he proceeds along his journey. Therefore, he is more a victimized hero than a seeker hero.

... The DEF sequence is more obvious in this story, although the hero is not tested or interrogated in any way. Conversely, it is the hero that greets the donor. According to Propp, the donor usually approaches the hero. However, Propp also mentions that a sudden independent appearance of a magical agent or

helper are most often encountered without the slightest preparation, which are rudimentary forms of this function. The sentence "I'll feed you now and you feed me in the winter" signifies that the hero plans on obtaining the bear's flesh for food for the coming winter.

Move one ends rather abruptly and move II begins and is a continuation of move one. This is obviously one tale, and the applicable functions divide the story into two moves.

Propp observes that an element which is usually encountered under one heading, bear and villain, and is suddenly met under another, donor is called a transposition of forms. Transpositions of this sort, he states, play a great role in the creation of tale formations. Sometimes they are taken for a new theme, although they are derived from old ones as the result of a certain transformation. This is another reason why it is important that the characters be defined according to their meaning to the hero and the course of the action of the myth. If the rule was not followed closely, transpositions would not be determined with any accuracy.

Although Usakindji does not acquire some material reward at the end of the myth, he transfers the fat to the animals in the myth. In this way function W is transferred to the other dramatis personae brought into the story.

#6 The Woman Who Married the Bear

Move

| | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 y^1 | interdiction | women suggest that she return home with them |
| 1 δ^1 | interdiction violated | she decides to stay and pick berries |
| 1 η^1 | deceitful persuasions of villain | a Bear persuades the woman to go with him |
| 1 θ^1 | hero reacts to the persuasions of the villain | she agrees to accompany him |
| 1 A^1 | kidnapping | the Bear takes her far away |
| 1 B^4 | announcement in various forms | the girls brother dreams of his sister, her parents are upset |
| 1 C | consent to counter-action | the woman's brother decides to search for his sister |
| 1 \uparrow | departure of hero from home | an implication that the brother leaves home |
| 1 H^1 | fight in an open field | the brother entices the bear out of his den |
| 1 I^1 | victory in open field | he kills the bear |
| 1 K^3 | acquisition achieved with help of an enticement or decoys | The woman's brother throws a bear hide over the entrance to lure the bear out, and his sister follows her husband |
| II a^1 | lack of individual | woman loses husband |

Move

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| II D ³ | request for favour after death | Woman's husband requests that she never remarry |
| II E ² | friendly response | she agrees |
| 1 ↓ | return home of the hero | the woman returns home with her brother |
| 1 § | connectives | description of woman's life after her return home |
| II F ⁻ | agent not transferred | the woman fails to keep her promise to her dead husband. |
| II U | punishment | the woman and her new husband are killed by bears |

The hero in this tale is the woman's brother. He decides to liquidate the lack of another person, and since he has a search as his goal, he is a seeker hero. As Propp notes, if two persons leave home, one in search of another, the route followed by the story and on which the action is developed, is the route of the seeker.

The myth does not really seem well defined in terms of two separate moves, as the second move especially is poorly developed. However, they have been treated as two moves since there seem to be two different themes, one embedded in a larger one. The emphasis on the need for a husband is brought out here.

Although the brother is the hero in move 1, there is no mention of him in move II, His sister becomes the hero in this move. Usually the hero remains the same if there are two moves, and perhaps if this second move was more complete, and the dramatis personae might also be more complete, and tie

in with their appropriate functions. It is also interesting to note that this myth begins with the woman already involved in gathering berries. Had the story begun with the members of the younger generation absenting themselves from home, we would have had a B3 morphological element as well as the others we have.

#3 Usakindji and Moon Man

Move

| | | |
|-------------------|--|---|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 ε^2 | reconnaissance by the hero to obtain information about the villain | Usakindji follows the tracks to find out who they belong to |
| 1 ζ^2 | hero receives information about the villain | Usakindji discovers Moon Man who has big feet and no teeth |
| 1 η^1 | deceitful persuasions by the villain | Moon Man persuades Usakindji to stay at his camp |
| 1 θ^3 | hero gives in | Usakindji agrees to camp with Moon Man |
| 1 A^{17} | threat of cannibalism | Usakindji realizes something is wrong when he sees Moon Man eye his moccasins |
| 1 B | mediation | Usakindji anticipates Moon Man's plan and acts accordingly |
| 1 D | first function of donar) | Usakindji is his own donor and decides to outwit Moon Man |
| 1 E | reaction of hero } | |
| 1 KF^1 | direct acquisition through the application of cunning | instead of throwing Usakindji's moccasins in the fire, Moon Man destroys his own, and threat of cannibalism liquidated. |

Move

| | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| I U ⁻ | villain pardoned | Usakindji pardons Moon Man and helps him by giving him another pair of moccasins and a pair of teeth |
| I < | leave taking at road marker | Usakindji and Moon Man part ways |
| II n ³⁻ | other forms of deception or coercion | Usakindji has made Moon Man a pair of teeth against his wishes |
| II e ³⁻ | hero gives in or reacts mechanically to deceit of villain | Moon Man wears the teeth |
| II A ¹⁷ | threat of cannibalism | The village people are in danger as Moon Man has teeth |
| II H ² | competition | Usakindji has Moon Man continue on his journey, and pass through the village where he is to suck people's fingers |
| II I ² | victory in contest | Moon Man fails to suck the fingers, and bites them instead. Usakindji has outwitted Moon Man |
| II U | punishment of villain | Moon Man is chased into the sky, where he stays |
| II W ⁰ | material gain | There is now a moon in the sky |

Usakindji is again the victimized hero by definition.

The presence of a DEF sequence is questionable. Although Moon Man would well be a hostile donor, it is Usakindji that gives Moon Man another pair of moccasins and another pair of teeth. We have a hero acting as a donor, giving to the villain. However, the hero is also assisting himself, as his purpose in giving Moon Man teeth and another pair of moccasins, for instance, is to instigate his defeat. As Propp notes, "the hero often gets along without any helpers. He is his own helper, as it were" (Propp, 1968:82), and in some cases takes on the attributes as well as the functions of the helper.

Function U or punishment is an interesting function in that it could be applicable to both Move I and Move II. Moon Man is punished finally for trying to deceive Usakindji and also for chewing the people's fingers. Since Moon Man went unpunished in Move I, this move is completed at the end of Move II.

The HI function, contest and victory, at first seems more like an MN function, a difficult task and its solution. However, if we consider that firstly a difficult task is assigned to the hero, not the villain, and secondly, a difficult task does not usually include dealing with the villain, but with another character or object quite separate from the main dramatis personae and objects. Even though the struggle between Usakindji and Moon Man is rather vague, and indirect, it is more a contest of wits than the performance of a difficult task.

We have the same function in both move I and II, that of the threat of cannibalism. We should make the point that this does not mean that these two acts are the same. Functions are defined according to their consequences, and independently of their dramatis personae, or the manner in which they are fulfilled. (Propp, 1968:66).

#8 Usakindji and Mosquito Man

Move

| | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|---|
| 1 | α | Initial situation | Introduction |
| 1 | ε^2 | reconnaissance by the hero to obtain information about the villain | Usakindji follows the tracks to find out who they belong to |
| 1 | ζ^2 | delivery of information | Usakindji discovers they belong to Mosquito Man |
| 1 | a^5 | lack of food, means of existence and ability to cook it | Usakindji has no food and no way to cook it by fire |
| 1 | B | initiative | Usakindji decides to learn how to cook |
| 1 | D | first function of donor | Mosquito Man states that he is going to cook food |
| 1 | E^+ | positive reaction | |
| 1 | F^0 | agent is seized | Usakindji kills and steals the bear while Mosquito Man is away |
| 1 | K^1 | direct acquisition through cunning | Usakindji feasts on the bear |
| 1 | \S | connectives | the next day Mosquito Man sees Usakindji and asks him for help with his beavers |
| II | A^{17} | threat of cannibalism | Mosquito Man threatens to kill Usakindji and use his skin |
| II | H^2 | hero struggles with villain | Usakindji tricks Mosquito Man into going under the ice to get his axe |
| II | I^2 | killing of villain without a fight | Usakindji kills Mosquito Man by keeping him under the ice so that he freezes to death |

Move

| | | | |
|----|----------------|------------------------------------|---|
| II | K | direct acquisition through cunning | Usakindji acquires the beaver through his cunning and liquidates the threat of villany |
| II | U | punishment | Mosquito Man is chopped into tiny pieces |
| II | § ^o | connectives; trebles | three explanations; how mosquitoes were created, why there are so many mosquitoes in beaver houses, and why the moose cannot hear anyone coming |

Usakindji is again the victimized hereo. In introduction of the tale the implication is made that Mosquito Man is one of the many man eating monsters that Usakindji killed, and this tale tells of one of his many experiences with these monsters.

Propp states that the significance of function B lies in the fact that the heroes departure from home is caused by it. However, in this tale as in many of the other Usakindji tales, Usakindji is already away from home, and happens upon a situation. Nevertheless, the rest of the plot is based on his decision at this point.

Function U or punishment would also be interpreted differently, as W, or material gain. Rather than considering mosquitoes as a punishment, they are also viewed as an advantage to man since they assist him in hunting moose.

#9 Why the Moose is Wary of Man

Move

| | | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 | α^2 | lack of helper | the boy lacks a totem |

| | | | |
|------|--------|---|---|
| Move | | | |
| 1 | B^2 | dispatch | the father sends his son in search of a totem |
| 1 | C | consent to counter-action | the son goes in search of a totem |
| 1 | ↑ | departure of hero | the boy leaves home, route of hero |
| 1 | D | first function of the doner | the boy meets moose and lives with them |
| 1 | E | positive reaction | boy is with the moose a long time |
| 1 | KF^1 | the object of the search is transferred | the boy learns the ways of the moose |
| 1 | ↓ | return of the hero | the boy returns to his parents |
| II | a^b | lack of game (food) | Boy Moose and his brother are hunting |
| II | ↑ | departure of hero | the boy runs away from his brother with the moose |
| II | Pr^b | attempt to destroy hero | Boy Moose's brother nearly kills him |
| II | Rs^b | transformation from animal to boy | Boy Moose changes into a boy so that his brother can recognize him |
| II | Q | recognition of hero | his brother recognizes him |
| II | < | leave taking | they part ways. The boy returns to the Moose and the brother returns home |
| III | a^b | lack of game | Boy Moose's brother is hunting, therefore, a lack of game is insinuated |

| | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|---|
| Move | | | |
| III | Q | recognition of hero | Boy Moose's brother finds him asleep |
| III | S | connectives | dialogue between Moose Boy and his brother |
| III | T | new physical appearance | the boy changes into a moose forever |
| III | < | leave taking | Moose Boy and his brother part ways forever |

The hero in this tale is Boy Moose. Because he is sent out on a quest he is a seeker hero. We find the seeker hero in this story as Propp suggests, he should be found, with his family in the initial situation.

The ABC complication seems to run together in this story, and there seems to be insufficient facts to merit all these functions, whereas in other instances we find that there seem to be sufficient functions to cope with all the facts. However the above complication is a complete representation of the brief facts given.

In moves II and III the lack is more implied than it is stated, and the body of the two moves are rather incomplete, and both are lacking a K function. It is also interesting to note that each successive move is less complete.

The DEF sequence is also poorly outlined, although the core of the functions are present in this move of the myth. There is certainly ample opportunity for elaboration on the function of the donor, and the receipt of a magical agent, helper, totem.

It is also interesting to note that the functions, departure and return of the hero, form a pair. The hero usually returns the same way he departed. However, in this myth, the Moose Boy does not return to his people, but remains where he is.

#10 Usakindji, Bear and Chicadee

Move

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|---|---|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 | ε^2 | reconnaissance | Usakindji wonders where all the trails lead |
| 1 | ζ^2 | the hero receives information about the villain | Usakindji discovers that the trails are bear trails, and that the bears eat dried berries |
| 1 | η^1 | deceitful persuasions of the villain | The Bear persuades Usakindji to search for berries for him |
| 1 | θ^1 | the hero reacts to the persuasions of the villain | Usakindji believes the Bear, and the Bear then escapes from him |
| 1 | a^b | lack of food | Usakindji is left without food |
| 1 | β^1 | call for help | Usakindji asks for help from the Chicadee |
| 1 | D^{10} | the offer of a magical agent as an exchange | Usakindji offers the Chicadee a collar that will keep him warm |
| 1 | E^2 | friendly response | the Chicadee agrees to help find the Bear |
| 1 | F^2 | the object of the search is pointed out | The Chicadee points to the Bear's hiding place |
| 1 | \S | connectives | dialogue between the Bear and Usakindji |
| 1 | H^2 | hero struggles with villain | The bear tries to outwit Usakindji |
| 1 | I^2 | the killing of the villain without a fight | Usakindji kills the Bear as he emerges from his hiding place |
| 1 | K^1 | direct acquisition through cunning | Usakindji fools the Bear and captures him for his food |

Usakindji is the victimized hero by definition. He encounters adventures while travelling rather than leaving home in search of someone.

Although this story is lengthy in comparison with some of the others, it appears more straight forward and complete than most of the other Beaver myths.

The Chicadee is a true type II donor in this tale, Propp states that a sudden independent appearance of a magical agent or helper are most often encountered without the slightest preparation (Propp, 1968:46). Actually Chicadee is more a helper than a donor, because he only assists Usakindji in finding the Bear, he does not give Usakindji an agent. However, Propp notes that living things, objects and qualities are founded upon the functions of the dramatic personae and must be viewed as equivalent quantities.

Function B mediation, is used slightly differently in this tale than in, for instance, tale #6. In the latter, tale B function introduces the hero, whereas in this tale the hero is well into the tale. Both B functions in each tale announce the misfortune, but both in different ways. In tale #6, the misfortune is made known to the hero in the form of a dream which affects his departure from home; in this tale, the hero announces his dilemma to the environment at hand, which results in the helper appearing on the scene.

We notice that the tale has a long prepatory section, and a fairly comprehensive first half, using most of the functions. However, after the climax of the story is reached, the tale ends very rapidly, as do all the other Beaver tales.

II 2.ii) PROPP'S RESULTS - BEAVER MYTHS

If we refer to table 1 we can more easily see the metalinguistic strings that Propp's analysis, as applied to the Beaver myths, discloses. We can easily see that all Beaver tales employ at least one morphological element in their preparatory sections. The function is always used to indicate the beginning of the myth, but we also find that six Beaver tales employ other preparatory functions, as well. For example, each preparatory function is used at least once in all the ten tales, except the preliminary misfortune caused by a deceitful agreement.

Propp's pairs, interdiction and its violation, reconnaissance by one of the dramatis personae and the receipt of information, and deceitful persuasions by one of the dramatis personae and submission to such, firstly, always go together, and secondly, if one pair is used, the use of a second pair is usually unnecessary. Propp further states that if several pairs are used, one can always expect a double morphological meaning. (Propp, 1968:109). The accuracy of this statement is exemplified by tale #7. However, several pairs are not used in the same move, nor are the same pair used twice in the same move. We do find, only once, and in tale #7, that the same pair is used twice in one tale, but each time in a separate move, further demonstrating that these preparatory functions operate in the same mutually exclusive manner as do the main functions.

In the Beaver tales we do not find that the absention of either elders or youngers. We do find the intensified form of this function, death of parent (s) in tale #2. We find an intensified form of interdiction and its violation in this tale as well. This pair does not appear in any of the other tales. Reconnaissance by the hero and receipt of information by the hero is

employed three times, each in different myths. Furthermore, it is always reconnaissance by the hero and receipt of information by him that makes this function as tight as it is. The function η , trickery, is found seven times in the Beaver tales, with function Θ , complicity, also found an equal number of times. However, η_1 , deceitful persuasions by the villain appears six out of seven times, and η_3 , other forms of deception, occurs only once, with η_2 not appearing at all. The counterpart to η_1 is found only three times, while Θ_3 is employed more appropriately in the remaining cases. The pair to η_2 is not used. One of the reasons for the looseness in the last pair of functions is found in its definition. In other words, η_1 , η_2 , η_3 are not as accurately matched to Θ_1 , Θ_2 , Θ_3 , respectively as are the other two pairs of functions.

Trickery and complicity seem to be the most important function in the preparatory section. It will be interesting to note whether or not this observation is upheld throughout the rest of the analysis.

We found that function A, villainy, occurred ten different times in the ten myths. Furthermore, of the twenty-five A functions, only six were utilized. In other words, the majority of these functions were not applicable to the action in the Beaver tales. One of the functions, however, was used several times. For example, A17, the threat of cannibalism, was found five times in the myths (Usakindji was the hero threatened in four out of five cases), while A1, the kidnapping of a person was found twice. Functions A5, plundering, A8, demand for delivery, A15, imprisonment, and A19, declaration of war, were each found only once. The functions that are absent from the Beaver myths seem to support each other. For example, anything related to magic is missing, thus we find that functions A2, seizure of a magical agent, Aii, forcible seizure of such, A7, evocation of disappearance, AII, casting of a spell, and A18, vampirism are absent. We also find very little said directly of marriage, therefore, no

no tale revolves around the topic, and accordingly we do not find a villainy such as Avii, Al6, or Axvi.

Propp states that there are some functions that rarely occur independently, such as AII, transformation, and Al2 false substitution. Although these functions do not occur concomitantly with another function in the Beaver myths, we find functions A5, plundering and Al5 imprisonment, occurring concomitantly once in tale #5.

As far as function a, lack or insufficiency, is concerned, we find that six of the nine found in the Beaver myths fall into the category of other forms. Interestingly enough, all six concern a lack of food. Also a5 mentions a lack of food, but in addition, it is concerned with how to prepare the food. The other two functions deal with a lack of an individual, one a husband, the other a helper. The helper in this case is not thought of as being magical in that it is above and beyond everyday occurrences, rather it is a part of a young Indian's life. Functions a3, lack of wondrous objects, and A4, the egg of death (or love), are not present in the Beaver myths. Both are much more specific than the other four functions.

B function, the connective incident, or mediation is found in all ten myths. According to Propp, this function does a number of things, for example; it makes known the misfortune or lack, the hero is approached, and allowed to depart or is dispatched, it brings the hero into the tale, and lastly, the hero's departure from home is caused by the action at this point in the story. Obviously not all these functions can occur simultaneously. For example, although each B function always involves the hero, it does not necessarily introduce him into the story. In nine out of ten times the hero is already involved in the tale. Only once does B4, announcement of misfortune in various forms, bring the hero into the tale. According to Propp, B1 to B4

are used in tales with a seeker hero, while B^5 to B^7 are used in tales with a victimized hero. However, in the Beaver myths we find that in myths #5 and 10 functions B^3 , release, and B^1 , call for help, are used respectively with the victimized heroes. Thus this does not follow Propp's rule. All tasks or actions showing initiative have been interpreted in terms of B, mainly for lack of a more appropriate function. It is interesting to note that in four of the Usakindji tales we have employed a general B function, and the other two have been used incorrectly according to Propp's rule. The other four tales, #1, 2, 6 and 9, which are not Usakindji tales, employ the B function, according to Propp's rule. All mediating functions have been utilized except two, B^6 , hero released, and B^7 , a lament. Finally, we should point out that each myth contains only one mediating function. We do not have two moves in one tale, each with a B function. The B function always occurs in the more complete of the two moves in each tale consisting of more than one move.

C function, consent to counteraction, is used with the seeker hero only, and according to Propp's rule should then be found in tales #1, 6 and 9, which accurately they are. As Propp observes, although the hero does not always request permission to go on a search, as is the case with these myths, a volitional decision precedes the search. Because consent to counteraction is found in conjunction with a seeker hero, the difference between the victim hero and the seeker hero becomes rather important in these tales. Usakindji could easily be a seeker hero in tales 7 and 8, as in these two tales he makes a decision to track someone. However, his decision to track Moon Man and Mosquito Man occur in the preparatory section of both myths, and the morphological element, reconnaissance, is employed in both instances. Therefore, the Usakindji tales are all defined in terms of victimized hero myths. We would have a very different result if Usakindji was considered a seeker hero. However, Usakindji is a victimized hero

because something happens to him enroute, and he merely accommodates the action. Due to this difference in positioning, C function is found only three times in the Beaver tales. Function \uparrow , departure, represents dispatch of the hero, and shows his route regardless of whether or not he is a seeker or victimized hero, and is found tentimes in seven myths. In two of the seeker tales, departure is employed three times in tale #1 and twice in tale #9. In both these tales departure indicates another aspect of the myth, but since a new lack or villany was not introduced, a new move was not created. Instead they both continue actions based on the initial villany. This function is also used in three of the Usakindji tales #3, 4, and 5 for lack of a better function. In all three tales, the motif depicts Usakindji's decision to trap the villain, and his subsequent preparation. C, consent to counteraction, and \uparrow are found together in tales #1, 6 and 9 only. Interestingly enough, these are the only tales that are hero seeker tales. The function, \uparrow is also employed whether or not spatial transference takes place. In terms of \uparrow function, only tale #2 indicates a unique action. (In this case Wabshu is a banished hero, transported by his father). Usually this spatial transference in which the hero is transferred, delivered or led to the whereabouts of the object of search is defined in terms of G function, which is also considered as a natural continuation of \uparrow . We find function G only twice in the Beaver myths. In tale #1 we find that Old Man Owl is led to his daughter, and in tale #3 we see that the hero is carried. The other four morphological elements of this function are not utilized. Therefore, unless the object of a search lies either vertically or horizontally far away, departure is utilized as opposed to the function for spatial transference.

As far as the ABC complication is concerned, this complete sequence is found in three tales; #1, 6 and 9. These three tales, we might note, are

the only seeker hero tales in the Beaver Corpora. The victimized hero tales, according to Propp would not carry C function. Of these tales the sequence $AB\uparrow$ is found in three tales out of seven, AB is found four times; $A\uparrow$ is not found at all, nor is $B\uparrow$. A function alone is found six times out of a total of seventeen possibilities. Thus it seems that this $ABC\uparrow$ sequence or the $AB\uparrow$ was completed as often as we might assume. Thus far the seeker tales seem to be more complete according to Proppian analysis.

We find that D function, or the first function of the donor appears ten times in the Beaver myths, twice in myths #1 and 2, once in the other tales except #3 and 4, where it does not appear at all. Of the fifteen available functions, we have utilized only six. Although we have fourteen motifs besides function D from which to choose, Function D is employed three times for lack of an appropriate function in relation to the Beaver myths. Both forms of D^7 are also general forms of this function.

Propp states that the donor is usually encountered accidentally. However, this does not hold true in the Beaver tales, except for tale #10, and perhaps #5, where Usakindji meets a bear. In tale #2, Nahata appears, not accidentally, but deliberately. In tale #9, Boy Moose may have come across his totem accidentally, but we are given no indication of this in the myth. In other tales, the donor is already involved in the action of the tale. Furthermore, in none of the tales does the donor give the hero a magical object which permits the liquidation of the misfortune. We find that the donor in most of the tales supplies the hero with information. Even in tale #10, the donor supplies the hero with information in exchange for a collar.

Propp notes that often the hero copes without any helpers, and becomes his own helper. In these circumstances, the hero takes on the characteristics of the donor. For example, one of the attributes of a helper

is his prophetic wisdom. When a helper is absent from the tale, this quality is transferred to the hero, with the result being a prophetic hero. We come close to this idea in tale #6, move 1, when the girl's brother dreams of his sister's whereabouts. However, in the Beaver tales, the donor is usually separate from either the hero or the villain except in tales #5 and #8, where the villain is also a donor, and in tale #7 where the hero is his own donor.

Propp also points out that converse of the above idea, where a helper may perform those functions which are specific for the hero. This occurs in tale #1. Little Owl and Owl Boy search for Old Man Owl's daughter, but do not find her. When the hero, Old Man Owl searches for his daughter, he finds her.

The reaction of the hero, or E function, also occurs ten times in the Beaver myths, but we employ only four of the twelve available motifs. We find that a D function does not always have a corresponding E function, or positive or negative reaction of the hero. For example, in tales #1, 6 and 10 this discrepancy is exhibited only once by each, while in the other seven tales the hero reacts according to the actions of the donor.

Function F, the provision or receipt of a magical agent or helper, occurs only six times in the Beaver myths, and four of the sixteen available functions are utilized. F^2 or the function in which the agent is pointed out is employed twice, once in tale #2 and once in #10. Both these tales interestingly enough, have productive donors. F^- , the agent is not transferred, is also utilized twice in these myths, once in tale #2 and in tale #6. In both instances, the request for a favour after death is not fulfilled, although the circumstances are different.

Functions F^7 , the agent is drunk or eaten, and F^8 , the agent is seized, are employed once each in the myths. Although both these functions

the hero killing and eating a bear, in tale #8, Usakindji steals the bear from the villain. The other four F functions are fulfilled by function K, which will be discussed along with function K, therefore, each DEF sequence is completed.

DEF is an interesting sequence and is called a sphere of action of the donor. This sometimes occurs as what Propp refers to as an inverted sequence, where these three functions occur before the villainy. Propp states that the usual tale presents a misfortune at first and then the receipt of a helper who liquidated it, whereas an inverted sequence gives the receipt of a helper at first and then the misfortune which is liquidated by him. In tale #2, we have a slightly different example. A request for a favour after death is made, but is not fulfilled, which forms the basis of the myth.

When we consider the DEF functions together, a large variety of combinations become apparent. Propp distinguishes between two types; Type I exhibits unfriendly or deceived donors "who unwillingly furnish the hero with something" (Propp, 1968:48). Type II exhibits friendly donors with the exception of those who surrender a magical agent unwillingly or after a fight. In the Beaver tales we find five type two sequences and one type one sequence in tale #8. Moreover, tales #3 and #7 might have also been type one sequences had they been more complete.

We see that function H, struggle, and its counterpart, I, defeat of villain, are found nine times in nine myths. The first two motifs, fight in an open field, and a competition are used exclusively, with H^1 found three times and H^2 six times. A general function H was not necessary here, as the two motifs were general enough to include all interpretations encountered in the myths. Functions H^3 , a game of cards, and H^4 , weighing, were not

appropriate in these stories. We find that functions I^{1-4} inclusive sequentially correspond to functions H^{1-4} inclusive. Besides this, we have two more I functions from which to choose, ie. the killing of the villain without a fight, and the expulsion of the villain. However, it is interesting to note that the HI functions remain in relatively tight pairs, except in one instance, where we have $H^2 I^5$, and in this case the myth states that Wolverine Man cannot fight back. However $H^2 I^2$ would also be acceptable. We should point out that in five of the six H^2 functions, competition or contest entails the outwitting of an antagonist as opposed to a straight foreward battle. Although the hero loses the competition in tale #4, disharmony is not created, as Usakindji is able to take revenge.

MN, a difficult task and its solution sometimes found by itself in tales, or as a move II sequence, does not occur in the Beaver myths.

Function K, the liquidation of lack or misfortune is found ten times in seven Beaver corpora. Of the 13 available motifs, also including the general function, only two are employed, K^1 , direct acquisition through the application of force or cunning, employed nine times, and K^3 , acquisition achieved with the help of an enticement of decoys, employed once. The majority of the motifs were not as appropriate as K^1 seemed to be. For example none related to the use of magical agents were used; therefore, motifs such as K^5 , misfortune, is done away with instantly through the use of a magical agent, K^6 , poverty, is done away with through the use of a magical agent, and K^8 , the breaking of a spell, were employed. It is interesting to note that K^1 is used in all the Usakindji tales except tale #7, where KF is used. We find that this combined function occurs in the three tales that do not employ K function. KF^1 , the object of the search is transferred, is employed twice in two different tales, while KF^2 , the object of the search if pointed out,

occurs twice in one tale, and KF^7 , the object of the search is captured, is used once. We might take notice that k and KF do not occur together in the same tale. Also, KF , in four out of five instances, completes a DE sequence conversely. Function K is more often found in conjunction with HI than with DEF . In only one tale do we find both DEF and HI and K together in the same move.

According to Propp, the \downarrow function, or return of the hero, is accomplished in the same form as an arrival. We find ten \uparrow functions, or departures, and only five returns. However, in only two tales do we have a departure without a return. In these Usakindji tales, it is implied by the nature of the myth that Usakindji would merely continue on his journey. In the Beaver tales the return was not as obvious as the departure, and therefore, was only employed where mentioned in the myth. According to Propp, the return of the hero is accomplished in the same form as a departure. Considering the five tales that employ \uparrow and \downarrow , the hero does in fact return in the same way that he departed, although as stated earlier, not as much mention is given this action. Propp also states that a return indicates a surmounting of space, which is not always true in the case of a departure, as this also designates the route of the hero, whether or not there is a spatial transference of the hero. Therefore, these two functions do not seem to be exactly correlated and thus they would not be expected to appear equally. In myths #7, 8 and 10, which are all Usakindji tales, we do not find either a departure or return function. Tale #4 is the only Usakindji tale that employs this pair appropriately.

The functions of pursuit and rescue will be considered together, although the motifs for each are not sequentially correlated. Pursuit, or Pr^6 , an attempt to destroy the hero, is found in tales #1 and 9, while rescue, or Rs^9 , rescue or salvation from being destroyed, and Rs^6 , series of transformations

into animals, plants, and stones, are present in tales 1 and 9 respectively. Although there are seven pursuit motifs and ten rescue motifs from which to choose, some of these seem to be too particular to fit the Beaver corpora. It is also interesting to note that neither of the tales in which pursuit and rescue are found are Usakindji tales.

Recognition of the hero or function Q is found only twice in one tale. In this instance, the hero was recognized by his brother only after he assumed his human form, as opposed to that of the moose. Actually, this function is employed for lack of a better one, as this function does not seem particularly important to the main part of the tale in which it is found. Furthermore, Q does not correspond to function J, branding or marking of the hero, as Propp mentions it does in some cases.

Transfiguration is also only used twice, once in tale #2 and once in tale #9. In both cases, T^1 , new physical appearance, is employed. The other motifs of this function, such as the building of a palace, new garments, humorous and rationalized forms, do not manifest themselves.

Punishment, U, of the villain occurs seven times in the six Beaver tales. Propp states that usually only the villain of the second move and the false hero are punished, while the first villain is punished only in those cases in which a battle and pursuit are absent from the story. (Propp, 1968:63). Otherwise, the villain is killed in battle or perishes during pursuit. The few Beaver myths we have indicate compliance with this. For example in tale #7, we see that Moon Man is punished in the last move, whereas he is pardoned in the first move. In five out of six instances, the villain is punished in the second move as opposed to the first move. In the one myth where the villain

is punished in the first move, rather than the second move, there is a question as to whether this should be two separate myths. Furthermore, we see that function U does not occur in either of the one move tales, nor in the one three move tale. However, this three move tale is a rather incomplete version of a multi-move tale.

Function W, wedding and accession to the throne, also forms the denouement alone with U. Two W motifs are found in two different myths, one in conjunction with a U function and one not. Both W functions refer to W^0 , monetary reward and other forms of material gain at the denouement, as opposed to the other six motifs. It is interesting to note that the myths end with a form of punishment more often than they do a form of marriage. This W function in both myths refers to a general gain for others, ie, in Tale #5, the animals are given their fat, and in tale #7, the moon is placed in the sky.

Of Propp's thirty-one functions, six are not utilized. These are O, unrecognized arrival, L, Claims of false hero, M, difficult task and N, solution, J, branding or marking of the hero, and Ex, exposure of the false hero. One might also note that OL form a pair as do MN and J Ex.

With regards to MN, Propp notes that H1 is a typical first move while MN is a typical second or repeated move. In the Beaver two move tales, HI is found only twice in the first move, in the other five tales, HI is found in the second move. It is interesting to note also that the DEF sequences is found in three of the five tales' first moves. Since the distinction between MN, HI, and DEF is sometimes very vague, we can understand how DEF can also be considered along with MN and HI.

O and L are not employed in the myths as none of the stories continue in any detail after the climax of the tale. Usually the Beaver tales

are resolved rather quickly after this point. J and Ex are also, to a degree, another elaboration that the Beaver myths do not indulge in. Although Ex is supposedly connected with Q, recognition, it is not found as a pair in the Beaver tales.

X, for unclear or alien forms, is employed once in the Beaver myths in tale #2. This function could be regarded as a form of reward more than anything else, as the end of the tale states that Wabshu performed a service to mankind, in that he killed all the monsters that ate people, thus making the earth a safer place on which to live. Also, he prophesied that some day Usakindji would return. Propp does not have a function for this. Thus, from only thirty-one functions, a relatively detailed analysis has been completed.

II 3.i) PROPP, ALASKAN ANALYSIS AND NOTES

Move

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|--|--|
| 1 | α | Initial situation | Introduction, description of the Bear |
| 1 | A ¹⁷ | threat of cannibalism | the Bear chases the man with the intent to devour him |
| 1 | B ³ | departure | the man tries to escape |
| 1 | H | hero struggles with villain | the Bear attempts to catch the man |
| 1 | I ⁵ | the killing of the villain without a fight | the man lures the bear between two ice cakes where he becomes stuck. The man then kills the bear |
| 1 | K ¹ | liquidation of misfortune through cunning | threat of bear liquidated |

The hero in this tale is the man, a victimized hero because he is the character "who either suffers directly from the action of the villain in the complication or who agrees to liquidate the misfortune or lack of another person" (Propp, 1968:50).

Function B³, departure, for the connective incident is employed when the man decides that he should flee from the bear. Since this is a fairly simple tale, there is no dispatch of the hero from home, or a designation of his route. It ends when the climax is reached.

At first the H1 situation seems more like a DEF sequence, with the bear as a hostile donor. However, as Propp states, the two forms can be distinguished from each other by their results. "If the hero obtains an agent for the purpose of further searching, as the result of an unfriendly encounter,

this would be element D, whereas on the other hand, if the hero receives through victory, the very object of his quest, we have a situation H". (Propp, 1968:52). The H1 situation is also like a Pr Rs situation, but then is not due to its position in the tale. If this pair of functions were found in another tale perhaps they might have another morphological meaning. As Propp says, "the means by which functions are fulfilled influence one another and that identical forms adapt themselves to different functions. A certain form is transferred to a different position, acquiring a new meaning, or simultaneously retaining an old one" (Propp, 1968:70).

#2 The Beginning of the Winds

Move

| | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 | A ¹ | lack of child | the parents have no children |
| 1 | B ² | dispatch | wife requests that husband go to the tundra for wood with which to carve a doll |
| 1 | C | consent to counteraction | Husband agrees to above |
| 1 | ↑ | departure of hero | Husband leaves home |
| 1 | G ⁴ | route shown to hero | path of light appears |
| 1 | D | first function of the donor | Husband walks to a small tree on the tundra |

Move

| | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|--|
| I | E | Positive reaction of hero | hero follows path of light |
| I | F ³ | the agent is prepared | the Husband takes a piece of the wood |
| I | ↓ | return of the hero | Husband returns |
| I | K ⁴ | liquidation of misfortune Direct result of previous action | Both Husband and Wife are happy with the doll and treat it as a child |
| II | ↑ _a ⁼¹ | departure of doll, therefore, lack of such | the doll leaves home |
| II | G ⁴ | route shown to the hero | Doll comes to path of light and follows it |
| II | K ¹⁰ | release from captivity | Doll finds the reindeer, wind and the weather |
| II | ° ° ° | trebling | |
| II | ↓ | return of the hero | the doll returns to the village |
| II | T ¹ | new physical appearance | Doll becomes a human |
| II | W ⁰ ° ° | forms of material gain, trebled | He teaches the Eskimo people the custom of wearing masks, gives them winds, and teaches parents to make dolls for their children |

The hero in this tale, according to Propp, is the man, or husband. He is a seeker hero as a search is his goal and he also attempts to alleviate he and his wife's childless situation. It is "the hero's intentions that create the axis of the narrative," and the hero "who agrees to liquidate the lack of another person" (Propp, 1968:50). If the man is left as the hero

throughout the myth, it becomes difficult to decide what Boy - Doll is. The Boy - Doll may be viewed as an extension of the father. Because he cannot perform supernatural feats, Boy-Doll does them. Propp states that when a helper is absent from the tale this quality is transferred to the hero, the result being a prophetic hero. If this quality cannot be transferred for some reason, to the hero, then someone else must perform the tasks for him. The Doll-Boy performs the actions for the husband that he is unable to do. Thus the man's actions are transferred onto the Doll-Boy. Conversely a helper at times may perform those functions which are specific for the hero. Another reason Doll-Boy is not considered a donor in the second move is because, with his freeing of the winds and reindeer, and with his return, the tale ends abruptly. It is implied that he becomes a normal child.

It is interesting to note that not until move two, when the return of the hero, and the liquidation of misfortune are put into their correct sequence do they prove to be productive functions of the tale.

The lack in move one and move two, although about the same character, are different in that in move one the husband and wife are lacking a child; in move two they are lacking the doll. The liquidation of the lack in move one is realized by the K function, whereas in move two function a and K do not seem to form a pair, and the lack of Doll is not dealt with, rather Doll returns of his own accord after the reindeer and the wind have been released. By implication, then, it seems that a lack of the reindeer and wind should also be given consideration in the analysis. However, since the acting hero finds them along his journey as opposed to searching for them, they are not considered as initially lacking.

#3 Little Man of the Tundra

Move

| | | | |
|----|--------------|---|---|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction of father and mother moon |
| 1 | a^6 | lack of information | There are two moons and no stars Father moon is curious as to what lies over the Northern horizon |
| 11 | a^6 | lack of stars and information) | |
| 1 | B^4 | announcement of misfortune | Father Moon complains that they only travel from east to west and never from north to south |
| 1 | C | consent to counteraction | he decides to find out what lies over the horizon |
| 1 | \uparrow | departure of the hero from home | Father Moon leaves for the Northern horizon |
| 1 | H^1 | Hero struggles with villain, or fight in an open field | Father Moon feels the grip of a terrible hand |
| 1 | I^1 | victory over villain | Father Moon receives a warning from Little Man of the Tundra |
| 1 | K^{10} | release from captivity | Father Moon is set free |
| 1 | \downarrow | return of hero | He returns home |
| 11 | y^2 | command | Little Man of the Tundra commands that Father Moon never again leave his place in the sky |
| 11 | δ^1 | violation | Father Moon does so anyway at a later date |
| 11 | B^4 | announcement of misfortune | Father Moon grows bored with his present situation of travelling across the sky |

Move

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 11 | G | consent to counteraction | He decides to see what lies beyond the south horizon |
| 11 | ↑ | hero leaves home, departure | Father Moon leaves Mother Moon |
| 11 | H ¹ | fight in an open field | Father Moon struggles with Tundra |
| 11 | I ¹⁻ | victory in open battle | Father moon loses |
| 11 | U ⁻ | Punishment of villain | Father Moon is punished for disobeying Tundra |
| 1&11 | T ¹ | new physical appearance | Father Moon is ground up into dust - stars |

The hero in this tale is Father Moon, a seeker hero, as his intentions create the axis of the story. Although he does not agree to liquidate both lacks he is necessary for its execution. Father Moon inadvertently later liquidates the lack of stars by exploring the southern horizon. Both lacks occur at the same time, but are separated for the purpose of the analysis. In other words, on the one hand, the lack of information occurs in the two moves. In the first move Father Moon wants to determine what is over the northern horizon; in the second move he wants to find out what is over the southern horizon. On the other hand, the lack of stars is only dealt with in addition to the lack of information in the second move. Both lacks are liquidated by one action, the destruction of Father Moon, one in a negative manner and the other in a positive or constructive fashion.

Little Man of the Tundra is construed as the villain simply because of his functional position in relation to Father Moon. Furthermore, the punishment of the villain is also considered in this same light, as in this case it is the hero that is categorized as the villain. A negative sign after the function U best indicates that punishment of the villain did not occur, but instead, punishment of the hero. In other words, the function was slightly modified to suit the changes in the roles of the dramatis personae. We must also consider that we have a reversal of roles. In Move 1 Father Moon is the hero, and Tundra, the villain. In move 11 Father Moon becomes the villain and Tundra the hero. As Propp states, the position of the dramatis personae in relation to each other, and their position in the tale defines what their function will be.

#4 The Poor Boy and the Northern Lights

Move

| | | | |
|----|------------|---|---|
| 1 | α | initial situation | Introduction |
| 1 | a^1 | lack of a family | Poor Boy has no family and no one to take care of him |
| 1 | d^7 | the possibility of rendering service | The rich woman supplies Poor Boy with food |
| 1 | E^2 | friendly response | Poor Boy accepts the woman's charity |
| 1 | f^1 | the gift is of a material nature | He receives food and clothing |
| 1 | \S | connectives | Poor Boy receives new boots, pants and parka |
| 1 | A^1 | kidnapping of a person | Poor Boy is kidnapped by Walrus |
| 1 | \uparrow | departure | Poor Boy is taken through the air by Walrus |
| 11 | D | first function of the donor | Poor Boy is taken to the place of Walrus spirits |
| 11 | E^- | negative reaction of hero | Poor Boy does not want to stay there |
| 11 | $F^1,$ | the agent is transferred | Poor Boy remembers the song of his spirit helpers |
| 11 | B^7 | lament or plaintiff song | Poor Boy sings his song |
| 11 | K^5 | misfortune is done away with through the use of a magical agent | Poor Boy begins to leave the sky |

Move

| | | | |
|----|----------------|--|---|
| 11 | ↓ | return of the hero | Poor Boy finds his way back to his village |
| 11 | W ⁰ | forms of material gain at the denouement | Poor Boy gains the ability to help his people and himself, and he also gains a family |

The hero in this tale is Poor Boy, more a victimized hero because the action happens to him. He does not have a search as his goal, but we find him in the initial situation, lacking a family as well as adequate food, coping as best he can.

Move 1 is interrupted with the kidnapping of Poor Boy. Function A is considered more appropriate than function G, transference to a designated place, because Poor Boy resists at the time of abduction, and also, the myth repeats the last sequence of the first move while continuing with the story plot. Furthermore, G is a natural continuation of the function , departure, which is not present in the first move.

We find that the DEF sequence is before the mediating function, which is necessary before Poor Boy can leave the Walrus' abode. The sole purpose of the DEF sequence is to supply Poor Boy with this mediating function.

The final function W⁰, other forms of material gain at the denouement, concludes both move 1 and 11. Poor Boy does not gain a family until he acquires a magical agent or helper. Although at the beginning of the tale it is stated that he has no mother or father, Poor Boy finally acquires a mother. Perhaps this is considered a basic family unit. W function does not relate back to Poor Boy's kidnapping as it does to his lack of a family in move 1. In move 11 function W is more general in that he gains the ability to assist his people.

We might also note that although Poor Boy's return is through the air, the same means by which he departed, his return is described in more detail than his departure. Usually we find that the departure is more elaborately described. This is an interesting change, and we wonder whether another version would uphold this observation.

#5 The Dwarfs of Hawkins Island

Move

| | | | |
|---|------------|--|--|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 | ψ^1 | interdiction | the Dwarfs tell the men not to harm them |
| 1 | $*D^7$ | other requests with preliminary helpless situation of persons making request | The Dwarfs ask the Man to help them kill a whale and a Bear |
| 1 | E^7 | fulfillment of request | The Men help the Dwarfs |
| 1 | δ^1 | interdiction violated | The Men kidnap the Dwarfs |
| 1 | A^1 | kidnapping of a person | the men kidnap the Dwarfs as they want to be lucky |
| 1 | D^5 | request for mercy | The Dwarfs plead for freedom; The men are unable to leave the camp |
| 1 | E^4 | freeing of a captive | The men free the kidnapped Dwarfs so that they can return home |
| 1 | F^1 | the agent is transferred | The men receive the gift of luck |
| 1 | K^8 | breaking of spell | The men are able to return home |
| 1 | | return of the hero(s) | The men return home to their village |
| 1 | W^0 | material gain | Inference that anyone who laid eyes on Dwarfs became lucky |

The heroes in this story are the two men, and are considered more victimized heroes than seeker heroes because they encountered adventure along the course of their journey rather than leaving home in search of something or someone. Furthermore, they fit Propp's definition stating the hero is that character who either directly or indirectly suffers from the action of the villain in the complication or who agrees to liquidate the misfortune or lack of someone or something. Also the heroes are supplied with a magical agent, luck. In this tale, since there does not appear to be any actual villain, and since the heroes are not committed to liquidate any definite lack, they were determined by their receipt of a magical agent, luck due to having seen the small people.

In the initial situation, we find the two men hunting. According to Propp, we should, therefore, know that since the initial situation introduces the members of a single family as well as the hero, the two men might be father and son or brothers, and the heroes of the tale. However, another version of the myth might prove or disprove this point. Also in the initial situation, we find the two men hunting, which indicates a lack of food, but at the close of the tale, the two men do not return with food, they return with luck, which may be considered a more indirect way of catching game.

This tale appears to be somewhat broken up by the separation of the pair interdiction and violation. However, the interdiction creates the movement of the tale and leads to the eventual villany by the heroes. According to Propp, it would seem that the hero and heroic action and the villain and villainous action are mutually exclusive, but this tale is somewhat different, in that the villainous action is attempted by the heroes.

Furthermore, the Dwarfs are the donors as well as those kidnapped. They are not the heroes, nor are they the villains, interestingly enough. We

find that the two characters in the tale are performing the functions necessary, which are usually specific for other characters.

The DEF sequence is defined as such rather than as an H1 situation because the two men, who are both hero and villain, attempt to kidnap the donors (Dwarfs). Rather than a struggle between villain and hero, this is a test of the hero by the donor.

We discover two cases of doubling rather than trebling in the tale; for example, two heroes and two dwarfs. Also, the two DE situations are an example of doubling. The DEF sequence is completed in its third appearance in the tale. We have, in conclusion, a rather straight forward one move myth.

#6 The Mountain Which Fought a Battle

Move

| | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 1 | α | initial situation | Introduction |
| 1 | A ⁹ | declaration of war | The mountains decide to battle to determine who is the most powerful. They spew rocks at one another |
| 1 | C | volitional decision | The two surviving mountains decide to find out who is the stronger |
| 1 | H ² | contest | They spew fire and rocks at one another, and continue until their energy is spent |
| 1 | I ² | victory in a contest | The mountain Makusinkaia is the victor |

This short tale, upon first reading, would seem to deny any application of Propp. However, the hero in this tale can be determined as that character who actually suffers from the action of the villain in the complication or who agrees to liquidate a misfortune. The Makusinkaia mountain agreed to duel to find out who was the stronger of the mountains.

We find no spatial transference to the mountains, therefore, neither departure nor transference to a designated place are employed.

This tale contains four functions, and it almost seems incomplete. The three most important functions which compose the core of the tale are A, and the pair HI. This pair is employed as opposed to MN because the confrontation consists of an actual battle between the mountains. No mountain is labelled as either the hero or the villain although it is determined that Makusinkaia is the hero of the tale.

#7 The Chilkat Blanket

Move

| | | | |
|---|------------|---|--|
| 1 | α | initial situation | Introduction, many women are picking berries in the forest |
| 1 | η^1 | deceitful persuasions of the villain | A youth persuades the Chief's daughter to live with him |
| 1 | θ^1 | hero reacts to persuasions of villain | She agrees to go with the youth |
| 1 | A^{15} | detention | She is unable to leave of her own free will |
| 1 | B^1 | call for help | She calls to a fisherman for assistance |
| 1 | $*D^7$ | request, with preliminary helpless situation of person making the request | The fisherman says she must be his wife |
| 1 | E^7 | fulfillment of request | The chief's daughter agrees to his request |
| 1 | H^1 | fight in an open field | Gonaquade't (the fisherman) meets Bear-husband in battle |
| 1 | I^1 | victory in open battle | Gonaquade't kills the Bear by hitting him on the forehead with his club |
| 1 | G^2 | the hero rides | She rides in the fisherman's boat to his home |
| 1 | \S | connectives | She is happy and they have a son |
| 1 | D^7 | requests | Mother requests to return home, and Gonaquade't requests that she not forget him |
| 1 | E^+ | reaction of hero to request | The chief's daughter agrees to his request |
| 1 | FK^{10} | released from captivity | Gonaquade't releases her after receiving a beautiful chilkat blanket |

| | | |
|------|----------------|--|
| Move | | |
| 1 | ↓ | return of the hero |
| | | She returns home with her son |
| 1 | W ⁰ | reward |
| 11 | a ⁶ | lack of knowledge |
| | | Raven is collection knowledge to make life on earth possible |
| 11 | C | volitional decision |
| | | Raven is doing this of his own accord |
| 11 | ↑ | route of hero |
| | | He travels all over the world |
| 11 | D ² | greeting |
| | | Raven greets Gonaquade't |
| 11 | E ² | friendly response |
| | | Gonaquade't treats Raven very courteously |
| 11 | f ¹ | the agent is transferred |
| | | Gonaquade't gives Raven the blanket and |
| 11 | W ⁰ | reward |
| | | Raven in turn takes it to the people |

The hero in move one of this tale is the Chief's daughter as the action of the story is developed after her. She is also a victimized hero as she encounters adventures without going in search of them. As Propp states, had there been a seeker sent after her, the route followed by the story and on which the action is developed, would have been that of the hero seeker; however, the narrative is instead developed after the victimized hero.

The hero of move 11 is Raven. He is a seeker hero. Although he is not looking for a lost person, he is looking for knowledge. His departure from home was due to a search as opposed to being on a journey and encountering a situation.

Because there are two different heroes, the Chief's daughter in move one, and Raven in move two, we question whether or not this myth could be also interpreted as two separate myths.

The mediating function does not bring the hero into the tale, but the donor. Also the woman is seen in the initial situation with a group of other women, not her immediate family.

The first of two DE sequences is interesting, because it is questionable as to whether or not this is actually a DEF sequence. Nevertheless, the two sequences are similar in other ways. In both cases the Chief's daughter makes a request of Gonaquade't, and he makes a request of her. In each case she fulfills the request made of her, and then hers is granted. The second DEF sequence could be considered a doubling of the first DE sequence, as it is not separate enough, nor is there an A or a function to accompany it to comprise a new move. The second DEF sequence introduces the chilkat blanket into the tale.

We find that the H1 pair is also interesting as the donor fights the villain on behalf of the hero and is victorious. This incident complicates the narrative. Had the hero fought her own battle and won, the tale would have consisted of a straight foreward H1 complication.

#8 The Moose, The Sheep and The Cariboo

Move

| | | |
|------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 a^6 | lack of agreement | No one can decide who will be chief |
| 1 C | volitional decision | They decide to have contests |

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Move | | |
| 1 H ² | competition | Sheep wins in counting hairs, Sheep has hardest bones, Sheep is able to survive cold weather better than Moose or Cariboo |
| 1 H ² | victory | Sheep wins all competitions |
| 1 K | liquidation of misfortune or lack | Sheep suggests that they give up the idea of one chief and become brothers. Moose and Cariboo agree |

It is difficult to determine the hero in a tale such as this. On the one hand all three dramatis personae try to liquidate the misfortune. None of them suffer from the action of a villain, nor are any of them suffering from the action of the villain. It is not until the three engage in three competitions that we are able to determine that Sheep not only is the victor, but he also presents an acceptable solution to their dilemma.

The complication is one of H1 rather than MN as their confrontation is more competitive with one another than it is anything else. They are not solving a difficult task, rather they are vying with one another to become chief. Although Propp states that a competitive situation requires a hero and a villain, the dramatis personae are not that clearly defined, and this tale illustrates that a hero and villain are not as important as a competitive situation.

The form of this myth is similar to tale #6. It is interesting to note that the former tale is reduced to an argument between two mountains as to whom is superior, while this myth deals with the superiority of three animals. The sequence H12 describes both confrontations, even though in tale #6 the mountains battle it out, and in this tale they reach an agreement by peaceful means.

It is interesting to note that of the twelve available motifs for

function K, the general form is used, as there is not a motif that is more suitable in this case.

#9 Alder People and Sun People

Move

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|---|
| 1 | α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 | A ¹⁹ | declaration of war | Alder people killed woman's people |
| 11 | a ¹ | lack of husband | The mother's daughter has no husband |
| 1&11 | B ⁷ | announcement of misfortune in various forms | The mother cries for a long time |
| 1&11 | C | volitional decision | Woman wants revenge through her daughter's husband. Mother refuses daughter's suitors |
| 1&11 | M | difficult task | The Sun Man is unable to obtain the daughter unless he is able to do something great |
| 1&11 | N | solution | Sun Man causes the rivers to boil and heats the mountains |
| 11 | K | liquidation of misfortune | Sun Man is successful in impressing the woman. The mother has now found a suitable husband for her daughter |
| 11 | W ¹ | promised marriage | The woman gives her daughter to Sun Man |
| 1 | U | punishment | The woman is unable to persuade Sun Man into taking revenge |

The initial situation finds us with a basic family unit, a woman and her daughter. In this tale the hero, according to Propp, would be the woman as she is the character who plans to revenge her brothers' deaths by firstly liquidating her daughter's misfortune, which is lack of a husband. She would be more a seeker hero than a victimized hero even though she does not leave her home.

In this tale Propp's rule defining a function according to its consequences would be applied in determining the MN complication. If the receipt of a magical agent follows the solution of a task, it is the donor testing the hero, but if the receipt of a bride and a marriage follow, then it is an example of MN. However, it is not the hero that marries, but the hero's daughter. We can see that in this story it is very important to the mother to find her daughter a husband, so that he can be of assistance to both of them. The mother is perhaps too old to find another husband.

This is an interesting tale in that there are two moves closely interwoven with each other, The villany and the separate lack that are both clearly mentioned in the initial situation determine the two moves, and the denouements for the two moves also help in defining them, otherwise each incident that occurs in the myth has a double purpose.

The tale is at first deceptive because of the thirteen additional incidents, the purpose of which is to lengthen the myth. After these are considered, the tale appears rather simple, but is eventually revealed to be very compact and succinct.

#10 Adventures of Raven

Move

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1 α | initial situation | introduction |
| 1 $\overset{0}{0}A^4$ | theft of daylight | A rich man kept the daylight, the sun and the moon |
| 1 B | introduction of villain and family | A discussion of the rich man's servants who took care of his beautiful daughter |
| 1 C | consent to counteraction | Raven decides to capture the daylight |
| 1 \uparrow | departure of hero | Raven leaves home and travels many miles |
| 1 \S | connectives | Raven arrives at his destination, and talks to the chief's daughter. |
| 1 D^7 | other requests | Raven thinks the Chief's daughter is beautiful and asks her to marry him |
| 1 E^- | the hero's reaction | Raven has to make other plans by which to retrieve the daylight |
| 1 G^2 | the hero is carried | Raven changes into a spruce needle which the Chief's daughter drinks |
| 1 D^7 | other requests | Raven, as grandson of Chief, re- three boxes containing the stars, sun and moon respectively |
| 1 $\overset{0}{0}E^-$ | hero's reaction | Raven cries each time he is refused and therefore upsets the Chief who does not like to see his grandson unhappy. |

Move

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 F^1 | the agent is transferred | Raven receives the stars, sun and the moon respectively |
| 1 $\overset{0}{\underset{0}{K}}^1$ | liquidation of misfortune through cunning | Raven frees the three items, and throws the sun into the sky |
| 1 \downarrow | return of hero | Raven returns home |

The initial situation prepares the setting of this tale and introduces us to Raven, the seeker hero. B function, mediation, does not bring the hero or his family into the tale in this case, but does elaborate on the extent of the misfortune as well as introduce the villain and his family to the story.

The transformations in this myth are not considered the same as function T, transfiguration, mainly because the transfiguration is temporary, while function T indicates a more permanent change. Furthermore, although Raven may assume a new role with his new form, his purpose does not change. There has been no liquidation of the problem, and his goal remains the same. The only change is in Raven's appearance, which has little bearing on the overall plot of the narrative. As we may recall, it is not important who acts, but the action itself that is important.

The Chief's daughter could be considered a deceived donor, because she unwillingly and unknowingly furnished the hero with a means of gaining access to the stars, sun and moon. It is interesting to note that the DEF sequence is used twice in this tale and both after the initial situation. Applying the functions in this manner seem to be the most efficient method of describing the tale according to Proppian analysis. The sequence is not

completed until Raven's second attempt to attain the stars, sun and moon.

Raven returns home not only by the same route he came, which was through a hole in the sky, but he also goes through the same transformations; although his departure and journey to his destination is more descriptive of his transformations, his return journey indicates similar transformations, as the tale mentions that he put on his raven skin again. We must assume, therefore, that he changed into man and walked when he was tired of flying, and changed into Raven and flew when he was tired of walking.

We find that trebling is very prevalent in this story. Propp notes that trebling may occur among individual details of a tale as well as among individual functions, and pairs of functions. The Repetition, he further notes, is usually uniform, for instance, three tasks demand three solutions. He also notes that in cases such as this the last task and solution are the most difficult.

Upon analysis this is a much simpler tale than it appears to be. The various roles that Raven assumes at first tend to make the plot more complicated than it actually is.

II 3 ii) PROPP'S RESULTS - ALASKAN MYTHS

If we refer to tale 11 we are able to see the metalinguistic strings that Propp's analysis, as applied to the Alaskan myths, discloses. It becomes apparent that all the Alaskan tales employ at least one morphological element in their preparatory sections, and usually it is simply α , initial situation. This function appears in all the Alaskan tales. We find only three pairs of other morphological elements in these tales, which are two interdictions and their violations, and one pair of trickery and complicity. It is interesting to note that in both instances, where an order or interdiction was given and its violation occurred, we find that the pair is separated by other functions and does not quite conform to Propp's rules of application. Also these morphological elements are both found within the tale, rather than in the initial situation. Elements of trickery, deceitful persuasions of the villain, η^1 , and elements of complicity, the hero reacts to the persuasions of the villain, θ^1 , are found in the initial situation of tale #7. Absent from the tales are any of the morphological elements related to reconnaissance and delivery. Nor do we find absention of family members, or preliminary misfortune caused by a deceitful agreement.

The Alaskan tales enter the actual movement of the story rather quickly and therefore a very brief initial situation is given, as opposed to an extensive introduction.

Villany, function A occurs seven times in ten myths. Of the twenty-four available motifs from which to choose, A^1 occurs twice, as does A^{19} , declaration of war, A^4 , theft of daylight, A^{17} , threat of cannibalism, and A^{15} , imprisonment or detention, occur only once each. Thus we have a total of five

functions out of a total of twenty-four that are applicable in the Alaskan tales. Many A functions do not appear at all. For instance, functions related to magical elements, such as A², seizure of a magical agent, A¹¹, forcible seizure of such, A⁷, evocation of disappearance, A¹¹, casting of a spell, and A¹⁸, vampirism are absent.

Although the subject of forced matrimony does not form the villany of a myth, the subject of matrimony appears in five of the Alaskan tales. In tales #3 and 10 a direct request to engage in marriage is made; in two of the other tales, we find a married couple, and in tale #9, a mother is in search of a husband for her daughter, on which the actual movement of the second move in this tale is based.

As far as function a, lack or insufficiency is concerned, we find a total of eight, four a¹, lack of bride of individual, and four a⁶, lacks in other forms. In regards to a¹, we find that in two cases in the same myth this refers to lack of a child, in another case, a lack of a husband is lamented, while in the third instance, a lack of a family or parents is expressed. We do not find the lack of a bride, interestingly enough. Function a⁶ is revealing in that most of all these lacks are concerned with an abstract idea, the majority of them instigated by curiosity. The only material lack is that of the stars. The lack of daylight was dealt with by the function of villany.

The connective incident, or mediation designated as B function, is found seven times in six of the ten myths. As mentioned in chapter 11, this function accomplished a number of things, such as making known the misfortune or lack, the introduction or dispatch of the hero. In every instance here the hero is already involved in the action of the tale when function B is applied. However, the mediating function does introduce, in one instance, the villain and his family as opposed to introducing the hero and his family, as we would

expect. B⁴, announcement of misfortune in various forms, occurs three times in two tales, (twice in one), and here, both times Father Moon is complaining. B⁷ lament or plaintive song is employed only once also in these Alaskan tales. In tale #9, B⁴ is used rather than B⁷ because it follows Propp's rule, and also because it is more general than the other motifs. B² and B³, dispatch and release, are each employed once respectively, while B⁵ and B⁶, transportation of banished hero or condemned hero released, spared, employed respectively, are not present in any of the tales.

As mentioned previously, B¹ and B⁴ are employed in conjunction with a seeker hero, while B⁵ and B⁷ are used in conjunction with victimized heroes. This rule was the deciding factor in determining whether or not the mediating function in tale #9 was an announcement in a 'various form' or a lament. We find only two instances out of seven that do not follow this rule. Only once do we use a general B function because we lack a more appropriate one.

Furthermore, the connective incident appears twice in only one myth.

C function, consent to counteraction, according to Propp, should be used with a seeker hero only. We find that C is found eight times in seven myths, and therefore Propp's rule is applied correctly a total of twelve out of thirteen times. In the Alaskan tales there is sometimes not enough detail to warrant use of both B and C functions. Propp notes that this C function is not always expressed in words in a tale, and is sometimes rather difficult to find. For example, in tale #9, the mother makes no overt decision to find her daughter a husband, but the fact that she searches for a husband indicates that she has, in fact, made a decision.

The function ↑ represents dispatch of the hero and designates his route regardless of whether he is a victim or seeker hero. It is found six times in five stories, four of which are seeker tales. Propp notes that in

certain tales a spatial transference of the hero is absent and the entire action takes place in one location. If there is no spatial transference and \uparrow is not used. However, \uparrow is not used in tales #1, 5, 6 and 9, and we have spatial transference of the hero in #1. This is more than likely due to the shortness of the tale and this function is taken up by the mediating function. Although Propp states that \uparrow departure, follows consent to counteraction we find that there are four examples where either is used in which this does not occur. Only in tales #2, 3, 7 and 10 do we find the two functions together. Tales #4, 6 8 and 9, which contain either one or the other function are all less complete than the four former tales. It is also interesting to note that the first four tales are seeker hero tales. We might make the inference that the seeker tales are generally longer than the victimized hero stories. In tale #7, spatial transference is taken up by the G function, which is an extension of departure. This is found four different times in the tales, G^2 where the hero rides or is carried twice, and G^4 , the route is shown to the hero. In regards to G^2 , the hero in each case is transported by his donor. We find that in tale #7, G function is interchanged with the complication H1. In both instances where we employed G^4 a path of light is shown to the hero. Here we find that G function in move 1 of tale #2 is interchanged with DEF sequence. In all instances except tale #7 we also employ departure and return. This function was only utilized if the object of a search was outside what would be considered in these instances reality.

We should discuss the $ABC\uparrow$ complication at this point. This complete sequence is found in tales #2, 3 and 10, all of which are seeker hero tales, and are relatively long tales in comparison to the others. According to Propp's rule, we would not expect to find a victimized hero tale with this complete complication; however, we do not find the sequence $AB\uparrow$ either. AB , $A\uparrow$ and A

alone are found in tales #1, 4, 5 and move 1 of tale 7, and move II of tale 2, while AC^{\uparrow} and AC are found in tales #6, 8 and move 11 of tale 7. The sequence ABC is found only in tale #9. Thus it seems, and perhaps somewhat by definition that the seeker hero tales are longer. It is interesting to note, however, that the longest tale contains both a seeker and victimized hero.

We find that D function, or first function of the donor appears ten times in five Alaskan myths, but we have employed only four of the available fourteen motifs. D, the general form of this function is used twice and D^7 another general form of this function, is found five times in three tales. We have actually employed only three specific functions in these tales, d^7 , helpless situation of the donor without a stated request; the possibility of rendering service, and D^2 , greeting and interrogation, and D^5 , request for mercy.

Propp states that often the hero is encountered accidentally. This holds true in five different instances in four myths. In four other cases, the meeting of the hero and donor is not accidental. The donors are well aware of the situation and in one instance, the meeting is planned and prepared for in advance. In most cases, we find that the donor supplies the hero with material objects. In only three instances do we find that the donor supplies things such as in tale #5, and a means to an end in tales #7 and 10. In other cases, we find the donor taking on the functions of the hero. Tale #2 raises a question in this respect. At first it seems that Doll-Boy becomes the donor in move 11, acting on behalf of the hero, but because the tale ends fairly shortly after Doll-Boy returns, and also because of the relative positions of the dramatis personae in the myth, the donor is taken to be absent from move 11. In most of the Alaskan tales the donor, if there is one, is a

separate character, except in tale #9, where in move 11, the donor and villain are the same *dramatis personae*.

The reaction of the hero, E function, also occurs ten times in the Alaskan tales, and we employ only four of the eleven available motifs. In only five cases do we find that the corresponding E function is used in conjunction with D function. In three instances, the hero reacts negatively and in two instances, we find that the D and E functions are unmatched. However, these are very minor points and not particularly relevant for this present study. It is interesting to note that we find DE occurring before the a function in one example, in tale #5. It also completes the action between interdiction and results in its violation.

Function F, the provision or receipt of a magical agent or helper occurs six times in the Alaskan myths, and utilizes three of the sixteen available functions. F^1 , the transference of the agent, is used three different times and f^1 , the gift of a material nature, is used twice, and F^3 , the preparation of the agent, is employed only once. We do not find F^- in these tales.

When we consider the three DEF functions together, the potential combinations, as mentioned previously, are very great. To recapitulate, the first type exhibits friendly or deceived donors, which are not really donors, but personages who unwillingly furnish the hero with something. The second type most often presents friendly donors with the exception of those who surrender a magical agent unwillingly or after a fight (Propp 1968:48). According to Proppian analysis, all the Alaskan tales containing a DEF sequence are type 11 tales, these being more straight forward than the type 1 tales.

We also do not find an inverted sequence, where the DEF sequence occurs before the villany. We do, however, find a partial sequence or the DE portion in tale #5. As a matter of interest, DE occurs twice before its completion on the third appearance later in the tale, after progressing through Propp's given order of functions. DE occurs only four times as opposed to six complete DEF occurrences, and DF, EF do not occur at all. Therefore, it does seem that the functions DEF form a sequence in the Alaskan tales as Propp indicated.

The function H struggle, and its counterpart, I, defeat of the villain, are found only six times in five myths. The general function H is employed once in six cases, while only two of the four available H motifs are used in the five remaining cases, H^1 in tales #3 twice, and in tale #7 once, with H^2 used once in tales 6 and 8. H^3 and H^4 are not employed as they were too specific, and neither subject they referred to, weighing or cards, is mentioned in any of the Alaskan tales.

It is the H function that determines the fate of the characters involved in a dispute. I function merely completes the action. For example, of the eight available I functions, including also the general function, only three are used. I^5 is used in conjunction with H in tale #1, while in the remaining cases, the corresponding I function is used with its H function. Only in one example do we find a negative use of I, which indicates the loss of a struggle by the hero. Although Father Moon is crushed by Tundra, the initial lack of stars is alleviated, thus his defeat is not in vain.

It is interesting to note that in only two cases out of six is a dispute settled with words. In the other four tales some form of physical force is applied. Cleverness or outwitting an enemy does not seem to be emphasized in dealing with an opponent in the Alaskan tales, although tale #1 is

an example to the contrary.

Function M, the proposal of a difficult task to the hero and Function N, the resolution of this task, are found once in Alaskan tale #9. MN are considered the most appropriate functions because a receipt of a bride follows the solution of a task. Propp refers to this as defining a function according to its consequences. Propp sums this up when he says "all tasks giving rise to a search must be considered in terms of B, all tasks giving rise to the receipt of a magical agent are considered as D, all other tasks are considered as M, with two varieties: those connected with matchmaking and marriage and tasks not linked with matchmaking (Propp, 1968:68).

Function K, the liquidation of lack or misfortune (which indicates the peak of the narrative), is found nine times in eight Alaskan tales. Of the thirteen available motifs, six are employed. The general function K is employed twice, as are motifs K^1 and K^{10} . Both K and K^1 are somewhat general, and consist of four out of nine applications of this function. In both applications of K^1 it is cunning that is used rather than force. Also it is interesting to note that the magical element is also made reference to in the Alaskan tales, for example, K^5 and K^8 both refer to such. Although the corresponding villainous functions do not precede the climaxing of the narrative along the same lines, for example, A^{11} , A^{xvii} , A^{18} , A^2 , A^{ii} , the element of magic is indeed exposed at this point in the tale. Only once is there a negative result, found in tale #2, which is necessary for the perpetuation of another move, where the situation is rectified.

Function KF is employed only once in the Alaskan tale #7. The narrative climax is reached upon Gonaquedet's release of the chief's daughter, and at the same time, the completion of the DEF sequence is effected. We can see that K function and DEF are employed as separate functions and that KF is

not used to tie them together. However, it is interesting to note that HI or MN and K appear as often as do DEF and K together, and that DEF, HI and K do not appear together in their complete forms. We come closest to this in tale #7 when we have DE, H, DE, I, KF.

Propp states that the return ↓, is generally accomplished by the same means as arrival, and the two functions should be considered together. In the Alaskan tales the return function is found once more than is the departure function. Upon closer examination, we see only four pairs of departure and return together; the others are found by themselves. Firstly, let us consider the departures with no returns. In tale #3, Father Moon does not return, but is destroyed by Tundra; in tale #7, move 11, Raven continues his journey. Looking at the returns with no departures, we see that in tale #2 function a and ↑ are both applicable, but function a is used in order to create a new move. In tale #5, the hunters have already left home, as the story begins with their discovery of the dwarfs. In tale #7, G function rather than ↑ indicates the route of the hero, and there are not enough details to warrant the two functions, ↑ and G. Propp's statement, the hero returns in the same manner that he leaves, holds true, although in these tales it seems that less elaboration is given to return than a departure. Tale #7, the details of the chief's daughter's return is an example. (In four tales, we do not find either function present at all.) Propp also states that ↓ is found in the form of function Pr, pursuit. However, this does not apply in the Alaskan tales, and Pr or its partner, Rs rescue, are not used at all.

Transfiguration is found twice in the Alaskan tales, although the general function is used rather than any of the four motifs. Tale #2 might have been interpreted as a T¹ motif, as the Doll does take on human qualities, but the transition from inanimate to animate is never explained, and further-

more, the complete transition from wood to flesh does not seem to occur.

Punishment of the villain, function U, is found twice in Alaskan tales #3 and 9. In both instances, the negative result of the function is employed, and we might note, in two rather different ways. In tale #3, it is the hero who receives punishment, but this is not in vain as his death creates the stars. In tale #9, U⁻ again refers to the hero, but this time to indicate that her request for revenge is not fulfilled. In this latter case another function might have been more appropriate had it been available.

Function W, wedding, appears six times in five tales, and two of the available seven functions are utilized. W⁰, monetary reward or other forms of material gain at the denouement, is found five times. In every instance the gain is ultimately not for the hero alone, but for his people. For example, Doll brings the winds, Poor Boy is able to find sufficient food and good weather, the Chief's Daughter makes the Chilkat Blanket which Raven gives to the Eskimo people, men through the hunters, receive luck from the Dwarfs. W¹, promised marriage, was found once in tale #9, where Sun marries a woman's daughter after completing a difficult task. No gain in social status is mentioned, as does Propp's motifs, such as W^{*}, wedding and accession to the throne.

Functions other than Pr and Rs, such as O, unrecognized arrival, L, claims of a false hero, Q, recognition of hero, Ex, exposure of false hero, are not used in the Alaskan tales. Since Pr and Rs, O and L, Q and Ex are considered pairs of functions, it seems logical that if one function of a pair is not found, then the other also would not likely be found. J, the branding or marking of the hero, sometimes found in conjunction with functions Q and Ex was also absent from these tales.

Thus from thirty one functions, only twenty are utilized in the Alaskan tales.

II 4, i) COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF RESULTS

This section will clarify what each application of Propp to the Beaver and Alaskan myths reveals.

Every Beaver and Alaskan tale begins with a function from the preparatory section. The tables of metalinguistic strings illustrates this. We can see that the Beaver corpora use the function α , initial situation, in every tale, while the Alaskan corpora uses this function in all but tale #5. Propp states that although all characters may be introduced via the initial situation, the hero, false hero, dispatcher and princess (victim) are usually only introduced via this function. He distinguishes between two basic forms of initial situations; a) a hero seeker with his family and b) the victim with his family. Furthermore, Propp states that an initial situation demands the presence of the members of a family (Propp, 1968:85). However, looking at the Beaver and Alaskan corpora, we see that of the thirteen initial situations in the Beaver corpora, only five comply with Propp's rule. It is interesting to note that all six tales about Usakindji break Propp's rule. In looking at the Alaskan Eskimo myths, five of the ten initial situations conform to his rule. Beaver myth #2 is of particular interest as Wabshu agrees to try forming another family with only Nachi. Also Alaskan myth #10 illustrates another variation of Propp's rule in that we see the villain and his family, rather than the hero or victim.

We can also see that one motif from every function in the preparatory section except λ , preliminary misfortune caused by a deceitful agreement, is employed in the Beaver tales. In the Alaskan tales, however, γ , interdiction and δ , its violation; η , trickery and θ , complicity are the only other motifs found.

We find that the Beaver tales use a total of one hundred sixty-one

functions, thirty-four of which are from the preparatory section, whereas the Alaskan tales use a total of one hundred twenty-three functions with nineteen functions from the preparatory section. This accounts for a difference of approximately twenty-seven percent to fourteen percent in the use of preparatory functions in the Beaver and Alaskan myths respectively as opposed to a difference of twenty-one percent to twelve percent from the remaining functions respectively. Thus we can see that the Beaver tales employ a much greater proportion of the functions from the preparatory section than do the Alaskan tales. For example, trickery and complicity play an important part in the preparatory section of the Beaver tales, whereas, although it is not as obvious, interdiction and its violation is more prevalent in the Alaskan tales. Propp's analysis illustrates a difference in the way the beginning of a tale is handled by both cultures.

The above seven functions are considered more as morphological elements than true functions. Propp regards the true functions as initiating the complication of the tale. The first true function (A) villany, and (a) lack, or insufficiency are found eighteen times in the Beaver myths and fifteen times in the Alaskan myths. The function villany appears more often than a lack in the Beaver myths, whereas in the Alaskan myths, a lack appears more often than a villany. In regards to the function villany, in both corpora A¹, A¹⁹, A¹⁷, and A¹⁵ are found. A¹, kidnapping of a person, twice in both corpora, A¹⁹, declaration of war, twice in the Alaskan tales, and once in the Beaver tales, A¹⁷, threat of cannibalism, once in the Alaskan tales and five times in the Beaver tales, A¹⁵, once in both corpora, with the Beaver tales also sharing this function with A⁵, plundering in various forms. Only A⁴ and A⁸ are found singly in the Alaskan and Beaver tales respectively. All other motifs of villany do not appear in either corpora. Since there are twenty-three motifs

included in the function villany, the fact that seventeen are not found in either corpora is quite spectacular.

The outstanding motif brought out here is the threat of cannibalism in the Beaver tales. I

It is interesting to note that a^6 , lack in other forms, occurs most often in both corpora. In the Beaver myths this function is found six out of nine times, and each time specifically as a lack of food. The other three motifs are a^1 , lack of individual (husband), a^2 , lack of helper and a^5 , lack of the means of existence, each occur once. In the Alaskan myths a^6 is found four out of eight times, referring to general things such as lack of information, objects and agreement. The other four motifs refer to lack of an individual, such as a child, parents and husband.

The subject of matrimony seems quite important in both corpora, not as an A function but in the form of a lack. As we see above, in both the Beaver and Alaskan tales, an a^1 is a lack of a husband rather than a bride. Furthermore, the subject of a family constellation or parts of it, such as widow and son, childless parents, an orphan, seem rather important. In both corpora, this subject is touched on, six times in the Alaskan tales, and five times in the Beaver tales. We should also take note that in the Beaver tales the family constellations are one and two generations only, whereas in the Alaskan tales we have two tales #7 and 10 that are three generations. Although Propp's motifs do not really bring out this difference in the two corpora, it seems like an important difference.

According to Propp, function B, mediation, and its seven motifs bring the hero into the tale. The first four motifs are supposed to introduce the hero seeker, while the last three are supposed to introduce the victimized hero. In the Alaskan and Beaver myths we find ten and seven mediating functions

respectively, or, a mediating function in every Beaver myth and only seven mediating functions in seven Alaskan myths. All mediating motifs are employed except B⁶ and 7 in the Beaver myths, and B⁵ 6 and 7 in the Alaskan myths. In the Beaver myths we have used function B, the connective incident four different times in tales #3, 4, 7 and 8, all of which are Usakindji myths with a victimized hero. Here the B function was used for lack of a more adequate motif, and an actor's initiative was generally described by the connective incident. Tale #2 utilizes one of the last three motifs, B⁵, transportation of the banished hero. There are only three Beaver myths that contain a seeker hero, #1, 6, and 9, all of which are applying a proper motif, according to Propp. Tale #5 and 10 which have a victimized hero, are applying motifs from the seeker hero section, however. Alaskan myths utilize B function only once with a seeker hero. The Alaskan seeker hero tales are #'s 2,3,6,7,8,9 and 10, quite the reverse situation from the seven Beaver victimized hero tales. It is interesting to note that seeker hero tales # 2,3 and 9 apply Propp's rule, tale #10 applies B function, and #'s 6, 7 and 8 do not have a mediating function at all. Furthermore, the tales that have a victimized hero either apply one of the first four motifs of B function, or do not apply one at all. In short, we find that four of the Beaver myths and three of the Alaskan myths conform to Propp's ruling in regards to the victimized and seeker hero aspect of the mediating function.

Whether or not the mediating function actually introduces the hero as Propp claims is another matter. In both Beaver and Alaskan stories, the hero is introduced in the initial situation in eight of the ten stories. Furthermore, in the Beaver myths the lack or misfortune is made known by B function in five of the ten stories, whereas in the Alaskan stories, a lack or misfortune is made known by B function in six of the tales. Moreover, three of

these tales do not have a B function. Although Propp says that the misfortune or lack is often made known to the hero in a round-about way, in the Beaver and Alaskan tales the misfortune or lack seems to happen directly to the hero.

C function, consent to counteraction, Propp says, is characteristic of those tales in which the hero is a seeker. This definition actually defines whether or not this function will be used, and therefore, it is found only in the three Beaver hero seeker myths and eight times in the seven Alaskan hero seeker myths.

The departure function designated as \uparrow , departure of the hero from home, whether a seeker or a victim, is a significant function, and is found ten times in the Beaver myths and six times in the Alaskan myths. Departure is not used if there is no spatial transference of the hero. In the Beaver tales this function is found in only two of the Usakindji tales as usually he is enroute, but departure is found in all the other tales. In the Alaskan tales the departure function seems to be distributed rather evenly between the seeker and victimized hero tales in that five out of seven seeker tales and one of three victimized hero tales. Propp's rule that C function is found only in seeker tales defines in which tales the $ABC\uparrow$ complication will be found. In the Beaver myths it is found in tales 1, 6 and 9 only. These three tales are, as pointed out previously, the only seeker tales in the Beaver corpora. The $ABC\uparrow$ complication is found in Alaskan tales 2, 3 and 10. These three tales are also seeker hero tales, the other seeker tales were rather short and were, therefore, less complete. None of the victimized hero tales in either the Beaver or Alaskan tales were complete with this sequence. Perhaps this suggests that the seeker hero tales are a more complete version of the tales, or perhaps they are simpler in that they are more straight forward.

Let us consider the DEF functions together, as they also form a

sequence. Propp differentiates between two types of connection, and simply put, type 1 are unfriendly or deceived donors, type 11 are friendly donors. In the Beaver myths, the complete sequence is found five times in five stories, in the Alaskan myths, six times in five stories. Tales #2 and 10 of the Beaver corpora are type 11. The donors are friendly. Tales #5, 6 and 8 are type 1, the donor is deceived. However, in the Alaskan myths all the tales are type 11. These types tend to be more straight forward, and less inclined towards any complications.

The first function of the donor of the above sequence seems to be the more interesting function. Since it is the donor that tests or interrogates the hero, the ways in which he interacts with the hero in both corpora should be noted more carefully. In the Beaver myths we do not find a hostile creature attempting to destroy the hero in the DEF sequences, but we do see the donor being tricked at the end of the sequence in function F by the hero in tales #5, and 8. In the Alaskan tales there is one element of trickery in tale #10. Raven has to outwit the Chief in order to gain the sun and moon. Tale #7 is straight forward in the respect as are the other Alaskan tales. Propp also says of the donor that it is usually someone other than the agent being eaten or searched for, transferred, etc. In one Beaver myth the donor is also Usakindji's food. In the Alaskan myths, however, this does not occur.

According to Propp, often DEF occurs before function A. This is referred to as an inverted sequence, which produces a helper prior to the misfortune which is liquidated by him. This occurs once in the Beaver myth #2, but the first sequence is incompleted in that function F is negative. Also, the functions DE occur prior to function A in the Alaskan myth #5. Both inverted sequences found in the corpora are in different ways, incomplete.

We see that the sequence DEF in the Alaskan myths appears as a complete sequence six out of eight times, whereas it appears as a complete sequence seven out of ten times in the Beaver myths. Included in the last figures are two KF functions, a combination of two functions that also occur once in the Alaskan tales. Moreover, we have two negative responses to a donor in the Alaskan tales, and three in the Beaver tales.

It is further interesting to note that in the Alaskan tales 6/15 D functions, 5/12 E functions and 3/17 F functions are employed in comparison to the 6/15 D functions, 4/12 E functions and 5/17 F functions employed in the Beaver myths. Of these used, the general function is sometimes employed for want of another more accurate motif, especially in the Beaver tales. Also we see that both corpora have many motifs in common, but also many not in common, especially in regards to the F function. In fact, none of these motifs overlap. It is interesting to note that in neither corpora do we find a situation where an agent appears of its own accord, and offers its services. It is the agent that is pursued and found, and never vice versa.

The spatial transference of the hero to the whereabouts of an object of search designated by function G, is a natural continuation of function \uparrow . Propp clarifies this difference by pointing out that if the hero walks to his destination or isn't spatially transferred, G is not used. The object of search must lie in another place either horizontally or vertically before the use of G function is necessitated. In the Beaver Indian tales, G^2 and G^3 are found once each and in the Alaskan Indian tales, G^2 and G^4 are found only once each. In these latter tales, #2, the hero follows a path through the air as well. This aspect adds a different dimension to the Alaskan tales which is not present in the Beaver tales. Here Propp's analysis brings out this difference in the two corpora.

Combat between the hero and the villain is defined as a struggle and designated by function H. Its counterpart, defeat of the villain is designated by function I. These two functions should be discussed as a pair in relation to the two corpora. Firstly, the pair is found nine times in the Beaver myths as opposed to six times in the Alaskan myths. In the Beaver myths, $H^1 I^1$ is found three times, $H^2 I^2$ five times and $H^2 I^5$ once. In the Alaskan myths $H^1 I^1$ is found three times, $H^2 I^2$ twice, and $H^2 I^5$ once. These are always found together in both myths. The motifs H^3 playing at cards, or H^4 weighting seem to be rather specific motifs and are not relevant at all to either the Beaver or Alaskan corpora. By the same token I^3 and I^4 , loss at the above two motifs are not relevant to either of the corpora. I^6 , expulsion of the villain is also not referred to, but conceivably could be as this motif is more general than either I^3 or I^4 . Thus the two corpora are very similar in their dealing with a struggle between a hero and a villain. However, it is also general enough to be misleading. Let us take a closer look at how struggle for lack of a more descriptive motif is interpreted by both the Beaver and the Alaskan corpora. In the Beaver tales, struggles seem to be more violent than in the Alaskan tales. For example, of the nine Beaver HI situations, seven result in death for the villain, whereas, three out of six result in the death of the villain in the Alaskan tales. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in all three of the Alaskan tales in which a character is killed, only once does the hero outwit his foe in order to defeat him; in the other two situations, a physical struggle ensues first. In the Beaver stories, a physical struggle between two opponents before the death of the foe occurs only twice; in the five other instances, there is no actual struggle between the hero and his opponent, as the hero is able to outwit his foe, and kill him without a struggle. The emphasis on cunning and outwitting

ones enemy, appears to be very important in the Beaver myths in comparison to the Alaskan tales. Even in one of the Beaver tales where the foe is not killed, trickery and cunning are the axis of the denouement. Thus Propp's analysis brings to light another rather important difference between the two corpora.

At this point, we should also discuss the pair of functions difficult task M, and its solution N. This pair of functions is found only once in the Alaskan tales. If we reiterate the differences between three kinds of tasks, MN may be more easily differentiated from the other functions. As Propp says "tasks giving rise to a search are considered in terms of B, all tasks giving rise to the receipt of a magical agent or helper are considered as D, and all other tasks are considered as M. MN and HI are mutually exclusive and are sometimes more difficult to differentiate. A move with HI is a typical first move and a move with MJ is a typical second or repeated move. Each is capable of existing separately, but a combination always takes place in the order named (Propp, 1968:104). We find that this does not apply in the Beaver and Alaskan corpora. MN is employed only once in the Alaskan tales, with HI in the other fifteen cases. Interestingly enough, Alaskan tale #9 is the only tale where a receipt of a bride and marriage have occurred, and it is another small example which follows Propp's rule. In another instance HI is used twice in one Alaskan tale, once in each move. In five of the seven Beaver two move tales, HI is used in the second moves alone, with neither MN or HI in move 1. We might note also that in many cases, move 1 does not employ either HI or MN, and that HI usually occurs in the second or third move. Thus in both the Beaver and the Alaskan tales, we find an interesting use of these functions.

The narrative reaches its peak with function K, the liquidation of the misfortune or lack. The Beaver myths employ it eleven times, and the joint function KF five times. Alaskan tales employ K nine times and KF once. In every case except tale 1 of the Beaver stories, KF completes a DEF sequence. In the Beaver tales, KF deals with the object of a search in four out of five cases, with one incident referring to cunning rather than force. In the Alaskan tales, the one KF motif employed refers to release from captivity. Looking at the motifs used by each corpora, we find that the Beaver myths use three of the thirteen motifs (including K) available.

K^1 , direct acquisition through force or cunning, is employed nine out of eleven instances, K, loss through force of cunning and K^3 , acquisition through decoys were each applied once. The Alaskan myths utilized seven of the thirteen motifs, these being K^5 , misfortune done away with, K^8 , breaking of a spell, K^{10} , release from captivity, K^4 , liquidation of misfortune, K^7 , object of search is captured, each once. K^1 is employed twice, and K itself three times. This latter motif was employed for lack of a better described motif. The difference in the two corpora in relation to their emphasis on cunning, use of wit and trickery is again emphasized.

Propp states that function A and K form pairs, in that more often than not, both A and K are found in the same tale and move. This stands to reason, as A or a is necessary to begin a tale and K signifies its climax. In the Beaver myths all the ten A functions but one are accompanied by a K or KF function, while only four of the nine 'a' functions are accompanied by a K or KF function. In the Alaskan tales also six A functions except one are accompanied by a K or KF function, while five of the 'a' functions are accompanied by a K or KF motif. Both corpora are similar in that the function of villany seems to demand a response more so than does a lack.

The function ↓ return is usually completed in the same way as is 0, arrival. In the Alaskan myths we find as many departures as arrivals. However, we find a departure without an accompanying a rival in one tale and in another we find an arrival without a departure. Perhaps this is due to an incomplete story. In the Beaver tales we have a rather large discrepancy between the functions of departure and return. The tales in which there is a departure but no return are #'s 1, 3 and 9, only one of which is a Usakindji tale. In six of these tales, #'s 3,4,5,7,8 and 10, four do not utilize either function, as the tales are quite clear in depicting Usakindji as continuing along his journey. No mention is made of his leaving home, or returning to it for that matter. Thus the Usakindji tale in the Beaver myths account for the rather large discrepancy between the functions departure and return. Although return is not covered by as much detail in either corpora, it is interesting to note that, in both, the hero always returns in the same manner that he departed.

The pair of functions, Pursuit and Rescue, are not found at all in the Alaskan myths, and are found only twice in the Beaver myths. Of the many motifs from which to choose, we find Pr⁶ attempt to destroy the hero, coupled with a transformation into other animals, Rs⁶, and a rescue from being destroyed, Rs⁹. Here we find quite a difference in the metalinguistic strings of the Beaver and Alaskan tales in comparison to Propp's appendix of metalinguistic strings. This indicates either a stylistic difference in the tales or a shortening of the Alaskan and Beaver tales, as Propp's sequence of functions indicates that this area of the tale is quite significant.

Furthermore, we do not find function Q, recognition of the hero in the Alaskan myths. We find it twice in the Beaver myths, both in one story.

The function transfiguration is found twice in both corpora and one motif, T¹, new physical appearance, of four available is used in every case.

We might note that although there is a physical change designated, they are of different natures. In the Beaver myths, the mortal becomes immortal, and man changes into animal and back again with relative ease. In the Alaskan myths, an inanimate human form is brought to life, and one form is destroyed to create another. Here Propp's method of analysis further inquiry regarding one motif.

Function U, punishment of the villain in Propp has no variations in motifs. U occurs only once in the Alaskan tales, and in this instance, the villain is transformed. In the Beaver myths, U occurs seven times. One would expect that there would be a variety of motifs from which to choose, as in the Beaver tales we find that in three out of seven cases, the villain is killed, and in the other four, the villain is transformed or banished. Regarding the villain, Propp states that "usually only the villain of the second move and the false hero are punished, while the first villain is punished only in those cases in which a battle and pursuit are absent from the story. Otherwise, he is killed in battle or perishes during the pursuit" (Propp, 1968:63). This statement seems to be somewhat strict in applying to the corpora. We see that in seven instances in the Beaver myths, and two instances in the Alaskan myths, all of which are two move tales, the villain, in six out of nine cases, is punished in the second move, rather than the first move. Only in one instance does U occur in move 1, however, there is no battle or pursuit in this move, there is a battle in the second move. In the other two cases, we find U in the first move. Thus even in this regard the Beaver and Alaskan myths generally follow Propp's ruling.

Function W, wedding and accession to the throne, is not relevant to either corpora. W^0 , monetary reward and other forms of material gain at the denouement, is found five out of six times in the Alaskan tales and W^1 ,

promised marriage, only once. In the Beaver tales W^0 is found only twice. It is interesting to note that the reverse situation with the two corpora in terms of punishment and reward. The Beaver tales contain seven punishment motifs and two reward motifs, while the Alaskan tales contain six reward motifs and one punishment motif.

Functions that are foreign to both corpora are O, unrecognized arrival, L, claims of a false hero, Ex exposure of false hero and J, branding or marking the hero.

The Beaver myths utilize two more functions than do the Alaskan myths. Generally we found that Propp's functions were applicable to the material. This section has helped to clarify the similarities and differences between the results obtained in the application of Propp's method of analysis to the two corpora.

II 4, ii) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ANALYSIS

Let us look at a more general view of Propp's rules in relation to the two corpora.

The hero is the most important *dramatis personae* in any of the myths. The selection of the hero then should be firstly reiterated; "he is that character who either directly suffers from the action of the villain in the complication (the one who senses some kind of lack), or who agrees to liquidate the misfortune or lack of another person. In the course of the action, the hero is the person who is supplied with a magical agent (a magical helper), and who makes use of it or is served by it" (Propp, 1968:50). Propp also differentiates between a seeker hero who has a search as his goal, and a victimized hero, whose departure marks the beginning of a journey as opposed to a search.

The hero in Propp's method of analysis is the main character in a total of seven because his intentions create the axis of the narrative. Nearly all the other functions are complementary to this one, except the function villainy, and that of the false hero, which are in direct opposition to the hero. We expect the hero to take on certain roles or attributes, positive as opposed to negative attributes a villain or false hero is supposed to assume. Questions, such as whether or not the hero and villain are always in conflict and opposition, and whether they do assume their expected roles can be looked at in terms of Propp's spheres of action. These seven characters coincide with various functions which are joined together by what Propp calls spheres of action. For example, the sphere of action of the hero includes function C, consent to counteraction, ↑, departure, E, reaction to demands of a donor, W, wedding, while the sphere of action of the villain includes function A, villainy, H, fight with the hero, and Pr, pursuit. The other

spheres of action are as follows; that of the donor, the helper, the princess (victim), the dispatcher and false hero. We see immediately that the villain is accorded the villainous actions and is placed in direct opposition to the hero. However, upon further study, we find that their spheres of action overlap because one *dramatis personae* is involved in more than one sphere of action. According to Propp these spheres of action may be dealt with in three ways. Firstly, a sphere of action directly corresponds to the character; secondly one character is involved in several spheres of action and lastly, a single sphere of action is distributed among several characters.

In both the Alaskan and the Beaver tales, we find that the hero is most highly differentiated, with the villain second and the victim third. The dispatcher, helper and donor in both corpora play a somewhat ambiguous role, although more so in the Alaskan tales. In neither corpora do we find a false hero. When considering the hero and villain in the Beaver tales, these two spheres of action do not overlap, whereas, they do twice in the Alaskan tales. Thus we see that the hero and villain need not be in direct conflict with one another, and that the characteristics of the hero in some cases can also be those of the supposed villain. In the Alaskan tales the sphere of action of the hero is more apparent, whereas, the sphere of action of the villain is not.

We find that generally the Beaver tales seem to have a greater differentiation of character than do the Alaskan tales, with the Beaver tales usually engaging three main *dramatis personae* in the plot, and the Alaskan tales engaging only two. Furthermore, we have discovered that the main characters in both are more differentiated than the less important characters therefore, appearing as separate entities rather than becoming involved in

several spheres of action. Therefore, in reference to Propp's three rules regarding the distribution of the spheres of action, we find that the sphere of action of the hero usually corresponds to only one *dramatis personae*, whereas, one *dramatis personae* may be spread among two or more more general spheres of action in regards to the dispatcher, donor and helper. Also we find that in the Beaver tales there are many more separate *dramatis personae* or in other words, generally one character per sphere of action, as opposed to the Alaskan tales. In the latter case, usually a *dramatis personae* shares at least two spheres of action. For instance, the hero in the Beaver tale appears in the sphere of action of the hero $7/17$ or 41 percent of the time, while in the Alaskan tales only 4.15 or 27 percent of the time. This also applies to the *dramatis personae* corresponding to the spheres of action of the villain and the victim.

Let us consider Propp's second suggestion, that one character is involved in two or more spheres of action. In the Beaver tales we find the hero and the victim three times, the hero and dispatcher three times, hero and helper once, and no other double combinations, while in the Alaskan tales we find the hero and victim three times, hero and dispatcher zero, hero and helper three times, hero and villain twice. We also find combinations of three spheres of action — in the Beaver tales this occurs only once; the hero, dispatcher and helper are the same *dramatis personae*, while in the Alaskan tales, this occurs several times. For example, the hero and dispatcher and helper occurs once, the hero dispatcher and victim occurs twice, the dispatcher helper and donor occurs once, the donor, helper and victim occurs twice, and finally the villain donor and helper occurs once. This overlapping of characters in several spheres of action, especially in the Alaskan tales, illustrates a lesser differentiation or a greater utilization of the present characters

in comparison with the Beaver tales. As we can see, Propp's last method of distributing the spheres of action among the characters, ie, that case in which a single sphere of an action is distributed among several characters is not really applicable in either of the two corpora. There are not enough dramatis personae in the corpora for this. The table on page 128 will clarify the above.

Because of the same dramatis personae is used more often in more than one sphere of action in the Beaver tales, we might tend to conclude that the dramatis personae would also be differentiated in the separate moves within the same tale. In other words, for example, the hero in move one would be different from the hero in move two. However, we find that in the Beaver tales this occurs only three times as opposed to five times in the Alaskan tales. On the one hand, in the Beaver tale number two, the villains and victims in move 1 and 11 are different, while in tale 8, the helpers are different. On the other hand, in the Alaskan tales, we find the dramatis personae differing from move 1 to move 11 five times. In tale number two, the victim and hero differ, in tale #4, the donor and helper differ, and in tale number seven, the donors differ. We also note that only once in the Alaskan tales is the hero, who is the most important character, different in the two moves, while the villain is different only once in two moves. These are interesting differences in the two sets of corpora brought out by Propp's method of analysis, and ties in with his queries about how myths are made.

"Each new act of villany, each new lack creates a new move" (Propp, 1968:92). Propp states that singling out each move in a tale with exactitude is always possible and that the many ways in which these moves may be combined are as follows; a move may directly follow another, a new move begins before

the completion of the previous move, and may or may not be completed before or after the previous move, or a move may be interrupted in its turn, resulting in many moves to a tale. A tale may begin with two villainies or lacks simultaneously; or it may have two heroes, either seeker or victimized, (Propp, 1968:92).

We find that in our analysis of the Beaver tales, all the eight two or more move tales are of the simplest type, where the second move directly follows the first move. In two cases, we have a function in the first move that connects it to the next move. The rest of the moves are quite disconnected from each other. In tale number two, we have a situation where it is difficult to decide whether this is one tale with two moves or two separate tales. There is only one *dramatis personae*, the hero, that remains the same in each move which ties them together. In the Alaskan tales there are only five tales with two moves. Three of these are straight forward, and two are somewhat more complicated. In tale number three, although two lacks are present simultaneously, one has to be resolved before the other. The single final transformation applies to both, thus tying the two moves together at the denouement. In tale number nine, we again find war and lack of a husband occurring at the same time, thus indicating two different moves, but there are also two separate concluding functions, which complete and separate these two moves. There are a few basic functions that tie both these moves together. This appears to be an interesting addition to Propp's different kinds of moves. The differences can be more easily seen by referring to the tables on pages 124-127.

Thus we see that the Alaskan tales seem to have more variety and are more interlocked in the way in which the moves are combined, although at first they appear simpler. The Beaver myths are longer, employ more functions and are more straight forward.

Propp also states certain specific circumstances under which stories can be considered a single tale with two or more moves, or more than one tale, each with single moves. For example, Propp lists the following criteria, stating when we have a single tale; 1) if the tale consists of one move, 2) two moves, with one ending positively and the other negatively, 3) in the trebling of entire moves, 4) if a magical agent is obtained in the first move and used in the second, 5) if up to the conclusive liquidation of misfortune, there is suddenly a new lack which provokes a new quest, 6) where two villainous acts are present together in the complication, and 7) where the first move includes a fight with a dragon and the second begins with a theft of booty by brothers, casting the hero into a chasm followed by a claim by the false hero and difficult tasks. Propp's eighth and final example of a single tale are those tales in which the heroes part at a road marker. All others, he claims, comprise two or more tales (Propp, 1968:95). Looking at the two corpora we see that all the Beaver tales except the single move tales, confirm to his fifth point. Beaver tale #7 has an additional feature in that the first move ends negatively with the second move ending positively, and Beaver tale number 9 has the added feature where the hero parts with his brother at a road marker. However, in this tale, we did not have two separate heroes, but only one. Perhaps there is room for this point to be further clarified. We find more variety in the five Alaskan tales that are more than single moves. Three of these conform to Propp's fifth point, while two tales conformed generally to point six. In Alaskan tale #3 there are two 'a' functions, two lacks rather than two villainous actions, and in tale #9 we have a villany and a lack. The important point is that these two functions are occurring simultaneously. Furthermore, tale #9 also conforms to Propp's second example, in which move 1

ends negatively, and move II positively. In neither corpora do we find the following; trebling of entire moves, although the trebling of functions is found in both the corpora or a group of functions is found in the Alaskan tales, a magical agent in move I which is used in the second, or point seven which involves a fight, theft, casting of hero into a chasm, etc. Propp sees this latter example as the most complete and perfect form of the tale because of the enumeration of most of the functions of the tale. We do not find these particular examples in our corpora, although the sequencing of functions is of course similar. We have found that both corpora are similar in their breakdown into moves and tales.

Propp also notes that there are certain pairs $\gamma-\delta, \eta-\theta$, AK, MN, HI and Pr-Rs that are usually found together, and a certain disharmony results when the first half does not evoke the usual response, or else replaces it with a response that is completely different and unusual for the tale norm (Propp, 1968:110). We see that there is very little disharmony. HI and MN are always in pairs as are Pr and Rs and the preliminary motifs. Although A and K, or $\uparrow\downarrow$ do not always appear together, the missing motif is never replaced with an inappropriate motif.

Propp states that the distinction between theme and variant is impossible to determine, and therefore, the entire sphere of fairy tales ought to be examined as a chain of variants. He further states that were we able to unfold the picture of transformations, it would be possible to satisfy ourselves that all of the tales can be morphologically deduced from the tales about the kidnapping of a princess by a dragon. Here he is referring only to the Russian fairy tales. Were we able to apply this idea to the two corpora, the question arises as to whether each corpora would have a separate theme,

or whether it would be deduced to the same one.

Thus we have taken some of Propp's rules and tested them against the two corpora, and have found that they generally hold up, and help reveal some pertinent information about the Beaver and Alaskan tale formation.

B 4C Propp's purpose of structural inquiry directs its questions to "the problem of the similarity of tales throughout the world", and "to discover the basic form of fairy tales in general" (Propp, 1968:16). This he states will be accomplished by breaking a tale into its component parts. His inquiry does not concern itself with discovering what Levi-Strauss refers to as the universal logic of mankind. His underlying concepts of structuralism tend to be global as opposed to analytical. This global application is not formalistic, but structural in the sense that he is concerned with both the form and the content of an integrated whole, whether this whole is one myth or a corpus. Let us consider Piaget's three key ideas that form the base of structuralistic thought in relation to Propp's method of analysis.

In terms of the idea of wholeness, Propp sees the whole tale or folklore itself in terms of the atomistic compounding of different elements, as opposed to emergent totalities or the procedures by which the whole itself came into being. Here we have the first distinction that makes Propp's analysis more like Piaget's concept of global structuralisms opposed to analytical. In terms of Piaget's concept of transformation, Propp states that one must study the transformations of the tales in order to discover the basic forms of fairy tales in general. Here Propp is concerned with the transformations, rather than the laws of transformations, which are simultaneously structured and structuring, whereas, the transformations themselves are always dynamic, or changing. Piaget points out that the elements of a structure must be differentiated from the transformational laws which apply to them. Thirdly, in terms of self-regulation, Piaget refers to a reversible or perfect regulation as opposed to self imposed constraints on the system. Analytical self-regulation can be achieved through an operational system that is mathematically logical, and that according to Piaget, excludes errors before they are made.

Other transformational laws that depend upon feedback or other non-technical operations are global in their approach. Propp's method of analysis again would best fit into the last category, in that application of his analysis depends upon trial and error in terms of classification and defining functions. Propp states for instance, that the correspondence between a type (theme) and a text is often approximate (Propp, 1968:11).

Generally we see that Propp's structuralism holds to systems of observable relations and elaborate interactions rather than seeking to explain the empirical systems by postulating deep underlying structures. (Piaget, 1970:98).

According to Levi-Strauss' categories, we would describe Propp's logic as direct empirical deduction as opposed to induction, indirect empirical deduction or transcendental deduction. Propp's method of analysis is empirically oriented, easily replicated, descriptive and belongs to the realm of fact, and deals with concrete data. Propp's method does not reveal deep structures on another level than the one that is obvious, although he is very aware that there are abstract bases that lie at the core of these concrete facts that he finds are necessary to elucidate. As he says, "the problems of the description of the tale have been relatively neglected in favour of the concept of the tale as something finished or given. Only at the present time is the idea of the need for an exact description growing ever wider... and the tale continues to be studied without such a description (Prop, 1968:13). Furthermore, he says "if we are incapable of breaking the tale into its components we will not be able to make a correct comparison"(Propp, 1968:15).

Propp has called the sequence of functions at the close of his analysis metalinguistic strings. This kind of structuralism yields a linear sequential analysis of the myth, as the functions are described in chronological

order from the beginning of the tale to its completion. In this sense, the approach can also be viewed as diachronic, as opposed to synchronic. We have a one dimensional description of the myth along a horizontal axis. This gives us the basic structure or framework from which to view the myth, on an overt or manifest level, and on the empirical and replicable level at the same time. Synchronic interpretation takes us to another level of understanding, one of latent meaning, which, for instance, might enable one to view the meaning of the myth in relation to the culture in which it is found. We can see the myth from a different perspective rather than from the way it is normally seen, as telling a story that is historical in two aspects; one tells a story from the beginning to the end, and two, told in the present about the past. Levi-Strauss states that we cannot see the synchronic structure of a myth unless we have firstly, the diachronic structure. In other words, "the synchronic-diachronic structure of the myth permits us to organize it into diachronic sequences which should be read synchronically" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:226). Here Propp's method of analysis gives us a starting point from which to take something from a descriptive level to a more cognitive level. If Propp's method of analysis enables us to divide the tales into more moves, it would be easier to see the individual tales metalinguistic strings synchronically as well as diachronically. As it is, some tales only have one move, which leaves us with only one dimension. However, we can look at an entire Beaver or Alaskan corpus synchronically. We have a number of vertical columns, and as Levi-Strauss would say, each of which includes several relations belonging to the same bundle (Levi-Strauss, 1967:211). If we want to verbally repeat the myth or tell a story, we read horizontally from left to right, but if we want to gain another perspective or understanding of the corpus, we might read the columns vertically from left to right. Thus we can see the corpus as a whole from another perspective.

However, according to the Marandas, the determination of narrative units must be found in the corpus itself (Kongäs Maranda & Maranda, 1971:X). In Propp the determination is more controlled than allowed to occur. Here determination is the key word, as in Propp's method of analysis, his motifs within a structural framework determines the narrative units found in the corpus and a synchronic viewpoint is less spontaneous.

Furthermore, Propp's analysis can be termed syntagmatic as opposed to paradigmatic, where the elements of a myth are taken out of one and regrouped into another frame of reference. With this kind of abstraction, paradigm can be constructed with fragments of a syntagmatic chain, and metaphors can take over the function of metonyms and vice versa. In other words, syntagmatic chains can be formed from a paradigmatic series. In applying this concept to Proppian analysis we can illustrate this distinction by using one motif from each function, for example, kidnapping from villainy, dispatch from mediation, etc. The motifs abstracted could not be, for example, kidnapping, expulsion and murder, all of which are three forms of the same system or paradigm. This same distinction can be illustrated by the metaphoric - metonymic perceptual opposition. Using Propp, we see that one metalinguistic string read horizontally is metonymic while all the A functions and its variants of the metalinguistic string of one corpora could be considered metaphoric. As Leach says, "if we take a special case and consider the arrangements between its component parts algebraically, we can arrive at the total system -- a theme and variations -- a set of paradigms (metaphors) (Leach, 1970:50). Levi-Strauss points out that this opposition is not necessarily an either or distinction, but that there is usually an emphasis on one or the other found in any communication.

Thus Propp's method of analysis has been described, applied to two sets of corpora. The results have been compared and contrasted, and his method of analysis has been discussed in relation to some of Levi-Strauss' and Piaget's simpler but basic principles. Hopefully, this exercise will give one a greater understanding of what Propp was trying to do.

We can see from the foregoing that Propp made an extensive contribution to the progress of folkloric study. As Levi-Strauss said, "History leads to everything on condition that it be left behind" (Levi-Strauss, 1966:262).

BEAVER MYTHS

| MYTH | MOVE | D | E | F | α | A | B | C | \uparrow | D | E | F | G | O | L | M | J | I | N | K | \downarrow | P | R | S | L | Q | Ex | T | U | W | | |
|------|------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|---|----|----|---|----------------|---|--|
| 1 | I | | | | α | A' | B' | C | \uparrow | | | | G ³ | | | H' | I' | | | K ⁷ | \downarrow | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | \uparrow | D' | E' | K ² | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | \uparrow | D' | E | K ² | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | II | | | | | A ¹⁹ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | P ⁶ | R ⁹ | | | | | | U | | |
| 2 | I | α | B ² | D ³ | E ³ | F ⁻ | η' | θ^3 | A ⁸ | B ⁵ | \uparrow | S | D ² | E ² | F ² | | | | | K' | \downarrow | | | | | | | | | U | | |
| | II | | | | α | A ¹⁷ | | | | | | | | | | | H' | I' | | | K' | | | | | | | T' | | U | | |
| 3 | I | | | | α | A ¹⁷ | B | \uparrow | | S | G ² | | | | | H ² | I ⁵ | | | K' | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | I | | | | α | a ⁶ | B | \uparrow | | | | | | | | | | | | | K' | S | | | | | | | | | | |
| | II | | | | | a ⁶ | η' | θ' | | | | | | | | H ² | I ² | | | | \downarrow | | | | | | | | | U | | |
| 5 | I | | | | α | a ⁶ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | II | | | | α | A ¹⁵ | B ³ | \uparrow | | | | | | | | H ² | I ² | | | K ¹ | | | | | | | | | | W ⁰ | | |
| 6 | I | | α | η' | δ' | η' | θ' | A' | B ⁴ | C | \uparrow | | | | | H' | I' | | | K ³ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | II | | | | | A' | | | | D ³ | E ³ | | | | | | | | | | \downarrow | F ⁻ | | | | | | | | U | | |
| 7 | I | | α | E ² | S ² | η' | θ^3 | A ¹⁷ | B | | D | E | | | | | | | | | K ¹ | | | | | | | | | | U | |
| | II | | | | | η^3 | θ^3 | A ¹⁷ | | | | | | | | H ² | I ² | | | K' | | | | | | | | | | | U | |
| 8 | I | | | α | E ² | S ² | a ⁵ | B | C | | D | E | F ⁸ | | | | | | | | K' | | | | | | | | | | U | |
| | II | | | | | A ¹⁷ | | | | | | | | | | H ² | I ² | | | K' | | | | | | | | | | | U | |
| 9 | I | | | α | a ² | B ² | C | \uparrow | D | E | | | | | | | | | | | K ¹ | \downarrow | P ⁶ | R ³ | | | | | | | U | |
| | II | | | | | a ⁶ | \uparrow | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | III | | | α | a ⁶ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | I | | α | E ² | S ² | η' | θ' | a ⁶ | B' | | D ¹⁰ | E ² | F ² | S | | H ² | I ² | | | K' | | | | | | | | | | | | |

ALASKAN MYTHS

| MYTH | MOVE | D E F α | A B C \uparrow D E F G O L | M ^H J ^I N | K \downarrow P R S | L Q E _x | T | U W |
|------|------|----------------|--|---|--|------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | I | α | A ⁷ B ³ | H | I ⁵ | K ¹ | | |
| 2 | I | α | a ¹ B ² C \uparrow G ⁴ D E F ³ | | \downarrow K ⁴ | | | |
| | II | | a ¹ | | K ¹⁰ \downarrow | | T ¹ | W ⁰ |
| 3 | I | α | a ⁶ B ⁴ C \uparrow | H ¹ | I ¹ | K ¹⁰ \downarrow | | |
| | II | | y ² δ a ⁶ B ⁴ C \uparrow | H ¹ | I ¹ | | | U ⁻ T ¹ |
| 4 | I | α | a ¹ | d ⁷ E ² f ¹ | | | | |
| | II | | A ¹ | \uparrow D E ⁻ F ¹ B ⁷ | K ⁵ \downarrow | | | W ⁰ |
| 5 | I | y ¹ | D ⁷ E ¹ f ¹ | A ¹ | D ⁵ E ⁴ F ¹ | K ⁸ \downarrow | | W ⁰ |
| 6 | I | α | A ¹⁹ C | H ² | I ² | K ⁴ | | |
| 7 | I | α | n ¹ θ A ⁵ B ¹ | *D ⁷ E ¹ | H ¹ | I ¹ | G ² δ D ⁷ E K F ¹⁰ \downarrow | W ⁰ |
| | II | | a ⁶ | C \uparrow D ² E ² f ¹ | | | | W ⁰ |
| 8 | I | α | a ⁶ C | H ² | I ² | K | | |
| 9 | I | α | A ¹⁹ B ⁴ C | M | N | | | U ⁻ |
| | II | | a ¹ | | | | | W ¹ |
| 10. | I | α | A ⁴ B C \uparrow D ⁷ E ⁻ | G ² | D ⁷ E ⁻ F ¹ | K ¹ \downarrow | | |

MOVES - ALASKAN MYTHS

1.

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 2. & I \quad \propto a' B^2 C \uparrow G^4 D E F^3 \downarrow K^4 \\
 & II \quad \quad \quad a' G^4 K^{10} \frac{\circ}{\circ} \downarrow T' W^0 \frac{\circ}{\circ}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 3. & I \quad \propto \left\{ a^6 B^4 C \uparrow H' I' K^{10} \downarrow \right. \\
 & II \quad \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} a^6 \\ y^2 \delta' B^4 C \uparrow H' I' U \end{array} \right\} T'
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 4. & I \quad \propto a' d^7 E^2 f' \\
 & II \quad \quad \quad A' \uparrow D E^- F' B^7 K^5 \downarrow W^0
 \end{array}$$

5.

6.

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 7. & I \quad \propto \eta' \theta' A^{15} B' \overset{*}{D}^7 E^7 H' I' G^2 \xi D^7 E K F^{10} \downarrow W^0 \\
 & II \quad \quad \quad a^6 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 f' W^0
 \end{array}$$

8.

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 9. & I \quad \propto A^{19} B^4 C \quad M N \quad U^- \\
 & II \quad \quad a' \quad \quad \quad K \quad W'
 \end{array}$$

10.

MOVES - BEAVER MYTHS

1. I $\propto A' B^4 C \uparrow \begin{smallmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{smallmatrix} G^3 H' I' K F^7 \downarrow$
 II $\begin{matrix} A^{19} P^6 R^9 U \\ \rightarrow (\uparrow D E K F \uparrow D E K F) \end{matrix}$
2. I $\propto B^2 D^3 E^3 F^- \eta' \Theta^3 A^8 B^5 \uparrow \S D^2 E^2 F^2 K' \downarrow U$
 II $A^{17} H' I' K T'$
- 3.
4. I $\propto a^6 B \uparrow K' \S$
 II $a^{-6} \eta' \Theta' H^2 I^2 \downarrow U$
5. I $\propto a^6 D^2 E^2 F^7 K' \S \propto$
 II $A^{15} \S B^3 \uparrow H^2 I^2 K' W^0$
6. I $\propto y' \delta' A' \Theta' A' B^4 C \uparrow H' I' K^3$
 II $a' D^3 E^3 \downarrow \S F^- U$
7. I $\propto \varrho^2 \zeta^2 \eta' \Theta^3 A^{17} B D E K F' a^- <$
 II $\eta^3 \Theta^3 A^{17} H^2 I^2 U W^0$
8. I $\propto \varepsilon^2 \zeta^2 a^5 B D E^+ F^8 K' \S$
 II $A^{17} H^2 I^2 K' U \S \begin{smallmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{smallmatrix}$
9. I $\propto a^2 B^2 C \uparrow D E K F' \downarrow$
 II $a^6 \uparrow P^6 R^6 Q <$
 III $a^6 Q \S T' <$
- 10.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE IN SPHERES OF ACTION

BEAVER MYTHS

[illegible]

ALASKAN MYTHS

[illegible]

CHAPTER III

APPLICATION OF ARMSTRONG'S METHOD OF ANALYSIS

III 1) INTRODUCTION

The title of Armstrong's short paper, "Content Analysis in Folkloristics", enables us to see what Armstrong's work is about. He states that his method of analysis was derived partly from the writings of H. Burke, "The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action", concerning analysis of dramatic behaviour, and partly from the two bodies of folklore through which he worked out the details of the analytic method. The two bodies of folktales used were "from the Bush Negroes of Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana and the Dakota Indians of the United States" (Armstrong, 1959:162).

Armstrong rejects the idea of Stith Thompson's motifs. Instead he tries to devise a way of defining natural units of the story intermediate between the single word and the total story (Armstrong, 1959:154). Armstrong searches for "relative units, ones defined in terms of the contents within which they are found rather than determined in accordance with the criteria of a lateral and arbitrarily postulated system" (Armstrong, 1959:155). He uses a dramatic model as the basis for the segmentation and compartmentalization of the tales. He bases it, as he says, "in nouns or in the assertion patterns of the language, as for example, in some carefully established actor-action phase, or in whatever segment of an utterance flow might be said to constitute a sentence. Armstrong states that the rationale behind this is based on the fact that in stories only, as opposed to rhymes, there is a unique feature he calls virtual action, for instance, "the presence of not only an aesthetic objective, which may be defined as whatever the story teller may have wished to achieve, but objectives arising from the depicted actors themselves" (Armstrong, 1959:163). Armstrong conceives the act to

consist of three parts -- an actor, designated X, an act designated Y by one of several objectives or actions, and an additional actor or recipient toward or against whom the action was directed, designated Y. These units of concern have three properties; a) subtotal (units shorter than the whole text) and comparable, b) concerned with internal rather than external (pragmatic) objectives, c) manifest rather than latent" (Armstrong, 1959:163). A new act is determined when an alteration in the actor-action constellation occurs through 1) a shift in the initiation of the activity with the actor or recipient remaining constant, or through the addition or deletion of one of the actors. The exception to this is "in that case where a second actor merely reacts to the move of the initiation actor. In this case, the second actor neither supplements nor resists the activity initiated with respect to him or in his presence" (Armstrong, 1959:163). 2) there is a change in other elements of the tale, such as purpose, scene, the time or place, 3) when a segment of dramatic behaviour does not succeed the preceeding consequence of the objective. Reference to Armstrong's tables of objectives on pages 211-3, gives the categories of objectives used in this analysis. Each of the individual words in a category of objectives, such as objectives pertaining to Resistance and Attack, will be referred to as an element, action or objective. The objectives resist, protest belonging to M^1 for instance, will be referred to together as a group of objectives. Furthermore, Armstrong gives each objective a positive, negative or neutral connotation. We will also refer to this as a valence.

This concept is applied to the material starting from the beginning of the tale and working through to its completion. The medial units, or those which manifest dramatic objective or action, are searched out. Such introductory and terminal remarks, without any manifest dramatic objective, will be included in the units which respectively follow or precede them"

(Armstrong, 1959:166). At the end of the tale, we will have a number of constellations. The percentage of each objective found in the tale is illustrated firstly by organizing the objectives vertically on the left side of a grid, with the numbers of the constellations 1 - n horizontally along the top of the grid. From this can easily be seen the number of objectives found in each actor-action-recipient constellation. The relationship of each objective to the others in each tale is determined by a simple arithmetical calculation - that of the percentage of occurrences of each objective in the tale. An individual model is thus created for each tale that can be compared to an overall model for the corpus which can, in turn, be compared to other corpora models. The model is composed of nine letters, each of which depicts an objective category. The letters are ordered lineally and sequentially, commencing with the objective category occurring most often to the category occurring least often in the tale.

III 2, i) ARMSTRONG, BEAVER ANALYSIS AND NOTES

#1. The Frog and the Owl

| | | | |
|------------|------------------------|------------|---------|
| X | Old Man Owl | X | Crow |
| <u>O</u> | lose | <u>R</u> 3 | informs |
| Y | daughter | Y | Birds |
| X | Old Lady Owl | X | Frogs |
| <u>D</u> 2 | berates | <u>M</u> 1 | attack |
| Y | Old Man Owl | Y4 | Birds |
| X | Old Man Owl | X | Birds |
| <u>S</u> 3 | requests (of) | <u>M</u> 2 | defeat |
| Y | Little Owl | Y | Frogs |
| X | Little Owl | | |
| <u>R</u> 2 | investigates | | |
| Y | Old man Owl's daughter | | |
| X | Woodpecker Boy | | |
| R | communicates (to) | | |
| Y | Owl Boy | | |
| X | Owl Boy | | |
| <u>R</u> 2 | discovers | | |
| Y | Old Man Owl's daughter | | |
| X | Old Man Owl | | |
| <u>O</u> 1 | retrieves | | |
| Y | daughter | | |

Thus we have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

XOY , XD_2Y , $X\bar{S}_3Y$, $X\bar{R}_2Y$, XRY , $X\bar{R}_2Y$, $X\bar{O}_1Y$, $X\bar{R}_3Y$, XM_1Y , XM_2Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|-----|-------|-------------|-------------|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----|
| A | | | | | | | | | | |
| D | | D_2 | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | | | | | M , M_2 | |
| S | | | \bar{S}_3 | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | O | | | | | | \bar{O}_1 | | | |
| R | | | | \bar{R}_2 | R | \bar{R}_2 | | \bar{R}_3 | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | | | | | |

There are five objective components in this myth:

D - 10%

M - 20%

S - 10%

O - 20%

R - 40%

The overall model for this tale is R (MO) (DS). Since M and O, and D and S both occur the same percentage of times in the myth, they are bracketed to indicate this.

In this tale the objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information are found most often. Three of these relate to acquisition, and one to communicate. The objectives pertaining to resistance and attack and to the acquisition and loss of property are the next two most important objectives in the myth. Both the objectives pertaining to resistance

and attack are negative, and entail the actions attack and defeat while the objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property consist of one negative action, lose, and one positive action, retrieves. Finally, a negative objective, berate, pertaining to praise and condemnation, is found once as is a positive objective, direct, pertaining to permission and prohibition.

#2 The Boy Wabshu

X Wabshu's mother

S1 directs

Y Wabshu's father

X Father

B2 searches (for)

Y new wife

X Father

O2 acquires

Y wife

X Step Mother

S1 directs

Y Wabshu

X Wabshu

M3 kills

Y Rabbits

X Step Mother

M4 accuses

Y Wabshu

X Father

A1 punishes

Y Wabshu

X Nahata

A Aids

Y Wabshu

X Father

B2 seeks

Y Wabshu

X Wabshu

B2 repays

Y Father

X Wabshu

M3 kills

Y Step Mother

X Onli Nachi

S invites

Y Wabshu

X Onli Nachi

M1 attacks

Y People

X Wabshu

M3 kills

Y Onli Nachi

X Wabshu

M2 protects

Y people

Thus we have the actor-action-recipient constellation:

$\overline{X}S1Y$, $\overline{X}B2Y$, $\overline{X}O2Y$, $\overline{X}S1Y$, $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\underline{X}M4Y$, $\underline{X}A1Y$, $\underline{X}AY$, $\overline{X}B2Y$, $\underline{X}B2Y$, $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\underline{X}SY$, $\underline{X}M1Y$,
 $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\underline{X}M2Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|-------------------|----|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| A | | | | | | | A_1 | A_1 | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | \underline{M}_3 | \underline{M}_4 | | | | | \underline{M}_3 | | \underline{M}_1 | \underline{M}_3 | \underline{M}_2 |
| S | \overline{S}_1 | | | \overline{S}_1 | | | | | | | | S | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | \overline{O}_2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | \overline{B}_2 | | | | | | | \overline{B}_2 | B_2 | | | | | |

There are five objective components in this myth.

A - 13%

M - 40%

S - 20%

O - 7%

B - 20%

The overall model for this myth is M (S B) A O

In this myth the objectives pertaining to resistance and attack are found twice as often as are any of the other objectives. Of these objectives we find that all of the six except one neutral objective are the negative expression of the verb. Three of these are kill, from the group kill, destroy, and reduce. The objective attack, and the objective accuse from intimidate,

accuse are both used once each. Also, objective protects from the neutral group of objectives save, preserve, protect is employed once.

Objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition, and acceptance and avoidance of obligation are found next and equally as often. The first category of objectives is found three times, with the element direct from the group of objectives prescribe, summon, direct, appearing twice and the element invite, from the group permit, invite, appearing once. The latter objectives distribution is similar in that of the three objectives employed two are positive, both elements seek, from the group seek, encounter, and the third is a neutral element repay from the group pay, repay.

Objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment appear twice, with the negative element punish employed once, and the neutral element aid from the group aid, befriend, plan good, are also used once in the tale. The objectives pertaining to the acquisition and loss of property concerns a positive acquisition, the action acquires from the group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich.

#3 Usakindji and the Wolverine Man

X Usakindji

R2 discovers

Y Wolverine Man

X Wolverine Man

M2 captures

Y Usakindji

X Wolverine Pup

R2 discovers

Y Usakindji

X Wolverine Man

D1 reprimands

Y Pup

X Usakindji

M3 reduce

Y Wolverine Man

Thus we have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

$X\bar{R}2Y$, $XM2Y$, $X\bar{R}2Y$, $XD1Y$, $XM3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| A | | | | | |
| D | | | | D ₁ | |
| M | | M ₂ | | | M ₃ |
| S | | | | | |
| C | | | | | |
| O | | | | | |
| R | R ₂ | | R ₂ | | |
| E | | | | | |
| B | | | | | |

We have three objective components in this myth.

M - 40%

R - 40%

D - 20%

The overall model is (MR) D

The objectives pertaining to resistance and attack and the acquisition and dissemination of information are both found an equal number of times in the myth. The former objective utilizes the negative aspects of its category, with elements capture, from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture, and reduce; from the group kill, destroy, reduce. Here reduce rather than kill is used because, although Usakindji kills Wolverine Man and his family, he also reduces them to tiny pieces. The element discover, from the group discover, investigate, is employed in both instances in the latter objective.

From the objectives pertaining to praise and condemnation, the negative aspect of this category is employed in the final constellation of this myth. The element reprimand, from the group scold, reprimand, is used.

#4 Usakindji and the Geese and the Fox

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| X | Usakindji | X | Fox |
| R2 | discovers | <u>B3</u> | outwits |
| Y | Geese | Y | Usakindji |
| X | Geese | X | Usakindji |
| D | approve (of) | <u>O</u> | loses |
| Y | Usakindji | Y | Geese |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>M3</u> | Kills | <u>A1</u> | punishes |
| Y | Geese | Y | Fox |
| X | Loon | | |
| M1 | resists | | |
| Y | Usakindji | | |
| X | Geese | | |
| M3 | escapes (from) | | |
| Y | Usakindji | | |
| X | Red Fox | | |
| <u>R2</u> | discovers | | |
| Y | Usakindji | | |
| X | Usakindji | | |
| <u>M</u> | challenges | | |
| Y | Fox | | |

Thus we have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

$\bar{X}\bar{R}2Y$, XDY , $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\underline{X}M1Y$, $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{R}2Y$, $\underline{X}MY$, $\underline{X}R3Y$, $\underline{X}OY$, $\underline{X}A1Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|-------------|---|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|---|----------------|
| A | | | | | | | | | | A ₁ |
| D | | D | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | \underline{M}_3 | M ₁ | M ₃ | | \underline{M} | | | |
| S | | | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | | O | |
| R | \bar{R}_2 | | | | | \bar{R}_2 | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | | | B ₃ | | |

The myth has six objective components

A - 10%

D - 10%

M - 40%

O - 10%

R - 20%

B - 10%

The overall model of this myth is M R (A D O B)

The objectives pertaining to resistance and attack are found twice as often as the next most frequent category of objectives. All four objectives are from four different groups. The two negative actions utilized are kill, from the group of objectives kill, destroy, reduce, and the objective challenge. The two neutral actions utilized were resist, from the group resist, protest and escape, from the group release, free, rescue, escape.

The category of the objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information is employed twice. The objective discover, from the group investigate, discover, is used in both instances.

Four different categories of objectives are found only once each in the tale. They are action punish from the category pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment; the action approve from the category praise and condemnation; the action lose from the group lose, give in the category pertaining to the acquisition and loss of property; and finally the action outwit from the group welch, outwit, deceive in the category pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation.

#5 How the Animals Got Their Fat

| | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| S | invites | <u>O</u> | loses |
| Y | Bear | Y | Bear |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| A | befriends | M3 | released (from) |
| Y | Bear | Y | Tree |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>B3</u> | deceives | <u>R1</u> | convinces |
| Y | Bear | Y | Muskrat |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>M3</u> | kills | <u>D2</u> | berates |
| Y | Bear | Y | muskrat |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>C</u> | enjoys | <u>O</u> | loses |
| Y | Bear | Y | Fat |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>M2</u> | Captured (by) | <u>O2</u> | enriches |
| Y | Tree | Y | animals |

We have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

XS_Y, XA_Y, XB_{3Y}, XM_{3Y}, XC_Y, XM_{2Y}, XO_Y, XM_{3Y}, XR_{1Y}, XD_{2Y}, XO_Y, XO_{2Y}

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|-------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|---|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| A | | A | | | | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | \underline{M}_3 | | \underline{M}_2 | | M | | \underline{D}_2 | | |
| S | S | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | \bar{C} | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | \underline{O} | | | | \underline{O} | \bar{O}_2 |
| R | | | | | | | | | \bar{R}_1 | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | B_3 | | | | | | | | | |

There are seven objective components in this myth.

A - 8%

D - 8%

M - 25%

S - 8%

O - 25%

R - 8%

B - 8%

C - 8%

The overall model is (M O) (A D S R B C)

The categories of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack, as well as acquisition and loss of property are the most prevalent objectives in this myth. Two objectives of the first category are of the negative aspect, kill from the group kill, destroy, reduce, and capture, from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture. The neutral objective, release is from the group release, free, rescue, escape.

In the second category of objectives, acquisition and loss of property, is found the only negative objective in this category, lose from the group lose, give. We also find the positive objective, enrich from the group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich.

There are five other categories of objectives, each from which one objective or element is employed. From the category of objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment, the element befriend from the group aid, befriend, plan good is used; from the objectives pertaining to praise and condemnation, the element berate from the group humiliate, defame, berate, discredit, ridicule, humble oneself, is used; from the category of objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition the element invite, from the group permit, invite is employed; from the category of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information, the element convince from the group prove, convince, verify is employed; from the category of objectives pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation, the element deceive from the group welch, outwit, deceive is employed. Lastly, the category of objectives pertaining to gratification and deprivation utilizes the element of enjoy from the group gratify indulge, enjoy. In this tale we have utilized all the categories of objectives except one, that pertaining to conduct of affairs.

The personification of the tree in this tale enables us to use it as a recipient in the constellations. Fat is also interpreted as a recipient but it could also be considered as another form of the Geese.

#6 The Moman Who Married the Bear

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| X | Women | X | Brother |
| $\bar{S}3$ | request (of) | $\bar{R}2$ | discovers |
| Y | girl | Y | sister |
| X | Girl | X | Brother |
| $\underline{B}2$ | ignores | \underline{M} | challenges |
| Y | Women | Y | Bear |
| X | Bear | X | Brother |
| S | invites | $\underline{M}3$ | kills |
| Y | girl | Y | Bear |
| X | Girl | X | Bear |
| B1 | accepts | \underline{S} | forbids |
| Y | Bear | Y | wife |
| X | Parents | \underline{X} | wife |
| $\bar{R}5$ | remember | $\bar{B}1$ | contracts (with) |
| Y | daughter | Y | Crazy Man |
| X | Brother | X | Bears |
| $\bar{B}2$ | seeks | $\underline{M}3$ | kill |
| Y | sister | Y | couple |

We have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

$\bar{X}S3Y$, $\underline{X}B2Y$, $XS Y$, $XB1Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{R}5Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{B}2Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{R}2Y$, $\underline{X}MY$, $\underline{X}M3Y$, $\underline{X}SY$, $\bar{X}\bar{B}1Y$, $\underline{X}M3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|----|----|----------------|
| A | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | | | | M | M ₃ | | | M ₃ |
| S | S ₃ | | S | | | | | | | S | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R | | | | | R ₅ | | R ₂ | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | B ₂ | | B ₁ | | B ₂ | | | | | | B ₁ |

There are four component objectives in this myth.

M - 25%

S - 25%

R - 17%

B - 33%

The overall model is B (MS) R

The category of objectives pertaining to acceptance and avoidance of obligation is the most utilized category in this myth. One negative objective, the element ignore, from the group ignore, avoid is used, and two positive objectives, contract and seek are utilized, from the group contract, undertake, and seek, encounter respectively. The element accept from the group acknowledge, accept is utilized as a neutral objective. The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack and permission and prohibition are both used three times each in the tales. In the first category of objectives, the element kill from the group kill, destroy, reduce is used twice and the element challenge is used once. They are both related to attack. The latter category of objectives utilizes the elements request from the group beg, request; invite from the group permit, invite, and the element forbid from the group prescribe, bar, forbid. The first two elements of this latter category are related to permission, the latter element to prohibition.

The category of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information both utilize positive aspects of this category, the elements discover from the group discover, investigate and the element remember.

It is interesting to note that in this myth, even though there are many actor-action-recipient constellations, we have only four objective components.

#7 Usakindji and Moon Man

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| X Usakindji | X Usakindji |
| <u>R</u> 2 discovers | A aids |
| Y Moon Man | Y Moon Man |
| X3 Moon Man | X people |
| S invites | A befriend |
| Y Usakindji | Y Moon Man |
| X Usakindji | X Moon Man |
| B1 accepts | <u>M</u> 1 attacks |
| Y Moon Man | Y people |
| X Moon Man | X people |
| <u>A</u> conspires | <u>A</u> 1 punish |
| Y Usakindji | Y Moon Man |
| X Usakindji | |
| <u>B</u> 3 outwits | |
| Y Moon Man | |

Thus we have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

$\bar{X}R_2Y$, XSY , XB_1Y , XAY , XB_3Y , XAY , XAY , XM_1Y , $XALY$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|-------------|---|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|---|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A | | | | <u>A</u> | | A | A | | <u>A</u> ₁ |
| D | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | | | | <u>M</u> ₁ | |
| S | | S | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | | |
| R | \bar{R}_2 | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | <u>B</u> ₁ | | <u>B</u> ₃ | | | | |

There are five component objectives in this myth.

A - 44%

M - 11%

S - 11%

R - 11%

B - 22%

The overall model for this myth is A B (MSR)

The category of objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward assistance and punishment is by far the most used objective in this tale. From the negative group of objectives hinder, conspire, prevent, discourage, the element conspire, and the objective punish are used, as well as two elements, aid, and befriend, from the group of objectives that also include the element plan good.

The next category of objectives found half as many times in the tale pertains to acceptance and avoidance of obligation, with one form of acceptance element accept from the group acknowledge, accept, and one form of avoidance of obligation demonstrated by the element outwit, from the group welch, outwit, deceive.

The other three categories of objectives are each found once in the tale. They are objectives pertaining to resistance and attack, with the objective attack utilized in this case; to permission and prohibition with the objective invite, from the group permit, invite, and relating to permission, being employed here, and lastly, to the acquisition and dissemination of information, employing the objective discover from discover, investigate.

#8 Usakindji and Mosquito Man

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| X | Usakindji | X | Mosquito Man |
| <u>M3</u> | kills | <u>S3</u> | requests (of) |
| Y | Monsters | Y | Usakindji |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| <u>R2</u> | discovers | A | aids |
| Y | Mosquito Man | Y | Mosquito Man |
| X | Usakindji | X | Mosquito Man |
| <u>M3</u> | kills | <u>M1</u> | attacks |
| Y | Bear | Y | Usakindji |
| X | Mosquito Man | X | Usakindji |
| <u>O</u> | loses | <u>B3</u> | outwits |
| Y | Bear | Y | Mosquito Man |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| S | provides (himself) | M3 | reduces |
| Y | Bear | Y | Mosquito Man |

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

$\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{R}_2Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{O}Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{C}Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{S}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{A}Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_1Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{B}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| A | | | | | | | A | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | \underline{M}_3 | | \underline{M}_3 | | | | | \underline{M}_1 | | \underline{M}_3 |
| S | | | | | | \underline{S}_3 | | | | |
| C | | | | | C | | | | | |
| O | | | | O | | | | | | |
| R | | \underline{R}_2 | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | | | | \underline{B}_3 | |

There are seven component objectives in this myth.

A - 10%

M - 40%

S - 10%

C - 10%

O - 10%

R - 10%

B - 10%

The overall model is M (A S C O R B)

The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack are employed four times as often as any other category of objective. Three of these groups of objectives pertain to attack, and are from the group kill, destroy, reduce. They use elements kill twice and reduce once. Reduce is employed here as Usaḱindji chops Mosquito Man into little pieces after he causes his death. The objective attack is used once in the myth.

From the objective categories pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment a neutral objective, that of element aid, from the group aid, befriend, plan good is used.

From the objective category pertaining to permission and prohibition a positive aspect of this category, element request from the group beg, request, is used.

The category of objectives pertaining to gratification and deprivation employ the element provide from the neutral group of provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please. The story does not indicate that Usakindji indulges himself but only that he has found food for himself.

The two categories of objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property and acceptance and avoidance of obligation both employ negative objectives — the former using element lose, from the group lose, give, and the latter element outwit, from the group welch, outwit, deceive. Lastly, the category of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of land, employs the element discover from the group discover, investigate, in the myth.

#9 Why the Moose is Wary of Man

X Father

E Prepares

Y Son

X Boy

 $\bar{B}1$ contracts (with)

Y Moose

X Moose

 $\underline{M}5$ acquiesce

Y Boy

X Boy

C puts at ease

Y parents

X Boy

 $\bar{R}3$ teaches

Y Brother

X Boy

 $M3$ escapes

Y Moose

X Brother

 $\bar{B}2$ encounters

Y Boy Moose

X Boy Moose

 $\bar{B}1$ contracts (with)

Y Moose

Thus the actor-action-recipient constellation is;

 $XEY, X\bar{B}1Y, \underline{X}\underline{M}5Y, XCY, X\bar{R}3Y, XM3Y, X\bar{B}2Y, X\bar{B}1Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|-------------|-------------------|---|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| A | | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | \underline{M}_5 | | | M_3 | | |
| S | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | C | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | |
| R | | | | | \bar{R}_3 | | | |
| E | E | | | | | | | |
| B | | \bar{B}_1 | | | | | \bar{B}_2 | \bar{B}_1 |

There are five component objectives in this myth.

M - 25%

C - 13%

R - 13%

E - 13%

B - 37%

The overall model is B M (C R E)

The category of objectives pertaining to acceptance and avoidance of obligation is the most common category used. All three objectives refer to the acceptance of obligation through the employment of two elements contract, from the group contract, undertake, and an element encounter from seek, encounter.

The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack are found to be the second most commonly employed category in this tale, with the neutral element escape from the group release, free, rescue, escape used once and the negative element acquiesce from the group accede, acquiesce, surrender, also found once. Armstrong portrays these as negative qualities of this category, but in this tale Boy-Moose moves of his own accord. However, from the objectives available, these best fit his actions.

We find one objective from each of the categories pertaining to gratification and deprivation, the acquisition and dissemination of information, and the conduct of affairs. These are the elements put at ease from the group provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please; teach, from the group enlighten, inform, teach, learn, and the objective prepare, respectively.

#10 Usakindji, Bear and Chickadee

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| $\bar{R}2$ | discovers | $\bar{O}3$ | bargains (with) |
| Y | Bear | Y | Chickadee |
| X | Bear | X | Chickadee |
| S | invites | A | aids |
| Y | Usakindji | Y | Usakindji |
| X | Usakindji | X | Chickadee |
| $\bar{B}1$ | contracts | $\bar{R}2$ | discovers |
| Y | Bear | Y | Bear |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| A | aids | $\underline{B}3$ | outwits |
| Y | Bear | Y | Bear |
| X | Usakindji | X | Usakindji |
| \underline{A} | conspires (against) | $\underline{M}3$ | kills |
| Y | Bear | Y | Bear |
| X | Bear | X | Usakindji |
| $M3$ | escapes | \bar{A} | rewards |
| Y | Usakindji | Y | Chickadee |
| X | Usakindji | | |
| $\bar{B}2$ | seeks | | |
| Y | Bear | | |

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

$\bar{X}R_2Y$, XSY , $\bar{X}B_1Y$, $\bar{X}AY$, XAY , $\bar{X}M_3Y$, $\bar{X}B_3Y$, $\bar{X}O_2Y$, XAY , $\bar{X}R_2Y$, $\bar{X}B_3Y$, $\bar{X}M_3Y$, $\bar{X}AY$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
|---|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|-------|-------------|-------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------|-----------|
| A | | | | A | A | | | | A | | | | \bar{A} |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | | M_3 | | | | | | M_3 | |
| S | | S | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | \bar{O}_3 | | | | | |
| R | \bar{R}_2 | | | | | | | | | \bar{R}_2 | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | \bar{B}_1 | | | | \bar{B}_2 | | | | \bar{B}_3 | | |

There are six component objectives in this myth.

A - 30%

M - 15%

S - 8%

O - 8%

R - 15%

B - 23%

The overall model is A B (M R) (O S)

The category of objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment is the most commonly used category in this myth.

Two positive objectives of assistance, the elements aid from the group aid, befriend, plan good, were found twice, along with the element conspire, from the group hinder, conspire, prevent, discourage and the objective reward.

Three categories of objectives pertaining to acceptance and avoidance of obligation are next found in the text. Two of these categories relate to the acceptance of obligation and employ the element contract, from the group contract, undertake, while one objective relates to the avoidance of obligation. The element used to best describe this situation was outwit, from the group welch, outwit, deceive.

We next find two categories of objectives, one pertaining to resistance and attack and the other to the acquisition and dissemination of information in the tales. The former category employs two different objectives, one element escape, the other kill. The latter category used one objective in both instances, as well as the same element discover.

Lastly, the category of objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition and acquisition and loss of property both employ one objective each. The first used the action invite, and the second uses the action bargain.

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By totaling the percentage of each general category of objectives represented by a neutral letter, we reach the relative total number of times each category was employed in the analysis.

A - 115

D - 48

M - 281

S - 92

C - 31

O - 80

R - 174

E - 13

B - 163

The overall model for the Beaver corpus is M R B A S O D C E.

A general model was prepared from a random cross-section of myths all of which underwent analysis by Armstrong's method. The general model is M B R A S O E D C. We can see that the Beaver model is quite similar to the general model. The category pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination takes priority over the category pertaining to acceptance and avoidance of obligation when applied to the Beaver myths. Only one other difference occurs and this concerns the objectives pertaining to the conduct of affairs. In the model it is placed before the objectives pertaining to praise and condemnation, while in the Beaver corpus it appears last, after the objectives pertaining to gratification and deprivation.

Let us consider each category of the objectives separately.

The category of objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment offers us only four groups of objectives from which

to choose, one positive aspect of the objective, one neutral and two negative aspects of this objective. We find in the Beaver corpus that of these one hundred fifteen objectives or thirteen of a total one hundred four actions, that we have utilized all four groups of objectives, with the group of objectives consisting of actions aid, befriend, plan good, using a total of seven actions. The two actions, aid and befriend are employed here, with the former action employed five times as opposed to action befriend, employed twice. The objective punish is next most important in this category, being utilized four times. The objectives reward and conspire are both found once. Thus aid is the most frequently used action in this category.

The category of objectives pertaining to praise and condemnation consist of six groups of objectives, three of which are used. Neither of the positive aspects of these objectives are used, nor is one negative aspect. We see that of the one group of objectives humilitate, berate, defame, etc., berate is utilized twice. From the group of objectives scold and reprimand, the action reprimand is used. Finally, the objective approve is used. Although this would seem to have a positive connotation, Armstrong has assigned it a neutral valence. We find that both extremes of this category, the objectives pertaining to praise or to absolute condemnation are not employed. Berate is the most commonly used action in this category.

The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack is interesting in that Armstrong found only two numerical connotations here, neutral and negative. Only three out of four groups of objectives or six actions are found to be neutral as opposed to all six negative groups of objectives, or twenty three negative actions. The most common neutral objectives are taken from the group release, free, rescue, escape of which the action escape is used three times and release only once. Of the other three groups

of neutral objectives, the first two groups contain the actions resist and protects respectively, while the objectives pertaining to do justice, vindicate, etc. are not utilized.

The one group of objectives that was by far utilized more than any of the others consisted of the actions kill, destroy, and reduce. They used a total of twelve out of one hundred four actions. Of these twelve actions, kill is used ten times, reduce twice and destroy zero. In each case, where the action reduce is employed, we might note that the victim is already dead at the hands of the actor when he chops him into pieces.

The next most frequently used objective is attack, found four times in the corpus, followed by the group of objectives containing actions overcome, defeat, conquer and capture. This group is employed a total of three times, the action capture employed twice, defeat once, while overcome and conquer are not used. There is one group of objectives that is employed twice in the corpus which is challenge.

The last two group of objectives, both of which employ one action each, are intimidate, accuse, and accede; acquiesce, surrender. From these groups accuses and acquiesce are employed respectively.

Thus in this category, the most common objective is kill.

The category of objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition contain three positive aspects of this objective, one neutral and one negative objective. We see that one positive objective insist is not used, while the group of objectives prescribe, summon, direct is employed twice (with the action direct used in both instances) and the group of objectives beg and request are used three times with request used in each case. From the negative group of objectives prescribe, bar, forbid, the latter objective is found only once. Lastly, from the neutral group of this category, permit and invite is

the most commonly employed action, being used a total of five out of eleven times, and we find that invite is used in each case. Thus it appears that invite is the most commonly employed objective from this category.

There are only three groups of objectives from which to choose in the category pertaining to gratification and deprivation, one positive aspect, one neutral and one negative, the latter not being found in the corpus. The neutral group of objectives, provide, put at ease alleviate, comfort, please, is found twice, with the first two elements utilized. Of the positive aspect of the group of objectives, gratify, indulge, enjoy, the latter is used once in the corpus. In this instance, the narrator makes a point of stating that the actor, Usakindji, enjoys his feast of food, as well as catches it.

The category of objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property employ four of the five groups of objectives and a total of nine out of one hundred four actions. The only negative objective employs five loss actions. The action give is not employed in the corpus. The groups of objectives, acquire obtain, profits, enrich, is used twice in the corpus. The actions acquires and enrich are both used once. The other two groups of objectives each employed once in the corpus are bargain, and retrieve, the latter action from the group of objectives retrieve, reclaim, collect. The neutral aspect of this objective category keep, retain, is not used in the corpus. The most commonly used objective from this category is the action lose.

The category of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information is larger than any of the other categories, with five positive groups of objectives, two neutral, and four negative aspects. Interestingly enough, none of the latter groups are found in the corpus, and only one of the two neutral groups employs one objective — the action com-

municate. Four of the five positive aspects contain at least one action, except for the objective suggest. Both objective categories prove, convince, verify and remember are found only once each. The group of objectives enlighten inform, teach, learn is used twice, with inform and teach the actions used both in one instance. The last group of objectives, discover, investigate is by far the largest, employing eleven of the sixteen actions. We find that all except one are the action discover. Investigate is used only once in a situation where an actor is searched for but not found in that actor action constellation. The action discover is by far the most important objective in this category.

The category of objectives pertaining to the conduct of affairs contains one neutral objective, prepare, which we find only once in the corpus. The other four positive and negative objectives do not occur at all.

In the last category of objectives, acceptance and avoidance of obligation, all but one group of objectives, that of cancel, entails employing at least one action from each group of the objectives. The two positive groups of objectives use the same number of actions as do the neutral and negative groups of objectives together. Firstly, the group of objectives, seek, encounter, are used a total of five times, the action seek being used four out of five times, and the action encounter used only once. Secondly, of the group of objectives contract, undertaken contract is used in all four instances. Of the two groups of objectives pay, repay and ignore, avoid, both are used once, with the actions repay and ignore being utilized. From the group of objectives acknowledge, accept, the latter action is used twice in the corpus. Finally, from the group of objectives welch, outwit, deceive, the action outwit is employed four out of five times, and deceive only once.

There are three equally important objectives in this category -- seek, contract, outwit.

In summary from the nine categories of objectives, the actions from each group of objectives that appeared most often are aid, befriend, plan good; humiliate, defame, berate, discredit, ridicule, humble oneself, kill, destroy, reduce; permit, invite; provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please; lose, give; discover, investigate; prepare; seek, encounter and welch, outwit, deceive. The words underlined indicate the most commonly used action in the actor action recipient constellation. We can also see that although the majority of the most commonly employed action also belonged to its appropriate group of objectives, relying on the group to signify which group of objectives should represent that category of objectives does not necessarily give us an accurate picture. For instance, the groups seek, encounter and welch, outwit, deceive both appeared five times in the corpus. However, two actions from both these groups were only employed four times, as was another action, contract from the group contract, undertake. Therefore, there are three, not only two important actions in this category.

In all categories except pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment, there is at least one group of objectives unused. The groups of objectives that we do not utilize are; firstly from the objectives pertaining to praise and condemnation, we do not find flatter, elevate, exult, praise, boast or condemn, betray, or incriminate. From the objectives pertaining to resistance and attack we do not find the group do justice, vindicate or justify oneself. From the category of objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition insist is absent, and from the objective category pertaining to gratification and deprivation, the group of actions deny, displease, withheld, disturb, discomfort, torture are not employed. From the

category of objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property, the group of actions keep, retain is not used. The negative aspect of this concept is more obvious in the myths -- that of losing property.

The objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information presents an interesting situation in that many groups of objectives are not utilized. These are suggest, believe, agree, obscure, keep in ignorance, hide, misinform, falsify, disprove, forget, and doubt. The actions that are used in these categories seem to be more action oriented.

Also, all except one group of objectives pertaining to the conduct of affairs is not employed. The groups are succeed, persevere, do ones duty, temporize, and fail.

Of the category pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation, the only group not utilized is cancel.

Thus we can see the actions that are important in the Beaver tales as opposed to those that are not.

It appears that the use of negative objectives in this corpus is greater than the positive in relation to Armstrong's valenced objectives. Looking at Armstrong's fifty-six objectives as valenced, we can determine whether or not this is true.

| Armstrong's Objectives | | | Objectives Employed | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| + | 19 | 34 | 34 | 33 |
| N | 14 | 25 | 26 | 25 |
| - | 23 | 41 | 44 | 42 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 56 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

As the arithmetic conversion above illustrates, the Beaver corpus uses very slightly more negatively valenced objectives, and fewer positively

valenced objectives. The neutrally valenced objectives, however, are the same proportionately. We might say that the distribution of objectives throughout the corpus, according to Armstrong's analysis, is well balanced.

The result in comparison to viewing the most common objectives from each group of objectives is somewhat surprising as here one would expect to find more negative objectives.

Thus from an available nine categories, all are utilized, from an available fifty-six groups of objectives, thirty-eight are used, and from an available one hundred thirty-one objectives, one hundred and four are used.

III 3, i) ARMSTRONG, ALASKAN ANALYSIS AND NOTES

#1 The Ten-Footed Bear

X Ten Footed Bear

M₄ intimidates

Y Man

X Ten Footed Bear

M₁ attacks

Y Man

X Man

B₃ Outwits

Y Bear

X Man...

M₃ kills

Y Bear

The actor-action-recipient constellation of this tale is;

XM₄Y, XM₁Y, XB₃Y, XM₃Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A | | | | |
| D | | | | |
| M | <u>M</u> ₄ | <u>M</u> ₁ | | <u>M</u> ₃ |
| S | | | | |
| C | | | | |
| O | | | | |
| R | | | | |
| E | | | | |
| B | | | <u>B</u> ₃ | |

There are two objective components in this myth.

M - 75%

A - 25%

The overall model for this myth is M B.

Three actions, each from a different group of objectives pertaining to the category of objectives, resistance and attack are used in this tale. They are attack, kill from kill destroy reduce, and intimidate from intimidate accuse.

The only other category of objectives pertains to acceptance and avoidance of obligation. The group of objectives from which the action outwit is chosen is welch, outwit, deceive.

Since the myth is very short and the beginning of the tale is introductory description, little action actually occurs.

#2 The Beginning of the Winds

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| X | Wife | X | Doll |
| $\bar{S}3$ | requests (of) | M3 | escapes |
| Y | husband | Y | parents |
| X | husband | X | Doll |
| \bar{C} | indulges | $\bar{O}2$ | obtains |
| Y | wife | | nature |
| X | husband | X | Doll |
| $\bar{B}1$ | contracts | $\underline{M}5$ | accedes (to) |
| Y | Doll | Y | parents |
| X | couple | X | Doll |
| $\bar{R}2$ | discover | $\bar{R}3$ | teaches |
| Y | Doll (live) | Y | people |

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

$X\bar{S}3Y$, $X\bar{C}Y$, $X\bar{B}1Y$, $X\bar{R}2Y$, $XM3Y$, $X\bar{O}2Y$, $X\underline{M}5Y$, $X\bar{R}3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|----------------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| A | | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | M ₃ | | M ₅ | |
| S | S ₃ | | | | | | | |
| C | | C̄ | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | O ₂ | | |
| R | | | | R ₂ | | | | R ₃ |
| E | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | B ₁ | | | | | |

There are six component objectives in this tale.

M - 25%

S - 13%

C - 13%

O - 13%

R - 25%

B - 13%

The overall model is (M R) (S C O B)

There are two categories of objectives found twice each in this tale, with the other four only once each.

The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack and those pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information are the two most important categories in the tale. From both categories, one action from two different groups is utilized. From the first we have the positive action escape from release, free, rescue, escape, and accede with a negative valence from its group of accede, acquiesce, surrender. Although this is an action of free will on Doll's part and, therefore, it would seem to warrant a positive valence, but it will be left as designated by Armstrong.

From the second category of objectives, we have two positive aspects

of this objective. They are discover from discover, investigate, and teach from enlighten, inform, teach, learn.

The other four objective components each appear once and pertain to permission and prohibition, gratification and deprivation, acquisition of land and property and lastly, acceptance and avoidance of obligation. All the actions from each group of objectives have a positive valence. For example, from the first group of categories, we find that request is employed from the two actions, beg, request, respectively. From the second category of objectives, we find the action indulge from the group gratify, indulge, enjoy. The action from the third category of objectives is obtain from the group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich. Finally, the action employed from the last category of objectives is contract from the group contract, undertake.

Doll's different activities while away from his parents are all related to discovering the winds, snow, reindeer, etc. This is personified in Nature and summarizes a large portion of the myth. With each new discovery, Doll is not really involving himself in a new activity, but a variation of one -- discovering nature, of which snow, etc. are various aspects of it.

#3 Little Man of the Tundra

X Father and Mother Moon

 \bar{B}_1 contract (with)

Y Tundra

X Father Moon

 \bar{R}_2 investigates

Y Tundra

X Tundra

 \underline{M}_4 intimidates

Y Father Moon

X Tundra

 \underline{M}_3 releases

Y Father Moon

X Father Moon

 \underline{R}_4 doubts

Y Tundra

X Father Moon

 \underline{B}_2 ignores

Y Mother Moon

X Tundra

 \underline{A}_1 punishes

Y Father Moon

X Tundra

 \underline{M}_3 reduces

Y Father Moon

We have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

 $\underline{X}\bar{B}_1Y$, $\underline{X}\bar{R}_2Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_4Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{R}_4Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{B}_2Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{A}_1Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| A | | | | | | | \underline{A}_1 | |
| D | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | \underline{M}_4 | \underline{M}_3 | | | | \underline{M}_3 |
| S | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | |
| R | | \bar{R}_2 | | | \underline{R}_4 | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | |
| B | \bar{B}_1 | | | | | \underline{B}_2 | | |

There are four component objectives in this myth.

A - 13%

M - 37%

R - 25%

B - 25%

The overall model is M (R B) A

The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack is found most often in this myth and utilizes three different groups -- two with a negative valence and one with a neutral valence. Those actions leaning more towards attack are intimidate from the group intimidate, accuse, and reduce from kill, destroy, reduce. The neutral action release is employed from the group release, free, rescue, escape.

Two categories of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information, and acceptance and avoidance of obligation, are both found twice in the myth. Each category employs sections from different groups and each action of either group has a positive and negative aspect. From the first category we find the action investigate from the group discover, investigate, and the action doubt. From the second category we have the action contract from the group contract, undertake, and the action ignore from the group ignore, avoid.

Lastly, we have one action, punish, from the objective category pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment. The actions punish and reward are both used in this myth as the story is quite explicit in stating that Father Moon is punished for his behaviour by being crushed and ground into a fine powder. Had this part of the myth not been so explicit, one action might have been sufficient.

The action contrasts (with) is used as there is no other action to best describe the arrangement between Father and Mother Moon and Tundra.

#4 The Poor Boy and the Northern Lights

X Rich Woman

A aids

Y Poor Boy

X Poor Boy

A aids

Y Fishermen

X Walrus

M2 captures

Y Poor Boy

X Poor Boy

M3 releases (himself from)

Y Walrus spirits

X Poor Boy

O2 acquires

Y parents

X Poor Boy

B2 repays

Y village people

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

XAY, XAY, XM2Y, XM3Y, XO2Y, XB2Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| A | A | A | | | | |
| D | | | | | | |
| M | | | M ₂ | M ₃ | | |
| S | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | <u>O</u> ₂ | |
| R | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | B ₂ |

We have four component objectives in this myth.

A - 33%

M - 33%

O - 17%

B - 17%

The overall model of this myth is (AM) (O B)

The two categories of objectives from which a total of four groups of objectives are found pertain to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment, and resistance and attack. In the first category, we find that both actions are the same, aid from the group aid, befriend, plan good. In this instance, although the action remains the same, the actor-action-recipient constellation changes. In the first constellation, Poor Boy is the recipient, and in the second, the actor. The alternative actor and recipient differed in both constellations. It is also interesting to note that one constellation succeeds the other.

In the second category, we have a negative action, capture, from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture, and a neutral action, release from the group release, free, rescue escape. These two constellations also follow each other, and Walrus and Poor Boy trade positions from actor-recipient in the first constellation to recipient-actor in the following constellation.

The categories of objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property and acceptance and avoidance are also used once each. From the former category, the action, acquire from the group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich is employed once as is the action repay from the group pay, repay.

#5 The Dwarfs of Hawkins Island

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
| X | Men | X | Men |
| \bar{B}_2 | encounter | \underline{M}_2 | capture |
| Y | Dwarfs | Y | Dwarfs |
| X | Dwarfs | X | Dwarfs |
| \bar{S}_1 | direct | \underline{A} | Hinder |
| Y | Men | Y | Men |
| X | Men | X | Men |
| A | aid | M3 | release |
| Y | Dwarfs | Y | Dwarfs |
| X | Men | X | Men |
| \underline{M}_3 | kill | \bar{R}_3 | inform |
| Y | Mouse | Y | people |

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

$\bar{X}\bar{B}_2Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{S}_1Y$, XAY , $\underline{X}\underline{M}_3Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_2Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{A}Y$, $\underline{X}\underline{M}_2Y$, $\bar{X}\bar{R}_3Y$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|-------------|-------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| A | | | A | | | \underline{A} | | |
| D | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | \underline{M}_3 | \underline{M}_2 | | \underline{M}_3 | |
| S | | \bar{S}_1 | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | |
| R | | | | | | | | \bar{R}_3 |
| E | | | | | | | | |
| B | \bar{B}_2 | | | | | | | |

There are five component objectives in this myth.

A - 25%

M - 38%

S - 12%

R - 12%

B - 12%

The overall model is M A (S R B)

The category of objectives most often employed in this myth pertains to resistance and attack. There are two different actions from negative groups are the actions capture, from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture, and kill, from kill, destroy, reduce. The neutral action is release from the group release, free, rescue, escape.

The second most common category pertains to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment with two groups employed. Action aid from the neutral group aid, befriend, plan good is used, as well as the action hinder from the negatively assigned group hinder, prevent, conspire, discourage.

Each of the categories pertaining to permission and prohibition, the acquisition and dissemination of information and acceptance and avoidance of obligation employ one action from their various positively valences groups of objectives. The actions employed are, firstly, direct from the group prescribe, summon, direct; next, inform from the group enlighten, inform, teach, learn, and lastly, encounter from the group seek, encounter.

#6 The Mountain Which Fought a Battle

X Mountains

R₄ doubt

Y Mountains

X Mountains

M₁ attack

Y Mountains

X Makusinkaia

M₂ defeats

Y Recesnaia

We have the actor-action-recipient constellation of;

X_{R4}Y, X_{M1}Y, X_{M2}Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A | | | |
| D | | | |
| M | | <u>M</u> ₁ | <u>M</u> ₂ |
| S | | | |
| C | | | |
| O | | | |
| R | <u>R</u> ₄ | | |
| E | | | |
| B | | | |

There are two component objectives in this myth.

R - 67%

M - 33%

The overall model of this myth is M R

The category of objective that is used most often pertains to resistance and attack, utilizing one action each from two different negative groups. They are attack, and defeat from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture.

The only other category employed in this myth pertains to the acquisition and dissemination of information. Another negative action, doubt is used.

Thus this short myth utilizes only two objective categories from a total of nine.

#7 The Chilkat Blanket

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| X Girl | X Fisherman |
| B1 contracts (with) | A aids |
| Y Youth | Y girl |
| X Girl | X Fisherman |
| M3 escapes | <u>M3</u> kills |
| Y Youth | Y Bear |
| X Girl | X Girl |
| S3 requests (of) | B1 accepts |
| Y Fisherman | Y Gonaquade't |
| X Fisherman | X Gonaquade't |
| B1 contracts | M3 releases |
| Y Girl | Y Girl |

X Girl
B2 repays
Y Gonaquade't

X Gonaquade't
O gives (to)
Y Raven

X Raven
R2 discovers
Y Gonaquade't

X Raven
O gives (to)
Y people

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

$\bar{X}B1Y$, $XM3Y$, $\bar{X}S3Y$, $\bar{X}B1Y$, XAY , $\underline{X}M3Y$, $XB1Y$, $XM3Y$, $XB2Y$, $\bar{X}R2Y$, $\underline{X}OY$, $\underline{X}OY$

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|---|-------------------|---|-------|---|-------------|----------|----------|
| A | | | | | A | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | M_3 | | | | \underline{M}_3 | | M_3 | | | | |
| S | | | \bar{S}_3 | | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | | | | <u>O</u> | <u>O</u> |
| R | | | | | | | | | | \bar{R}_2 | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | \bar{B}_1 | | | \bar{B}_1 | | B_1 | | B_2 | | | | |

There are six component objectives in this myth.

A - 8%

M - 25%

S - 8%

O - 17%

R - 8%

B - 33%

The overall model of this myth is B M O (A S R)

The category that employs the majority of the actions in this myth pertains to acceptance and avoidance of obligation. We find actions from three different groups here. Two positive actions, contract, are employed from the group contract, undertake. Two actions, one from each neutral group of objectives are also used, these are accept from acknowledge, accept and repay from pay, repay.

The next most often used category pertains to resistance and attack. From the three actions, two groups of objectives are employed. The neutral actions release and escapes are taken from the group release, free, escape, rescue, and the action kill is taken from the group kill, destroy, reduce.

The action give, which Armstrong denotes with a negative valence, is found twice in the tales, taken from the category pertaining to the acquisition and loss of property. Although the actions are essentially the same, the actor-recipient constellation is different. The recipient of the first constellation is the actor of the second. The action give also contains a positive aspect as it seems that the purpose of creating the blanket was for the benefit of the Indian people.

Finally there are three categories that each contribute one action each. The first action is aid, from the group aid, befriend, plan good, in the category pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment. The second action is request, from the group beg, request, in the category pertaining to permission and prohibition. The last action is discover, from the group of objectives discover, investigate, in the category pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information.

In this tale, we see that all but three objectivescategories are employed.

#8 The Moose, the Sheep and the Caribou

X Moose, Sheep, Caribou

R₄ doubt

Y Moose, Sheep, Caribou

X Moose, Sheep, Caribou

M challenge

Y Moose, Sheep, Caribou

X Sheep

R₄ suggests (to)

Y Moose, Caribou

X Moose, Caribou

R₁ agree (with)

Y Sheep

X Moose, Sheep, Caribou

M₅ accede

Y Moose, Sheep, Caribou

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

XR₄Y, XMY, XR₄Y, XR₁Y, XM₅Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A | | | | | |
| D | | | | | |
| M | | <u>M</u> | | | <u>M</u> ₅ |
| S | | | | | |
| C | | | | | |
| O | | | | | |
| R | <u>R</u> ₄ | | <u>R</u> ₄ | <u>R</u> ₁ | |
| E | | | | | |
| B | | | | | |

There are two component objectives in this myth.

M - 40%

R - 60%

The overall model is R M.

The category of objectives from which the majority of action is taken in this myth pertains to the acquisition and dissemination of information. There are three different actions from the same number of groups of objectives. They are doubt, suggest, and agree from the group believe, agree.

The only other category of objectives from which negative actions are utilized pertains to resistance and attack. These are challenge, and accede from the group accede, acquiesce, surrender. In this latter instance the action accede is used in a positive sense, in that Sheep, Caribou and Moose agree with one another. However, since Armstrong denotes this action with a negative valence it is left as such.

Although this rather short myth divides into five different actor-action-recipient constellations, it employs only two of the nine categories.

#9 Alder People and Sun People

X Alder People

M₃ kill

Y Woman's People

X Mother

B₂ Seeks

Y Son in law

X Suitors

C displease

Y Mother

X Sun Man

R₁ convinces

Y Mother

X Mother

O loses

Y daughter

X Sun Man

O₂ acquires

Y wife

X Sun Man

B₂ ignores

Y Mother in law

The actor-action-recipient constellation is;

XM₃Y, XB₂Y, XCY, XRLY, XOY, XO₂Y, XB₂Y

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | |
| M | <u>M</u> ₃ | | | | | | |
| S | | | | | | | |
| C | | | <u>C</u> | | | | |
| O | | | | | <u>O</u> | <u>O</u> ₂ | |
| R | | | | <u>R</u> ₁ | | | |
| E | | | | | | | |
| B | | <u>B</u> ₂ | | | | | <u>B</u> ₂ |

There are five component objectives in this myth.

M - 13%

C - 13%

O - 31%

R - 13%

B - 31%

The overall model of this myth is (B O) (M C R)

The two categories that contain the majority of actions in this myth pertain to acceptance and avoidance of obligation, and acquisition and loss of property. With regard to the first we find two groups of actions utilized, one negative and one positive. The positive action is acquire, from the group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich. The negative action lose from the group lose, gain, illustrates the dichotomy of this group as the action of this constellation could be considered from either point of view. Since Armstrong appears to be concerned with the valences of the groups of objectives, the action lose was used in one constellation and acquire in the other constellation in reference to the loss / gain of the wife/daughter/mother situation.

With regards to the second category, we find one negative and one positive group see, encounter and ignore from ignore, avoid.

The other three objectives employed in this myth are obtained from three different objective categories. The two negative actions employed are kill from the group kill, destroy, reduce and displease, from the group deny, displease, withhold, disturb, discomfort, torture. The single positive action convince, from the group prove, convince, verify, is taken from the category pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information.

#10 Adventures of Raven

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------|------------|------------------|
| X | Raven | X | Chief's Daughter |
| $\bar{R}5$ | remembers | $\bar{O}2$ | acquires |
| Y | Man | Y | baby (Raven) |
| X | Raven | X | Grandfather |
| <u>A</u> | conspires (against | \bar{C} | indulges |
| Y | Chief | Y | baby (Raven) |
| X | Raven | X | Raven |
| $\bar{S}3$ | requests (of) | $\bar{O}2$ | obtains (from) |
| Y | Chief's daughter | Y | Chief |
| X | Chief's Daughter | X | Raven |
| <u>A</u> | discourages | M3 | escapes |
| Y | Raven | Y | Chief |
| X | Raven | X | Raven |
| <u>M2</u> | overcomes | <u>O</u> | gives |
| Y | Chief's Daughter | Y | People |

The actor-action-constellation is;

$\bar{X}R5Y$, XAY , $\bar{X}S3Y$, XAY , $XM2Y$, $XO2Y$, XCY , $XO2Y$, $XM3Y$, XOY

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| A | | <u>A</u> | | <u>A</u> | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | <u>M</u> ₂ | | | | <u>M</u> ₃ | |
| S | | | <u>S</u> ₃ | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | <u>C</u> | | | |
| O | | | | | | <u>O</u> ₂ | | <u>O</u> ₂ | | <u>O</u> |
| R | <u>R</u> ₅ | | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | | | | | |

There are six component objectives in this myth.

A - 20%

M - 20%

S - 10%

C - 10%

O - 30%

R - 10%

The overall model for this myth is (A M) (S C R)

The most commonly used category of objectives pertains to acquisition and loss of property. Two positive actions acquire and obtain, from one group, acquire, obtain, profit, enrich, are used, and one negatively assigned action give, from the group lose, give. Again, we see that in this last constellation, the chief could be considered to lose the sun to Raven.

The two objective categories that are both employed twice in the myth pertain to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment, and to resistance and attack. Of the first category, both actions are of the same group, but are two different actions, conspire and discourage, from hinder, prevent, conspire, discourage.

From the second category, we have a negative and a neutral action, both from different groups as well. The first action, overcome, is taken from the group overcome, defeat, conquer, capture. The second action, escape

is taken from the group release, free, rescue, escape.

Finally, three remaining actions are taken from three different categories pertaining to permission and prohibition, gratification and deprivation, and to the acquisition and dissemination of information.

All three actions are positive, the first is request, from the group beg, request, the second indulge from the group gratify, indulge, enjoy, and the third, respectively, is remember.

In this myth, the fact that the sun was the object (or recipient) of Raven's search, sometimes made it difficult to apply one of his objectives to the material.

III 3, ii) ARMSTRONG'S RESULTS - ALASKAN MYTHS

By totaling the percentages of each general category of objectives, represented by a neutral letter, we reach the relative total number of times each category was employed in the analysis.

A - 124

D - 0

M - 339

S - 43

C - 36

O - 108

R - 220

E - 0

B - 131

The overall model for the Alaskan myths is M R B A O S C D E. The general model as mentioned in the Beaver results is M B R A S O E D C. Again we see that they are quite similar. Six different categories are reversed in different groups of the Alaskan model in comparison to the general model. The categories pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information, and acceptance and avoidance of obligation are reversed in comparison to the general model, as are the objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property with permission and prohibition, and finally the two categories gratification and deprivation with praise and condemnation. Furthermore, we see that the Alaskan myths do not employ any objectives from two categories pertaining to praise and condemnation and the conduct of affairs. The category pertaining to resistance and attack, on the other hand, seems to employ a rather large majority of all the objectives in the tale.

Let us consider each category of objectives separately.

The first category to be looked at pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment, contains only four groups of objectives from which to choose, one positive, one neutral and two negative groups. We find that out of a total of eight actions utilized out of a total of seventy-one, four of these belong to the neutral group of objectives, aid, befriend, plan good. The action aid is utilized in every case. The group of objectives hinder, prevent, conspire, discourage is used a total of three times in the corpus, with all the actions except prevent employed. Finally, one objective, punish, is also used from this category of objectives. Thus aid is the most frequently used objective in this category.

From the category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack only one neutral group of objectives is utilized, while all the groups of negative objectives are utilized at least once. The neutral group of objectives is used seven times out of a total of twenty-three times. The group release free, rescue, escape, the action release is used four times and escape three times. The group of negative action that was utilized most often was kill, destroy, reduce, with the action kill used four times, reduce, once. In the case where reduce was employed, the actor was killed and then reduced into another form. The next most frequent group of objectives are overcome, defeat, conquer, capture. Of this group, the action capture is used twice, defeat and overcome once each. Conquer is not found at all. Three groups of objectives are found twice each in this category; they are attack, used twice, intimidate, accuse, and accede, acquiesce, surrender. The actions used from the second and third groups are intimidate and accede respectively. The objective challenge is used only once in the myths. In this category there are two commonly used objectives, kill, release, both found four times in the corpus.

The category of objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition is used only a total of four out of seventy-one times. Of this category only two groups of a total of five are utilized, both of which are positive. The objectives used are direct once, and request three times from the group of objectives prescribe, summon, direct. Thus request is the most commonly used objective from this category.

From the category pertaining to gratification and deprivation, we have employed three different objectives, but not from the three different groups of categories. There are two positive objectives, indulge chosen from this group, gratify, indulge, enjoy. The one other negative objective used is displease, chosen from deny, displease, withhold, disturb, discomfort, torture. Thus the action indulge is the most commonly used objective in this category.

Of the category of objectives pertaining to acquisition and loss of property, only two of the five groups are utilized, one negative and one positive. A total of nine objectives was utilized from this category. From the positive group acquire, obtain, profit, enrich, the action acquire is used three times, and the action obtain twice. From the negative group lose, give, the action give is used three times, and lose only once. The two most commonly used actions or objectives in this category are acquire and give.

The category of objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information contains eleven groups of objectives, five positive, two neutral and four negative. Seven of the eleven groups of objectives are utilized. All the positive groups of objectives are employed, although three of these only once. From these groups, the actions convince from the group prove, convince, verify, along with the objectives suggest and remember are utilized. The neutral group of objectives employs only one action also — this

is agree from the group believe, agree. From the group enlighten, inform, teach, learn, we have two different actions, inform and teach. From the group of objectives discover, investigate, the actions discover is utilized twice, and investigate once. The other group of objectives that is used three times is the group doubt, which only contains one action. Thus the action doubt is used most often from this category.

The last category of objectives, pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation utilizes six of the seven groups of objectives at least once. Two positive, two neutral and two negative groups are used, leaving one negative group cancel, unused. Of the most commonly used group of objectives contract, undertake, the action contract is used four times. Three groups of objectives are used twice. Two of these groups employ one action each. The action repay is used from the group pay, repay, and the action ignore is used from the group ignore, avoid. From the group seek, encounter, each objective is used once. Two other objectives, accept from the group acknowledge, accept, and outwit from welch, outwit, deceive are each employed once in the corpus. The most common objective found in this category is the action contract.

In summary, from all the nine categories of objectives, the actions from each group of objectives that were employed most often, aid, befriend, plan good; release, free, rescue, escape; and kill, destroy, reduce; beg, request; gratify, indulge, enjoy; acquire, obtain, profit, enrich; discover, investigate; doubt; control, undertake.

In these tales, there is some variation in the results in that although the group of objectives release, free, rescue, escape from the category pertaining to resistance and attack, occurred four times in the corpus, not the same actions were used in each instance. Thus another group of objectives

kill, destroy, reduce contained an action that occurred as many times in the corpus. We can see that by looking only at the group of objectives most often occurring in the corpus, we do not gain a necessarily correct idea of which objective is the most important in the category.

There are many groups of objectives that are not employed in the corpus from every category. From the category pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance, punishment, reward is not employed. From the objectives pertaining to resistance and attack, we do not employ the groups resist, protest, save, preserve, protect; and finally do justice, vindicate or justify oneself. From the category pertaining to permission and prohibition, three groups are not employed — insist; permit, invite; or prescribe, bar, forbid. From the category pertaining to gratification and deprivation only one group — provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please, is not used. From the category pertaining to the acquisition and loss of property, three of the five groups, retrieve, reclaim collect; bargain; keep, retain are not employed. From the category pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information, four groups, communicate; believe, agree; obscure, keep in ignorance, hide, misinform, falsify; disprove, and forget are not employed. On group, cancel, from the category pertaining to the acceptance of obligation is not employed. Finally, there are also two categories not utilized at all. These are praise and condemnation, and the conduct of affairs.

Thus we can see which objectives are important to the Eskimo tales and those that are not. It appears that the use of objectives in this corpus tends towards less use of non-action objectives. If we look at Armstrong's fifty-six objectives as valences, then we can gain a rough idea as to whether more positive objectives are employed in comparison to the objectives from which we had to choose.

| Armstrong's Objectives | | Objectives Employed | |
|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------|
| + | 19 34 | 25 | 35 |
| N | 14 25 | 15 | 21 |
| - | 23 41 | 31 | 44 |
| | <u>56</u> <u>100</u> | <u>71</u> | <u>100</u> |

As the arithmetic conversion above illustrates, the Alaskan corpus uses proportionately less neutral actions than Armstrong supplies, and more positive and negative objectives. The distribution of valenced objectives throughout the corpus, according to the analysis, seems relatively well balanced.

This result in comparison to viewing the most common objectives from each group of objectives is rather surprising as here one would expect to see more negative objectives mentioned. Thus from an available nine categories, seven are utilized, from an available fifty-six groups of objectives, twenty-nine are used and from an available one hundred thirty-one objectives, only seventy-one are used.

III 4, i) COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF RESULTS

This section will clarify what each application of Armstrong's method of analysis to the Beaver and Alaskan myths reveals.

In comparing the overall models of both corpora, there is less difference between them than each in comparison to the general model, as seen below.

| | |
|---------|-------------------|
| Beaver | M R B A S O D C E |
| Alaskan | M R B A O S C D E |
| General | M B R A S O E D C |

We see that the order of importance of the first four categories is the same for both sets of corpora. If we take a closer look at the first letter of the overall model, which represents the category pertaining to resistance and attack, we see that on the whole, more objectives from this category are employed relative to the total in the Alaskan corpus than they are in the Beaver corpus. We also see that in both corpora, the same positive and negative groups, release, free, rescue, escape and kill, destroy, reduce, respectively are the two most commonly used groups. Furthermore, in the latter group of objectives, the action kill is used most often. In this positively valenced group of objectives, there is a slight difference brought out in that the Beaver myths employ the action escape, while the Eskimo employ the action release. Thus Armstrong's method might encourage someone to look again at how each corpus deals with the objectives kill, for instance.

There are four reasons for killing, these being a form of severe punishment, for the purpose of defending oneself or another which is not an aggressive act in that the person killed is the aggressor, in a warlike situation where the aggressor is also the killer, and finally for food. On the

one hand, in the Beaver tales we find that the majority of killing was for the purpose of food getting. Secondly, we find killing as a form of punishment and thirdly, as a means of defense, protection. For the fourth example, we might refer to the first Beaver tale, where we find the Frogs and Owls at war, where all but one Frog are killed. In addition, if we consider the action reduce, it also refers to killing, but both as a method of punishment, and means of defense; as in both cases, Usakindji was aggressed.

On the other hand, in the Alaskan tales we find that the majority of killing was for the purpose of protection and defense, secondly, as a form of punishment if we consider reduce in this section, and thirdly, in the case of war. Killing for the purpose of obtaining food is not mentioned in the corpus.

Furthermore, none of the actions from the group of objectives, do justice, vindicate or justify oneself are found in either corpora.

The second letter of the overall models from both corpora which represents the objectives pertaining to the acquisition and dissemination of information, differs from that of the general model, which is acceptance and avoidance of obligation. We see that firstly, the objectives in both corpora are employed approximately the same number of times proportionately to the overall total of objectives. Also we see that the majority of the objectives utilized for both the Beaver and Alaskan myths are taken from the positively valenced objectives. Of these, the groups of objectives most often employed in both sets of corpora is discover, investigate, and in both cases, discover is the most commonly employed objective. One negative objective appears to be relatively important to the Alaskan myths — the action doubt. This objective actually occurs more often in the Alaskan tales than any other objective from this category.

The third letter of the overall models from both corpora, which repre-

sents the objectives pertaining to acceptance and avoidance of obligation, again differs from that of the general model which pertains to the acquisition and dissemination of information. This latter category takes preference over the third most commonly used category in both the corpora. We see that the objectives in both corpora are employed the same number of times proportionately to the overall total of objectives. Furthermore, we note that the groups of objectives in this category are all employed in both corpora except the last one which is cancel. In the Alaskan tales, the objective contract is used four times in the corpus, as it is also in the Beaver corpus, yet this is not as apparent in the Beaver corpus because the groups of objectives seek, encounter and welch, outwit, deceive are employed more often than the group contract, undertake. However, in the Beaver corpus, the actions seek and outwit are also only utilized four times. Thus we see that the Beaver and Alaskan tales are similar in that the acceptance of obligation appears to be important in the tales. Moreover, in the Beaver corpus we also find two other actions that are equally as important as contract, but which are not found in the Alaskan tales.

The letter A representing the small category of objectives pertaining to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment in both corpora corresponds to the placement of this letter in the general model. We also see that there are slightly more objectives applied in relation to the total number available from this category in the Beaver myths than in the Alaskan myths. Furthermore, we see that the group of objectives aid, befriend, plan good is most often employed in both corpora; and also that the action aid is used in the majority of cases in both corpora as well. The use of the other groups emphasizes the differences in the two corpora, in that the Beaver myths use the objective punish three times as often as the Alaskan myths do. In the

Beaver tales, the action punish does not relate to death. We find in two of the examples, that especially the punisher spares the mischief maker. In Beaver tale number two, Wabshu is left to die as punishment by his father. In the Alaskan tales, the one instance of punishment entails the death of the actor. In addition, we might note that the deed for which Father Moon is punished is for disobedience. The action conspire, from the group hinder, prevent, conspire, discourage, is also common to both corpora, while the actions hinder and discourage are only relevant to the Alaskan tales. The objective reward is found only once in the Beaver corpus, and is absent in the Alaskan corpus.

The two categories of objectives, one pertaining to permission and prohibition, the other to acquisition and loss of property appear in this order in the Beaver overall model and the general model. The Alaskan model, on the other hand, reverses the order of these two categories. In comparing the two representing pairs of letters of the two models, we see that in the Alaskan corpus, as opposed to the Beaver corpus, there are fewer objectives pertaining to permission and prohibition in relation to the total number of objectives, and more objectives pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation. This is an interesting difference in the two corpora. The only group of objectives from which they both used the same number of actions is beg, request, and here request is used in all instances. This concept is further illustrated in the Beaver myths by the emphasis on the objective invite, from the group permit, invite, which is not found in the Alaskan corpus. Another group, prescribe, bar, forbid is also found in the Beaver corpus and is absent from the Alaskan corpus. The objective direct from the group prescribe, summon, direct is common to both corpora, but employed more often in the Beaver myths. Lastly the objectives that neither corpus utilizes is

insist. We should also note that the most commonly employed objective from this category in the Beaver myths is invite, from the Alaskan myths, request.

Although in the category of objectives pertaining to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation, the most commonly employed objective in the Beaver corpus is lose, and acquire in the Alaskan, we also see a similarity in the choice of objectives in the two corpora. For example, the group of objectives lose, give in the Alaskan corpus is also important. However, the emphasis here is on the action give as opposed to lose. Another group that is common to both corpora is acquire, obtain, profit, enrich. The objective acquire is the only one that is common to both the Beaver and Alaskan myths. Enrich and obtain are also both used respectively in the corpora. The Beaver myths also use two objectives, retrieves, bargains, from the groups of objectives retrieve, reclaim, collect, and bargain respectively, that are not found in the Alaskan tales. Finally, the one group of objectives that neither corpora utilizes is keep, retain.

We see that the last three categories all differ in their order in relation to each other in all three models.

Since the categories praise and condemnation, and gratification and deprivation both occur next in the Beaver and Alaskan tales, although the order is reversed in the latter corpus, let us consider these first.

Although the Beaver and Alaskan tales have the group gratify, indulge, enjoy, in common, they do not share a common objective. The Alaskan myths emphasis is on the action, put at ease, from the group provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please. No objectives from this group are used in the Alaskan myths.

The Alaskan myths do not utilize any objectives from the two categories pertaining to praise and condemnation and to the conduct of affairs.

The Beaver tales, on the other hand, do employ three different groups of objectives from the first group. The action berate from the group humiliate, defame, berate, discredit, ridicule, humble oneself is the most commonly used action in this category. However, the actions approve and reprimand are also used once each.

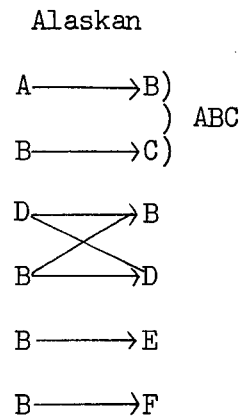
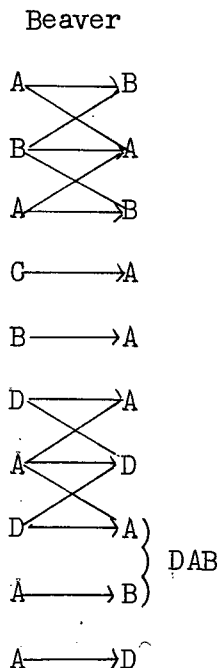
Finally, the objective prepare from the category pertaining to the conduct of affairs is found once in the Beaver tales. Although this category appears last in the Beaver and Alaskan models, it appears before the two categories, praise and condemnation, and gratification and deprivation.

However, generally both models of the Beaver and Alaskan corpora indicate their similarities and differences. This section helped to clarify and record some of these similarities and differences between the two corpora.

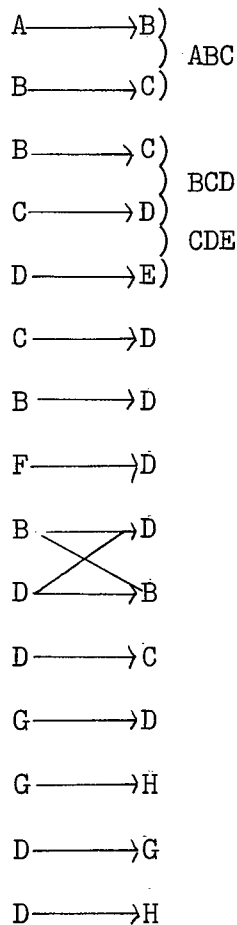
III 4, ii) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ANALYSIS

Let us look at a more general view of Armstrong's method of analysis in relation to the two corpora.

According to Armstrong, the relationship the succeeding unit bears towards the preceeding one may do one of three things, continue the dramatic movement, arrest it, or begin a point of departure. Since the Alaskan tales generally are shorter than the Beaver myths, the Alaskan myths contain fewer components as well as fewer unit constellations but not necessarily fewer structural characteristics in proportion to the total constellations. In both corpora we find constellations that effect all three things. Let us compare tales #4 in the Beaver and Alaskan myths to illustrate Armstrong's statement. Each actor is designated X and each recipient designated Y by Armstrong. Let us use A, B, C, etc. for the actors and recipients, depending on their order of appearance in the tale. Thus A B will be one constellation; being the action. Thus the two tales appear as follows;



We can see that the letters D A B and A B C signify ongoing movement as far as considering the succeeding unit after the preceeding unit. This form of continuing dramatic movement also seems to be a way in which more than two actors can be involved in an action at the same time, as Armstrong's constellations X Y leave little room to include anyone other than an actor and the recipient of an action at the same time. For instance, let us look at Beaver tale #2;



Here we have three different ongoing constellations signifying forward dramatic movement, all of which also have a letter common to the other two ongoing constellations. If we look at the myth we find Wabshu, his mother, father, and step mother tightly involved in the initial part of the

story. One thing slowly leads to another very quickly in an ordered fashion. Generally, it seems that this ongoing dramatic movement is more common to the Beaver myths than the Alaskan myths. Furthermore, in both cases, the succeeding constellations after D A B and A B C, A→D, and D→B, respectively, can be joined to their preceeding units, therefore, according to Armstrong would consider this as a point of departure. They usually have an actor or recipient in common. However, it seems that most of the movements in both tales are of this nature. In only one instance in the Beaver tales do we find a constellation of actor and recipient that are both different from any previous actor or recipient. Lastly, the arresting movement that a succeeding unit may bear towards a preceeding one is interesting in that it appears more often in the Alaskan myths than in the Beaver myths. In this movement, which includes two separate constellations, we have a situation where the actor in the first or preceeding unit becomes the recipient in the second or succeeding unit, and where the recipient of the first unit becomes the actor in the second. We also note that in some instances, constellations continue the dramatic movement through four or five interchanges of actor recipient, before the movement is arrested. With This particular dramatic movement, we can easily see that the second or succeeding constellation is the mirror image of the first structure or form. Armstrong states that "mirror statements are characteristically derived from the substance of a message Reference is made to the larger behavioural context within which the message may be conceived to be embedded" (Armstrong, 1959:152). It is difficult to relate these mirror forms to an overall structural model, pertaining to either a single myth or to the overall corpus, or to the content of each constellation to these. However, we can certainly see in terms of Armstrong's method of analysis that there is a difference between the Beaver

and Alaskan corpora.

Armstrong makes a point of stating that there is a natural dichotomy found in the units defined. He states that "there are those units whose defining points are based upon the manifest content of the text, that is to say, upon what the message objectively conveys There are units defined by interpretations of the manifest content such as would be encountered in the search, for example, for instances of personality characteristics or cultural values and attitudes in the text" (Armstrong, 1959:156). In addition, we might add here that various manifest actions can also be summarized by one action, or substituted for another similar one.

Armstrong mentions a principle of generalization that Sebeok uses where he divides a Cheremis charm into two constituents -- "those which make purely factual statements about the world, and those which expressed the motif of an extremely improbable eventuality" (Armstrong, 1959:160). He then notes that there are two phases -- a dependent and independent clause, the verb of the first clause is indicative, the second imperative. From this Armstrong states that the two clauses or phases are distinguished from each other and "provides the principle of generalization for his data, all clauses employing the verb in the indicative mode falling into one class and those using the verb in the imperative mode into another" (Armstrong, 1959:160). In looking at the two corpora in relation to this principle we see firstly that Armstrong's categories of objectives or the constellations are the same thing as Sebeok's motifs -- which are taken directly from the material with which he is working. Armstrong makes a point of saying that "for the purposes of content analysis there are certain limitations to the motif system deriving chiefly from the fact that it is an a priori scheme in which each individual motif is externally derived" (Armstrong, 1959:154). He further states that,

"Because there is no clear definition of the limits of a motif, a situation results wherein a motif may in one instance comprise a complete story, while in another it may be only a segment thereof. The motifs are not made commensurate either in terms of structural characteristics of the story or with respect to the dramatic magnitude of the action they name" (Armstrong, 1959:154). Armstrong does not see the motif as performing a viable dramatic function, whereas he does his constellations. We must also note that the constellations derived in applying Armstrongs also sometimes depends upon a subjective interpretation of the manifest content. The resulting choice of objective is therefore, not necessarily representative of factual motifs found in the myth.

In his analysis, Armstrong found common elements among two kinds of trickster stories and feels confident in presuming that a trickster pattern has been developed. He states that the objectives pertaining to permission, prescribe, summon, direct, insist, beg, request, permit, invite, are actions that the trickster used to get his victims "to participate in the affairs which will bring about their undoing" (Armstrong, 1959:168). He also states that these objectives have their counterparts — those are actions concerned with the avoidance of obligations, ignore, avoid, welch, outwit, deceive, cancel. In looking at the two corpora, we see that the Beaver myths and the Usakindji tales certainly contain some of the objectives that Armstrong identifies as being necessary to constitute a trickster tale. For example, in myth #4, Usakindji challenges Fox to a race, thinking it will be easy to beat him. However, Fox only feigns lameness and Usakindji loses the race. Usakindji gains revenge on the Fox by singeing Fox's fur. In tale #5, Usakindji invites Bear to spend some time with him, then deceives Bear. Bear is killed by Usakindji for food. However, Usakindji loses the Bear meat to the Birds, and

the Bear fat to all the animals. In tale #7 Moon Man invites Usakindji to stay with him, but in actuality means him harm. Usakindji has become aware of this and outwits Moon Man and causes his undoing. In tale #8 we see Usakindji stealing Mosquito Man's food. Later Mosquito Man pretends to need Usakindji's assistance, but really tries to kill him. Usakindji outwits Mosquito Man, and kills him instead. In tale #10 Usakindji sees Bear but waits to join him until he is invited. Bear later becomes aware that Usakindji plans to kill him, and escapes. Usakindji later finds Bear, is nearly fooled into leaving Bear alone, but discovers that Bear is tricking him. Usakindji then kills Bear. In applying Armstrong's method of analysis we did not pick up the trickster objectives of tale #3, in which Wolverine Man plots to catch people, Usakindji, etc. Usakindji allows himself to be caught by Wolverine Man and then kills him.

We might also note a difference in the trickster tales. For example, in Beaver tales #4 and 5 Usakindji outwits his opponent. However, both are trickster tales. Although the first two might prove more humorous because the story depicts Usakindji's negative qualities, such as pretentiousness, stupidity and duplicity. Furthermore, in these two tales Usakindji's opponents are rather likeable, whereas, in his other tales, his opponents are made out to be very evil characters. We see that all the Usakindji tales indeed have what Armstrong refers to as trickster objectives and counterpart objectives. In the Usakindji tales, objectives from both categories, pertaining to permission and to avoidance of obligation are employed.

In the Alaskan myths we only find two tales that fit Armstrong's trickster pattern. Firstly, in Alaskan tale #9 Woman requests a husband for her daughter. Eventually Sun Man convinces her he will be suitable. Sun Man then ignores her. This tale is similar to Beaver tales #4 and 5, in that the

supposed trickster, thinking she will find someone to avenge the death of her people, is wrong, and is outdone by her own doing. Secondly, in tale #10, Raven searches for daylight which a Chief keeps in a box. In order to acquire the sun he asks the Chief's daughter to marry him. She refuses. Raven changes his appearance and is born to her as a son. The chief gives his grandson the sun to play with, and Raven escapes with it. Here we find Raven doing two things -- making a request and then outwitting his opponents.

We find an interesting difference in the two corpora tales. In the first part of the Beaver tales, #4 and 5, Usakindji makes the first move or request. The outcome of the tales is his own undoing. In Beaver tales numbers 7, 8, and 10, Usakindji's opponent makes the first move, the outcome of the tales is Usakindji's victory, and the undoing of the opponent. In the Alaskan tales the first part is similar to the Beaver tales numbers 4 and 5 in that the culture hero makes the request, and the last part of the tale is similar to the second part of Beaver tales numbers 7, 8 and 10, in that Raven outwits his opponents.

Thus Armstrongs method of analysis allows us to look at the manifest actions of the trickster. However, in order to determine whether or not the tricksters actions are comments pertaining to the sanctioned values of the culture, we have to look at the underlying latent meaning of the text.

Thus we have taken some of Armstrong's more general statements and discussed them in terms of the corpora, and found that they generally hold up, as well as reveal some pertinent information about Beaver and Alaskan tale formation.

In the remainder of the conclusion, the following format is, for purposes of convenience and clarity, in some instances identical to that of the latter part of the conclusion to Chapter 4.

Armstrong's purpose of inquiry deals with two things; firstly, "to examine content analysis for the benefit of folklorists, and to draw to their attention some techniques which may facilitate the objective description and analysis of the materials with which they are concerned" (Armstrong, 1959:152), and secondly, "to devise a way of defining natural units of the story intermediate between the single word and the total story" (Armstrong, 1959:154).

Again we find that Armstrong's concepts of structuralism tend to be global rather than analytical. We might say that Armstrong's global application is structural as opposed to formalistic in that he is concerned with the form and content of an integrated whole -- whether this whole consists of a myth or a group of myths. However, Armstrong sees his type of analysis as content analysis and not concerned solely with the substance of what is manifestly stated in a message. He states that "the form or structure of the content and its condition are equally amenable to analysis and description" (Armstrong, 1959:153). Armstrong sees structural analysis as concerned less with substance than with array or form of that substance. Structural analysis he says, consists of two activities "delineating units of substance or condition and discerning and stating the relationships which obtain among such units" (Armstrong, 1959:159). Armstrong appears to be searching for a way in which to unite the small unit to the whole, or between the single action and the total story.

As referred to in the previous chapter, Piaget has three key ideas that comprise the notion of structure. They are, 1) the idea of wholeness,

2) the idea of transformation, and 3) the idea of self-regulation. Let us consider Armstrong's concept of the tale and his method of analysis in terms of these three ideas.

Armstrong, it seems, sees the myth as a whole, and from there tries to examine the parts of which it is comprised. He sees a myth in terms of the atomistic compounding of different elements as opposed to emergent totalities. He uses this idea to explain his concept of equivalence, where not all the units of a whole are necessary to describe it as some parts are equivalent to each other. Secondly, in terms of transformation, Armstrong touches on this subject when he mentions that often it is less important to be able to get consistency in units than it is to get the meaningful unit of interaction (Armstrong, 1959:157). Here we see that Armstrong is not concerned with the laws of transformation, nor with the transformations themselves, but actually with the significance of each unit. Armstrong emphasizes the importance of clearly defining the units before looking at the relationships between the units, or the transformations of such. Armstrong does not see the units as particularly dynamic either. Thirdly, in terms of self regulation, Armstrong's method is in Piaget's sense of the term, again global as opposed to being a mathematically logical operational system in that the method of analysis depends upon various rules or techniques. Armstrong's method is semi-technical, and depends upon trial and error in terms of categorizing units. Feedback is also another aspect of this global self regulation. Armstrong states that the independence of results depends upon the similarity of results when his method of analysis is tested several times by different analysts. Again we see that Armstrong's structuralism holds to systems of observable relations and elaborate interactions rather than seeking to explain the empirical systems by postulating deep underlying structures. (Piaget, 1970:98).

As in the previous chapter, according to Levi-Strauss' categories we would describe Armstrong's logic as direct, empirical deduction as opposed to induction, indirect empirical deduction or transcendental deduction. Armstrong's method of analysis is empirically oriented, easily replicated, descriptive, belongs to the realm of fact and deals with concrete data. His method does not reveal deep underlying structures on another level. Although he is aware that exploring, revealing the latent meaning of content is a necessary and forward step, he says "it follows that a different principle of segmentation would be required" (Armstrong, 1959:156).

After applying his analysis to two different myths, Armstrong does not put the resulting objectives that he obtains from his analysis, in any kind of particular order, but uses a chi square test to determine whether there are any significant differences or similarities between the units. To facilitate our research, the model to describe each myth is listed vertically or horizontally. The results are linear and sequential, as the objectives are described firstly in chronological order from the beginning of the tale to the end, and then arranged in terms of the number of times they appear in each myth in relation to all the other objectives. In this sense, the approach can be seen as diachronic as opposed to synchronic. As a result, we have a one dimensional description of the myth along a horizontal (or vertical) axis. This gives us a basic structure of framework from which to view the myth — on an overt or manifest level as well as on an empirical and replicable level. Synchronic interpretation would take us to another level of understanding, which for instance, might enable one to make meaningful statements about the myth and the culture in which it is found. Levi-Strauss states that we cannot grasp the synchronic structure of a myth unless we

have firstly, the diachronic structure. In other words, the synchronic - diachronic structure of the myth permits us to organize it into diachronic sequences which should be read synchronically" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:226). Armstrong's method gives us a starting point in taking something from a descriptive level to a more cognitive level. Although each tale had only one dimension, we can look at the entire corpus synchronically. In Armstrong's case we have nine vertical columns, each of which, as Levi-Strauss would say, includes several relations belonging to the same bundle (Levi-Strauss, 1967:208). Reading horizontally from left to right, we would see the various objectives that were contained in each myth, if each were numbered, we could repeat the understanding of the chronologically manifested content of the myth, but if we wanted to gain another perspective of the overall corpus we would read the columns vertically. Although we can see the whole from another viewpoint, we must "keep in mind that the basic tenet of structural study in folkloristics is that the units, neither given nor evident, must be found within the corpus itself" (Kongas Maranda and Maranda, 1971:X). Armstrong's narrative units are pre-determined and, therefore, viewing the myth synchronically is rather unproductive.

Furthermore, Armstrong's analysis can be referred to as syntagmatic as opposed to paradigmatic, where the elements of a myth are taken out of one frame of reference, ie, a horizontal, linear sequence of unrelated events, joined together by certain rules and regrouped into another frame of reference. Again, in reference to the previous chapter, with this kind of abstraction, Levi-Strauss states that a paradigm can be constructed with fragments of a syntagmatic chain, and metaphors can take over the functions of metonyms and vice versa (Levi-Strauss, 1966:150). In other words, syntagmatic chains can be formed from a paradigmatic series. We can use Armstrong's analysis to

illustrate the above by using one objective from each category. For instance, attach from resistance and attack, suggest from the acquisition and dissemination of information, etc. to form a model MRBAE. The objectives abstracted could not be for example, attack, challenge and kill, as all these three latter objectives are three forms of the same system or paradigm. Again, this same concept can be illustrated by the use of the metaphoric - metonymic perceptual opposition. In reference to Armstrong, we see that one model read horizontally is metonymic, while all the M objectives and its variants of the model of one corpus is metaphoric. To quote Leach, taken from the previous chapter, "if we take a special case and consider the arrangements between its component parts algebraically, we can arrive at the total system, a theme and variations — a set of paradigms (metaphors)" (Leach, 1970:50). Levi-Strauss points out that this opposition is not necessarily an either/or distinction, but that there is usually an emphasis on one or the other found in any communication.

Thus Armstrong's method of analysis had been described, applied to two sets of corpora, the results have been compared and contrasted. Finally, his method of analysis has been discussed in relation to some of Levi-Strauss and Piaget's basic principles. Hopefully, this exercise will give one a greater understanding of what Armstrong was trying to accomplish.

We can see from the above that Armstrong made a significant contribution to the progress of folkloric study. Again Levi-Strauss' quote applies here - "history leads to everything on condition that it be left behind" (Levi-Strauss, 1966:262).

TABLE 1 (Armstrong, 1959:164)

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF
REWARD, ASSISTANCE AND PUNISHMENT

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <u>A</u> | reward |
| A | aid, befriend, plan good |
| <u>A</u> | hinder, prevent, conspire, discourage |
| <u>A</u> ₁ | punish |
| Praise and Condemnation | |
| <u>D</u> ¹ | flatter |
| <u>D</u> ² | elevate, exult, praise, boast (reflexive) |
| D | approve |
| <u>D</u> ₁ | scold, reprimand |
| <u>D</u> ₂ | humiliate, defame, berate, discredit, ridicule, humble oneself (reflexive) |
| <u>D</u> ₃ | condemn, betray, incriminate |

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO RESISTANCE AND ATTACK

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <u>M</u> ¹ | resist, protest |
| <u>M</u> ² | save, preserve, protect |
| <u>M</u> ³ | release, free, rescue, escape (reflexive) |
| M | do justice, vindicate or justify oneself (reflexive) |
| <u>M</u> | challenge |
| <u>M</u> ₁ | attack |
| <u>M</u> ₂ | overcome, defeat, conquer, capture |
| <u>M</u> ₃ | kill, destroy, reduce |
| <u>M</u> ₄ | intimidate, accuse |
| <u>M</u> ₅ | accede, acquiesce, surrender |

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO PERMISSION AND PROHIBITION

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| \bar{S}^1 | prescribe, summon, direct |
| \bar{S}^2 | insist |
| \bar{S}^3 | beg, request |
| S | permit, invite |
| \underline{S} | proscribe, bar, forbid |

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO THE ACQUISITION AND USE OF GOODS AND SERVICES

Gratification and Deprivation

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| \bar{C} | gratify, indulge, enjoy (relexive) |
| C | provide, put at ease, alleviate, comfort, please |
| \underline{C} | deny, displease, withhold, disturb, discomfort, torture |

Acquisition and Loss of Property

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| \bar{O}^1 | retrieve, reclaim, collect |
| \bar{O}^2 | acquire, obtain, profit, enrich |
| \bar{O}^3 | bargain |
| O | keep, retain |
| \underline{O} | lose, give |

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO THE ACQUISITION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

| | |
|-------------|---|
| \bar{R}^1 | prove, convince, verify |
| \bar{R}^2 | discover, investigate (get information from) |
| \bar{R}^3 | enlighten, inform, teach, learn (reflexive) (give information to) |
| \bar{R}^4 | suggest |
| \bar{R}^5 | remember |
| R | communicate |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <u>R</u> ¹ | believe, agree (this is in contrast with <u>M</u> ₅ which means the acquiescence to power) |
| <u>R</u> ₁ | obscure, keep in ignorance, hide, misinform, falsify |
| <u>R</u> ₁ | disprove |
| <u>R</u> ₁ | forget |
| <u>R</u> ₄ | doubt |

OBJECTIVES PERTAINING TO THE CONDUCT OF AFFAIRS

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <u>E</u> | succeed |
| <u>E</u> ¹ | persevere, do one's duty |
| <u>E</u> | prepare |
| <u>E</u> ₁ | temporize |
| <u>E</u> ₄ | fail |
| | Acceptance and avoidance of Obligation |
| <u>B</u> ¹ | contract, undertake |
| <u>B</u> ² | seek, encounter |
| <u>B</u> ¹ | acknowledge, accept |
| <u>B</u> ² | pay, repay |
| <u>B</u> ₂ | ignore, avoid |
| <u>B</u> ₁ | welch, outwit, deceive |
| <u>B</u> ₄ | cancel |

CHAPTER IV

APPLICATION OF THE MARANDAS' METHOD OF ANALYSIS

IV 1) INTRODUCTION

The title of Maranda and Kóngas Maranda's working paper "Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays" gives us an idea as to the approach they have taken towards the analysis of folklore, defined by them as unrecorded mentifacts, page 16. The Marandas have drawn from a variety of sources and have expanded, and/or modified these ideas to present various operational methods of analysis. One of these sources is Levi-Strauss, and the use of his formula to illustrate 'the passage of a metaphoric relationship to one that is metonymic, or vice versa', (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:28), as the Marandas explain, demonstrates the heliocoidal effect of a permutation, (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:25). Others are L. Tesniere, Elements de Syntaxe structurale, and E. Richer, Revue de l'ass. Canadienne de Linguistique and Lieux Linguistiques et Latin classique. From these two authors, the Marandas summarize the idea of the dichotomy of terms and functions by stating that "a grammatical function has to be discovered starting with the sentence as a whole, that it is an empty form which can be filled out by a certain number of interchangeable terms..." (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1962:16). The Marandas method of analysis contains many facets of investigation. Some of these have been chosen to present a unified and operational method of analysis.

The basic units of analysis that the Marandas employ are terms and functions. "Terms are symbols, furnished by the sociohistorical context; the terms can be dramatis personae, magical agents, cosmographic features" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:32), or any other subjects capable of acting or taking roles. These "terms are also mutually opposed, in that those belonging

to the category of (a) are univocal, while those belonging to the category of (b) are ambiguous" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1962:32). Furthermore, these terms are provided by the narrative. The first term or main character is found by discovering the univocal element in its initial situation — the situation before the solution of the crises. "The second term (mediator) can be found by discovering the ambiguous element in the situation before the solution of the crises". The Marandas define mediator as "the especially fitted agent which ensures the passage from an initial state to a different final outcome" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:87). The main character is that *dramatis personae* who is mentioned in the tale the most often. His opponent, along with the other *dramatis personae*, which serve as foils to the main character, agree with the Marandas' concept of two fronts in a folktale. The parameters of the terms can be illustrated by the coordinates of the box like diagrams which are revealed by the narrative, and as are seen below. The Marandas further point out that for the main characters, we are given parameters, while the other complementary actors are defined by their actions, the motivation of which rests with the main character's (hero) fate. The Marandas' interpret functions as roles held by symbols, which form the "dynamic composition of underlying active strings which gives the terms their bearing". Functions do not exist independently but only as expressed in terms which give them their concrete figures". In short, "terms are variable; functions are constant" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:34). The terms (a) and (b) are presented as members of two sets A and B forming paradigms, and functions x and y , which are complementary verbal propositions specifying the terms (a) and (b). For example, if a given actor (a) is specified by a negative function f_x and thus becomes a villain, and another actor (b) is specified by a positive function f_y , and thus becomes a hero (b).

is capable of assuming in turn also the negative function, which process leads to a victory so much more complete that it proceeds from the ruin of the term (a) and thus definitely establishes the positive value (y) of the final outcome (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:26).

The Marandas present a set of models and formulas to describe the interactions that take place between the main dramatis personae in the text using the interplay of terms and functions. These models describe an episode, which is composed of one or more verbal propositions or single incidents, which are contingent upon the decomposition of a tale into separate actions revolving around the main actor or first criterion. Each episode must contain a mediative aspect, described by the following models, the type of which is contingent upon the final outcome of a particular episode as opposed to its initial state.

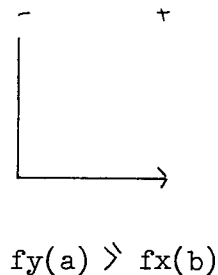
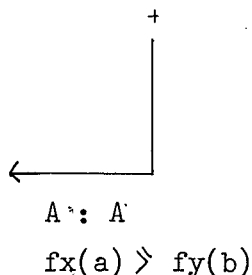
The Marandas' models are presented by both diagrams and formulas. Each model has a negative and positive valence. The Marandas point out that the "division to + and - is simply given in the narrative in that they are true opposites, sides which exclude each other" (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:37). For purposes of application the valence of the diagram and, therefore, also the formula, is determined relative to the first criterion's viewpoint or position in the myth. Thus we make use of "logical symbols such as A and \bar{A} to state the same points on a more abstract level" (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:37). Levi-Strauss' formulas have also been used in conjunction with these models, and complement the description of each. Levi-Strauss sees his formulas as a "drawing to illustrate the 'double twist' which is translated with respect to the passage from metaphors to metonymies and vice versa" (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:28). Thus in the formula;

$$fx(a):fy(b) :: fx(b):fa^{-1}(y)$$

"(b) is the mediator, (a) is the first term, which expresses, in connection with the socio-historical context, a dynamic element (specifying function f_x) under the impact of which the item unfolds. The other function f_y , which is opposed to the first one, specifies (b) in its first occurrence. Thus (b) is alternately specified by both functions and thus can mediate opposites" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:26). The Marandas' point out that "the two first members of the formula refer to the setting up of the conflict, the third to the turning point of the plot, while the last member refers to the final situation". They also mention that in Levi-Strauss' formula, "its three first members, $f_x(a)$, $f_y(b)$, and $f_x(b)$, express a dynamic process whose final outcome, expressed by the last member, $f_a^{-1}(y)$, is the result or a state, i.e. the end of the process of mediation" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:27). However, this exemplification of the formula will be further discussed in conjunction with model IV. Let us discuss each model in the order of increasing complexity.

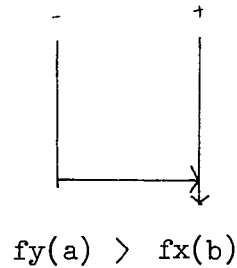
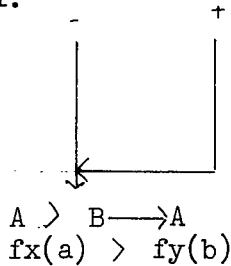
Model 0): This is used for simple structures, such as "some incantations, songs, laments, and small children's narratives". No contrast is stated (or a contrast is implicit, but no change in the state develops and no mediation is attempted). The item unfolds as repetitious expressions of a single state (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:36). These Model 0's may be many and are contained in an episode that has some form of mediation.

Model 1:



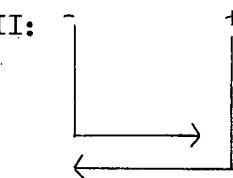
In this model a contrast is stated but there is no mediator, and no mediation is attempted. We have only a relation and its component. The descriptive formula rests a balance of power equation, the sign $>$ meaning greater than and the sign $<$ meaning less than, and \geq meaning equivalent to.

Model II:



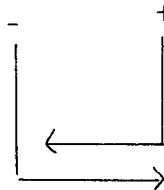
Here we see that there is an attempt, but no success at mediation. According to the Marandas this model "describes typically many myths made in the context of culture change. In them, culture heroes fail in their attempts to endow their fellow men with technological innovations or new types of goods. The outcome is a restatement of the lack of those things which make white men powerful, and the myths are used to explain the disparity of technology or economy" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:49)

Model III:



$$A < B \longrightarrow \bar{A}$$

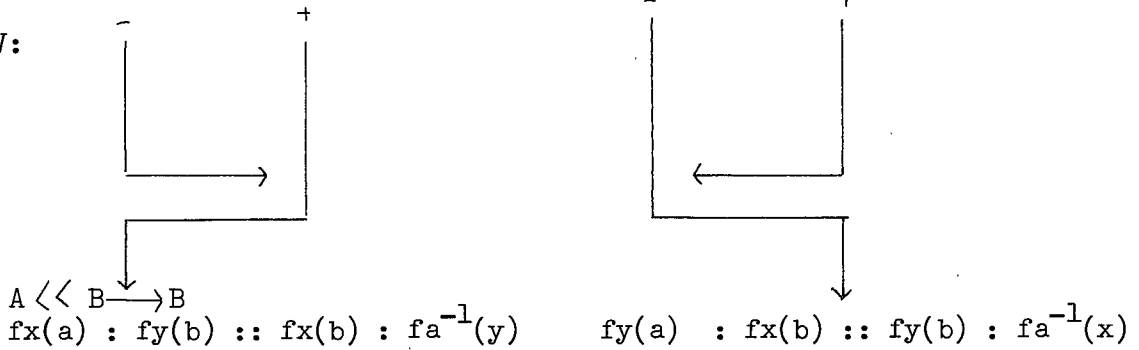
$$fx(a):fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$$



$$fy(a):fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$$

In this model there is successful mediation, where "the action of the mediator brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:52). In other words, there is a cyclical structure in which nothing is gained. The ending consists of a nullification of the initial loss.

Model IV:



We see that of the initial pair of opposite functions, one of them prevails and becomes a term according to Levi-Strauss' permutation. In this example "mediation not only nullifies the initial impact, but exploits it to advantage" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:52). This formula "implies a permutation of roles or functions and of terms, since (a) which is given as a term, becomes, once inverted a^{-1} , a sign of a function, and y, which is given as a sign of a function, becomes (y), i.e. a term which is the final outcome of the process. This permutation is necessary ... to account for structural patterns in which the final result is not merely a cyclical return to the point of departure after the first force has been nullified but a helicoidal step, a new situation different from the initial one not only in that it nullifies it but also because it consists of a state which is more than a nullification of the initial" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:26). The difference between Model III and Model IV comes from a "much greater than relation between A and B, $A \gg B$ with the consequence that the power of B is hypostasized" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:65). In the last part of Levi-Strauss' formula $fa^{-1}(y)$ we have the psychosocial function of a situation. An example given is as follows: "a servant can be superior to his superior by bringing him to an inferior position from which he cannot escape since he himself laid down the ground for the action ... namely cheating" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:70). The Marandas see this last model as non linear

while models I, II, and III are seen as linear.

Generally, all four models "are based on the difference between beginning and outcome and one (1) the presence or absence of an attempt to bring about this difference when it exists, and (2) the failing, cyclical, or heliocoidal result of the attempt" (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:88). An indefinite number of episodes can be discovered in a text employing the four kinds of models just described. Also some models are embedded in others. Lengthy myths generally are described by a number of models, each corresponding to an episode. For example; I, III, I, II, IV, might describe each episode in a myth. In this illustration, model IV would tend to be the overall representative model of the myth, as it is usually the last episode in which the final outcome of the tale is determined.

In conjunction with the above, another means of clarifying the analysis is from Pierre Maranda's Transformational Analysis, of Bears and Spouses". Maranda's operational concepts are used to "express clearly and concisely types of relations between the components of myths". The ten signs used are as follows.

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| + | meaning plus, with, inclusion |
| - | " minus, without, exclusion |
| > | " greater than |
| < | " less than |
| = | " equal to |
| <u>=</u> | " equivalent to |
| .../... <u>=</u> .../... | " this is to that as this other is to that other, or AB :: B/C or A/B :: C/D |
| —→ | " yields, entails, outcome |
| , | " pairing or grouping |
| () | " to signify that elements are connected as a whole within a larger context |

The above "signs all stand for syntagmatic connections between paradigmatic sets" (Maranda and Köngäs Maranda, 1970:95). These signs are employed in formalizing some of the material in the tales.

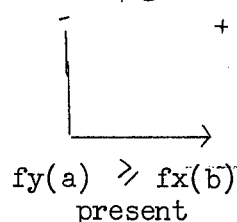
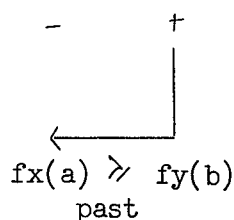
A presentation of the highlights of the Maranda's method of analysis will assist the process followed in regards to the two sets of corpora used in this analysis.

IV 2, i) THE MARANDAS', BEAVER ANALYSIS AND NOTES

1. The Frog and The Owl

Old Man Owl is the main actor in that he is mentioned most often in the tale.

The first episode, also the introduction, does not involve the main actor, and therefore, we have not broken this part down into its separate actions, but have taken it as a whole. A contrast is made between two time periods, then and now, past and present. Animals and birds used to live like people; they lived on land, made drymeat by putting it on stones. People learned to make drymeat from Birds and dried it on stone. Now they hang it on poles. If we consider past and present as contrasting time periods, we can illustrate this by employing the two diagrams for model 1.



With regards to the first formula, the term (b) is equivalent to animals, in that it can include either Birds or People. Term (a) is equivalent to Birds, fy to without drymeat, and fx to with drymeat. With this in mind, let us look at the first formula. In effect, we have Birds with drymeat \gg , Animals without drymeat. With regards to the second formula, the term (b) remains equivalent to animals, (a) is equivalent to People, fx to drymeat on rocks and fy to drymeat hung on poles. In other words, we have People with drymeat hung on poles \gg Animals with drymeat on rocks. Formalizing the above into short equations, we have;

1. Birds + Drymeat (on rocks) \gg Animals (people) - Drymeat
2. People + Drymeat (hung on air) \gg Animals (birds) + Drymeat (on rocks)

According to these formalizations, birds with drymeat were possibly superior to animals (people) without drymeat, but not superior if both had drymeat. Furthermore, we see that what is done with drymeat is important. Since the birds and people can be termed as animals, we see that it is drymeat hung in the air as opposed to putting it on the ground that becomes important. It is this fact that separates the people from the birds and lends them superiority.

In the second episode Old Man Owl discovers that his daughter is missing. He looks for her but fails to find her. Old Lady attempts to reassure her husband saying they will make another child. Old Man Owl states he is too old and continues to grieve for his daughter. In this episode, we see the main character attempting to resolve the situation and failing. This is represented by Model II and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = Father; (b) = Mother (wife); fx = grief; fy = unconcern. Thus we have grieving father > unconcerned wife. The term (b) is certainly ambiguous in that the daughter's mother is, in this episode referred to only as Old Man Owl's wife as opposed to as a mother. In formalizing this we might assume the following relationship: Father + daughter > husband + wife. Since the father's grief is greater than that of the mother, again we might assume there is a special relationship between father and daughter that is different from and special in relation to that between husband and wife.

The third episode is again concerned with the attempt and failure to find Old Man Owl's daughter. Here several verbal propositions revolve around the main actor, all of which relate to an attempt to change the initial situation. Old Lady Owl suggests that perhaps Little Owl can help find his daughter. Little Owl agrees to search for her for the price of some drymeat. However, his search ends when he finds her tracks leading into the water. Model II is

used to explain this episode, and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ is used where $(a) =$ Old Man Owl; $(b) =$ Little Owl; $fx =$ loss of daughter; $fy =$ fee of drymeat. Thus we have Old Man Owl + loss of daughter $>$ Little Owl + cost of drymeat. In this episode Little Owl is the mediator who attempts to change the situation. However, his sharp eyes and the drymeat were not enough to help him find Old Man Owl's daughter.

The fourth episode describes the retrieval of Old Man Owl's daughter. Owl Boy discovers her whereabouts, and asks his father's advice. Old Lady Owl states that Old Man Owl is too old, and doesn't know anything. However, Old Man Owl retrieves his daughter, and the situation is returned to its original state as found at the beginning of the story. Model III represents this episode, and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where $(a) =$ Owl Boy, $(b) =$ Old Man Owl, $fx =$ stupidity, $fy =$ cleverness. Substituting the terms and functions into the formula we have, $cleverness (Owl Boy) : Stupidity (Old Man Owl) :: cleverness (Old Man Owl) : stupidity (mother's statement)$. The message we have is that in the initial part of this episode it is Owl Boy's sharp ears and cleverness that assist him in discovering his sister. When he relates his discovery, the opinions of Old Man Owl's wife and son are opposed. Old Man Owl proves his cleverness and the falsity and stupidity of his wife's statement about him by retrieving his daughter. The opposition of the term (a) Owl Boy is his mother if we look at this in terms of their belief in Old Man Owl, who is the mediator and also somewhat ambiguous in this episode because of the opposing attitudes towards him. This episode emphasizes the respect he has from his son, daughter, and others as opposed to the disrespect from his wife.

The fifth episode contains several verbal propositions regarding the conflict between the Frogs and Birds, and the impending war between them.

The obvious contrast is that now the Birds have Old Man Owl's daughter (and the place of making drymeat) and the Frogs do not. Model I and the formula $fy(a) \succ fx(b)$ where $(a) = \text{Birds}$, $(b) = \text{Old Man Owl}$, $fx = \text{daughter}$, $fy = \text{place of drymeat}$ describes this episode. We see that Old Man Owl is the mediator and the ambiguous term. He specifies both functions. We can read the formula as making drymeat is as important, or more important to the Birds as Old Man Owl's daughter is to him.

In the next episode, the Birds make an attempt to settle the dispute peacefully, but the Frogs insist on doing battle and make the first move in an effort to defeat them. The Birds and Frogs battle and all the Frogs but one are killed. Model III illustrates this episode, and the formula $fy(a) ; fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where $(a) = \text{Frogs}$; $(b) = \text{Birds}$; $fx = \text{pleading (for friendship)}$; $fy = \text{unforgiving}$. In this episode the Frogs attempt to change the situation but fail. The action(s) of the mediators return the situation to its initial position. The formula illustrates the movement of events and the outcome of the battle. In the initial situation the Frogs are unforgiving and the Birds are pleading for the continuance of friendship. In the unfolding of the plot the Birds become unrelenting in their slaughter of the Frogs and in the final situation the one Frog remaining pleads for his life. This formula overlooks smaller details such as why Whiskey Jacks hate Frogs.

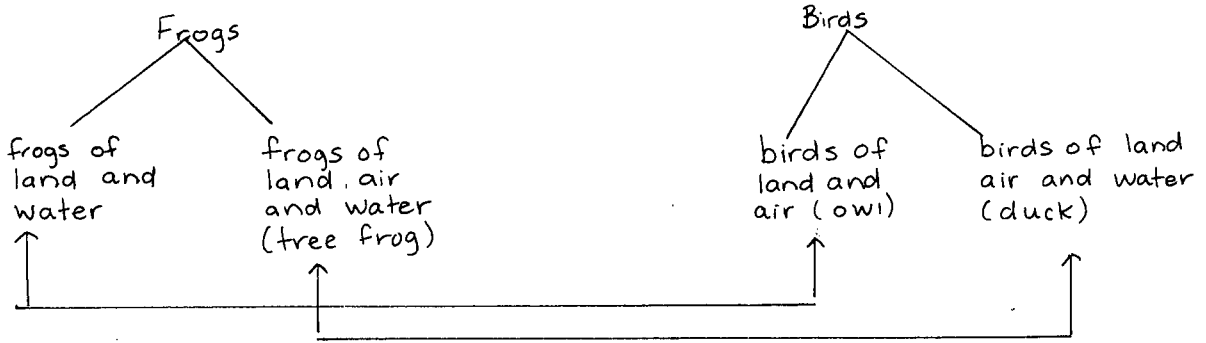
The final episode is very short. It does not contain the main actor, and in this way it is very similar to the first episode. It is not only a statement of contrast between the way men used to fight as opposed to the way they fight now, but also illustrates a change or gain on the overall level. We have a permutation of the initial situation which is described by model IV.

The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa=l(y)$ where (a) = Frog; (b) = Owl; fx = defensive fighting technique, fy = aggressive fighting technique is employed. The aggressive method of the Frogs and the defensive methods of the owls in the initial situation becomes an overall statement comparing the aspect of 'sparing one' of the Owl's method of fighting to those of the non-Frog, or non animal, in other words, the people's methods of combat.

In looking at this equation, we see that people have adopted the Birds' method of fighting, and improvised on it. Formalizing this we have;

- 1) Owls + defensive technique > Frog + aggressive techniques
- 2) People + defensive technique = Owl + defensive technique
- 3) People + defensive technique + improvisation > Owl + defensive technique

As in the beginning of the tale, the animals had drymeat, fighting techniques, strength to maintain their land for making drymeat. Then Man learned Owl's methods and improved them which shows his superiority and difference from the animals. This overall model illustrates the transcendence of man from one sphere to another, from nature to culture, moving from a position of relative inferiority to one of superiority. In considering the universe at the beginning of the myth there are three spheres within it, the sky world, land and water or the underworld. However, only two spheres are used in the myth, earth and water. Both the Frogs and the Birds can live on the land and in the water. In the tale the Frogs move from water to land to water, and the Birds from land to water to land. The clash between the two is on land, and the Frogs return to their underworld, defeated. Since Man learns from the Owl, a bird that lives on land and in the air, it seems that the differentiation between the Frogs and Owls is unbalanced. Let us consider the following diagram.



It appears that what is contrasted are creatures of land and air as opposed to those of land and water. If we employ the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-l(x)$ where (a) = Owl; (b) = Frog (this is an ambiguous term because we can make reference to frogs which live in trees) $Fy =$ water; $fy =$ air, we see that the air (owl): water (frog) as air (frog) : duck, (or any other water bird) is to water. The duck for example, is the equivalent creature to that of the tree frog. It symbolizes that creature which lives in all three spheres, and is a mediator between them, as is the tree frog. In this tale, the two spheres, the skyworld and the underworld are brought into contrast here.

2. The Boy Wabshu

Wabshu is the main actor as he is mentioned most often in the tale.

The first sentence in this myth is a short statement of introduction and no contrast is made at this point. In the first episode Wabshu's mother dies, after leaving instructions to her husband to find another woman from where the sun is high at dinner time. Wabshu's father attempts to do so but is not successful and settles for a wife from where the sun sets. This episode consists of many verbal propositions revolving around the main actor, and is best described by model III as Wabshu's father's attempt to nullify the loss of his first wife is not executed according to her wishes. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = mother; (b) = father;

$fx =$ considerate; $fy =$ selfish, reads considerate (mother) : selfish (father) :: considerate (father) : selfish (step-mother). The term (b) is ambiguous because Wabshu's father is both selfish in choosing a wife for himself, but considerate in that he does want to provide a mother for his son. The negation of (a) as mother is step-mother. Let us look at this equation from another point of view, as follows;

- 1) Real mother + son $>$ Real father + son
- 2) Real father + son $>$ Step-mother + son
- 3) Real mother \gg Step-mother

This formalization emphasizes the importance of a blood relation as opposed to a non-blood relation.

The next episode describes the step-mother's successful attempt at causing trouble for Wabshu, and Wabshu's failure at pleasing his new step-mother. Wabshu is the first criterion and the model is chosen accordingly. Model II illustrates this, and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = father; (b) = woman; $fx =$ son; $fy =$ husband, shows that son (father) $>$ woman (husband). This is also formalized by the following statements.

- 1) Father + son $>$ step-mother + father
- 2) Step-mother + son \rightarrow Father + son

This last formalization takes us into the third episode where Wabshu's father succeeds in abandoning him on an Island. From this a third equation is formed;

- 3) Husband + wife $>$ Father + son.

Wabshu's father chose to believe his wife's statements over his sons. Model IV represents this episode because the initial situation of Father + son $>$ step-mother is changed to that of Husband plus wife. Let us look at this in terms of

the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where $(a) =$ spouse; $(b) =$ blood relative; $fx =$ trust; $fy =$ distrust. We have trust (spouse) : mistrust (blood relative) :: trust (blood relative) : step-mother (mistrust). This formula contains a similar message as does the third equation. The formula also explicates the opposition as well as similarity between the spouse and the step-mother. Both cannot be shared by father and son if they are one and the same, and furthermore, they are both in opposition to term (b). The equation points out here that the non-blood relationship is stronger than the blood relationship. However, we also note that there is room for much deceit in both relationships.

In the fourth episode Wabshu is left to die by his father. However, Nahata intervenes and shows him how to survive over the winter, and Wabshu lives out a year on the Island. The impending tragedy is arrested but not really nullified, as the situation is not returned to its original state. This is described by model II and the formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ where $(a) =$ Wabshu; $(b) =$ Father; $fx =$ abandonment; $fy =$ Nahata, spirit helper. This formula indicates that Wabshu and his spirit helper can overcome his abandonment by his father. A simple formalization describes this; Wabshu + spirit helper \rightarrow drymeat.

In the fifth episode there is a nullification of the initial action that takes place in the previous episode as well as an additional action. Wabshu escapes leaving his father on the island in his place, which changes the outcome of the intended initial action. Rather than Wabshu dying, his Father and Step-mother die. This is described by model IV- or formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where $(a) =$ father; $(b) =$ Fowl; $fx =$ life (giving qualities) $fy =$ death (giving qualities). The term fowl is ambiguous in this episode as it contains life giving qualities if used in

the proper manner. As we see in the myth, fowl's flesh is used for drymeat, and feathers used for warmth. In the tale Wabshu's father tries to use the feathers for food, thus reversing the purpose of the fowl. The formula can be read as the life giving function of blood relatives is similar to the death function of eating feathers as is the life giving function of eating drymeat is to the non-blood relatives function to the term death. In the outcome of the formula the death of the step-mother is formalized in the last part of the model IV formula. Furthermore, we might note the importance of the spirit helper that is brought out in this episode, illustrated by the following formalization;

- 1) Wabshu + Nahata (spirit helper) \longrightarrow drymeat (food) + feathers (warmth)
- 2) Father + Nahata (spirit helper) \longrightarrow feathers (food)

These two equations demonstrate the degradation of Wabshu's father. Not only does he obtain one of the two possible functions of the Fowl, but he confuses them and uses the feathers inappropriately. In this way Wabshu's position becomes more superior in the final outcome to that of his mistrusting father.

In the last episode, Wabshu, now a man, sets up his own home with a monster, in a son to mother capacity as opposed to that of husband and wife. Wabshu and the monster, Onli Nachi, come to grievance over the type of flesh eaten. The equations;

- 1) Wabshu + Monster \longrightarrow son + mother
- 2) Monster + human flesh \gg Wabshu + Fowl (animal flesh)

The contrast in both formalizations can be shown by model I, and the formula $f_y(a) \gg f_x(b)$ where (a) = Wabshu; (b) = Monster; f_x = mother; f_y = son. Thus we see in this first formula that the son function of Wabshu is equated to or greater than the mother function of the monster.

In the second equation of contrast illustrating their differences, model I⁻ and the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ we see that the mother is to Wabshu is equaled to or greater than son is to monster. This first equation of contrast within the last episode leads to a statement about the last episode which can be illustrated by model IV⁺ as Wabshu not only nullifies the impact of the man eating monster, but puts an end to it, thus permeating the monster's role, and a different final outcome is achieved. Let us consider the formula; $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-l(y)$ where (a) = blood relatives; (b) = flesh (human and animal); fx = food; fy = offspring. The term flesh, meaning the raw flesh of human and animal is the ambiguous element in this episode, and also over which Wabshu and Onli Nachi disagree, thus initiating their opposition. The formula reads as follows; The offspring of blood relatives is to food and flesh as offspring of flesh is to food of non-blood relatives. Although the equation does not really explain the episode in a chronological manner in terms of setting up the conflict, etc. it does seem to make a statement about cannibalism and under what conditions it is acceptable or not, for example who can indulge, non-blood relatives as opposed to blood relatives, whether human or animal. However, when we tie this in with the model for the overall myth, we see that this statement is not so straight forward, because mans' origin and his relation to nature is questioned. The overall model is IV⁺ also, since Wabshu as Usakindji travel throughout the world and rids the world of harmful man eating monsters. Reading from the equation where mother (Wabshu, Son) \gg son (monster) we can include this idea into the overall model where (a) = human; (b) = monster; fx = non-blood relatives; fy = blood relatives. Interpreting this equation from the main character's viewpoint, the blood relation to humans is to the non-blood relation of a monster as the blood

relation of a monster is to the animal function of Wabshu (now as Man). From this a differentiation is determined between animals and monsters. In addition, the question still remains -- born from one or two, whether they be man, animal, monster or from the earth itself. Perhaps here the monster is seen as being autochthonous.

We might also note that Usakindji turns to stone at the close of the tale. On the one hand a stone is an object which changes slowly and is a symbol of longevity. Usakindji is actually similar to Jesus as mentioned in the myth as they both deny or prevent a cyclical pattern of nature's death, decay and rebirth. Neither Jesus nor Usakindji enter the process of degeneration; this process is arrested with Jesus' ascent to 'heaven' and Usakindji's turning to stone, both to return again, although not reborn. On the other hand, a return to stone is a return to earth, back to autochthonous origins.

3. Usakindji and The Wolverine Man

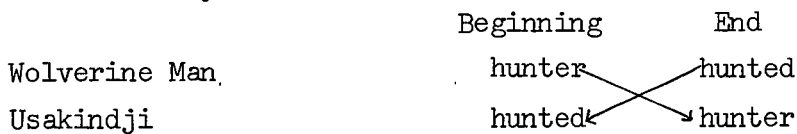
Usakindji is the main character as he is mentioned most often in the myth.

In the first episode, Usakindji is introduced into the main action immediately. His intuition warns him that something is amiss and after sweeping the ground in front of him with a spruce bow he discovers a trap set by Wolverine Man. This short episode, containing few verbal propositions, is best described by model II⁺ and the formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ where (a) = Usakindji; (b) = Wolverine Man; fx = thoughtful planning; fy = intuition. In other words, Usakindji's intuition is greater than Wolverine Man's careful planning. This episode is more of a statement of action rather than one of an attempt and failure at mediation. Mediation can be considered to occur when Usakindji acts on his intuition and changes the

course of the plot. However, Usakindji does not return the state of affairs to their point of departure after having counteracted this initial trap.

In the second episode Grouse's blood is used by Usakindji in order to fool Wolverine Man into thinking he has been caught by the trap. This episode is also described by model II⁺ or formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ where (a) = Usakindji; (b) = Wolverine Man; fx = intuition; fy = thoughtful planning. In other words, Usakindji's thoughtful planning is more effective than Wolverine Man's intuition. Usakindji is carried back to Wolverine Man's camp, where he awaits an opportunity to attack Wolverine Man. In both these episodes, Usakindji does not yet return the situation to its point of departure, or attempt to change it altogether. In these two episodes, there is a reversal of functions, the result being that Usakindji is shown to be superior to Wolverine Man in both intuition and intelligence.

In the last episode, however, Usakindji kills Wolverine Man and his family, and chops them into little pieces and disperses them to the four winds. This episode is a typical model IV⁺ formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa^{-1}(y)$ where (a) = Wolverine Man; (b) = Usakindji; fx = hunted; fy = hunter. The diagram exemplifies the reversal of functions from the beginning and end of the myth.



Hunter (Wolverine Man) is to hunted (Usakindji) in the initial situation, with Hunter (Usakindji) the turning point of the tale. The nullification of the Wolverine Man (hunted) is the final permutation. It is in this last section that the Wolverine Man and his family are reduced to smaller pieces, and therefore, a new situation is created. This last formula also describes the overall model of this relatively simple myth as well. The initial

situation is not only nullified, it is altered. A new situation different from the initial situation has resulted. This change is interpreted as a gain, as the Wolverine Man was considered harmful to man. After his transformation, he is not as dangerous.

4. Usakindji and the Geese and the Fox

Usakindji is the main character of this myth as he is mentioned the most number of times.

The first episode of this myth is a continuation of the previous myth. A contrast is implied by Usakindji's statement that he has no meat, although he has just killed a Wolverine family, and the fact that he sees many ducks and geese. This is described by model I and the formula $fx(a) \geq fy(b)$ where (a) = Wolverine; (b) = Geese and ducks; fx = inedible; fy = edible. We have here the statement that Wolverine meat is inedible in contrast to fowl, which is edible.

In the second episode Usakindji thinks of a scheme by which to catch the geese and ducks. This is represented by model III⁺, and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = fowl; (b) = Usakindji; fy = songs; fx = trickery. By employing several verbal propositions, the tale relates Usakindji's success in mediating this situation, in that he catches the birds and thereby nullifies his initial lack of food. According to the formula, the function of the songs to the geese and ducks and Usakindji's cunning set up the initial situation in this episode, while the function of the songs to Usakindji facilitate his capturing the geese and ducks for his food. In this episode, the fowl are prepared to pass from an inedible state to one that is.

The next episode is short and can actually be included in the above episode as the action does not really change the overall situation. However, Loon discovers what Usakindji is doing and by verbally bringing this to the attention of the other birds, he stops the continuation of Usakindji's actions, although by this time ample ducks and geese have been killed to provide him with food. The Loon nullifies and counteracts what Usakindji is doing. However, as Loon is trying to escape with the other birds, Usakindji steps on his tail, which, according to the myth, explains why Loons cannot walk to this day. From the main character's viewpoint this is a cyclical structure, and is demonstrated by model III. Usakindji's position is on the one hand, as it was initially, in that he no longer has an incoming supply of food. On the other, Usakindji does have some dead fowl, ready to be transformed to an edible state. From the Loon's point of view, a change is effected that is irreversible, in that he can no longer walk. This is illustrated by the formalization: $\text{loon} + \text{dancing} \longrightarrow \text{loon} - \text{walking}$. This situation is further explored in the formula $\text{fx}(a) : \text{fy}(b) :: \text{fx}(b) : \text{fy}(\bar{a})$ where $(a) = \text{Loon}$; $(b) = \text{Usakindji}$; $\text{fx} = \text{tail}$; $\text{fy} = \text{feet}$. In the initial conflict of this episode Usakindji steps on Loon's tail and the end result is that Loon loses the function of his feet. The other means of travel available to Loon are swimming and flying. Perhaps the Loon has gained a special significance as far as mediation between the underworld (water) and the skyworld.

In the next episode Usakindji roasts all the fowl he has collected. Fox happens upon the scene and fakes a limp. Usakindji challenges Fox to a race for all the food, thinking that he would win. In order to make the race a 'fair' one, Usakindji renders himself lame by putting a stone under his foot. He races to the end of the lake, while Fox stays behind and

steals all the meat. This episode can best be described by Model III⁻. There is a cyclical structure in which nothing is gained or lost that can't be remedied. Usakindji's position returns to what it was at the beginning of the tale, i.e. no food, but in this episode there are no immediate prospects of food either. Since there are many verbal propositions composing this episode, a formalization will clarify the main points.

| | Beginning | End |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Usakindji | no limp, roast meat | real limp, no meat |
| Fox | affected limp, no meat | no limp, roast meat |

Above, we see that Usakindji and the Fox trade places. If we apply the formula using the above terms and functions another insight is gained. Using $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = roast meat; (b) = limp; $fx =$ culture Usakindji; $fy =$ nature; another insight is gained. Here culture is taken to mean human intervention, and nature as more a natural process. The mediating term, limp, is ambiguous as with the Fox, the limp is affected while with Usakindji, it is at first induced and later becomes real. In the first part of the episode Usakindji roasts meat, while Fox affects a limp. The turning point of the plot occurs when Usakindji inflicts a real limp upon himself. The end result is different from what the myth portrays in that Fox has a nullification of roasted meat, i.e. raw meat, rather than no meat, as opposed to the end result in the tale, that Fox has roast meat. In one sense there is a shift downward from the first part of left side of the equation to the right side. For example, from a pretended lameness of the Fox to the real lameness of Usakindji. Also we see another shift downward in that Fox changed from eating roasted meat to eating raw meat. In other words, the confusion lies in the attempt at transition from nature to culture. Firstly, although Fox doesn't actually become lame, he continues

to eat raw meat. Secondly, although Usakindji eats roasted meat, he actually becomes lame. Thus neither Fox nor Usakindji complete both parts of the transaction from nature to culture. We might refer to Leach's discussion of Levi-Strauss' study of the Oedipus myth wherein lameness implies an attachment to the earth (Leach, 1970:64). Considering this, and the difference between anomalous monsters, animals and man, perhaps Usakindji in the tale is portrayed as monster in comparison to Fox, an animal. From his superior position as man in relation to animals, Usakindji is now likened to that of an anomalous monster, and inferior to animals.

In the last short episode, or statement, Usakindji builds a fire in an attempt to trap the Fox, who escapes by jumping over the fire, singing his fur. From Usakindji's viewpoint, the model used to illustrate this episode is II and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = Fox; (nature); (b) = Usakindji; (culture); fx = jump; fy = fire. This seems to be a simplified restatement that nature outweighs culture.

The psycho social function of fa-1 (y) is demonstrated in the overall model IV of the myth. Usakindji is brought to an inferior position by Fox using the same rules that he used to trick the ducks and gees. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-1 (\bar{y})$ where (a) = Game; (b) = Usakindji; fx = tricked; fy = trickster is interpreted as follows; tricked (game) : trickster (Usakindji) :: tricked (Usakindji) : the nullification of the game or Fox (trickster). Usakindji is the ambiguous term because of his double rôle. In other words, in the first part of the overall tale, the Birds are the game, Usakindji the trickster, but the turning point occurs when Usakindji is, in turn, tricked by a trickster, and beaten at his own game. A person of inferior status can bring himself to a superior position to his superiors by bringing the superior person to an inferior position from which he cannot escape because the superior person laid down the rules for action, namely cheating (Maranda and Kögäs Maranda, 1971:70).

5. How the Animals Got Their Fat

Usakindji is mentioned most often in the tale and is, therefore, the main character.

This story is a continuation of a previous story. At the beginning of the first episode Usakindji is hungry again. There are several verbal propositions revolving around this subject. Usakindji remedies this immediate problem with a long term plan. He keeps the bear he meets company and feeds him during the fall so that the bear will provide him with meat during the winter. Model III⁺ best illustrates this episode where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fx = supplier; fy = supplied. In the first part of the episode, the Bear is the supplied and Usakindji the supplier of food. The situation changes when Usakindji kills the bear and now becomes the supplied by the Bear's flesh.

In the second episode there are several verbal propositions describing Usakindji's entrapment by a tree trunk, while all the birds eat his meat. Through this episode, Usakindji is again found without food, as he was at the beginning of the tale. The difference between this episode and the first one is that now Usakindji is not hungry as he has just finished devouring most of the roast Bear. The model III⁻ and the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fx = supplier; fy = supplied, describes this episode. In the initial situation of this episode, the Bear is the supplier, and Usakindji is provided with his meat. Usakindji becomes the supplier of Bear meat to the Birds, in this case. Thus we see that the negative formula for model III using the same terms and functions, has advanced the tale one step further.

In the third episode, Usakindji requests Muskrat to cool the remaining

Bear grease by tying it to his tail and pulling it through the water. Instead Muskrat dives under the water and the grease floats over the water. This short episode can be described by Model III⁻ because although Usakindji succeeds in having Muskrat cool the fat, it is done incorrectly, and Muskrat loses the last of Usakindji's food. Thus nothing is gained. By using the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Usakindji; (b) = Muskrat; fx = authority; fy = subservient; this situation is clarified. Muskrat is the ambiguous dramatis personae because of the double role he has. He is obedient to Usakindji on the one hand, but not interdependent with Usakindji on the other hand. Also, he seems to play an intermediate and contrasting role between that of Bear and that of the Birds. For instance, Bear and Usakindji have an interdependent relationship, and there seems to be an element of mutual respect for one another. However, Usakindji's relationship with the Birds and Muskrat seems to be one of varying disrespect. If we formalize the three different relationships we see that;

- 1) Usakindji + Bear \longrightarrow obedience, + respect + interdependence
- 2) Usakindji + Birds \longrightarrow disobedience + disrespect + no interdependence
- 3) Usakindji + Muskrat \longrightarrow obedience + disrespect + no interdependence

We might note that Bear and Usakindji both live on land, Muskrat in the water and on land, while the Birds live in the air and on land. There appears to be a positive correlation between respect for Usakindji from Muskrat, the Birds and Bear, dependent upon how earth-bound they are. The following diagram illustrates this point:

- 1) Usakindji $\xleftrightarrow{++}$ Bear respect, obedience
- 2) Usakindji $\xleftrightarrow{+-}$ Muskrat
- 3) Usakindji $\xleftrightarrow{--}$ Birds

The first part of the episode delineates the relationship between Usakindji and Muskrat, this relationship changes when Muskrat is in the water, but in

the end result, this does not necessarily mean that the relationship is reversed. Usakindji does not become subservient or obedient to Muskrat, as Muskrat was in relation to Usakindji at the beginning of the tale.

In the fourth episode Usakindji calls the animals to him, distributes the fat amongst them and settles the world. It is also mentioned that people learned how to trick a Bear from Usakindji's experience. This last episode can be understood as an overall summarization of the tale, and is illustrated by Model IV⁺ as there is a resulting new situation at the story's end, in that Usakindji gives all the animals some fat to keep them warm. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-l(x)$, where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fy = friendly; familiar; fx = authoritative, illustrates this episode. The ambiguous dramatis personae here is Usakindji as he, in some situations, is familiar, friendly and, at times, disrespected by the animals, and in other circumstances he is an authoritative and respected figure by the animals. At the beginning of the tale, Usakindji is familiar and seemingly disrespectful with the Bear and calls him uncle. At this point the Bear is a friendly, obliging and non-authoritative figure to Usakindji. However, when Usakindji is in the position that an uncle might be, he does not give up his authoritative role. If we consider Usakindji's relationship with Bear, the Birds, Muskrat and the 'Animals' as four separate parts, the first and last one are similar yet opposite, while the two middle parts are more similar or less contrasting. The following diagram will clarify this statement.

| Bear-Usakindji | Birds-Usakindji | Muskrat-Usakindji | Animals-Usakindji |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------|
| Bear - obedient, respectful, uncle | Birds - total disrespect, unconcern for U. commands, disobedient | Muskrat - somewhat disrespectful, disobedient, also obedient, familiar | Animals - obedient, respectful |

Usakindji - dis-
respectful, auth-
oritative,
friendly, familiar,
kills Bear and
takes for food,
warmth during
winter

Usakindji - dis-
respectful to B.,
threatening, de-
graded physically

Usakindji - famil-
iar, authoritative
degraded by name
calling

Usakindji-authoritative,
gives fat of Bear
as warmth to ani-
mals, of which
Bear is first to
receive

If we look at column 1 and 4 in terms of food taking and giving, they are mirror images of one another. Bear \rightarrow warmth, food \rightarrow Usakindji | Usakindji \rightarrow warmth, food \rightarrow Bear (animals). Bear is repaid first and the most, since his fat is needed initially. In columns one and four, Usakindji's and the Bear's roles remain the same, but their functions have reversed.

6. The Woman Who Married the Bear

The Girl is the main character as she is mentioned the most often in this story.

In the first episode the Girl or chief's daughter is unable to bring him as many berries as the other women as Bear Man was stealing them from her. This short episode is illustrated by model II⁻ using the formula $fx(a)$ $fy(b)$ where (a) = Bear Man; (b) = Girl; fy = picking; fx = taking. In other words, taking (Bear Man) $>$ picking (Girl). The Girl is the mediating figure. She attempts to collect as many berries as the other women but does not succeed.

The second episode is very short as the Girl not only nullifies the initial loss of her berries, she goes away with the Bear Man who was stealing them. A new situation is thus created that is different from the initial situation. This episode can be described by model IV⁺. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-1(x)$ where (a) = daughter (b) = Bear; fx = stealing, lazy procedure; fy = correct procedure. Bear is an ambiguous term here in

that he is seen as both man and animal. Furthermore, he is the instigator of the action and is the mediating force. In the first half of the formula, the girl is working diligently picking berries, while the Bear steals them, as opposed to finding his own. However, the turning point of the tale occurs when the Bear presumably, correctly requests of the Girl that she live with him as opposed to abducting her. The end result is that the girl now wife, follows the incorrect procedure for cohabitation. This predicts that the decision should remain with the Girl's brother. By running away with the Bear, the Girl usurps her brother's authority. We might conclude that the brother must become the authority figure to his sister's husband, or that his sister's husband must be included in the family rather than lose her to another group, or furthermore, as Levi-Strauss pointed out, it is the men who exchange women, and not the woman who decides this. (Leach, 1970:104). Thus the stage is set for further action.

The third episode is also very short. The Girl's mother and father attempt to find their daughter but fail. This is specified by model II⁻ and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = wife; (b) = daughter; fx = husband; fy = parents. A wife to a husband is of greater importance than a daughter to parents. In other words, the husband wife bond overcomes that of the blood related bond between parent and child.

In the fourth episode, the Girl's brother learns of his sister's whereabouts through a dream. The bear realizes this and takes his wife as far away as possible. He digs them a den in which to hide throughout the winter.

However, the Brother finds them, lures the Bear Man from his den and kills him.

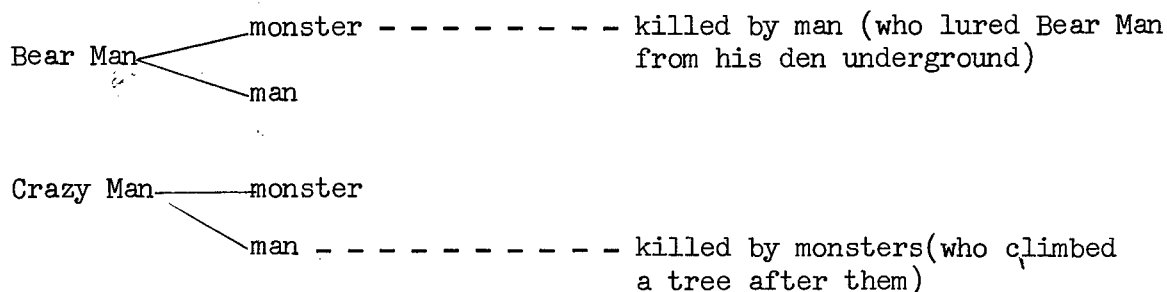
Formalizing the story thus far may clarify it.

- 1) Husband + Wife $>$ parent + child (blood relative)
- 2) Brother + dream \longrightarrow Sister + Bear Man
- 3) Brother + dream + medicine \longrightarrow Sister - Bear Man

It is the brother's strong medicine that enables him to change the situation and return his sister home again to rejoin her family. The Girl is an ambiguous term in the tale. She is a sister, a daughter and a wife to three different people. The two men that come into conflict over her are her brother and her husband. The model for this episode is III^- because there is a cyclical structure in which the Girl loses her newly found husband. She returns home with her brother. Nothing is gained. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) ; fy(\bar{a})$ is applicable when $(a) = \text{Bear}$; $(b) = \text{Brother}$; $fx = \text{powerful medicine}$; $fy = \text{dreaming}$. The formula also includes the previous model, as does the formalization. A differentiation is noted between powerful medicine and that of dreaming ability. Here in the initial situation, the Bear uses his powers to persuade the Girl to live with him. The brother dreams of his sister's whereabouts. The climax of the story occurs when the brother uses his powerful medicine to defeat the Bear. Thus, the end result is that the Bear's lack of dreaming ability leads to his death.

In the fifth episode, the Girl promises her Bear husband that she will not marry again. She endeavours to keep this promise, but eventually fails and marries Crazy Man, who claims he has enough power to fight off monsters. This episode can be described by model II^- , and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$, where $(a) = \text{husband}$; $(b) = \text{Girl}$; $fx = \text{wish to remarry}$; $fy = \text{promise not to marry}$. We see that her wish to remarry outweighs her promise not to do so. The demands of the present (living) outweigh those of the past (dead).

In the last episode, the initial situation is changed so that an entirely new situation emerges. The Girl not only loses her husband again, but she is also killed. By formalizing this, we see some interesting binary oppositions;



Model IV⁻ illustrates permutation of the initial situation and also describes the overall myth, through the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$, where (a) = man; (b) = monster; fx = dens; fy = trees, we see that this is a restatement of the above formalization in that the first half of the equation illustrates the same thing as does the differentiation between Bear Man as Monster and Crazy Man as Man. The ambiguous term is obviously monster, and his relationship to animal and man seems to be a question. In the initial part of the formula den (man) as tree (monster). In other words, man and monster both pursued one another to these limits. The second part of the equation confirms that the function of a den is to a monster but the nullified function of man is to trees. This questions man's origin and restates his attachment to the land, as well as his attempt to avoid or deny it. However, there seems to be another point to be made by this story.

Another polar opposition is exemplified by the tree and the den.

That is:

- 1) den - birth to monsters by man
- 2) tree - death to man by monsters

The above formalization can also be described by model 1^+ and 1^- where a contrast or statement is made, but where mediation is not attempted. Thus the two statements are mirror images of one another. If we employ the formulas and the different, appropriate terms and functions for the above, the resulting

suggestion is rather far reaching. For instance, using Model 1⁻, formula $fx(a)$ $fy(b)$ where $(a) =$ origin; $(b) =$ monster; $fx =$ earth; $fy =$ den, and model 1⁺ formula $fy(a)$ $fx(b)$ where $(a) =$ death; $(b) =$ man; $fx =$ tree; $fy =$ sky, we still have two opposite ideas as seen as follows:

1) earth (origin) \gg den (monster)

2) sky (death) \gg tree (man)

One exemplifies a pagan, physical belief system, the other a christian or spiritual belief system. In other words, the opposing ideas of rebirth or resurrection are in conflict here. In relation to the first equation, one might consider man's continuity as cyclical in terms of birth, growth, fullness, decay and rebirth again. According to the second equation, man is not reborn again, but becomes immortal and attains an everlasting life. The finality of death and what it holds in store for man is the question here.

On a more immediate level again, if the births and deaths are counted in this myth, there are three dramatis personae killed, consisting of one monster and two men. However, two monsters have also been born. Perhaps this is a restatement of the previous theme in regards to exchange of women and forming political alliances, for at the beginning of the tale, the Bear might have been a powerful ally, while by the end of the tale, he has become a very powerful enemy. In addition, the birth of two more monsters must be counted as enemies, not allies.

7. Usakindji and Moon Man

Moon Man is mentioned most often in this tale and is, therefore, the main character.

The first episode is very short with few verbal propositions and introduces the subject of the story. It brings attention to the main character's extra large feet. This is exemplified by model I⁺ formula $fy(a) \gg fax(b)$ where (a) = Usakindji; (b) = stranger; fy = normal tracks; fx = peculiar tracks. In this episode a contrast is emphasized between the tracks left by people and by 'others'. The adjectives used to describe foot prints are strange, big, close together, straight and even and taking short steps, all quite different from human footprints.

In the second episode, Usakindji decides to find out who the strange tracks belong to, and does so after following the strange tracks for two or three days and nights. This can best be described as a model III⁺ as there is a cyclical structure, "where the action of the mediator brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:52). The second part of this description "after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion" (Maranda and Kóngas Maranda, 1971:52), is not really applicable at the early stage of this tale. However, let us look at the formula accompanying this model, $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = stranger; (b) = Usakindji; fx = known, natural; fy = unknown, unnatural. In the initial phase of the formula, we have an unnatural stranger and a natural Usakindji. The unnatural stranger has peculiar feet and is non meat-eating. The turning point of the tale occurs when Usakindji discovers who the stranger is. At this point there are reasonable explanations given for his strange footprints and his non-meat diet. As a result of this discovery, the peculiar habits of Moon Man no longer seem unnatural.

In the third episode there is an interesting turn of events in which the trickster dupes himself. Moon Man had planned on killing Usakindji after throwing his mocassins into the fire. However, Usakindji suspected this and exchanged mocassins, and Moon Man destroyed his own. This is described by model III⁻ as Moon Man does not succeed in killing Usakindji. Usakindji, as mediator in this episode does succeed in bringing the state of affairs back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion. Thus this episode is more model III⁻ than model II⁻ in which Moon Man fails to kill Usakindji. Employing the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Moon Man as trickster; (b) = Usakindji as dupe; fx = conniving; fy = careful, the conniving trickster (Moon Man) and the careful Usakindji set the stage for ensuing action. The end result is that Moon Man is outwitted at his own game by Usakindji. Although Moon Man may be a trickster in some instances, he is not in comparison to Usakindji.

The fourth episode defines Usakindji as the trickster who, in effect commences another trick when he allows Moon Man to stay with him. There are two smaller sub-episodes that are part of Usakindji's plot. The first one contains a demonstration of Moon Man's successful hunting. Here Moon Man imitates an Owl in order to lure a lynx. Model III⁺ best describes this short episode, as Moon Man, the main character, succeeds in finding food. There is no change in the plot as Moon Man's hunger, which set the episode into motion, has been nullified, and the situation returns to its initial state.

We might also formalize this short episode as:

- 1) Moon Man eats cooked meat \cong owl eats raw meat
 - 2) Owl \cong hunted by lynx who eats raw meat
 - 3) Moon Man (eats cooked meat) + Owl (eats raw meat) Lynx (eats raw meat as hunter)
- hunter

hunted

hunted - eaten cooked

The hunter and hunted trade places:

| | Lynx | Owl | Moon Man |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Beginning | eats raw flesh hunter | (eats raw flesh hunted | eats cooked meat) |
| End | eaten cooked hunted | (not eaten | not eaten) hunter |

The above explained more concisely, is as follows:

| | Lynx | Owl (Moon Man) |
|-----------|--------|-------------------|
| Beginning | hunter | hunted (Owl) |
| End | hunted | hunter (Moon Man) |

By employing the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = raw meat; (b) = lynx; fx = hunter; fy = hunted, we see that in the first part of the formula, the hunted or Moon Man as Owl eats raw flesh when the hunter is lynx. However, a change occurs when Lynx becomes hunted, as the hunter Moon Man eats his meat cooked. Thus the Lynx, who eats his meat raw, is eaten cooked, and Moon Man, who eats his meat cooked, has to imitate a flesh eating animal, Owl, also subject to being eaten raw by Lynx, in order to catch his food.

In the next sub episode, Usakindji makes Moon Man a pair of teeth so that he is able to eat the meat as opposed to sucking the juices. Moon Man protests on the basis that if he has teeth he will bite people's fingers, but Usakindji ignores his plea. Since Moon Man is the main character in the tale, this situation is represented by model II⁻ because here there is an attempt, but no success at mediation. If the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = cooked meat; (b) = raw meat; fx = enjoyment; fy = fear, is used, Moon Man's satisfaction from eating the cooked meat with his new teeth is greater than his fear of biting people's fingers with them. However, as mentioned previously in the fourth episode, Usakindji is the trickster. His scheme is unfolded

in the last episode when Moon Man bites people's fingers instead of sucking them. If this situation is formalized, we see that;

- 1) Moon Man - teeth \longrightarrow cooked animal (juice)
- 2) Moon Man + teeth \longrightarrow cooked animal (meat)
- 3) Moon Man + teeth \longrightarrow raw people
- 4) Moon Man - teeth + cooked animal \longrightarrow Moon Man + teeth + raw people

In other words, by giving Moon Man teeth, Usakindji shows Moon Man to be the cannibalistic monster he actually is. Since Moon Man is the first criterion, this episode is also illustrated by model IV⁻, and formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where (a) = human; (b) = monster; fx = cooked; fy = raw. According to the initial part of the tale, man eats cooked meat, while monsters eat raw meat. The climax of the plot is reached when the point is made that although monsters may also eat cooked meat, people do not eat raw meat. Thus here is a difference between man and animal. At the beginning of the tale, we observe Moon Man eating animal flesh, cooked, whereas, at the end of the tale he is eating human flesh, raw. The final result is more than a cyclical reversal. It is a permutation of the initial situation. Thus the two previous episodes, characterized by models III⁺ and II⁻ are included in the overall frame of this last episode, although they are significant in themselves. In this last episode IV⁻ represents the overall model for the tale. Moon Man, at the beginning of the tale, with his peculiar walk, large feet, is half man, half monster. At the close of the tale it seems that he is more monster than man. Let us quote Leach on Levi-Strauss; "In mythology it is universal characteristic of men born from the earth that at the moment they emerge from the depth, they either cannot walk or they walk clumsily. This is the case of the clthonion beings in the mythology of the Pueblo III and of the Kwakiutl" (Leach, 1970:64). The question of Moon Man's clthonion

origin does not appear to be really answered, but it has certainly been raised.

In the final and very short episode, Moon Man goes from a spatial position of inferiority (below) to one of superiority (above); from being attached to the earth to being completely unattached. Here the question is emphasized and illustrated by model I^+ and I^- . No attempt is made here to mediate the contrast. The age old question seems to be brought out, born of the earth or belonging to the sky. In both these instances, an existence separate from human beings. On the one hand the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$, where $(a) =$ earth; $(b) =$ sky; $fx =$ monster; $fy =$ gods, perhaps illustrates a transition from monster to God, from earth to sky dwelling. On the other hand, it might illustrate the confusion and suggest the idea of gods and monsters that have both good and evil qualities.

8. Usakindji and Mosquito Man

Mosquito Man is the main character as he is mentioned more often in the tale.

At the beginning of this tale we are told what the tale is going to be about. A statement is made, and a contrast implied between Usakindji and Mosquito Man. Since no mediation is mentioned at this point, this first episode is best illustrated by model I^- and the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where $(a) =$ Usakindji; $(b) =$ Mosquito Man; $fx =$ good; $fy =$ evil. Here the formula demonstrates a struggle between Usakindji and Mosquito Man, and the forces of good and evil that they represent.

The second episode is rather lengthy. Mosquito Man attempts to mediate the situation by trying to catch and cook a bear for his food. Usakindji fools Mosquito Man and takes the bear for himself. Mosquito Man's failure,

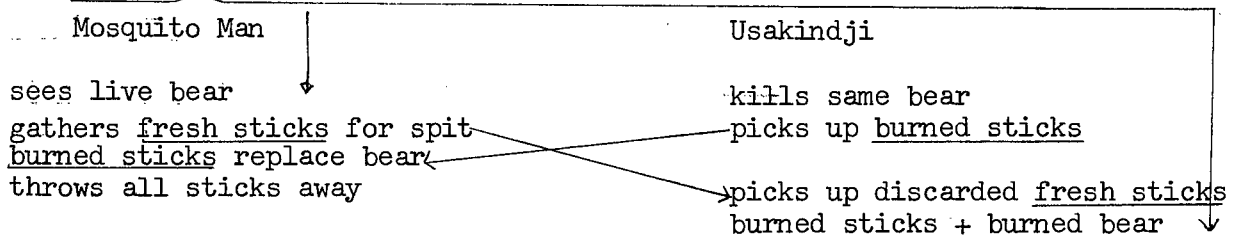
through Usakindji's trickery, becomes the latter's gain. The action of Usakindji brings the situation back to the starting point after counter-acting the action that set the plot into motion. Further simplified, this episode appears as follows:

- 1) Usakindji + curiosity——Mosquito Man + toboggan
- 2) Usakindji + Mosquito Man + toboggan
- 3) Mosquito Man + bear den——→Usakindji + Bear
- 4) Mosquito Man + fresh sticks : Usakindji + burned sticks——→Mosquito Man—Food:
Usakindji + food.

Thus we see from the above that meat is not considered food unless cooked. In this particular episode Mosquito Man's search for food is the motivating force. This has been a cyclical adventure, and Mosquito Man ends up where he began, in search of food. This is described by model III⁻ as Mosquito Man ultimately remains the same. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fx(y) fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Mosquito Man; (b) = Usakindji; fx = new, raw sticks (for cooking raw meat); fy = old burned sticks (already cooked meat), clarifies this episode. The term Usakindji is ambiguous because he uses both fresh and burned sticks, and these are also mistaken for meat. Also Usakindji is the mediating dramatis personae as he ensures that the outcome of the situation will be changed, as well as in his favour, in this case. In the first half of the formula, Mosquito Man gathers fresh sticks and Usakindji replaces the uncooked or raw bear with burned or cooked sticks. The turning point of the plot occurs when Usakindji acquires the raw, fresh sticks discarded by Moon Man, necessary to roast the bear. The end result is that both the raw bear and the sticks become burned in the process of transforming the bear from raw to cooked, inedible to edible. Also in the end result, Mosquito Man's acquisition of the burned sticks is nullified,

indicating that he does not have a cooked bear.

The following diagram will clarify how the confusion came about:

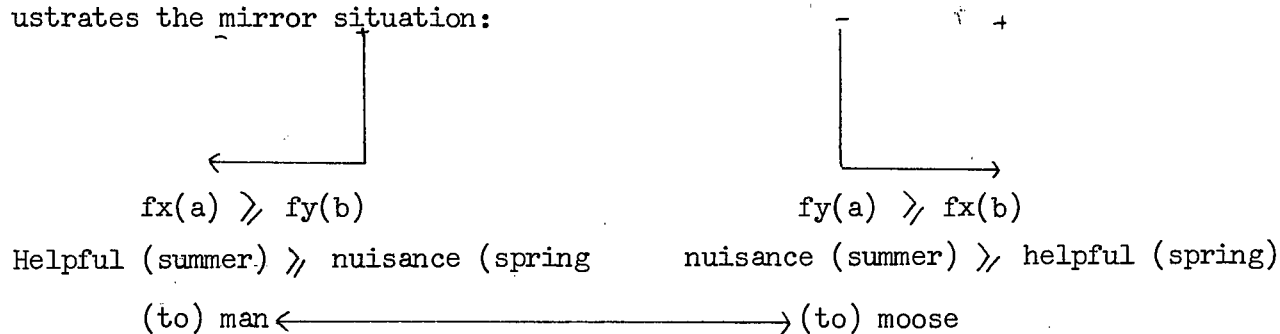


According to the above diagram, Mosquito Man has only an awareness of his own situation, while Usakindji is aware of both. We might note that there is a reversal of burned and raw sticks in both columns.

In the third episode, Mosquito Man tries to kill Usakindji and add his skin to the nine beaver fur he has caught. Usakindji fools Mosquito Man by firstly hiding his axe under the snow and then telling Mosquito Man that he forgot it under the ice. When Mosquito Man returns under the ice to retrieve his axe, Usakindji covers the hole, and Mosquito Man consequently freezes to death. This episode is described by model IV⁻ since Mosquito Man is the main character. Otherwise, model IV⁺ would represent this episode, since Usakindji usually is the hero, or main character. Using the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-1(y)$ where (a) = Mosquito Man; (b) = Usakindji; fx = trickster; fy = tricked, the first half of the episode refers to Mosquito Man as the trickster, and Usakindji as the tricked. However, this situation is soon reversed, as Usakindji outwits Mosquito Man, who is transformed into a smaller and more ineffective mosquitoes as a result.

The fact that Mosquito Man is tricked in more than one way leads into the final episode. Before Mosquito Man dies, he tells Usakindji that his people will always suck man's blood. Usakindji softens this threat by chopping Mosquito Man into fine pieces, and also by turning the situation into an asset. The buzzing noise that the small mosquitoes make enables man to stalk a moose,

as moose cannot hear man when he shakes his head to chase away the mosquitoes. This final episode is a statement concluding the previous episode. No new situation arises and, therefore, there is no reason for attempted mediation. The contrast here is exemplified by model 1⁻, formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where $(a) =$ spring; $fx =$ helpful; $fy =$ nuisance. In other words, in the summer Mosquitoes are a help to man, whereas, in spring they are a nuisance. Because the story mentions that the tiny mosquitoes are a help to man in terms of tracking moose, let us consider the opposite situation exemplified by formula $fy(a) \gg fx(b)$ which states that the Mosquito is a nuisance to moose in the summer, and helpful to him in the spring. The following diagram illustrates the mirror situation:



There is a similarity in two different episodes of this tale. In one, Mosquito Man finds food in a den, in the other, under ice — both are underground. Mosquito Man leaves the food in both instances; in the first case, to set up camp, in the second to fetch his axe. Both these actions are mistakes on Mosquito Man's part because Usakindji takes advantage of his stupidity. Two opposite methods of preserving food are discussed in this tale. In the first instance by roasting, and in the second by freezing. If raw (frozen) vs cooked (roasted) is viewed in terms of Leach, both are considered natural processes as opposed to a cultural process. Furthermore, freezing is a slowing down of this process while roasting is a speeding up of this which brings out another contrast concerning this illustration. Perhaps this

demonstrates two different ways in which nature becomes culture." Furthermore, we also recall that in the first episode, Usakindji chose to hide the bear and thus preserve his food in this tale by putting it under the snow. In the second instance, Mosquito Man was trapped under the snow and ice by Usakindji. Thus his cleverness enables him to learn from the animals and discover his own methods of preservation as well, which may be superior to those from whom he has learned.

9. Why the Moose is Wary of Man

Boy, as Boy Moose, is the main character or first criterion of this story as he is mentioned most often.

In the first episode the main character is not mentioned. A general contrast is made in this introduction between them before the highway and now after the highway. This contrast is illustrated by the following formalization:

1) before highway : animals + man \rightarrow friends \rightarrow dreaming \rightarrow medicine man

2) after highway : animals + man \rightarrow enemies \rightarrow non-dreaming \rightarrow drunks

or by the formula $fx(a) \quad fy(b)$ where (a) = drunks; (b) = medicine man;

fx = culture; fy = nature. The mediating term is medicine man. He is

considered opposite to a drunk in that a medicine man is a powerful person

who commands respect, and who has a definite role and identity in a community,

while a drunk has no power, no real identity and no respect. The medicine

man's role in his society existed before the highway and was in tune with nature,

and evolved naturally in nature. According to the above formula culture and

its products have overcome nature and its products. The highway and culture

has had some negative effects on the relationship between man and animal.

In the second episode Boy's father sends him out to make friends with some animal and to get a song from them. Boy does this and lives with the Moose. He is away for a very long time. Since the story is told from the Boy's viewpoint, model III⁺ demonstrates this episode with the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = boy; (b) = animal; fx = nature; fy = parents. The ambiguous term here is animal in that it plays a double role as receiver of care from nature and giver of care to man. In the first part of this equation, parents (boy) is in the same relation as nature (animals). The situation changes when the animals act as parents to Boy, as nature does to Moose. In other words, Boy learns from the Moose as a child does from his parents. At the end of this episode, the situation returns to its original state. Boy rejoins his family after successfully fulfilling his father's request of him. There is a nullification of the initial lack of a spirit helper. Boy now has some knowledge and some spirit songs. Furthermore, he has changed to some degree as the formula indicates. Boy has started to become Boy Moose.

The third episode has few verbal propositions and is very short. It deals with the idea of hunter vs hunted. While Boy Moose and his brother are hunting one day, Boy Moose changes to a moose and runs away. Since the hunting expedition is upset and terminated, it is considered unsuccessful. Model II⁺ describes this episode, as the situation is viewed from the main character's point of view. The formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ where (a) = Moose; (b) = Boy; fx = hunter; fy = hunted, will further clarify this. Boy Moose chooses to become a Moose and hunted, rather than a hunter of Moose. In this episode, Boy is both hunter and hunted. He is an ambiguous character, as well as the mediating influence.

In the fourth episode the above situation is taken a step farther. Boy Moose, as the hunted, tests his brother's skill in hunting. When he is finally discovered as a Moose, and unrecognized by his brother, he transforms himself back to his original physical form. This episode can best be described by model III⁻. Although there is successful mediation in that Boy's brother discovers his hiding place, this action brings the situation back to its initial phase. In other words, nothing is gained at this point. Thus the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = brother; (b) = Boy Moose; fy = unrecognition (of blood relation) fx = recognition (of blood relation), clarifies this episode. Boy Moose is the ambiguous term in this episode, as the following equation shows:

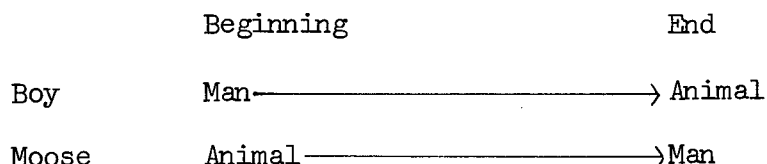
- 1) Boy + visible blood characteristics \cong brother
- 2) Boy + invisible blood characteristics \ncong brother

In terms of the above formula; recognition (brother) : unrecognized (Boy Moose) :: recognition (Boy Moose) : unrecognition of the negated brother. This implies a denial of the blood relation. In other words, this last episode seems to emphasize the primary importance of the manifestation of blood relatives, and whether they are real or not is of secondary importance. What is most important, is that the relationship is recognized and accepted by those concerned.

The next episode also seems to confirm the discovery of the above. It appears to be a testing of the need for recognition of blood relatives, regardless of the physical form as we see that Boy Moose's brother discovers him asleep in the form of a Moose, and this time not only does his brother recognize him, but he also notices that Boy Moose does not look as healthy as he might. The brotherly concern is expressed and quickly dispelled and the brothers part ways again. This is illustrated by model III⁺ using the same terms as the previous episode, while the functions are exchanged. Thus

even though Boy Moose did not look as a brother should, he was recognized as a blood relative.

Again the final episode is very short, and serves to conclude the tale by making a general statement about the relationship between moose and man. This can be viewed as follows:



The Boy changes completely to Moose while the Moose becomes only a 'little bit man'. This is also explained by model IV⁺ which also accounts for the difference in commitment between Boy transforming to Moose, and Moose to Man. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : f a-l (x)$ with the following terms and functions, $a = \text{man}$; $(b) = \text{animal}$; $fx = \text{moose}$; $fy = \text{boy}$, covers the general concluding statement. The turning point of the plot occurs when Boy gains full understanding of the moose. However, the reverse situation is not true, and Moose or animal does not gain much understanding of man, only enough to mistrust him. It is not really made clear as to whether Moose's wariness of man is a reason for his lack of commitment or a result of it at an earlier time.

10. Usakindji, Bear and Chicadee

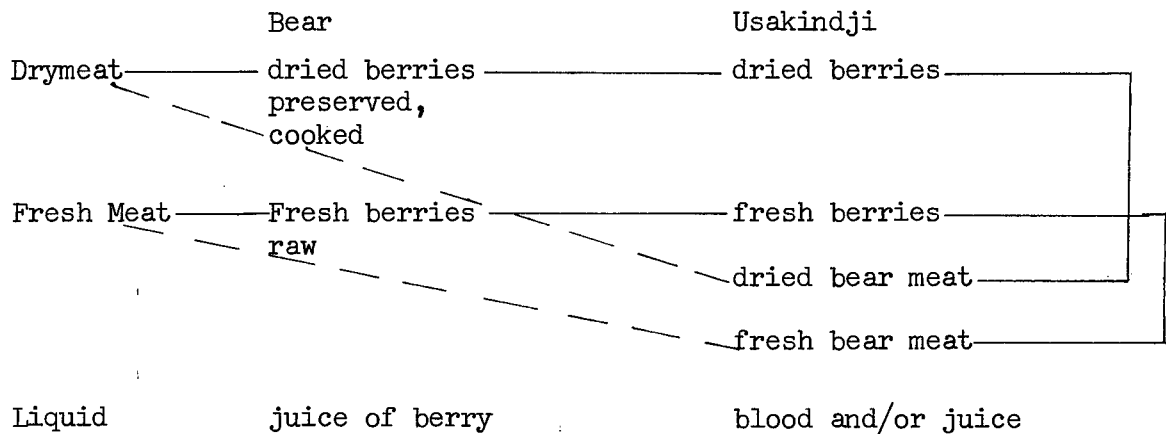
Usakindji is mentioned most often in the tale and is, therefore, the main character.

In the first episode, Usakindji discovers some Bear trails. He sees a bear and calls to him. After telling the Bear that he lived on fresh berries like him, Usakindji convinces the Bear that they should stay together.

This situation is most appropriately described by model III⁺ as the episode is cyclical in structure, in that Usakindji is successful in mediating his acceptance by the Bear. Nothing, however, is actually changed or gained at this point. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) ; fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fx = drymeat; fy = dried berries, is used to illustrate this episode. In the first half of the formula, dried berries (Bear) as drymeat (Usakindji). The turning point of the episode occurs when dried berries are also available to Usakindji, but that drymeat is not necessarily available to Bear. In this episode there seems to be an emphasis on drymeat. Usakindji is the mediating character here as drymeat and dried berries are both available to him. Also, he is that character who ensures any change in the outcome of the episode.

In the second episode Usakindji finds fresh berries for the Bear and himself to eat. They live this way throughout the fall until the Bear becomes suspicious that Usakindji plans to kill him when he is fat enough. He, therefore, runs away and hides in a den. This episode can be described by model III⁻. Usakindji loses his source of food and his companion. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fx = fresh berries; fy = fresh meat, can be used to explain this episode. In the first part of the formula, fresh berries (bear) as fresh meat (Usakindji). As in the previous episode, fresh berries are also available to Usakindji. However, fresh meat is not available to the bear, as bear is the source of fresh meat. Usakindji is again the mediator and the ambiguous term. In this episode, we are made aware of an emphasis on fresh meat and fresh berries. In considering both these models, III⁺ and III⁻ there is a binary opposition between fresh, dried or preserved, raw and cooked. Furthermore, we are aware that these terms have one meaning for the Bear, and two for Usakindji.

In formalizing the above two episodes:



The liquid that both the berries and flesh have in common is red and extracted from both in the making of drymeat. It seems that at this level there is a realization of an interdependent relationship between a man and bear, one that is cemented in terms of blood relatives — uncle is the term used by Usakindji and recognized by Bear. If we refer back to the incident where Usakindji first calls Bear uncle, there is a question in Usakindji's mind as to whether or not Bear will accept this term. Once he does, their interdependent relationship is worked out and established. Berry juice is blood, and vice versa. There is a symbolic exchange of flesh in this tale. Usakindji feeds the Bear of himself (berries) so that he may partake of the bear's flesh at a later date. This certainly emphasizes a special relationship with the Bear and in certain instances Bear flesh might be considered a taboo, as with those that consider him a blood relative.

The third episode is very short and describes Usakindji's unsuccessful attempt to find Bear. This can best be illustrated by model II⁻ and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = Bear; (b) = Usakindji; fx = cunning; fy = dreaming. In this situation the Bear's cunning is greater than Usakindji's dreaming. Even though Usakindji uses all his powers he is still

unable to find Bear, who is hiding in a den under the snow.

In the fourth episode Chickadee reveals Bear's hiding place to Usakindji in return for Usakindji's promise of heat. At this point, Usakindji knows Bear's approximate hiding place, but is unable to locate its exact position. This episode can be illustrated by model II⁺ in that although there is some mediation by the Chickadee it is not really complete since Chickadee does not bring the state of affairs completely back to the point of departure. Usakindji's initial loss is not yet nullified, and we have a semi-cyclical structure in which nothing is gained as yet. Thus the formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ where (a) = Chickadee; (b) = Usakindji; $fx =$ dreaming; $fy =$ observation is employed here. Chickadee's powers of observation are stronger than Usakindji's powers of dreaming. From both these episodes, then, formalized:

- 1) Bear + cunning > Usakindji + dreaming
- 2) Chickadee + powers of observation > Bear + cunning
- 3) Chickadee + powers of observation > Bear + cunning > Usakindji + Dreaming

In the fifth episode Usakindji and Bear match their cunning:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| 1) Bear & cunning (pretense) | > | Usakindji + cunning (pretense) |
| 2) Usakindji + cunning (pretense) | > | Bear + cunning (truth) |
| 3) Usakindji + Bear | —————→ | Chickadee + heat collar |

The key term in transforming these formalizations is heat, or warmth, energy perhaps in the form of food. If we consider the beginning of episode four and work with the remainder of this tale, we can see that the Model IV⁺ applies in that a change does occur. Usakindji finally captures and kills Bear, now fattened for the cold winter months, for his food, energy and warmth. Mediation is successfully completed in that there is a nullification of the initial

lack. The structural change can be described as heliocoidal rather than cyclical in that a new situation different from the initial situation has been brought about. If the formula $fy(a) : fy(b) :: fy(b) : f a-1 (x)$ where $(a) =$ Bear; $(b) =$ Chicadee; $fx =$ cold; $fy =$ heat, the importance of Chicadee as the mediator is brought out. His loyalties to Bear as his friend apparently do not alter when he agrees to help Usakindji locate him. Chicadee also acts in a friendly capacity to Usakindji and is not made aware of Usakindji's real intentions towards the Bear. In the initial situation Bear (heat) as cold (Chicadee) is to heat (Chicadee) as Bear loses his heat. The climax of these episodes occurs when Chicadee locates Bear for Usakindji. The result is that Bear loses his heat which is then transferred to both Usakindji and Chicadee ultimately as energy. Chicadee is given a black collar, perhaps from Bears fur, and Usakindji is able to make use of the bear meat. It seems that Usakindji had to gain heat from the Bear first in order to give some to Chicadee. In other words, Usakindji did not have this heat as an extra power, but simply used his wits to take advantage of the situation at hand. The overall model of this tale is taken from the last episode.

IV 2, ii) THE MARANDAS' RESULTS - BEAVER MYTHS

The formulas, formalizations and diagrams have been indispensable in facilitating the analysis and revealing significant meanings contained within the myths. The models for the myths are as follows:

- 1) 1^+ , 1^- , 11^- , 11^- , 111^+ , 1^+ , 111^+ , $1V^+$
- 2) 111^- , 11^- , $1V^-$, 11^+ , $1V^-$, 1^- , 1^+ , $1V^+$, $1V^+$
- 3) 11^+ , 11^+ , $1V^+$
- 4) 1^- , 111^+ , 111^- , 111^- , 11^- , $1V^-$
- 5) 111^+ , 111^- , 111^- , $1V^+$
- 6) 11^- , $1V^-$, 11^- , 111^- , 11^- , $1V^-$, 1^- , 1^+
- 7) 1^+ , 111^+ , 111^- , 111^+ , 11^- , $1V^-$, 1^+ , 1^-
- 8) 1^- , 111^- , $1V^-$, 1^- , 1^+
- 9) 11^- , 111^+ , 11^+ , 111^- , 111^+ , $1V^+$
- 10) 111^+ , 111^- , 11^- , 11^+ , $1V^+$

The first model is always 1, 11 or 111, and never IV, whereas, in generally all cases, the final model is IV. In some cases, model 1 is found at the conclusion of a myth, but this usually points out a contrast and is not an integral part of the concluding plot. Furthermore, model IV^- is found a few times within various myths, while IV^+ is not. Also IV^+ is, for the most part, representative of the overall myths. There is a fairly even distribution of models throughout the corpus, for example:

| | | | |
|--------|---|---------|----|
| 1^+ | 7 | III^+ | 9 |
| 1^- | 7 | 111^- | 10 |
| II^+ | 5 | $1V^+$ | 8 |
| 11^- | 9 | $1V^-$ | 7 |

Each model and the way in which it is employed in the corpus is reviewed in the following pages. Model 1^- and 1^+ are used a total of fourteen times in the corpus. Both models were used in some instances to illustrate the mirror image, or binary opposition of a situation. In myth 1 model 1^+ is exercised once, and model 1^- twice. Models 1^- and 1^+ are employed together in the introduction to represent the idea of past and present time. The terms except one, and the functions, do not remain the same because the situations between then and now are changed. The one term that does tie them together is the ambiguous term (b), animals for birds or people in the first example, and animals meaning birds in the second example. Model 1^+ is also used to express the importance of drymeat to Old Man Owl and his people, as it is equated with his daughter.

Models 1^- and 1^+ are employed as a sub-episode of model IV in tale number two. They are used to illustrate a contrast, which is later explicated by model IV⁺. The situation, as presented, is defined by model 1^+ , $fy(a) \gg fx(b)$ or son (Wabshu) \gg Mother (monster). Its binary opposition is model 1^- $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$, mother (Wabshu) \gg son (monster). Here the implication of relationship is obvious.

In tale number four, model 1^- introduces this myth and is instrumental in stating a contrast between edible and inedible meat. Usakindji states he has no meat although he has just killed a Wolverine family. Thus it seems that ducks and fowl are edible, whereas, Wolverine meat is not.

In tale number six 1^- and 1^+ are applied to extend and complete the polar oppositions of tree and den. In the application of these models, the two formulas have different terms and functions to illustrate these two opposing ideas.

Model 1^+ introduces myth number seven and brings the reader's attention

to Moon Man's extraordinarily large feet. A contrast is made between Moon Man's feet and others.

In the seventh myth, Models 1^- and 1^+ are again used in the final closing episode to illustrate a contrast between spatial positions of high and low.

Model 1^- introduces myth number eight. A contrast in characters between Usakindji and Mosquito Man is implied because Mosquito Man is said to be one of the nefarious monsters that inhabited the world. Since Usakindji killed him as well as other monsters, his character is presumed here to be in opposition to that of Mosquito Man's. Models 1^- and 1^+ are also employed to illustrate the explanations given at the end of the myth. In this situation, the terms and functions remain the same, but the dramatis personae to whom they refer are opposing. For example, Man vs Moose. The use of the two formulas completes this episode and then clearly displays the mirror images of the situation.

Model 1^- is also used in the introduction of myth number nine. The main character, Boy Moose, is not introduced at this point. A general contrast is effected between the past and the present between when times were good and when times were poor. Furthermore, Model 1^- suggests that the highway, with culture had a deleterious effect on the relationship between man and nature.

Models 1^- and 1^+ are not found in myths numbers one, three, five and ten. All of these are Usakindji myths. However, myths numbers seven and eight, also Usakindji, do not include either model 1^- or 1^+ episodes. Thus, in summary, model 1 was employed as defined as a means of explicating a contrast, or developing simple binary oppositions. Always the sign \gg meaning greater than or equal to was used in these examples.

Models II⁻ and II⁺ are exercised in a total of 14 circumstances in the corpus and in all tales but numbers five and eight. Interestingly, ten of these are negative valences. This seems to indicate that the situation is left unfinished and, therefore, a resolution is forthcoming.

In myth #1, model 11⁻ explicates the second and third episodes. These two episodes are similar as they are both concerned with the attempt and failure at locating Old Man Owl's missing daughter. In the second episode Old Man Owl is unable to find her at all, while in the third episode, Little Owl is able to trace her footsteps to the lake's edge. Each episode advances towards her discovery, and thus both episodes together, form a small progression. Each episode has an additional message, for example, in the second episode, a special relationship between father and daughter is realized and in episode three, her importance is compared to that of drymeat. These models are not employed concomitantly. Each model 11⁻ emphasizes a different aspect of the myth as opposed to presenting an equal but opposite viewpoint of the situation.

In the second myth, both positions of the model are each employed once; model 11⁻ in the second episode, and model 11⁺ in the fourth. In the first instance, there is successful mediation from the villain's stepmother's viewpoint. She causes Wabshu's disfavour with his father. However, since the main character is Wabshu, her success is his failure, and each episode revolves around the main character and the change mediated in his circumstances, if any. The fourth episode, described by model 11⁺ is somewhat different in that 11⁺ seems to most adequately describe a temporary and evolving situation in that Wabshu has not convinced his father of his innocence, successfully escaped from the Island as yet, nor has he fallen victim to the fate to which he was abandoned. His father's attempt to kill him

failed. His situation, at this point, is somewhere between model 11 and 111, but is most appropriately described by 11⁺. The importance of having a spirit helper is stressed here. Thus both models deal with attempt and failure. In model 11⁻ Wabshu fails to please his step-mother, in the second model 11⁺ his failure is modified by a spirit helper. His failure becomes that of his fathers.

Two positively valenced models are employed in the third myth, both in the first and second episode. These two models are used together to illustrate the superiority of Usakindji over Wolverine Man in two areas, intelligence and intuition. The terms remain the same, but the functions are reversed in the equations. This myth reveals another way in which the models have been utilized to reveal binary oppositions. The following demonstrates this:

Episode 1 11⁺

$fy(a) > fx(b)$

(a) = Usakindji

(b) = Wolverine Man

$fx =$ reason

$fy =$ intuition

Episode 2 11⁺

$fy(a) > fx(b)$

(a) = Usakindji

(b) = Wolverine Man

$fx =$ intuition

$fy =$ reason

In the first episode, Usakindji's intuition warns him of the trap laid by Wolverine man, while in the second episode Usakindji's reason enables him to outwit his enemy. By using these models in conjunction with each other, each of the parameters are completed in both episodes as well, expanding the dimensional concept of the situation.

In myth number four, model 11⁻ is applied in a similar capacity as model 1 was in myths numbers six, seven and eight, in that it describes the myth. It tells of Fox's escape and Usakindji's loss of him as his captive.

This represents failed mediation in that Usakindji attempts to capture Fox by surrounding him with fire but succeeds only in singeing his fur. Usakindji's use of fire (man made) does not overcome fox's natural ability to jump. It is not, however, representative of the overall myth, even though it describes the final episode.

The negative aspect of model 11 is found in three episodes of tale number six. It introduces the problematic situation from the main character's perspective in that the Girl is picking berries, but is unable to fill her basket, as Bear persists in stealing them. Thus there exists more than a contrasting situation in the first episode. The third episode also employs model 11 and this does not directly include the main character, but mentions her parents' attempt and failure to find her. A statement is also made defining when non-blood relationships become stronger than blood ties. Model 11 is also used in the fifth episode. This episode, if not for the separation of this episode by several descriptive verbal propositions describing how a newly married couple set up camp by themselves to make drymeat, would be part of the next episode, model 14. Nevertheless, an interesting idea is raised in terms of the importance of living - dead, present and past. This model relates directly to the following and concluding episode.

Model 11 is also found only once in myth number seven, but is again part of a larger situation in which Moon Man is outwitted. This short circumstance is separated from the other because of Moon Man's ineffective attempt to refuse the wooden teeth Usakindji made. Since Moon Man is the main character, this is, therefore, considered a more important action than Usakindji's success in persuading Moon Man to accept them. This episode also invites the consequences of his actions. A contrast is developed here between raw and cooked, and the ambiguity of the term raw meat.

Model 11⁺ is employed in myth number nine in the third episode. It describes the third episode from Boy Moose's viewpoint. Because his choice to rejoin the Moose was self determined, the failure of he and his brother's hunting expedition cannot really be considered a failure. However, he remains both hunter and hunted. There is no actual attempt at mediation in this episode in terms of leading the episode to a different final outcome. Boy in fact reverts to his recently acquired form, that of Moose.

Tale number ten exercises both parameters of model 11 also. The third episode is straight foreward; Usakindji, the main character, fails to locate Bear's exact hiding place. We see that Bear's cunning is greater than Usakindji's powers of dreaming. In the following episode, Chicadee reveals to Usakindji where Bear is hiding. This move is described by a negative valence because it takes Usakindji some time before he actually captures Bear, which is resolved in the following episode. Model 11⁺ represents an intermediary kind of episode. Both these models combined compare Chicadee's powers of observation with Usakindji's powers of dreaming. They are not applied to demonstrate a contrast, but are employed in a chronological manner.

Model 11 was employed where applicable, and according to its definition.

There are a greater number of model 111 episodes in the corpus than any other model types. Of the total, nineteen, nine of these are 111⁺ and ten are 111⁻. The model 111 is found at least once in all the tales with the exception of the shortest myth, number three, and is found as often as three times in other myths.

Only the positive aspect of model 111 is exercised in the first myth; in the fourth and sixth episodes. Both models delineate successful mediation. Old Man Owl successfully locates and retrieves his daughter. Here there is a suggestion of a special relationship between father and daughter as opposed to

that between husband and wife. The daughter's importance is emphasized. In the fourth episode the Birds successfully defend themselves against the Frogs in battle. It is mentioned that one of the defeated is spared in order that he report the defeat to his people. The univocal term (a) is employed in a slightly different capacity in each episode. The negation of (a) in the fourth episode was considered in terms of Owl Boy's and Old Lady Owl's opinion of Old Man Owl. The antithesis of Owl Boy's statement was that of his mother's. Term (a) and its nullification in the sixth episode is more straight forward, as the Frogs themselves become nullified. Each formula does return each episode here considered back to its initial state, and no long term gain is made. Both situations are returned to their equilibrium. In the fourth episode Old Man Owl's daughter rejoins the family and in the sixth episode the Birds maintain their place for making drymeat. The situations both return to a state they were in before interruption. These two episodes are joined together by the fact that Old Man Owl's daughter is loosely equated with drymeat. Thus a continuity between episodes is maintained.

The negative aspect of model lll is employed once in the second myth, and is located in the initial episode of the story. Whether this episode should be a ll or a lll presented a problem. In this circumstance, mediation was completed but not correctly. On the one hand, Wabshu's father procured him another mother as his wife requested before she died, but he chose the step-mother from the wrong locality. Thus the initial loss supposedly has been nullified, but we learn that, in this case, where the step-mother is from is also very important. The univocal term is mother and her antithesis is step-mother.

The second, third and fourth episodes in myth number four are all depicted by model lll. Each model and formula assists in the expansion of the tale

until the fourth episode, where far reaching statements are disclosed concerning the nature of man. The second episode and its explanation are straightforward and are exemplified by model lll^+ . Usakindji captures the geese and ducks while the end process of mediation is the death of the fowl through the cunning of Usakindji. In the third episode, Usakindji keeps the fowl he has killed but loses his incoming supply of food. Furthermore, Loon and the remaining fowl escape, but not before Usakindji effects a permanent alteration upon Loon. Since Usakindji is the main criterion, the outcome of mediation is represented by model lll^- . Attention is focused on Loon, however, and away from the fact that Usakindji no longer has an incoming supply of food, Loon takes on a symbolic significance because he is left to only swim or fly. The fourth episode explicated by model lll^- is, in terms of successful mediation, complete because Usakindji wins the race in the sense that he is the only one to complete the race. Moreover, all his meat is roasted and devoured by the Fox. This episode is relative to the overall story in that Usakindji's position is now returned to its initial state. He has not gained or lost anything. It is this episode which summarizes and grasps the real significance of the myth — that is the question of man's origin.

The first three episodes in tale five are represented by one positive and two negative models. Model lll^+ introduces the myth, although it is a continuation of the previous story, and the slower development of the plot, depicted by the use of simpler models does not occur here. In this tale, Usakindji effectively nullifies his lack of food by killing a bear. A reciprocal relationship between man and animal becomes obvious, where Bear is fed by Usakindji so that Usakindji has food at a later date. The impact of mediation transforms the live bear to dead meat. In the second episode,

model lll^- , Usakindji triumphantly gorges himself. However, he subsequently loses his bear meat to the birds when he is trapped in a tree. Initially, the Bear was the supplied who became the supplier to Usakindji. This episode is a continuation of the previous episode, and takes us one step farther from the first episode. Usakindji who is supplied by the Bear becomes the supplier to the Birds. In other words;

- 1) Usakindji \longrightarrow Bear \longrightarrow Usakindji
- 2) Bear \longrightarrow Usakindji \longrightarrow Birds

The antithesis of Bear in the outcome of the formula is the term birds, simply because they are in opposition to Usakindji, and also because term (a) has become meat, taken from (\bar{a}) in the previous episode. The terms and functions remain identical for both these episodes, and therefore through the formulas lll^- and lll^+ we are able to probe deeper into the essence of the myth. The third episode, depicted by model lll^- , again initially relates success on the main character's behalf. Usakindji eventually convinces Muskrat to cool the remaining grease. However, Usakindji's victory is not complete because Muskrat, the mediator in this episode, deliberately loses it. Usakindji's position is returned to its original position, that is, without sustenance. Additionally, in terms of sharing with others, Usakindji begrudged sharing with the birds in the second episode, while in this episode, Usakindji willingly shares the remaining grease. According to the model lll^- formula, Usakindji is an authority figure, and never subservient to other animals, even though he is harassed by them at times. In other words, Usakindji has a special significance in the myth. Each model three extends the plot. Each is a cyclical structure in which the main character makes no real gains, and in the third episode Usakindji's position returns to the point of departure. Thus the three episodes facilitate the disclosure of a sense of continuity

and progressive development throughout the myth.

Model lll^- is utilized one in myth number six, fourth episode. On the surface level the mediator, brother, effectively returns the situation back to its original state, even though it goes against the wishes of the other dramatis personae, especially that of the first criterion. However, the formula emphasized another aspect of the story, that is the differentiation between powerful medicine and dreaming. Both the Bear and the Girl's brother had powerful medicine, but that Bear lacked the dreaming ability that the brother possessed.

Tale Number seven employs model lll^+ twice in the second and fourth episodes and model lll^- once in the third episode. The second episode is relatively straightforward. Usakindji accomplishes mediation in that he discovers to whom the strange tracks belong. The outcome of the formula simply states that the understood is no longer the strange. The second episode further investigated the plot. Again successful mediation is achieved but only after a rather complicated exchange between the two dramatis personae. Moon Man initiates the action by trying to dupe the trickster. He is outwitted by the trickster. Because Moon Man as the main character loses his mocassins, a negative valence is attached to the model. In these two formulas the terms remain practically the same, while their functions are different. Term (a) as stranger in the second episode becomes Moon Man in the third episode. The fourth episode is depicted by model lll^+ focuses on the main character, Moon Man. On the overt level, Moon Man succeeds in finding himself meat, and his initial lack of sustenance is thereby nullified. The terms and functions employed provokes the concept of hunter versus hunted, in conjunction with the idea of raw and cooked. At this point, with the use of hunter and hunted, an important differentiation is made between raw and cooked.

- 1) Hunted (raw) : hunter (Lynx) :: hunted (Lynx) : hunter (not raw)
 2) Lynx eats raw meat-Moon Man | Moon Man eats cooked Lynx

The second and fourth episodes have positive valences because the end result supports the position of the main character, while in the third episode, Moon Man loses his mocassins, and fails to outwit Usakindji. However, this action is necessary by the mediator in order that the situation be defused, and the search for food redicted. Each episode has separately extended the plot. All three together have been jointly employed to realize a more complete understanding of the myth.

Myth number eight employs only model lll^- in its second and rather lengthy episode. Superficially in terms of successful mediation, Usakindji acquires nutrition for himself, but at the expense of Mosquito Man. This procedure is quite elaborate, and leads to the center of the plot, where the question of transforming raw inedible meat into cooked edible meat is raised. While fresh sticks are acceptable as a spit to roast the bear, burned ones are not. The following binary opposition demonstrates this;

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------|--|----------------------------|--|------|----------|----------|
| raw sticks + raw meat + fire | → | cooked meat | | cooked sticks + raw meat + | | fire | → | raw meat |
| therefore raw sticks | → | cooked meat | | cooked sticks | | → | raw meat | |

Thus the procedure will not be complete unless fresh sticks are used with raw meat. Furthermore, this episode produces a situation in which the two most important dramatis personae are not functioning within the same conscious framework. Mosquito Man is at a disadvantage as he is unaware of Usakindji's schemes, whereas Usakindji is cognizant of his antagonist.

Model lll^+ is applied twice in myth number nine, in episodes two and five, while model lll^- is employed only once in episode four. In the second episode mediation is successful because Boy fulfills his father's request

and locates some animals with which to live and gain a spirit helper. A transformation in Boy is germinated, not yet evident to any of the dramatic personae in the story at this point. It is revealed in the end process of mediation, where Boy becomes Boy Moose. In the fourth episode mediation is considered successful in that Boy Moose is able to test his brother's skill in hunting and his own as a teacher. Boy Moose accomplishes this by hiding. Since his brother locates him, his brother is an expert hunter, and he a proficient teacher. However, the formula emphasizes that the brother does not recognize Boy Moose as his brother. The recognition of blood relations, irregardless of their form is important here. This episode leads into the following episode, depicted by model 111⁺. It dwells on the importance of the brother's recognition of Boy Moose as his brother but also in the physical guise of a Moose. In this episode the terms are the reverse of those in the previous episode; for example (a) in episode four was brother, and now is Boy Moose, while the ambiguous terms Boy Moose and brother also exchanged places. The functions remain the same. The formalizations below will clarify the process:

[illegible]

The brother is the *dramatis personae* who counteracts this particular action, with regard to the same conflict. The outcome of mediation here is that Boy Moose becomes Moose. Throughout each episode the gradual transformation of Boy Moose from Boy to Moose or from man to animal has been in progress. The final episode leads into the depth of the plot and the following episode con-

firms the above. Throughout these episodes a cyclical structure is maintained whereby in the final result of each episode the mediator aids the return of each episode to its initial state. Moreover, the outcome of this last episode considered in relation to the overall tale indicates considerably more than is at first obvious, and predicts the conclusion. Thus the progressive development of these three episodes are a demonstration of how each reveals the complexity of the myth and its deepest meanings.

Model 111^+ and 111^- initiate the final myth in the corpus. In the introductory episode Usakindji successfully convinces Bear that they should stay together. Furthermore, Bear accepts the name of asta, uncle, from Usakindji, thus defining their relationship. In this episode through the formula, a contrast between drymeat and dried berries is unfolded. Drymeat to Bear means dried berries, but to Usakindji it means dried meat, as well as dried berries. The outcome of the mediating process is that drymeat, as Usakindji understands it, is not available to the Bear, but made available by him. In the second episode, Usakindji, again the mediator, succeeds in fattening the Bear. However, Usakindji loses the Bear when he is ready for slaughter. This ironic situation reveals the symbolic exchange of flesh when Bear and Usakindji stay together. In looking again at this particular story, Bear does not eat any dried berries. They are supposedly for the winter months, as is the drymeat that Usakindji is after. The only food that is eaten are fresh berries, referred to by Usakindji as fresh meat. Speculation promotes several considerations regarding this. For example, an abundance of berries may indicate that there will be adequate bear meat. Perhaps fresh berries and/or bear meat are taboo in the fall. Also it is conceivable that a ritual exchange of raw flesh and fresh berries might occur prior to a bear hunt. The terms and functions for both models are identical, but the functions

are opposite in two respects. In model III^+ fx is equivalent to drymeat and model III^- fx is equivalent to fresh berries, etc. The end process of mediation in both episodes is interestingly, the same. Thus both models have assisted in revealing the development of the plot, and reaching into possible underlying meaning of the myth.

Model III was the most frequently employed of the models. It introduced a myth on four different occasions. On the operant level the model three illustrated successful mediation, a cyclical structure of the situation where nothing is manifestly changed.

Model four is found a total of fourteen times in the corpus, seven of these with negative valences and seven with positive valences. It is also employed at least once in each myth.

Model IV^+ is utilized twice in the first myth, both in the final episode. The actual story is completed, Old Man Owl has rescued his daughter and the invading Frogs have been routed. Literally, the final episode is short, without a main character, as is the first episode, and it is more generalized. The initial situation is permuted by the formula and the psychosocial function is apparent. Animals and birds and people were at one time alike, whereas, presently the people are superior. They accomplished this by improving the Owl's defensive fighting method and their procedure of making drymeat. This general episode ties the myth together and clarifies man's position. By considering the spheres to which each *dramatis personae* belong, the field of inquiry narrows and develops into an exploration of the imbalanced differentiation brought out in the previous episodes between Frog and Owl. A new answer, greater than the nullification of Owl, is provided. This last model IV^+ has helped reveal an important insight into the real opposing member of another paradigm.

Myth number two employs four model IV concepts to illustrate the complexity of this myth. In the manifest content of the episode, Wabshu's father succeeds in abandoning him on the island. This precipitates the change in the structure of the family organization. For example, Father + Son husband + wife is inverted and becomes husband + wife father + son. The psychosocial functions of the formula, as brought about by the formulas, are firstly, father and son cannot share the same woman as wife, and secondly, it illustrates the double bind between trusting versus suspicion and blood and non-blood relationships. In the fifth episode Wabshu escapes from the island and leaves his father there instead. Wabshu is successful in turning the tables on his father, and escaping from the island. However, the impact of the permutation of terms and functions which create a new situation, greater than the nullification of the initial situation, is felt when Wabshu's father is discovered with feathers in his mouth, after confusing the function of meat and feathers. He lost perniciously, by his own rules. His death was without dignity. In the last episode in the myth, Wabshu establishes a home with Onli Nachi in a son-mother relationship, but he later kills her. In order to illuminate the psychosocial function of the heliocoidal situation of this episode in terms of its initial situation and the conflict must be considered. The message seems to be that only flesh of non-blood relatives is recognized as edible. In this episode, Wabshu's non-blood relative is Onli Nachi. More generally, there are circumstances in which the exchange of flesh is acceptable. This statement appears to be the opposite of what the myth overtly portrays. The second model IV⁺ developed from the contrast to the formulation of the equation Wabshu : monster :: son : mother. In other words, this became $fy(a) :: fx(b)$: son (Wabshu) as mother (monster). The psychosocial function of this leads to the question of autochthonous origins.

Thus, through these four model IV episodes, the intricate development of both a latent and manifest story is unfolded. Philosophical conflicts are presented and remain unanswered.

Model IV⁺ of myth number three is very short and straightforward. It contains the climax of the plot, wherein Usakindji kills Wolverine Man. Through the previous two 11⁺ episodes, Usakindji proves that he is superior to Wolverine Man in both reason and intuition. The psychosocial function of the formula here acknowledges Usakindji to be superior by defeating Wolverine Man at his own game. This permutation is also explicated another way through the use of hunter and hunted as functions, which are reversed at the beginning and the conclusion of the myth. The heliocoidal structure created, which accounts for a new situation which consists of a situation greater than the obliteration of the initial situation, is the physical transformation of Wolverine Man and his family. Whereas he was harmful to man, he was rendered a nuisance.

Model IV⁻ is employed once in myth number four to depict a general statement about the myth. The story has been previously resolved. Here the psychosocial function is revealed through the permutation of the final terms and functions of the episode. The following mirror image demonstrates that the structural pattern is not cyclical. The mediating aspect has been exaggerated because the trickster has been brought to an inferior position by his own rules. Although another dramatis personae is involved, the same principle applies. Thus model IV⁻ summarizes the overall theme.

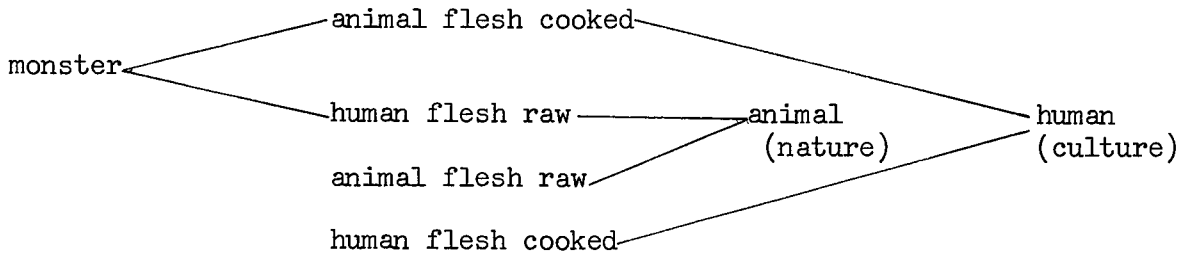
| | Beginning | End |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Fowl | tricked | tricked |
| Usakindji | trickster | trickster |
| Fox | trickster | trickster |
| Usakindji | tricked | tricked |

The fourth episode in tale number five, represented by model IV⁺, concludes and summarizes this myth. The new situation manifested in the myth is that the animals are given fat by Usakindji with which to keep warm. The formula also implies that although Usakindji is both familiar and authoritative with the Bear and other animals, this situation is not reversed. The fact that the Birds and Muskrat verbally abuse Usakindji does not necessarily negate this as they eventually heed his bidding. The psychosocial function is revealed in the act of taking and returning bear meat. The action recognizes the need to perpetuate the source from which the meat came.

Model IV⁻ is employed twice in the sixth myth, once in the second episode and again in the final episode. In the second episode, the end result of mediation is the exploitation of the initial situation to the advantage of the main character. A heliocoidal step is taken in which the initial situation is transferred. The Girl leaves one family to join another. The latent meaning as exposed by the formula, indicates that she did not follow the correct procedures for choosing a mate. This episode advances the plot and sets the stage for further action. The story is concluded in the next episode. The occasion is irreversibly altered, as the Girl and her new husband are slain by Bears. Again the change is heliocoidal in that a new situation different from the initial one not only in that it is negated, but because it creates a position of greater than proportions to the simple nullification of a term. $fy(a)$ becomes $f\ a-1\ (y)$. Model IV⁻ makes a generalized statement involving the main dramatis personae at this point. The terms and functions used in the formula apply to the fourth and the concluding episode, which invite the conflict between man and monster in relation to the sky world and the underworld respectively. This last model further expands an idea conceived in the final episode. In this case, model

IV⁻ does not summarize the overall myth, although more importantly, has helped to reveal the underlying question of man's origins.

Episode six in myth number seven includes the previous episode II⁻. Usakindji has given Moon Man a pair of teeth which he is unable to refuse. His intentions are exposed, and the story is climaxed when Moon Man bites people's fingers rather than sucking them. The underlying implication is that Moon Man, the cannibal, is exposed. This assumes that monster is neither man nor animal, or perhaps he is a bit of both. The following diagram illustrates the possibilities:



Thus Moon Man is defined as a being, separate from animal or man. The permutation of roles and functions accounts for the spatial transformations which Moon Man undergoes, — from being attached to the earth as is a monster from the depths with his large awkward feet, to being completely unattached, and hovering above the earth. Model IV⁻ concludes the myth and reveals the unconscious meaning of the story.

Model IV⁻ of myth number eight is relatively straightforward. It concludes the basic story and summarizes the overall myth to this point as well. Mosquito Man attempts to outwit a trickster, but instead is tricked himself. The psychosocial function is revealed when the final outcome of the formula creates a new situation different and irreversible to that of the initial situation. In this case, Mosquito Man is chopped into smaller pieces as was

Wolverine Man and his family. Mosquito Man also becomes a nuisance and sometimes even a help to man rather than a menace. The circumstances are additionally similar in that both Mosquito Man and Wolverine Man attempt to capture Usakindji, and are defeated at their own game. This model precipitates further inquiry based on the small point of contrast brought to light by this episode — that Mosquito Man is a benefit as well as a nuisance to man at different times of the year. Model IV⁺, expressing the final episode of tale nine concludes the myth and summarizes the overall story. Boy Moose completes the second half of the physical transformation from Boy to Moose. In addition, the permutation of the terms and functions indicates that although Boy has learned the ways of the Moose, the reverse is not true. Moose has not gained an equal understanding of man. In other words, man's comprehension of Moose is much greater than is the converse.

Model IV⁺ concludes myth number 10 and is representative of the overall myth, although the plot was culminated in the previous episode. The situation is cyclical in that Usakindji's initial lack of sustenance is eradicated as he kills the Bear. However, a new situation is created, different from the initial because chickadee acquires a black heat collar around his neck from Usakindji. In actuality, a heliocoidal step is made.

Generally, Model I⁻ and I⁺ illuminate the contrasts; model II⁻ and II⁺ also explicated contrasts but, in addition, lead farther into the depth of the plot; Models III⁻ and III⁺ usually focus on the message, and accommodate the climax of the plot, while model IV⁻ and IV⁺ elucidate the real significance of the myth. It also reveals the psychosocial message of the myth and generally summarizes the myth to that point, which is for the most part, nearing conclusion. Thus, through the employment of the models and formulas, the continuity and progressive development of each myth as been rendered more apparent. Each episode has extended the plot, and together they have realized a fuller understanding of both the manifest and latent content of the myth. A sense of continuity is actualized from one episode to another as is a sense of the wholeness of the corpus.

IV 3, i) THE MARANDAS' ALASKAN ANALYSIS AND NOTES

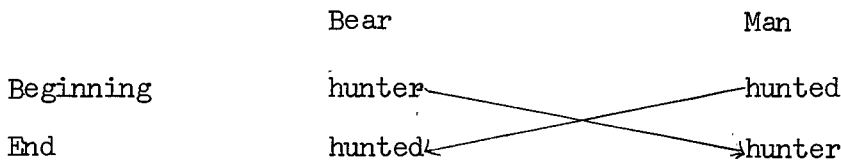
1. The Ten-Footed Bear

The Ten-Footed Bear is the main character as he is mentioned most often in the myth.

The first episode describes the Ten-Footed Bear, and contains a rather large number of verbal propositions relative to the total length of the myth. The story relates that the Ten-Footed Bear lives mostly in the water like a seal, and that he has ten feet in comparison to Polar Bears and his cousins Black and Brown Bears' four feet. The footprints or tracks of Ten-Footed Bear resemble the tracks of a sled runner. The disadvantage in having so many feet is that sometimes they become tangled, causing the Ten-Footed Bear to fall down. Since no mediation is attempted in this episode it is most adequately described by model 1^+ and 1^- . There are two opposing points brought out in this first episode. Firstly, Ten-Footed Bear is compared to a seal and secondly, he is contrasted with other Bears. The first point is illustrated by model 1^+ and formula $f_y(a) \quad f_x(b)$ where $(a) =$ Bear; $(b) =$ Seal; $f_x =$ difference; $f_y =$ similarity. The similarity between Seal and Bear is that they both live mostly in the water, is equal to or greater than their differences. In the next part of the first episode the Ten-Footed Bear is contrasted with his cousins Black and Brown Bear by example of the number of feet. The model 1^- and the formula $f_x(a) \quad f_y(b)$ where $(a) =$ Bear; $(b) =$ cousins; $f_x =$ difference; $f_y =$ similarity describes this. The difference between the Ten-Footed Bear and his cousins is equal to or greater than their similarities. This could indicate that the Ten-Footed Bear is more like a seal than a bear. However, it is also

indicated that the difference between the Ten-Footed Bear and his cousins is more important than the similarity between the Bear and the Seal. This focuses attention on his profuse number of feet. The combined results elicit further inquiry.

The second episode describes the pursuit of a man by a ten-footed bear, who, because of his ten feet which become tangled, falls and is subsequently killed by the man. This episode is described by the following formalization:



The Bear and man exchange places with regards to hunter and hunted. Since Bear is the main character in the myth and he loses his life, model IV⁻ and formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-1(y)$, most appropriately illustrates this episode. An entirely new situation has been created in relation to the initial situation as opposed to a 'cyclical return to the point of departure after the first force has been nullified' (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:26). If term (a) = Bear; (b) = man; fx = hunter; fy = hunted, in the initial part of the episode hunter (Bear) and hunted (Man). The climax of the plot is reached when Man becomes the hunter. Man is the mediating term because he is that *dramatis personae* responsible for transforming the initial situation to a different final outcome. The episode then results in the death of the Ten-Footed Bear when he is hunted by the man. The bear's feet are the cause of his undoing in that had they not tangled, he might have killed the man instead. The Bear's clumsiness is re-emphasized in this episode. Bear's ten feet become tangled while walking on land are more important than his

ability to live in the water like a seal. The two physical spheres brought into contrast here are the underworld (water) and land. The Bear might be reminiscent of an anomalous monster killed by man. There is no manifest inference in the myth as to whether or not the Bear is half man, half animal, nor is there any indication of any other abnormal origins of either. However, according to Levi-Strauss' account of Pueblo and Kwakiutl mythology, clthonian beings are clumsy with their feet. (Levi-Strauss, 1967:212). The concept of clthonian beings, different from man is raised here. The episode also represents the overall myth.

The final episode concludes the myth, and is straightforward and simple. Mediation is not attempted, but a statement is made, that is, Tarah never saw a ten-footed bear, but his grandfather did. This is explained by Model 1^+ and the formula $f_y(a) \gg f_x(b)$ where (a) = Tarah; (b) = Grandfather; f_x = observing bear; f_y = story telling. In other words, the narration of Tarah is equivalent to or greater than his grandfather actually seeing the Bear. This equation becomes meaningful when considered in conjunction with its binary opposition represented by model 1^- . In other words, they are one and the same. It has been passed on from generation to generation.

2. The Beginning of the Winds

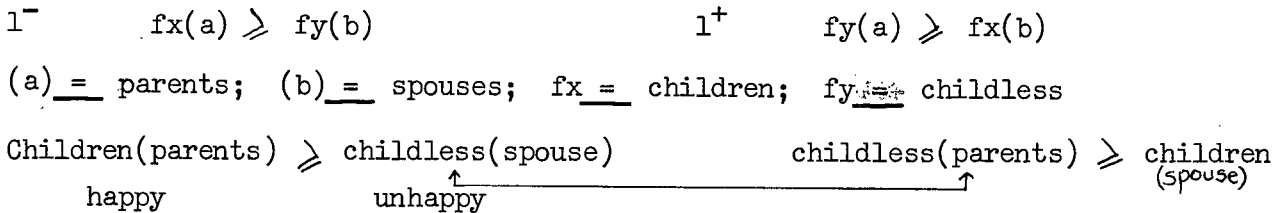
Doll is the main character in this myth as he is mentioned most often.

The first episode of the myth is very short and serves mainly as an introduction. A basic contrast is implied in that a man and his wife are unhappy because they have no children. This is illustrated by model 1^- and formula $f_x(a) \gg f_y(b)$ where (a) = parents; (b) = spouses - husband and wife; f_x = children; f_y = childless, is employed. Spouses is the ambiguous element

because spouses can represent those with or without children, whereas, parents have children. Thus, this episode emphasizes the distinction between those that have children and those that do not. Since one side of the equation, childless (husband and wife) relates unhappiness, the contrast is children (parents) and happiness. This lack of children in the introduction sets the stage for further action.

The second episode describes the conception of the Doll. Firstly, the wife requests her husband to carve a Doll from the wood on the only tree on the tundra. On his search for the tree the husband travels along a bright path. He discovers the tree and returns home with a piece of the trunk from which he carves a boy doll, and dishes for it. His wife sews clothes. The husband laments that they are no better off than they were initially, but the wife disagrees, for now they are able to talk about the doll. From the viewpoint of the main character, Doll, this action has mediated his creation. This is illustrated by model III⁺ and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(\bar{b}) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = spouse; (b) = tree; fy = childless-nature; fx = carving-child producing-culture; In the first part of the formula, childless is a function of the husband and wife as child producing is a function of the Tree. The turning point of this episode occurs when the Tree is in nature, childless, or non-productive. The end result of mediation is that the carving of the Doll enables the spouses to become parents. As revealed in the previous episode, the negation of the term spouse within the parameter is parents. Tree is an ambiguous term and also the mediating term because of its implications in relation to nature and culture. Through this medium, Doll, the main character, is brought into the tale. In this episode a new situation, greater than the initial has been created, although the initial lack, a real child, has not been nullified.

The third episode clarifies the above. The parents are awakened in the night by the Doll. They discover that he has eaten the food and drink, and that his eyes move, which typify the movements of a live child. The Doll later disappears during the night and the parents are again without a child. In this circumstance, model 1^+ of the episode one illustrates this situation. The following diagram demonstrates this:



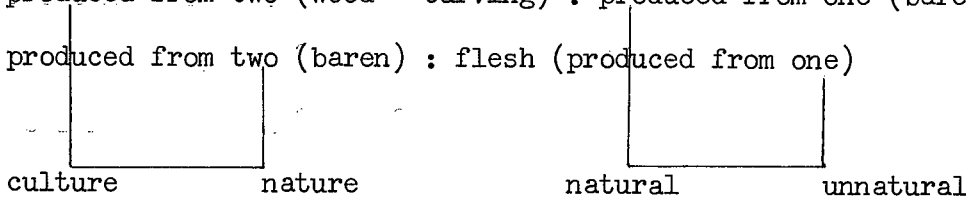
It is interesting that a binary opposition of a situation should occur in a later episode. However, the transformation of Doll is formalized in the equations below:

- 1) Husband + wife + carving \longrightarrow parents + carving
- 2) parents + carving \longrightarrow parents + real child

It is the second formalization that is important here. It is most adequately described by model IV^- . The new situation is different from the initial one in that Doll, although he disappears, has taken on a new form. Thus this episode is more than a cyclical return to the initial situation. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-1(y)$ where $(a) = \text{wood}$; $(b) = \text{baren}$; $fx =$ produced from two; $fy =$ produced from one, is employed. The function fx and fy should be considered in with terms of the mediating term *baren* in mind, and also in terms of the parameters culture and nature, unnatural and natural. An artificial child is created by cultural means when nature fails. Culture and nature are interchanged, unnaturally. In order to maintain the belief that man is always born from two, and not from one, nature and culture exchange

places. As shown in the formula below:

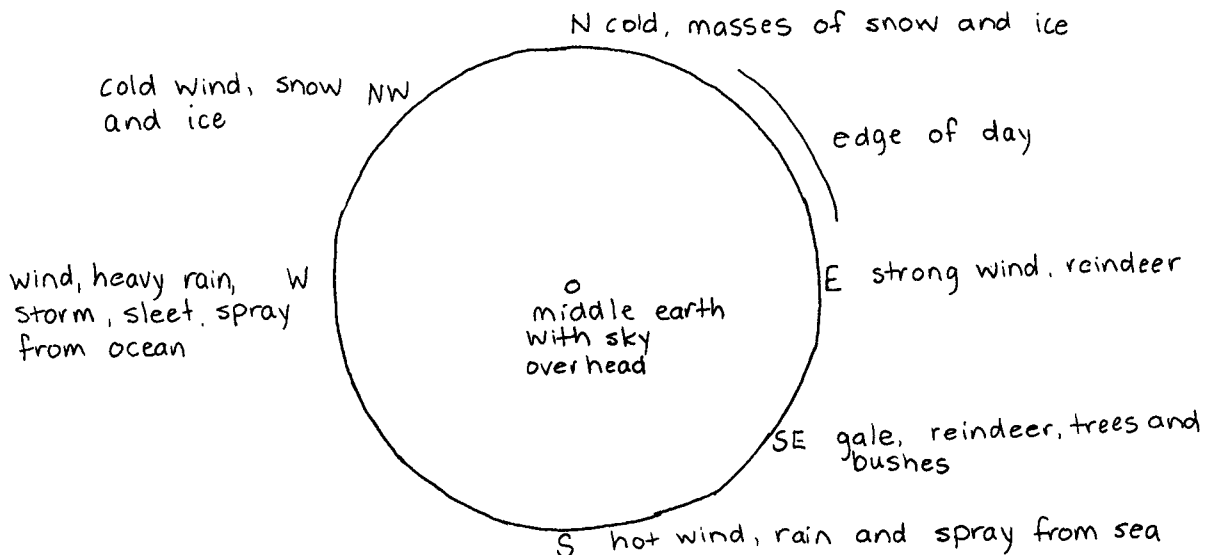
produced from two (wood - carving) : produced from one (baren) ::
 produced from two (baren) : flesh (produced from one)



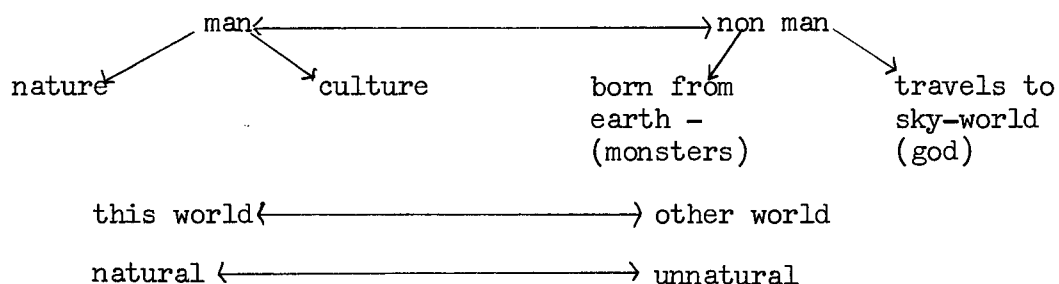
culture nature natural unnatural

In the above, flesh is the antithesis of wood. It indicates that when nature is unnatural culture becomes natural. In other words, the boundaries of nature and culture are not stable, and not necessarily juxtaposed with those of natural and unnatural. Culture and Nature are in opposition as are natural and unnatural. When nature and culture are confused, so are the natural and unnatural. Man is no longer formed of man, but from the earth. Doll is part of a tree that grows from the earth. This episode might be said to signify the questions of mans' autochthonous origin.

In the next episode Doll's journey commences in the East and ends from whence he departed. During his journey Doll discovers the elements and nature — the seasons, animals and vegetation. The following diagram taken from the myth's description will portray this:



Although Doll returns to his point of departure, he has effected many changes. For example, people wear masks, parents make dolls for their children. Thus a new situation is created. These gains are explained by model IV⁺ and the formula $fy(a):fx(b)::fy(b):fa-l(x)$ where (a) = man; (b) = Doll; fx = from the earth; fy = from the sky. The formalization will clarify this:



Doll is the ambiguous term because he is that *dramatis personae* who belongs to both nature and culture, who is attached to the earth and who also belongs to the sky. In reviewing the myth, it was the husband who travelled into the sky along the path of light to find the tree on the tundra. According to the formula, sky (Man) : earth (Doll) is to sky (Doll) as the nullification of man is the function of the earth. In comparison to Dolls superfeats and his autochthonous origin, man seems to be neither a god nor a monster. Perhaps this is a statement of man's mortality. This last episode also represents the overall myth.

3. Little Man of the Tundra

Father Moon is the main character as he is mentioned the most often in the myth.

The first episode is very short and serves as an introduction, as well as a means of stating the initial contrast, that is, between past and present. This is illustrated by model 1⁺, and the formula $fy(a) \geq fx(b)$

where (a) = light, (b) = dark; fx = past; fy = present. There are also many other factors of comparison between then and now, but light is considered most important since it is changed because the elements that emit light are transformed. Because of this transformation from two moons to one moon, plus many stars, the quality of light has increased from the past to the present.

In the second episode, Father Moon becomes curious and decides to explore the northern horizon. Little Man of the Tundra prevents him from doing so and sends him back to his place in the sky with Mother Moon. This episode can most appropriately be described by model II⁻ as Father Moon attempts but fails to explore the northern horizon. The formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = Mother Moon; (b) = Father Moon; fx = obedient; fy = curious is employed. Father Moon is the mediating and ambiguous term because he is both obedient and curious, whereas, Mother Moon is obedient and not curious. In this situation, Father Moon is subdued into passivity by Little Man of the Tundra. The other obvious contrasts in this episode are a quiet, clear night before Father Moon's trip, and a deafening noise and a dense cloud when he is apprehended by the Little Man of the Tundra.

In the third episode, Father Moon becomes impatient and restless. He decides to explore the southern horizon. This time Little Man of the Tundra severely punishes Father Moon by grinding him into a fine powder, which he scatters in the sky to create stars. This episode is described by model IV⁻ as a new situation is created, different from the initial situation, not only because it is nullified, but because it consists of a state greater than that of the original. Father Moon does not, therefore, return to his position in the sky with Mother Moon but is transformed into stars. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-1(y)$ where (a) = Father Moon; (b) = Tundra; fx = subservient; fy = authoritative, clarifies this further. Tundra is the

mediating force as he is that character which ensures the movement from an initial situation to a different final outcome. The consequence of mediation is straightforward. When Father Moon usurpes Tundra's authority, he is destroyed. The nullification of the term Father Moon in this episode is the term stars.

The conflict between Father Moon and Tundra might be considered further from the perspective of dominance and subservience, as well as from Tundra's viewpoint. As long as Father Moon is obedient he is in an inferior position, one of child to parent, as opposed to adult - adult. As soon as Father Moon asserts his independence, he is quashed by Tundra. Model III⁻ represents this concept, and the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(a)$ where (a) = child; (b) = parent; fx = moon, subservient; fy = Tundra - authority is employed. In other words, moon (child) as Tundra(parent) in the initial situation. The plot is upset when moon (parent) and the end process is that Tundra does not accommodate this position in relation to moon. This demonstrates the supreme position of Tundra. The term parent applies to both moon and Tundra. The episode is cyclical in that here the circumstances are not actually changed, or gained. The initial power structure remains as it was, with Little Man of the Tundra, who is in a dominant position relative to other characters in the myth. In considering the following chart of descriptive terms for each dramatis personae, some interesting binary oppositions are revealed.

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Tundra | Mother Moon | Father Moon |
| male | female | male |
| parent | child (relationship) | child(relationship) |
| spiritual father← | earth mother | - |
| - | mother | father |
| - | wife | husband |
| - | - | stars |

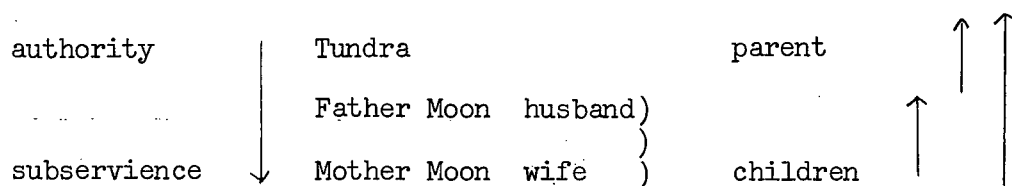
In conjunction with this, the following formalizations of the initial situation as opposed to the final outcome is seen below in the two short equations:

1) Tundra + Father Moon + Mother Moon - child

2) Tundra + Mother Moon + children (stars)

If both the formalizations and the 'chart' is juxtaposed, the seeming imbalance becomes balanced.

Model IV⁻ is employed to represent the overall myth in terms of relative positions of authority, and the comparative relationship both Father Moon and Mother Moon had with Tundra, as illustrated below:



It is evident that Mother Moon is more subservient to Tundra than Father Moon, and more obedient also. The formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where (a) = Father Moon; (b) = Tundra; fx = wife; fy = children, is used. The terms remain identical, but the functions are changed to accommodate the above chart. In other words, wife (Father Moon) : as children (Tundra) exemplifies the initial situation. The turning point of the plot differs from the previous episodes as here wife (Tundra) which effects the final outcome, wherein the nullification of Father Moon becomes stars (children). As previously stated, Father Moon's position is destroyed and replaced with another in order to establish a balance of power, and to provide a sense of continuity of the ongoing processes of life either by rebirth or by resurrection, symbolized respectively by the earth mother and the spiritual father. The male role that replaces Father Moon is of a different sphere, that beyond the sky world.

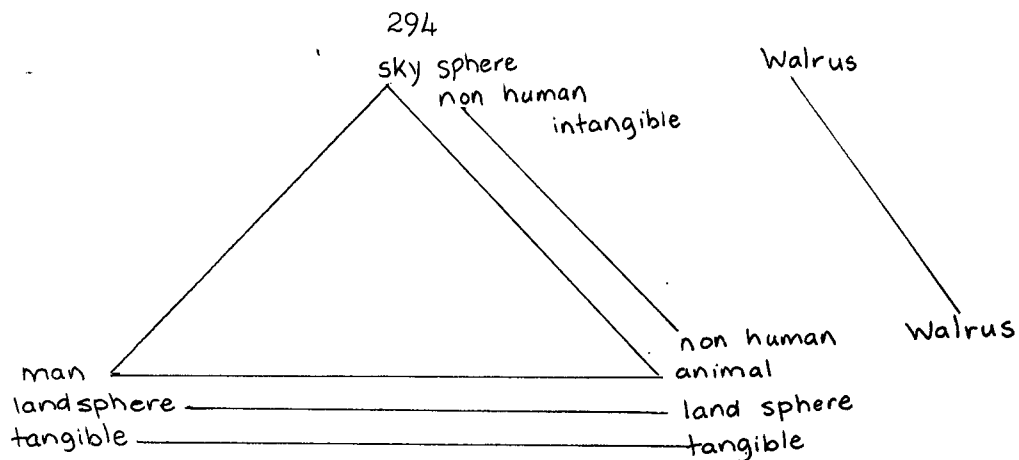
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graph LR; A[spiritual father (resurrection)] --> B[earth mother (rebirth)]; B --> C["(earth)father(also rebirth)"]
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Poor Boy is the main character as he is mentioned most often in the myth.

In the second episode there are described a series of episodes where Poor Boy is taken care of by different members of the village throughout the year. For example, it is mentioned that some people, as well as a rich lady, gave him food, presents, new clothes during the winter dancing ceremonies, and in return he helped the men in the Kazigi do their chores. These actions are

best described by model II⁺ because small attempts are made to alter Poor Boy's condition but none really succeed. The small favours Poor Boy receives actually serve to maintain him in the same social position. The formula $fy(a) > fx(b)$ describes this situation where (a) = Poor Boy; (b) = village people; fx = support given; fy = repayment expected. In other words, Poor Boy continues to pay for his keep by the villagers. He continues to learn and work with the men in the kazigi.

In the third episode a mediator changes Poor Boy's situation by removing him from the village and taking him to the place of the walrus spirits. At this point, nothing is particularly gained. However, the action of the walrus does counteract the action that first set the plot into motion. Poor Boy is unable to leave and he, therefore, remains for the summer. This episode is described by model III⁻ and the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Poor Boy; (b) = Walrus; fx = tangible, material qualities, human characteristics; fy = intangible, immaterial qualities, inhuman characteristics. In the initial situation of this short episode, Poor Boy is seen with human qualities which are compared to those strange spirit characteristics of the Walrus. The situation changes when Walrus' human characteristics, such as queer, old are mentioned. Walrus is the mediator in this episode for two reasons. Firstly, he is that dramatis personae who effects a change in the physical situation, in taking Poor Boy from and to the sky world. Secondly, the Walrus has both human and non-human characteristics, those of man and animal as well as those of a super human or spiritual nature. These can also be viewed in terms of tangible and intangible qualities. Those of the land world as opposed to those of the sky world. The following diagram illustrates this point:



Interestingly, the animal world category is the one that bridges the gap between the land and sky spheres. The final outcome of this episode is interpreted as having a two fold effect. Firstly, Poor Boy gains some of the intangible, superhuman qualities of the walrus spirits in the sky sphere and secondly, there is a nullification of his poor circumstances. In other words, the implication is made that his status in the community will be greatly improved.

In the fourth episode, Poor Boy finally remembers the spirit songs he has learned while in captivity and sings them. He consequently begins to slowly return through the air to his village and lands beside a woman who has no family. This situation is described by model IV⁺ and formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where (a) = Poor Boy; (b) = Walrus; $fx \equiv$ giver; $fy \equiv$ taker. The terms remain the same as in the previous episode, while the functions change to suit the new circumstances. Walrus is the mediator here because he is that *dramatis personae* who ensures a different final outcome in the situation. Walrus is also an ambiguous character for two reasons. In terms of the land sphere, Walrus is a giver to the people in that his flesh is used for food, and his skin is used for clothing. In the sky sphere he is a giver of songs and supernatural powers. According to the formula, giver (Poor Boy) as taker (Walrus) as giver (Walrus) as the nullification of Poor Boy's poor position as taker. This model reviews the overall myth. In

the initial part of the equation, Poor Boy helped the village people in return for his keep. Later he is kidnapped by Walrus. The plot reaches its climax when Walrus gives some spirit songs to Poor Boy. As a result, the end process of mediation indicates the nullification of Poor Boy's position as a taker, or as someone dependent upon the village people. Poor Boy's position has not only been nullified. His circumstances are vastly improved in comparison with those initially. This is greater than a return to the point of departure after the first force has been nullified, that is, his socially poor position in the village, no family, ragged, inadequate clothing, but a heliocoidal step in that a new situation is created, entirely different from the initial, as it consists of the nullification of the old situation, plus an additional state. Poor Boy has gained a family, has clothes, sufficient food, etc. Above and beyond this, the villagers now depend upon Poor Boy to assist them by using his supernatural powers, and to perform feats that only he can do. This last episode describes the overall myth. This emphasizes the importance of a spirit helper. Without it Poor Boy is dependent and without status in the community. At the conclusion of the myth, with the help of the spirit helper, he has gained the most prestigious position in the village. In short, the psychosocial function of the formula illustrates that he has moved from the lowest position in the society to that of the highest.

5 The Dwarfs of Hawkins Island

The two hunters are both mentioned an equal number of times in the myth and are, therefore, the main criterion. These dramatis personae are not developed as individual characters.

In the first episode, a contrast is introduced immediately, between two large hunters and the small dwarfs. Other contrasts are thick woods, open space, mountains, flat ground, hearing and not seeing. A common and dire consequences are given to the two hunters by the dwarfs. This insinuates that the little people have a power which enables them to carry out their warning. This episode is illustrated by model I^+ and the formula $f_y(a) \geq f_x(b)$ where $(a) =$ hunters; $(b) =$ dwarfs; $f_x =$ power; $f_y =$ strength, physical. In other words, the physical strength of the hunters is greater than or equal to the power of the dwarfs.

In the second episode, there is an exchange of respects, wherein, the hunters learn to leave the little people alone, and the dwarfs share their catch of whale (salmon) with the hunters. This episode is also illustrated by model I^+ and the formula $f_y(a) \geq f_x(b)$ where $(a) =$ hunters; $(b) =$ dwarfs; $f_x =$ salmon; $f_y =$ whale. This episode, as does the first, emphasizes the difference in the physical sizes of the dwarfs and men. Here whale to the (hunters) is greater than or equivalent as a salmon is to the dwarfs. The terms in both these episodes are identical, while the functions are different, and descriptive of the circumstances. There is no significant attempt to effect a change in the situation at this point.

In the third episode, the dwarfs request and obtain assistance from the hunters in killing a bear (mouse) and thus helping to save a dwarf's life. This episode is described by model III^+ because the hunters successfully counteract the action that set this episode into motion. This is a cyclical

structure in which nothing is gained but simply a nullification of the initial loss. The mediator, the hunters assist in returning the situation to its original state. Thus the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$

where (a) = Dwarfs; (b) = hunters; fx = saviours; fy = killers, elucidates this episode. Here again the size and physical strength of the hunters is emphasized in that the hunters are easily able to both help the dwarfs and kill the bear (mouse), whereas the dwarfs are unable to defend themselves. The contrast in size between the men and the dwarfs can also be illustrated by model 1^+ $fy(a) \quad fx(b)$ where (a) = hunters, (b) = dwarfs; fx = mouse; fy = bear. In other words, the bear to the hunters is greater than or equal as a mouse is to the dwarfs. However, the mediator in this equation shifts to the dwarfs. Since the mediator does not play a large role in the comparative level, the exchange is not significant.

In the fourth episode the hunters attempt to steal the dwarfs because they have heard that a little person will bring them good luck. However, the hunters are unable to make their way home until they release the dwarfs, due to the powers that the dwarfs exert. This episode is best described by model 11^- where an attempt to change the situation, but which ends in failure for the hunters. The formula $fx(a) \quad fy(b)$ where (a) = dwarfs; (b) = hunters; fx = power; fy = strength.

These are the same terms and functions as used in episode one, although the terms are transposed. The reverse situation from episode one has occurred here. A comparison of the two episodes will clarify this.

episode one model 1^+

$fy(a) \gg fx(b)$

$strength(hunters) \gg powers(dwarfs)$

episode four model 11^-

$fx(a) > fy(b)$

$power(dwarfs) > strength(hunters)$

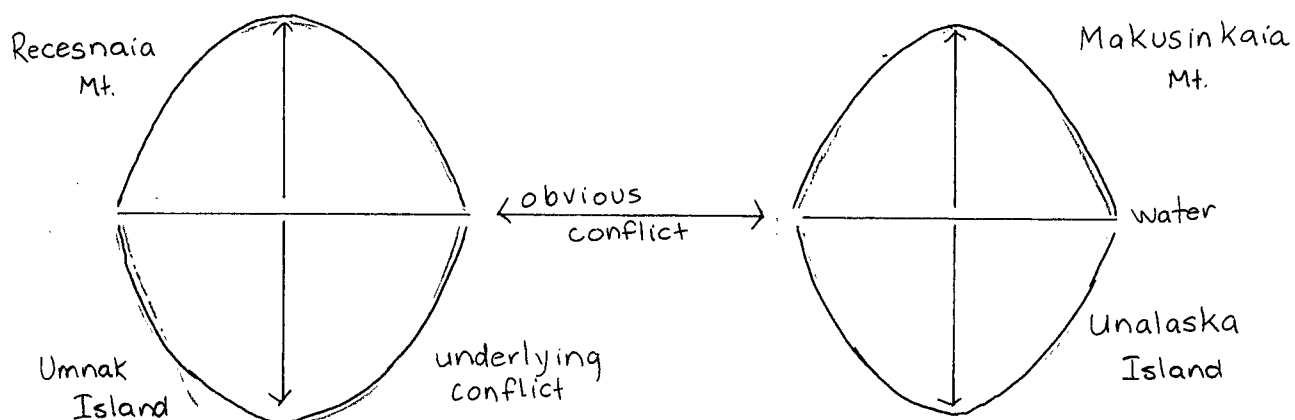
The power of the little people is very great indeed when compared to the power related to the difference in size and physical strengths of the two hunters. The overall model is III^+ , where "the action of the mediator brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:52). There is a cyclical structure in which nothing is gained, and the conclusion results in a nullification of the initial loss.

6. The Mountain Which Fought a Battle.

The first episode of this very short myth introduces a situation of conflict between the mountains on Unalaska and Umnak Islands as to which one has the largest fire inside. This is described by model I^- as there is a contrast stated at this point, while no mediation is attempted. The formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where (a) = mountains; (b) = Islands; fx = fire; fy = water; further explicates this episode. According to this a contrast is drawn out between the islands which are both surrounded by water and which spew fire into the air.

In the second episode, the situation is nearly settled because all except two mountains explode into small fragments. These two remaining mountains, Makusinkaia on Unalaska Island and Recesnaia on Umnak Island fight a duel, in which Makusinkaia is the victor. This episode is described by model IV^+ because there is a new outcome, different from the initial situation as a result of the duel. In the final situation one large mountain

with the largest fire remains, whereas, at the beginning of the myth there were several mountains, large and small which claimed to have the largest fire. Using the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(x)$ where (a) = fire; (b) = earth (land); fx = island; fy = mountain, we have mountains (fire) as island (earth) is to mountains (earth) as the nullification of fire is the function of island. The negation of fire is water, Earth or land is the mediating or ambiguous term because firstly, of its physical position between the mountains and the island, and secondly, both mountains and islands are composed of the same materials. The following diagram further simplifies the vertical as opposed to the horizontal conflicts expressed in this myth:



The overall model of this myth is IV^+ .

7. The Chilkat Blanket

The Chief's daughter is mentioned most often in the myth and is therefore, the first criterion.

In the initial situation the main character is introduced. She is gathering wild celery with a group of women and becomes separated from them when she stops to gather some dry twigs for starting fires.

This situation serves as a method of separating the Chief's daughter from the rest of the group. Attention is focused on her and the rest of the women are not mentioned again. Model I⁻ explicates this episode. The formula $fx(a) \succ fy(b)$ where (a) = chief's daughter; (b) = women; fy = stumbling; fx = walking; is employed. At this point, the materials the women are gathering is focused upon here, and it is brought out that the chief's daughter also gathers firewood. The fact that the Chief's daughter stumbles, causes her to be left behind by the other women.

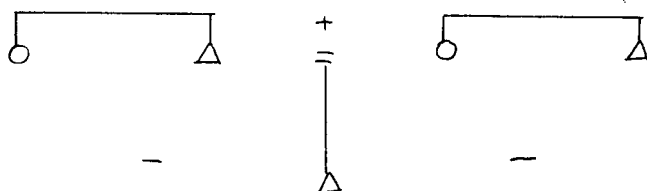
In the second episode the Chief's daughter meets a handsome youth and marries him. She later discovers that he belongs to the Bear tribe, one that she does not want to be a part of. This might be viewed in terms of unsuccessful mediation in that the Chief's daughter made a move that she later regreted. This situation is illustrated by model II⁻ and the formula $fx(a) \succ fy(b)$ where (a) = youth; (b) = Chief's daughter; fx = Bear tribe; fy = husband. The mediating term is Chief's daughter in this episode, as in the last. She is that person who thus far effects any real change upon her circumstances. The point is made here that although the youth is handsome, he belongs to the Bear tribe, which is apparently not a suitable choice for the Chief's daughter.

In the third episode, the Chief's daughter escapes from the Bear tribe.

After promising to marry her rescuer, a fisherman named Gonaquade't, she is taken to his underwater home. The Chief's daughter successfully changes her circumstances with the help of Gonaquade't. On the one hand, mediation is successful as the Chief's daughter escapes from the Bear tribe, but on the other, there is not a cyclical return to the point of departure, but there is a start of another new situation. Thus, although the new situation is more than the mere nullification of the initial situation, it does not exhibit a substantial change. The model III⁺ most adequately describes this episode. The formula is $fy(a) : fx(b) ; ; fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Bear; (b) = Gonaquade't; fy = husband; fx = stranger. In the initial phase of this episode, husband (Bear) as stranger (Gonaquade't). The plot changes when Gonaquade't becomes the husband. In the final outcome of this episode the Bear, no longer a stranger is nullified. Gonaquade't is the mediating term in this episode as he ensures the passage from an initial state to a different final outcome by killing the Bear youth and obtaining the Chief's daughter's promise of marriage. He is both (a) potential) husband and stranger in this episode.

In the fourth episode the Chief's daughter stays with Gonaquade't as his wife for many years. She finally returns to her father's home with their son after promising not to forget Gonaquade't. She does this by weaving Gonaquade't a chilkat blanket and taking it to him in his underwater home. This episode might also be described by Model IV⁺. Mediation is successful in that the Chief's daughter succeeds in returning home. However, she takes a son with her, and she also creates a beautiful ceremonial robe. Thus there is no initial loss which is rectified in this episode, but a creation of another new situation which is much more than a return to the point of departure; and in this case, a return to the beginning of the episodes as

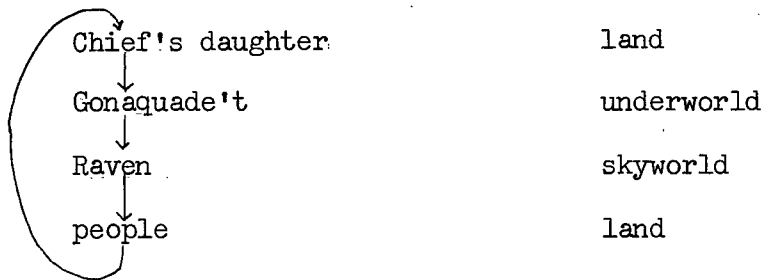
opposed to the beginning of the story. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-l(x)$ where (a) = Gonaquade't; (b) = Chief's daughter; fx = authoritarian; fy = friendly, is employed. The Chief's daughter is the mediating term since she effects a change on the initial situation in this episode, so that the outcome is different. Because the mother's brother assumes the training of his sister's son, his role is authoritarian. We might see his father's relationship with him then as friendly. In the first half of the equation, friendly (Gonaquade't) as authoritarian (Chief's daughter) as mother. The important point in the next part is that the mother, the ambiguous figure, is also friendly while it is not Gonaquade't that is the disciplinarian, but as the tale points out, their son's mother's brother. This can also be illustrated by the diagram below:



Compared to the diagrams on page 44 of Structural Anthropology, Levi-Strauss, the above diagram resembles the diagram for the matri-lineal unit of kinship of the Trobriand Islanders.

In the fifth episode Gonaquade't gives the chilkat blanket to Raven, who takes it to the people of the land. Thus by this final episode, the people on the land gain something new. This episode can be interpreted in terms of model IV⁺. The Raven does not bring the state of affairs back to the point of departure after counteracting the action that set the plot into motion, but he is instrumental in creating another new situation. The following diagram is employed to describe the following formalization con-

cerning the creation of the chilkat blanket:



This illustrates the cyclical journey of the blanket. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fa-l(x)$ where $(a) = \text{Gonaquade't}$; $(b) = \text{Raven}$; $fx = \text{receiver}$; $fy = \text{giver}$, is used. In the first part of the episode Gonaquade't is the giver as Raven is the taker. The turning point of the plot occurs when Raven of the skyworld becomes the giver and takes the blanket from the underworld to the people of the land. Raven is an important mediating character in two ways. Firstly, he is both a giver and receiver, as is Gonaquade't. Secondly, Raven is also the only dramatis personae in this myth who travels through all three spheres of land, water, and sky, when bringing the blanket to the people. Thus Raven is a somewhat ambiguous character as well.

Model IV⁺ of the final episode is the overall model for this myth.

8. The Moose, The Sheep, and The Caribou

In this myth the Sheep is mentioned most often and is therefore the main character.

In the first episode the Moose, Sheep and Caribou are all arguing amongst themselves as to whom should be Chief. No mediation is attempted. The conflict may be illustrated by model I⁻ and the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$

where (a) = Moose; (b) = Sheep; fx = big; fy = smart. The contrast here is between size and cleverness. On the one hand, Moose is larger than sheep or Caribou, and on the other, the Sheep is the smartest of the three.

In the second episode, another disagreement is related between Sheep, Moose and Caribou. However, this time, Sheep, Moose and Caribou agree to settle the dispute by counting the numbers of hairs on their backs. A winner, Sheep, is actually determined, with Moose second and Caribou last. In this episode the situation is successfully mediated, in that the state of affairs is brought back to the point of departure. There is a cyclical structure in which nothing is really gained or lost. This can be illustrated by model III⁺ and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = They (all three dramatis personae); (b) = none of them; fy = loser; fx = winner. By looking at this formula in terms of win-lose, or leader-follower, we see that in the first part of the episode, none can agree on who should be chief, so that none is in a winning position, while all three are in a 'losing position in comparison.

In the third episode Moose renews the contest as he is not satisfied with Sheep as the winner of Chief. Moose gives reasons why he should be Chief, for instance, saying that he has the biggest bones, and has no need for long legs, since he stays out of the deep snow. Sheep suggests they attempt to resolve their conflict, and proposes that the one to remain on the mountain top the longest determines who should be chief. Sheep wins the contest, Moose is second and Caribou is last. This episode is also described by model III⁺ and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = Moose; (b) = Sheep; fx = winner; fy = loser. In this episode Sheep is the mediator. He brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into

motion" (Maranda and Kōngās Maranda, 1970:34). There is a cyclical structure in which nothing is really gained in terms of winners and losers. Moose and Caribou are losers, while Sheep is the winner. However, according to the formula if Sheep is a loser, it does not necessarily mean that Moose and Caribou are winners, in this sense of the word.

In the fourth episode Sheep proposes a solution to their dilemma. He suggests that there be no chief, but that they become brothers, with Sheep as the oldest brother, Moose as the next brother and Caribou as the youngest brother. This is acceptable to everyone. In this episode we are not speaking in terms of winners and losers so much as second eldest and youngest brothers, as differentiated from the oldest brother, who is also appears to be respected as a leader. Thus the focus changes from a direct opposition to one that is less defined and less opposed. It might be noted here that even so, in every episode the 'pecking' order is Sheep, Moose, Caribou, except in one situation where Moose opposes Sheep and suggests the order, Moose, Caribou then Sheep. Thus the order is still maintained, as Sheep was deposed from first place position to that of last place. This episode is described by model III⁺ and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = brothers; (b) = Sheep; fx = respected leader; fy = equal brother; Sheep is the mediator again, since he is the *dramatis personae* who nullifies the initial lack of agreement. Sheep is both a respected leader and equal brother. In the initial situation here the first brother and his other two youngest brothers are equals as brothers, although they are not in the position of respected leader. In other words, Sheep is considered first among equals. In this final episode, which also represents the overall myth, there is a cyclical structure in which nothing is particularly gained. Peace is maintained, and no one is set apart from the others as chief. One

might conclude perhaps that peace is gained but that there is not sufficient change from the beginning to the conclusion to warrant a model IV designation, thus the overall myth is model III⁺. The story illustrated a shift from a heirarchical, vertical form of leadership to one that is more equalized and horizontal. The last three episodes are formalized in order to illustrate this more clearly:

- 1) loser(three) : winner(zero) :: loser (zero) : winner (one)
- 2) loser (moose caribou) : winner (Sheep) :: loser (Sheep) : winner (not
Moose Caribou)
- 3) equal brother (3 brothers) : leader (Sheep) :: equal brother(Sheep) :
leader(not 3 Brothers)

9. Alder People and Sun People

The woman is mentioned the greatest number of times in the myth, and is therefore, the first criterion.

In the first episode two points are brought out, one which includes the other. In order that someone might have the daughter's hand in marriage, this person must firstly satisfy the prospective mother-in-law of his ability to gain revenge on her brothers who were killed by the Alder people. Thus the working contrast that is employed here as the first step of two, as far as gaining the daughter as a wife is the ability for revenge, fighting, hate. This is a contrast to the love and caring that is needed for a mate. In the first episode the mother offers her daughter to attract suitors. After they have expressed a wish to marry her daughter, she requests to know how they will take revenge for her dead brothers. Although the stated need is for

a husband for her daughter, the first criterion that must be met before consideration, is the ability to fight. This is formulated by the following:

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|------|-------|
| 1) mother requires husband for daughter | (for marriage) | love | birth |
| | ↑ | ↑ | ↑ |
| 2) mother requires husband for daughter | (for revenge) | hate | death |
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |

This contrast can be illustrated by model I⁻ and the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where (a) = daughter; (b) = mother; fx = love; fy = hate. The mother is the ambiguous term as she has two reasons for requiring a son in law, revenge, and someone to care for her daughter. She also may experience both emotions.

The following thirteen requests and refusals can be combined into one episode and illustrated by model II⁻ and the formula $fx(a) > fy(b)$ where (a) = mother; (b) = suitor(s); fx = refusal; fy = proposal or plan for revenge; In every small instance, each suitor attempts to change the situation and fails. The daughter is not actually a part of this episode. According to the above, the mother's refusals outweigh the suitor's proposals. In other words, she has the final say as to whom marries her daughter.

In the final and overall episode, the mother is impressed by Sun Man's abilities and consequently promises her daughter to him. However, after finally finding someone she thinks can take revenge for her, Sun Man ignores her request. The model IV⁻ and the formula $fx(a) : fy(b) :: fx(b) : fa-l(y)$ where (a) = son in law; (b) = woman; fx = marriage; fy = revenge; illustrates this. The mediator is the woman since she is the dramatis personae who nullifies the impact of the initial situation. Also it is she who activates a search for a son in law and who makes the final decision as to whom it should be. In the first part of the equation, it is clear that Sun Man is accepted as a son in law for the purpose of revenge. The turning point

occurs when the woman finally does accept someone. She loses him as a means of gaining revenge. In this episode there are two results; on an overt level, she finds a husband for her daughter, and is successful. In this case, a heliocoidal step, or a new situation different from the initial situation, is created. Initially, we had mother + daughter which becomes daughter + husband. On a covert level, the woman does not succeed in finding someone to assist her in taking revenge on her dead brothers. Thus in this situation her actions bring the state of affairs back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion, which is procuring a husband for her daughter (Maranda and Kõngas Maranda, 1971:52). In this part of the episode, the mother gains nothing. This is a cyclical rather than heliocoidal structure, as her basic situation has not improved, rather it is worse as she is left alone. Thus there are two overall structures in this myth -- one cyclical, III⁻ to describe the second level and its outcome, and the other heliocoidal IV⁻, to describe the first level and its outcome. Furthermore, if the myth is examined from the mother's viewpoint before and after marriage, we see a reversal of attitudes.

| Before | | After | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|----------|----------------|
| mother + daughter + suitors | | mother | daughter | son in law |
| ↑ | ↑ | ↑ | | ↑ |
| (aloof, refusing) | aggressive | aggressive | | aloof refusing |

The initial situation is located on one plane, the land, although it is two generational. This final episode leaves us with a one generational nuclear family unit, a man and his wife, but functioning in two dimensions, Sun Man and his wife travel from the earth to the sky world.

10. Adventures of Raven

Raven is mentioned most often and therefore is the first criterion or main character.

Raven is introduced in the first episode where it is stated that the world is without light from the sun and moon, and that it is difficult for Raven and man to find food without the light. We are also told that a rich man with a beautiful daughter hoards the sun and the moon. This episode may be illustrated by model I⁻ and the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where (a) = mankind; (b) = chief; fx = darkness; fy = light, is employed. No attempt is made at mediation, but a contrast is made between light and the lack of it is emphasized. Another contrast in this first episode is between the chief's young and beautiful daughter and the two wise old men who look after her safety. This first episode is formalized by the following equations; where contrasts are exhibited both horizontally and vertically, as shown by the arrows:

Raven + mankind - light

↓
Chief + beautiful young daughter + wise old men \searrow light + clean water (later to
←-----→
be discussed)

The second episode is broken down into many smaller episodes. The overall episode here is that Raven sets out to retrieve day light, and succeeds. However, how he achieves this involves several other incidents. Therefore, in the first part of the second episode Raven arrives in the village where the light is kept. He meets the chief's daughter and subsequently asks her to marry him. She refuses. Model II⁻ illustrates Raven's apparent conflict of interests as does the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ where

(a) = daughter; (b) = Raven; fx = marriage; fy = daylight. Here Raven is the mediator and at this point he has two purposes, a primary and a secondary one. The primary purpose is to obtain daylight, the secondary purpose is to gain access to the chief's house so as to facilitate his primary purpose. However, Raven is unsuccessful in doing so.

In the third episode Raven again tries to gain access to the chief's home where the daylight is kept. He transforms himself into a spruce needle and compels the chief's daughter to swallow him with her water. Then Raven is born as a son to the chief's daughter and he, therefore, succeeds in the first part of his mission. This second attempt is more protracted than the first, and also brings out a contrast mentioned in the first episode. The following simplified formalization clarifies this :

Chief + wise old men + clean water
 Raven + magic —————> dirty water
 Daughter + clean water —————> nothing
 daughter + dirty water —————> son(Raven)

Accordingly, Raven's magic is more powerful than the insight of the two wise old men. This point is certainly demonstrated by model III⁺ which represents this episode. The formula $fy(a) : fx(b) :: fy(b) : fx(\bar{a})$ where (a) = old man; (b) = Raven; fx = magic; fy = wisdom and cunning, is employed. Raven has both wisdom and magic, whereas, the use of magic is not available to the wise old men caring for the chief's daughter. Also youth has overcome the wisdom of age, with the use of magic. This further demonstrates the powerful importance of magic. Raven is the mediator and brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure. In other words, Raven has succeeded in his secondary purpose; that is, gaining access to the chief's home. There has

been a cyclical structure in which nothing thus far is gained.

The two formalizations, upon closer examination, expose interesting results.

daughter + clean water——>nothing

daughter + dirty water——>grandson

The combination of the dirty water (spruce needle in the water) and a woman to yield a son is contrary to the knowledge that humans are born from the union of man and woman. Raven here, is born of woman but not from man as well. Instead he is born partly from Nature, or of the earth. This raises the conflicting question of man's origin, born from one or born from two. Even though Raven is born of woman the fact that he becomes symbolically part spruce needle raises the question of autochthonous origins. In other words, Raven's origin is spectacular and different from man's. However, returning to the above formalization, daughter + dirty water——>grandson. If eating——>excretion, and copulation——>birth, the myth has established a relationship between eating and copulation. If daughter + copulation child, but the myth states that the daughter + eating——>child, then eating is equivalent to copulation.

In the fourth episode, Raven begins to work on his primary objective that of obtaining daylight. This he does in three stages; firstly he is given the stars by his grandfather. They are whisked away through the smoke hole into the sky. Secondly, he is given the moon by his grandfather, which Raven bounces into the sky. Thirdly and lastly, he is given the sun, which he throws up into the sky from his beak. He then returns home. Raven has successfully mediated the initial situation. A new situation, different from the initial one has been created, as it is more than a nullification of the

initial lack. As depicted by model IV⁺ and the formula $fy(a) : fx(b) ::$
 $fy(b) : fa-l(x)$ where (a) = Raven; (b) = chief; fx = light; fy =
 darkness, an overall picture of the myth is described. For instance, in
 the establishing of the conflict, Raven is engulfed in darkness. In the
 next part of the story the chief's daughter bears a son, which the chief
 accepts in his home as his grandson. The turning point of the plot occurs
 when the grandson, named Raven by his grandfather, because of their similar
 eyes, is given the sources of light. The end permutation results when the
 darkness is nullified by the grandson (Raven). In this episode the chief
 rather than Raven is the mediator as he is that *dramatis personae* who,
 unwittingly here, actually hands the daylight to Raven, and counteracts
 the initial lack. This last episode is the overall representative model
 for the myth as it is in this episode that the final outcome of the tale
 is determined, in relation to the initial situation. The structure is
 heliocoidal because it is the chief who has been hoarding the daylight
 who finally unwittingly gives it to Raven. The psychosocial function is
 well demonstrated here.

IV 3, ii) THE MARANDAS' RESULTS - ALASKAN MYTHS

As in the previous chapter, the formulas, formalizations and diagrams have been indispensable in facilitating the analysis and revealing significant meanings contained within the myths. The models for the myths are as follows:

- 1) 1^+ , 1^- , $1V^-$, 1^+
- 2) 1^- , 111^+ , 1^+ , $1V^-$, $1V^+$
- 3) 1^+ , 11^- , $1V^-$, 111^-
- 4) 1^- , 11^+ , 111^- , $1V^-$
- 5) 1^+ , 1^+ , 111^+ , 1^+ , 11^-
- 6) 1^- , $1V^+$
- 7) 1^- , 11^- , 111^+ , $1V^+$, $1V^+$
- 8) 1^- , 111^+ , 111^+ , 111^+
- 9) 1^- , 11^- , $1V^-$
- 10) 1^- , 11^- , 111^+ , $1V^+$

The first model is always 1 and is 1V in the final model, except in four cases. The two instances model 1 is found at the conclusion of a myth, but this points out a contrast and is not an integral part of the concluding plot. Model four is generally representative as an overall myth, except in two cases, where 111 is employed instead. The distribution of the models throughout the corpus is relatively uneven, as seen below.

| | | | |
|--------|---|---------|---|
| 1^+ | 6 | 111^+ | 6 |
| 1^- | 9 | 111^- | 2 |
| 11^+ | 1 | $1V^+$ | 5 |
| 11^- | 5 | $1V^-$ | 8 |

Each model and the manner in which it is employed in the corpus is reviewed in the following pages.

Model 1 is used a total of fifteen out of forty-one times in the corpus. The negative aspect of the model is used eight times and the positive aspect seven times to explicate the binary oppositions in the situations with contrasting circumstances, although both models are not employed in the same episode unless necessary.

In myth 1, model 1^+ is used twice and 1^- is used once. Models 1^+ and 1^- are employed together in the introduction of this myth to point out a similarity as well as a difference. Model 1^+ focuses on the similarity between a seal and a ten-footed bear, while model 1^- focuses on the difference between a four-footed bear and a ten-footed bear. All the terms and functions are the same in the contrast except (b) which changes from Seal to Bear cousins. By using the two formulas in juxtaposition with each other, the point is easily seen that the Bears ten feet render him more similar to a seal than a bear. Thus attention is focused on the Bear's feet. Model 1^+ is also used to conclude the myth and to state that Tarah's grandfather, observing the ten-footed bear was the same as listening to the story. In other words, it is a true story. The mirror image of this states the same thing, as illustrated:

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1^+ | $fy(a) \gg fx(b)$ | | 1^- | $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ |
| story telling(Tarah) | observation(G.F.) | | observation(Tarah) | Story telling(G.F.) |

In myth number two both model 1^+ and 1^- are used once to illustrate episodes one and three respectively. Model 1^- introduces the first half of a contrast in this myth by stating that a man and wife, who have no children, are unahppy. Put more simply, couples with children are happy, those without

are not. In this simple episode, the stage is set for the nullification of such a lack. In episode three model 1^+ is used as a sub-episode, preliminary to the actual representative model IV of the third episode. Model 1^+ completes the mirror image. The couple have now become childless parents. After having a child, they have now lost it. Thus in the second episode, model 1^+ and 1^- form a pair in the myth.

In the third myth model 1^+ introduces the myth, and brings out one of the main contrasts, that is between the physical difference between the past, which had two moons and no stars, and the present, with one moon and many stars. The contrast is also made that the past was without much light while the present has more light.

Model 1^- also introduces myth four. In the initial situation Poor Boy's predicament is emphasized. The formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$ illustrates this. If the mirror image of this is brought in as follows; non support (Poor Boy) \gg support (others) | support (poor boy) \gg non support (others), the final situation is demonstrated, where Poor Boy's circumstances are reversed. Rather than dependent upon the community for support, they are dependent upon him for support and for performing supernatural feats as well. Here the other half of the implied contrast is completed.

Model 1^+ is found three times in the fifth myth, two of which are located in the first two episodes. In the first episode a number of contrasts between size are used to emphasize the great powers of the dwarfs. In other words, although the dwarfs are small, their power is greater than or equal to that of the very large hunters. Other contrasting devices are employed to set the stage, such as mountains versus flat ground, thick woods versus open space, etc. Model 1^+ in the second episode continues to explicate the physical difference in size between the men and the dwarfs by contrasting

a whale with a salmon. Model 1^+ is also employed as a sub-episode to model III^+ in the third episode, in that again the formula $fy(a) \gg fx(b)$ is used to illustrate the vast difference in size between the dwarfs and the hunters by indicating that the dwarfs see a mouse as being the equivalent size to a bear, while the hunters see it to be a mouse. The difference in size and physical strength is further emphasized. In these three episodes the terms remain the same while the functions change. The last two models actually demonstrate the implication of the first. Each is used to advance the plot another step towards the climax.

Model 1^- in the first episode of myth six introduces the myth, which contains both a contrasting and a conflicting situation. The overt conflict that is introduced occurs between the various mountains located on the Islands, while the contrasts such as above versus below, mountains versus islands, fire versus water, are more subtle, and are explicated by the formula $fx(a) \gg fy(b)$. The binary opposition of model 1^- yields the reversal of the contrast. In other words, $fire(mountains) \gg water(Island)$ becomes $water(mountains) \gg fire(Island)$. However, this model 1^- sets the stage for the resolution of the conflicts.

Model 1^- introduces the first episode of myth number seven. The use of model 1^- here serves as a means by which to separate the Chief's daughter from the other women in three ways, although only one example is used. For instance, the following functions are quite appropriate in each case;

$fx(a) :: fy(b)$.

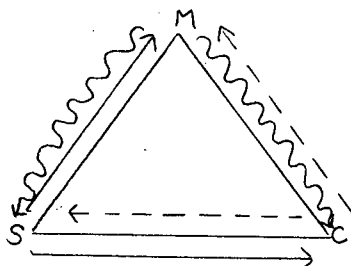
1. together (women) \gg alone (Chief's daughter)
2. walking (women) \gg stumbling (Chief's daughter)
3. celery (women) \gg firewood (Chief's daughter)

Although the facts of the first equation lead into the next episode, the information brought to the fore here raises interesting questions not obviously

dealt with. --

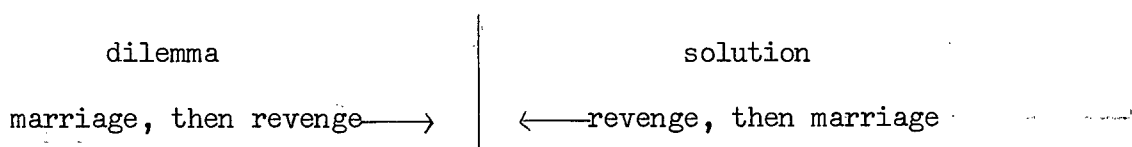
Model 1⁻ introduces the conflict between Moose, Sheep and Caribou in myth number eight. Although the conflict is between all three dramatis personae, conflict arises more often between Moose and Sheep than it does between Moose and Caribou, or Sheep and Caribou, because Caribou does not join in the argument and state in what way he is superior to the other two.

The diagram,



illustrates this. An imbalance is created in this first episode, as well as a contrast introduced between the dramatis personae. The stage is set for the resolution of the conflict between the established contrasts between Sheep and Moose.

The first episode in myth nine introduces a number of contrasts resulting from two opposing purposes in the choosing of a husband. The solution is the inverse of the dilemma. In other words, a husband is needed for a daughter first, so that later he can assist in taking revenge on his mother in law's enemies. Although model 1⁻ perhaps over-emphasized the opposition between love of the daughter and hate of the mother, the contrasting dilemma is exposed and the stage is set for a resolution of this. The following diagram illustrates this; the structure of the plot



Model 1⁻ is also found only once in the last myth. Although the main character, Raven, is introduced in the first episode, he does not take a primary role until later in the myth. Here he is generalized along with

mankind in a contrasting situation, where he and mankind are without light, whereas, a Chief hoardes it. Other contrasts are also brought out in this myth, such as the young and beautiful Chief's daughter contrasted with two wise old men. However, the way is prepared for the nullification of a most important situation, the lack of light.

Models 1^- or 1^+ are employed in introducing every myth, as well as exemplifying conflicting situations. In two cases, model 1 was employed twice concurrently to explicate the two different situations. In two other instances model 1 was used as a sub-episode to demonstrate a contrast or the mirror image of a previous model 1 episode. Finally model 1 was used in the concluding episode of a myth, to illustrate the unopposed terms and functions. In all circumstances the sign \succ meaning equivalent to or greater than was appropriate.

Models II^- and II^+ are utilized in a total of six out of forty-one cases in the total corpus, and in all myths but one, two, six and eight. All of these except one are negatively valenced. This indicates that the situation is left unfinished in favour of the main character, and is preparatory for further action. Model II^- explicates the second episode in myth three. This is a straightforward attempt and resulting failure at mediation, i.e., exploring the Northern horizon on Father Moon's part. His curiosity gets the better of him and the negative valence indicates that the outcome was not in his favour. A contrasting change in the physical environment takes place at the moment of Father Moon's failure, for example, the quiet, clear night is transformed by a deafening noise and a dense cloud. In this episode there is no ongoing action.

Model II^+ describes the second episode in the fourth myth also. As far as Poor Boy is concerned the villagers attempts to help him maintain him at a subservience level, but do not change his social position. Nothing is

really gained at this level. This episode might also be described by model III⁻ from the viewpoint that the structure is cyclical. However, the situation is a continuing one, there has not been a nullification of a specific loss. Model II⁺ describes a present, ongoing situation.

In myth number five, model II⁻ concludes the myth, in which two hunters attempt to change their initial situation. Their attempts to smuggle some dwarfs home with them results in failure. This model is employed in conjunction with model I from episode one as it is its binary opposition as shown;

| | |
|--|---|
| Episode 1 model I ⁺ $f_y(a) \gg f_x(b)$ | Episode 4 model II ⁻ $f_x(a) \gg f_y(b)$ |
| strength(hunters) \gg power (dwarfs) | power(dwarfs) \gg strength(hunters) |

The fact that the two hunters are prevented from returning home demonstrates the tremendous powers of the little people.

The use of model II⁻ in myth seven is most appropriate in simplifying the second episode. This can be considered from two viewpoints. The chief's daughter attempts to change her situation by running away with the handsome youth, only to discover that she has made an incorrect affiliation, or that after she discovers she has married the wrong person, she is unable to undo her mistake. The youth's attachment to the Bear tribe is never questioned. The Chief's daughter is expected to live in his place of residence. Here the continuing plot is open to a reversal of the mistake.

Model II⁻ also represents the second episode in myth nine. This contains several short situations wherein the mother refuses thirteen requests for her daughter's hand in marriage. For example, each suitor fails to perform a great feat for his potential mother-in-law. Therefore, each suitor attempts to change the situation and fails. However, since the other is the first criterion, and she also attempts but fails to find a suitable husband for her

daughter, her circumstances are best described by II⁻. The last model II⁻ describes the episode.

The second episode of the tenth myth is also described by model II⁻, as Raven fails in his secondary purpose, that is, gaining access to the Chief's house where the sun is kept hidden.

Model II was employed according to its definition. In fact model II represents the actual situation. No underlying meanings are brought out at this point. In one instance, model II concluded a myth. Maranda points out that in these myths "culture heroes fail in their attempts to bestow their fellow man with technological innovations or new types of goods. The outcome is a restatement of the lack of those things which make white men powerful" (Maranda and Kōngās Maranda, 1971:49). Since myth number five is concluded with model II⁻ the fact that the two hunters fail to procure luck from the little people does indeed appear similar to the above. In fact, the little people might be considered symbolic of the white man if contemplated from this viewpoint.

There are nine model III episodes, seven positive and two negative. Model III is found in all myths except one, six and nine. Furthermore, it is employed three times in myth eight, and once in the remainder. Model III⁺ occurs once in the second episode of myth two. Through this episode the main character is introduced to the myth. The formula suggests that through the carving of the tree the husband and wife place themselves in the role of parents to the Doll; they make dishes and sew clothes. In one respect, and according to the husband's opinion as well, nothing is actually gained as the Doll is made of wood, not flesh. In one aspect, this could also be considered model II, failed mediation in that they fail at producing a real child. However, there has been a cyclical procedure in which nothing

is gained, except a wooden carving of a Doll. The parents do everything within their power to counteract their loss. The wife sees that their circumstances have indeed improved, for their roles have changed somewhat. They can pretend that the Doll were a real child. Thus a dramatic situation is presented and prompts further inquiry. At this point either a concluding or foreward move must be made to resolve the situation. In this sense, the episode contains action.

Model III⁻ is employed in tale three to demonstrate the previous third episode explicated by model IV⁻, from another perspective. The comparison is as follows;

| | |
|---|---|
| III ⁻ $fx(a):fy(b) :: fx(b) : fy(\bar{a})$ | IV ⁻ $fx(a):fy(b) :: fx(b):fa^{-1}(y)$ |
| (a) = Child | (a) = Father Moon |
| (b) = parent | (b) = Tundra |
| fx = subservient (Moon) | fx = subservient |
| fy = authority (Tundra) | fy = authoritative |

Thus the two different formulas actually reveal the same conclusion, but each has a different emphasis. The terms of each, although different, are actually equivalent in both, as the same situation is under consideration in each case. Model III⁻ emphasizes the unmitigated power of Tundra, while IV⁻ deals with the fate of Father Moon.

Model III⁻ is also used to explicate episode three in myth four. In this episode Poor Boy is taken to the land of the Walrus spirits by Walrus, and remains there throughout the summer. In this episode the mediator does not actually take the state of affairs back to the point of departure, however, nothing is actually accomplished by this point either, and mediation has not failed, at this point. Poor Boy's situation remains temporarily suspended part way through its resolution. The terms and functions of the

model describing this episode focus on the human and inhuman characteristics of both Poor Boy and Walrus, which may be significant to the transformation occurring to Poor Boy while suspended. The antithesis of Poor Boy in the outcome of the formula is the nullification of his poor state. In addition he gains some intangible characteristics from Walrus that he did not possess previously.

Myth number five employs model III⁺ once, in episode three. Superficially the hunters succeed in assisting the little people, and their circumstances return to the point of departure. The structure is cyclical and nothing is gained or changed. However, it develops the plot further by illustrating in the end result that the dwarfs are unable to defend themselves against predators. Furthermore, the contrast in size between the dwarfs and the hunters is emphasized with the help of sub-episode 1⁺. The question arises, if the little people cannot protect themselves from a mouse, how can they prevent two large hunters from absconding with some of the. The episode does not answer the question, but creates suspense and extends the plot.

Model III⁺ is found once in the third episode of myth seven. This episode describes a situation in the process of change. The Chief's daughter's Bear husband is killed by Gonaquade't. The death of the Bear husband is the end process of mediation. The Chief's daughter successfully escapes her pursuer and changes her situation but the situation does not then return to its original state, i.e., she does not return home. Instead she begins another adventure. This episode is best described by model III. In a sense the main character completes a cycle in that one adventure is ended and she is free to begin another. No real gains have been made at this point.

The positive aspect of model III is employed in the last three episodes in myth number eight.

Each episode is straightforward and clearly illustrates the situation. In the second episode the problem is determining a winner. Although the formula states that no one loses before a winner of one character is disclosed, the results are actually simultaneous. Usually there are winners, then losers. However, here the formula indicates that although there is a winner, there are no losers. This conflicting statement provokes further inquiry, and leads into the next episode, where Moose does not accept the solution. Although the terms are different in the third episode, the functions remain the same. The first half of the outcome of Sheep's suggestion is seen in the first half of the equation, that is, Sheep wins the challenge again by staying on the mountain overnight. The other outcome, which is in keeping with the outcome of the previous episode is that if one *dramatis personae* is a loser it does not automatically mean that the opposer is the winner. This episode further extends the plot another step, although its structure remains cyclical in that nothing is gained or changed. In this particular episode, the initial conflict is again nullified. In the final episode the functions are different, while term (a) is taken from the second episode, and term (b) is taken from the third episode. In this manner the three episodes maintain interdependence with each other and the continuity of the plot is ensured. Throughout the three episodes, the slow resolution of the plot is unfolded, and in the final episode a solution to the conflict is reached. The interpretation of the terms and functions in the formula is straightforward, and with the end process of mediation makes it quite clear that Sheep is established as the first among equals, and that the Moose and Caribou are not. These episodes demonstrate a shift from a hierarchial form of leadership to one that is horizontally diagrammed and more egalitarian. The main character in the myth is Sheep. As the first brother, he is the

dramatis personae to offer suggestions to solve the dilemma. He also arrives at an acceptable solution to the other characters. His position of leadership is as strong as, but does not appear to be as imposing at the conclusion of the story, in comparison to its introduction. Thus the three last episodes, using model three, delineates a subtle difference between leader and first brother.

The third episode in the final myth is also delineated by model III⁺. In this episode Raven succeeds in his secondary objective, that is in gaining admittance to the Chief's house through his daughter. He compels her to swallow the spruce needle into which he has transformed himself. He is then born to her as a son. Thus mediation is successful to a degree. The structure of this episode is cyclical in that the initial loss is not yet nullified, ie. the sun is not yet captured by Raven. Thus this model also describes a situation in transit or in the process of resolution. This episode leads to the crux of the plot, and is also, therefore, suspense building. Moreover, the formula places emphasis on the difference between wisdom and magic. The underlying message is that with magic and youth overcomes the wisdom of age, and transforms otherwise impossible situations. This formula yields two unexpected results. Firstly, an equivalent relationship is established between eating and copulation; secondly, it provokes the revelation that Raven's origin is different and spectacular from man, although the question of both man's and Raven's origins remains unanswered. Thus this episode, described by model III, is by far the most revealing in this myth.

Model III was used relatively infrequently in comparison to the other models. Generally, Model III in this corpus was seen as an action model. In the myths in which model III was employed once, model III in all but number

three where the climax of the plot has already occurred, and number two describes a situation temporarily suspended by its episode, defined by the various verbal propositions describing the circumstance and in the process of resolution. Model III is employed according to definition.

Model IV is used a total of eleven out of forty-one times in the corpus; five of these are negative valences, the remainder positive. Model IV is also employed at least once in every myth except numbers five and eight and as frequently as three times in one myth.

Model IV⁻ is utilized once in the first myth and in the second last episode. This episode contains the main part of the myth and its resolutions while the previous episode brought out the similarities and differences between the ten-footed bear, the four-footed bear and the seals. The psychosocial function of the formula focuses on the dichotomy of hunter versus hunted, and the exchange of roles between the man and Bear. Man defeats the Bear at his own game, and a heliocoidal step is made. A new situation different from the initial one, not only in that it nullifies it but also because it consists of a state which is more than a nullification of the initial (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:26). Again attention is brought to the Bear's clumsiness, and reveals an insight that was not available initially.

Model IV⁻ and IV⁺ are used in myth two in the final two episodes. Model IV⁻ contains a sub-episode 1⁺ to emphasize the transition to the parents' roles. They have moved from being childless spouses to childless parents, through the transformation of Doll. This episode assists in building up to the climax of the story on the narrative level. In this episode Doll becomes human, but disappears. The process by which this is achieved is emphasized by the formula, and also by the fact that nature and culture's boundaries are no longer stable here. The formula also reveals the underlying important

question of born from one or born from two, and raises the dichotomies, earth or flesh, monster or human. This episode also leads into the following episode by raising these questions. On the surface the last episode is cyclical in that the parents lack of children is nullified with Doll's return. However, the episode is heliocoidal because a different situation greater than the nullification of the initial lack is created. Doll brings many things to his people, such as wind, rain, snow and ice, as well as social customs. The terms and functions of this episode differ from those of the previous episode. Here the formula emphasized that man is not a function of the earth, although sky is a function of man, while earth and sky are both functions of Doll. In other words, Doll is a part of both spheres, while man is not. This seems to be a denial of man's autochthonous origin. A difference between man and Doll is further defined. This statement is the important psychosocial function of the formula. This last episode climaxes the myth with Doll's return and concludes the myth with stories of Doll's contributions to his people. This last model represents the overall myth. Both episodes have lead to important insights into the under lying meaning of the myth.

Myth number three employs model IV⁻ only one, in the third episode. The climax of the story is reached in this episode, and Father Moon is destroyed by Tundra. This result in the creation of a new situation is different from the initial because the new situation is greater than a nullification of the initial circumstance. Father Moon is transformed into stars, while Mother Moon's position remains unchanged. On another level the formula emphasizes the concept of authority and subservience in relation to the dramatis personae and in this episode we see that, although Tundra is authoritative to Father Moon, the reverse situation is not true. This same idea is further elaborated upon by the use of model III, actually as a sub-episode

following this. Here the relationship of Tundra, Father Moon and Mother Moon is compared to that of parent and child, and a further insight is deduced. This consists of righting the balance of nature, so to speak. As a result a basic dichotomy of two belief systems are interpreted as in conflict. These are Nature's eternal cycle of birth and death, and the spiritual immortality. Thus model IV brings the myth to its climax and conclusion while the following episode attempts to explain the actions.

Model IV⁻ is also employed once in the fourth and final episode of myth number four. In this episode, the complication of the myth is resolved, in that Poor Boy remembers the spirit songs he has learned, which he sings. As a result, he returns to earth. This is superficially depicted as a heliocoidal movement because Poor Boy returns transformed in that he now, in short, has acquired supernatural powers, and conjunctively Poor Boy's social status changes from a low position to a high position. Thus the new situation created is much greater than a nullification of the initial lack. The formula helps reveal another level of understanding the myth if considered from the viewpoint of givers and takers. Being poor, Poor Boy is a taker, but at the end of the myth his position of poor changes as does his transfer as a taker from society to one of a giver. The psychosocial function of the formula is demonstrated here in that at the conclusion of the myth Poor Boy is able to give back much more than he took from society.

Model IV⁺ is utilized once in the second and final episode in the sixth myth. Outwardly, the conflict between the two mountains Recessna and Unmak and Makusinkaia on Unalaska is settled in this episode, determining Makusinkaia to be the victor. The outcome is heliocoidal because the situation created as a result of the settlement is different from the initial situation not only because it is nullified but because a situation is created which is more than the original circumstance. One mountain is recognized as

the mountain with the largest fire. The formula helps reveal another aspect of the myth not apparent at first. Another conflict, vertically diagrammed, is exposed between the elements, and here are considered the dramatis personae, involved in the myth. Also interestingly, the physical imagery is quite obvious here in that the mirror image of a mountain is that of an island. However, although the vertical conflict is exposed, its relative meaning is not clear.

The positive aspect of model IV is employed in the two final episodes of myth number seven. In the fourth episode, the chief's daughter accomplishes what she set out to do in the second episode, that is, return home. The myth is resolved at this point. Thus the action ties the episodes together. This episode is considered heliocoidal, as a new situation is created. Here the chief's daughter returns home with a son, and while at home she creates the chilkat blanket and presents it to Gonaquade't. The formula for this episode emphasizes the avunculate relationship. The psychosocial function is inter-related with the avunculate. The tale could conceivably end with this episode. However, another episode concludes the tale. Here Raven is introduced to the myth. Gonaquade't gives him the Chilkat blanket which he takes to the people of the land. Again the episode is heliocoidal as a new situation is created wherein the people have acquired something new. Raven does not return the state of affairs back to the point of departure. In this situation it would mean returning the blanket to the chief's daughter, or to Gonaquade't, nor did he keep the blanket himself. The psychosocial function of the myth reveals that a cyclical transfer of the blanket does not occur; ie. it does not go back to Gonaquade't, but it is given instead to a new party, the people. The episode is most appropriately described by model IV than by model III. The formula describing this episode emphasizes Raven as a receiver or taker

and a giver. Usually these roles are carried out by different dramatis personae, however, Raven fulfills both roles, as term (a). Term (b) and the functions change to suit the situation. The last episode is more generalized and is more representative of the overall myth. Through the episodes important concepts have been revealed.

Model IV⁻ is utilized once in the final episode of myth nine. In the manifest level the mother eventually finds someone suitable to marry her daughter. In other words, she considers that they have the power to assist her in revenging her brother's death. The myth reaches its climax and its resolution in this episode. The psychosocial function of this myth occurs when the mother loses the opportunity of having someone assist her in taking revenge by accepting the Sun Man as a son-in-law, as he refuses to act on her behalf. This ironic situation is evident as the dramatis personae with the capacity to effect revenge refuses to do so, although the reasons for this are not made clear. On one level there is a heliocoidal structure in that the mother is successful in finding a husband for her daughter and a new situation is created. The old circumstance is transformed from Mother + Daughter - Husband to Husband + Daughter - Mother. On another covert level, the mother does not succeed in finding someone to assist her in taking revenge on her dead brothers. At first this may appear to be a model II situation. However, the mother's actions of finding a husband for her daughter brings the state of affairs back to the point of departure after counteracting this action that set the plot into motion. Thus this cyclical situation is described by model III. Model IV⁻ describes the overall myth. No real underlying message was revealed by the formula. Perhaps the psychosocial function signifies that the mother's criteria for choosing a son-in-law were not appropriate.

Model IV⁺ is also employed in the final episode of myth number ten. In this episode Raven is left to work on his primary objective, that of obtaining the sun, moon and stars. In the previous episode, his secondary objective developed in the second episode, is resolved. The formation of these episodes helps reveal the intricacy of this plot. Raven is successful in completing his first objective and the myth reaches its climax in this episode. The psychosocial function of the situation is revealed in this episode. It is the Chief who is hoarding the sun, moon and stars so carefully that gives them away to Raven. The structure of the myth is heliocoidal as opposed to cyclical. In the final outcome, a new situation different from the initial one not only in that it nullifies the initial lack, but also because it consists of a state which is more than a nullification of the initial lack, that is, Raven takes the three elements of light and gives them to the people.

Model IV was utilized in all except two myths, as well as represented in eight overall myths. Model IV includes the climax of the plot and the consequent resolution of the plot.

In most cases, models I⁻ and I⁺ were employed to depict a contrasting situation. Both aspects of model II also illustrated contrasts as well as unsuccessful attempts at mediation. Models III usually extended the plot and lead to the climax of the myth, and in some instances, presented another viewpoint of the myth as a sub-episode. Model IV concluded and revealed the underlying significance of the myth and the psychosocial message of the situation. Thus through the use of the formulas and models the continuity and progressive development of each myth has been rendered more apparent. Each episode has extended the plot, and combined they have assisted in realizing a more complete understanding of both the overt and underlying content of the myths. In each myth a sense of continuity is actualized from one episode to the next.

IV 4, i) COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF RESULTS

This will clarify what each application of the Marandas' method of analysis to the Beaver and Alaskan myths reveals. The comparison and contrast will be discussed firstly on a comparative level in regards to the models I - IV, and secondly from a generalized viewpoint which will encourage scrutiny of the corpus as a whole.

The Beaver corpus is composed of more episodes and therefore more models are required to represent these than in the Alaskan corpus. Model I is employed most frequently, or 36.5 percent of the time in the Alaskan myths and is employed least often or 23 percent of the time in the Beaver myths. In both corpora, Model I and its corresponding formula is generally used to depict a contrasting situation. Very few model I episodes depict a conflicting situation, on the other hand. For example, in the Beaver myths, rather than dealing with any conflicting situations, model I focuses on and emphasizes contrasts. In the Alaskan myths, however, model I introduces two situations of conflict. Both these myths, #6 and 8 are very short, relatively straightforward, and simple. In both corpora, the contrasting initial situations help set the stage for resolution of conflicts which arise in the latter part of the myth. Furthermore, each corpus influences the models in slightly different ways. In the Beaver corpus, model I is used in the introduction of five different myths, while it is used in the introduction in all ten Alaskan myths. Where employed in the introduction in the Beaver myths, model I brings the main character into the story in three out of the five cases, while in the remaining two instances, model I explicates a more general contrast and the main character is introduced to the story in a later episode. In both these myths, numbers one and nine, the generalized introduction refers to two time

periods, the past and the present, and the changes that have occurred. Both myths also go back to relate how things were in the past and how things were better then than in the present. Myth one relates an incident in the past explaining why some things are done in certain ways in the present time. In the Alaskan myths, eight initial episodes introduce the main character into the story as well, while the remaining two introduce a generalized situation prior to the later introduction of the main character.

Model I is located at the close of more Beaver than Alaskan myths. For example, it is only found at the conclusion of one Alaskan myth, while three pairs are found at the conclusion of three Beaver myths. Where employed in the Alaskan myths, no contrast is noted, but a generalized and concluding statement is made to the story. Although model I^+ is used here, the binary opposition of the formula is also applicable. In other words here both aspects of model I^+ and I^- carry the same message. In the Beaver myths each pair is used slightly differently. In myth number six, for instance, the two models are used to emphasize and to extend two extremes of a parameter revealed in the previous formula IV. This model is helpful in reaching an interesting insight in the myth. Both aspects of the model are used, and the terms and functions are changed to represent their axis of the parameter. A universal conflict is raised, and remains as such. In myth number seven, both models are employed using the same terms. Model I^- presents the situation perhaps as it usually is or should be, but model I^+ presents the situation in the myth as it occurs. The obvious confusion raises but does not answer any questions. Both models are applicable, but in contradiction to one another. Both models in myth number eight illustrate the contrast between Mosquitoes as useful and as a nuisance both to man and mosse, rather than from the viewpoint of one *dramatis personae*.

Model I is also employed throughout the corpora, where it is found only a total of five times, once in the Beaver myths singly, and once again as a pair, and twice separately in the Alaskan myths. In the Beaver myths, it is used to illustrate the equal importance of two functions, although very different, rather than compare them. In this case, the binary model is also appropriate using the same terms and functions. In the Alaskan myths, model I is found twice by itself. Model I^+ is first employed as a continuation of the previous, initial episode, also depicted by model I^+ . In this second episode it is used to emphasize the difference between the size and physical strength between the dramatis personae. The mirror model in this episode further enlarges the proportionate difference in size. The second model I^+ used in this myth is employed as a sub-episode of the previous episode, and re-emphasizes the point already made. As shown, some models are employed in pairs where the other aspect of the contrast requires mention. For example, this occurs once in the Beaver myth number two, where it is used as a sub-episode to depict a contrast between the main character and the villain. The models serve to raise a question regarding the main character's origins. Although there is conflict between these two dramatis personae, it is not brought out by these models.

The manner in which the binary opposition is employed is not predictable. In some instances, the opposing model is not used where it might be, and in other cases, it is not applicable in the episode. In conjunction with this, consideration must be given to when the terms and functions are changed. In two Beaver myths the pair of models are not actually binary opposites, as some of the terms and functions change. For example, in myth number one, the term (a) changes as do both functions to suit the change between the two time periods, past and present. The other example refers to

myth number six where the model is employed to extend the opposing ends of this same parameter to present two opposing ideas. All the terms and functions change here. In other instances in the Beaver myths, the terms and functions remain the same, whether or not the binary opposition is applicable and/or utilized. In myth number nine, in four instances the binary model is possibly applicable but not considered as a separate model, while there is only one instance where the binary model is not applicable in the particular episode and therefore not used. In the Alaskan myths only in one instance is one term (b) changed in myth number 1. In this case both models are employed to illustrate a comparison and contrast. In the many other instances, the terms and functions remain the same, even when, as in two instances, the binary model is utilized in a later episode in the myth. In four other instances, the binary model is applicable in a model I episode but not employed. In the remaining five instances it is not applicable. Thus there is a diversity in the application of model one in each of the myths.

Model II is employed least often or 14.6 percent of the time in the Alaskan myths, and as often as model 1 or 23 percent of the time in the Beaver myths. In both corpora the model II usually depicts an attempt at mediation, and a consequential failure. There are a number of ways in which model II varies in the two corpora. In the Alaskan corpus model II is found in all but myths one, two six and eight. Model II is usually found in the second episode in the Alaskan myths, except in myth number five, where it concludes the myth. This myth, in the total corpora perhaps illustrates an example of a myth representing a society in transformation or culture change. The hero or main character fails to endow his fellow man with technological innovations or new types of goods. The outcome is a restatement of the lack of those things which make white man powerful. Also model II is never found more than

once in each myth in the Alaskan corpus. In the Beaver corpus, model II is found throughout each myth except numbers five and eight. In four of the cases, it is situated second to the last episode, and only once as a final episode. Since this was a trickster tale in which the trickster himself was duped, the possibility of this suggesting a society in transition does not seem particularly feasible in this instance. Model II is also found as many as three times in the Beaver myths, (number six) and in three instances is found twice consecutively, although not as a pair. Furthermore, model II is found twice in different episodes of myth number two. Generally in the Alaskan myths, model II definitely represents failed mediation in four of the six examples. In two examples of myths numbers four and seven, the situation is slightly different. In myth number four the actual mediation is questionable. Actions here may also be viewed in terms of maintaining a social position or status quo rather than trying to improve it. The latter myth depicts an obvious dilemma in which the main character suffers a temporary setback or misfortune through an inappropriate mediation, rather than a failed mediation, as per Marandas' definition. Here a situation is created that requires resolution, thus setting the stage for ongoing action. In the Beaver corpus, nine instances out of fourteen actually deal with failed mediation. The other five are rather interesting exceptions. For example, in the second myth, model II⁺ represents episode four because the unfortunate circumstances are not changed, although they are apprehended. A situation is created somewhere between model II and III. The main character is not successful at escaping from the Island, although the intended harm to him is averted. In myth number 3, model II⁺ is actually a true model II. Again, this is somewhere between models II and III. In both these instances, a conflict is apparent from the beginning of the myth. In the first episode, although there

is a successful determination of danger, the situation is not returned to its original state after the nullification of the initial impact. Rather the story carries on to the next II⁺ episode wherein again the main character dupes his enemy. However, circumstances are not changed at this point, therefore, II⁺ seems more appropriate than III to depict this incident, temporarily isolated from the flow of the plot. In the third episode of myth number nine, the end result appears favourable to the main character, although the hunting expedition in the original task is not successful. In this episode the main character is an ambiguous character being both man and animal. Finally, in the last myth, the fourth short episode separates out the mediator, Chicadee's function. At this point, the initial loss is not nullified, nor is the situation returned to its original state, yet mediation has not actually failed. This part of the tale might be described as semi-cyclical, with the entire cycle completed later within the following episode.

Model II never introduces an Alaskan myth, but does introduce two Beaver myths, numbers three and six. In both cases a conflicting situation is made apparent and the main characters are introduced. Only in one case is there an attempt and failure at mediation, while the other case is considered more or less a successful assessment of a situation by the main character. Action as a result of the assessment is postponed in this episode. Both set the stage for a resolution of these indirect conflicts. In both cases, interestingly, the main character is not introduced to his or her opponent at this point, as this comes in the following episodes.

Since model II mainly deals with conflicting situations, both corpora are similar in some respects, and different in others. The Beaver tales incorporate a greater number and variety of conflicting situations. In the majority of the conflicting situations in the Beaver tales, the conflict is

between the main character and another secondary dramatis personae. In the Alaskan tales, all the conflicting situations, although there are fewer of them, include the main character of the myth. Only in one instance in the Beaver myths do we find a situation which does not actually include a conflict of one sort or another, either covert, or otherwise. Here, in myth number six, episode three, the episode better serves to extend the plot in the center of the tale and leaves the conflicting situations to the beginning and final sections of the myth. In the Alaskan myths, there is one instance in which a series of episodes are not considered conflicting, but as an extension of the story, and are described more accurately as contests, rather than conflicts.

The parameters of each episode were not used to demonstrate the reverse situation of each episode. As previously mentioned, some mirror images were relevant to the circumstances while others were not. Since model II, III, or IV is used more than once in each episode, there are no subsequent mirror images within the same myth created by an initial model II. However, in the Beaver myths, in myth number three, we have the mirror image of the first episode becoming the applied positive parameter of the dyad in the second episode. Furthermore, in the Beaver myths, the terms and functions change at least somewhat for each new episode. For example, in two different myths, numbers one and six where model II is employed more than once, the same dramatis personae in term (a) in the first myth and term (b) in the second myth is employed. In these cases, both terms or dramatis personae perform different roles; for example, in myth number one, term (a) in the second episode is Father, and in episode three is Old Man Owl. Both are the same dramatis personae, but each have a different emphasis in the separate episodes. In another instance, the functions in two consecutive episodes are reversed, fx becomes fy, while the term (b) remains the same for both functions. These subtleties

do not occur in the Alaskan myth with model II as this model does not occur more than once in each myth.

Model III is employed most often in the Beaver myths in 30.2 percent of the cases and second last or in 21.9 percent of the Alaskan myths. In the corpora model III generally is the action model, where mediation is successful and brought about by the actions of a mediator. In these instances there is a cyclical structure so that, although the initial loss is nullified there is neither any real gain in the plot. Thus it seems that more Beaver myths are more action oriented or uses this as one means of extending the plot and keeping the story alive. Model III varies in its application in both corpora. In the Beaver myths model III is found in every myth except the shortest in the corpus, number three. In as many as four myths model III is employed three times, and in three of these myths, these episodes are located consecutively. Model III is used in three instances to introduce a myth but never to conclude one. In the Alaskan myths, model III is found at least one in the corpus except in myths numbers one, six and nine. These three myths tend to be the shortest of the Alaskan myths. In one of the longer Alaskan myths, model III is employed as often as three times, and are also located consecutively. Model III is never used to introduce an Alaskan myth, but is used in two instances to conclude myths numbers three and eight. As just shown, there is quite an opposite situation found in the Beaver corpus.

In both the Alaskan and Beaver myths all but four model III episodes are still leading towards the climax of the plot, or resolution of the initial lack or conflict that set the story into motion. In the Alaskan myths, numbers three and eight are exceptions. In the former myth, the last of three consecutive model III episodes climaxes and concludes the plot. In the latter example, model III is used to describe an episode after the climax

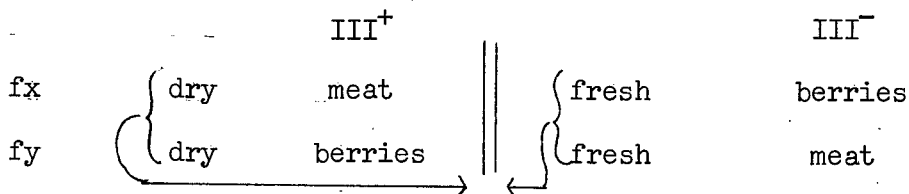
of the plot. This particular model III may also be seen as a sup-episode of the previous episode which contains the climax of the plot. In the Beaver myths two exceptions are found with the second episode of myth number one, and the third episode of myth number four. In both instances, these episodes are the turning point of the plot. We do not find a model three episode after the climax of the plot, as we do in the Alaskan myths. In both corpora where there is more than one model III episode in the myth, it is usually the last one that is closest to the climax of the plot.

Very few of the model III episodes in either corpora were concerned with unsuccessful mediation, for example, in one situation in the Alaskan myths and in about six instances in the Beaver tales. Generally the model III episodes in both corpora are concerned with successful mediation with cyclical structure where the resulting situation consists of a nullification of the initial loss. Generally the circumstances are brought back to the point of departure after having counteracted the action that set the plot into motion. In two instances in each corpora, myth number four in the Alaskan corpus, and the first model III in myth number five of the Beaver corpus, a modification to the cyclical structure, according to its definition, arises. Here the foreward movement of the episode is temporarily suspended. The situation on the one hand is not reversed, or cyclical but on the other hand, is not resolved. Instead the incident seems to be suspended part way through its resolution.

In the Alaskan corpus, model III is never found more than once in any myth except number eight where it is employed consecutively in the last three episodes of the myth. In the Beaver corpus, model III is, generally speaking, found in the first half of the myths. In one of the two instances where two model III episodes are used in a myth, the model III episodes are located

separately, and in the other instance are found together, Model III is found three times in four different myths. In three of these instances the episodes are consecutive. In only one myth, number nine, do we find one model III episode separated from the pair by a model II episode. Where model III is used more than once in the corpora, the terms and functions change in some cases, but not in all instances. For example, in the Alaskan myth number eight, where model III is used three times consecutively, term (b) remains the same in the latter two episodes, while both functions remain the same for the first two episodes. However, in this case, the first and last model III episodes are not directly connected through any terms or functions, although they are indirectly. In the Beaver corpus, there are several myths with model III episodes whose terms and functions vary in relation to each other. For example, in myth number one the two model III episodes are separated by another episode described by model I⁺. None of the terms and functions of these two model III episodes are the same. In the latter episode, the dramatis personae are more generalized, whereas in the fourth episode the terms relate to specific characters in the story. In myth number four, term (b) of the first two model III episodes remains the same. Term (a), although a different dramatis personae, the role fulfilled here is the same. The fourth episode, also described by model III has no terms or functions in common with the previous two. Myth number five gives another example. Again the first two model III episodes have more in common than the third model III episode. In this case both terms and both functions are identical. In the third model, the term (b) has become (a) here, while term (b) and function x and y are new. In myth number seven again the first two of three consecutive model III episodes are directly related because term (b) in both cases is the same dramatis personae. The fourth episode and the last model III episode, is not directly

related to them, but is directly attached to the concluding episodes. In myth number nine, the first model III episode is differentiated from the fourth and fifth model III episodes, which are very tied to each other. Both terms are identical, while the functions have simply exchanged places. In the last myth, again of the pair of model III episodes, both terms are identical, thus directly relating these two episodes. Although there is only one Alaskan myth to refer to on a comparative basis, none of these Beaver myths, all of which are similar in their pattern of relationships between terms and functions between the consecutive episodes, are similar to the Alaskan pattern. Pairing of model III episodes was found only once in the corpora -- in the Beaver myths numbers nine and ten. As mentioned above, in number nine there is also another model III episode quite isolated from the pair. In myth number ten, there are only two model III episodes. These two episodes form an interesting pair as mirror images, or opposite poles of a dyad. However, they both represent two separate episodes. Furthermore, the functions are also interchanged. In other words, there is an opposition as well as a switch of objects between the functions. For example:



Thus these two episodes form an interesting pair. Here again there are some differences and similarities in the way model III is applicable to each corpus.

Model IV is employed most often or 27 percent of the time in the Alaskan myths while in the Beaver myths it is employed second most often, or 24% of the time. There is less difference between the number of times the Alaskan model IV is used between the two corpora than there is in the use of the other three model in the Alaskan corpus. The model IV episodes play an

important role in both corpora. In the corpora, model IV mediation is generally completed, and "not only nullifies the initial impact, but exploits it to advantage" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1970:34). In other words, a new situation, very different from the initial one is created. Also in this model the psychosocial aspect of the story usually becomes apparent. Model IV is found at least once in all the Alaskan myths, except numbers five and eight, and twice in myths numbers two and seven. In the Beaver myths, model IV is found once in every myth, except in myth number two where it is employed three times. In number four, model IV illustrates the overall message, although there is no episode that employs model IV. In this particular instance the use of the models in the two corpora differ. In the Beaver Myths even though model IV occurs three times in myth number two and twice in myth number six, they never occur consecutively, whereas in the Alaskan myths the model IV episodes in both myths numbers two and seven occur consecutively. In the latter, both pairs of model IV episodes similarly conclude a myth. Both second to last episodes in each myth are attached by term (a) to term (b) of one of the preceeding episodes. The last model IV of each myth is furthest removed from the facts of the myth, and this last episode generally concludes and summarizes the story. In these instances the pairs are not used as mirror images, but as separate representations of each episode. In the Beaver myths model IV only tends to be removed from the rest of the facts of the story in myth number six. In this case, model IV suggests a new idea. In myth number two each model IV is tied into the theme of the story, while the first and last model IV episodes are related as term (b) in the first episode becomes term (a) in the final episode. Furthermore, in some cases in the Beaver myths, the last or overall model IV episode demonstrates an extension of the plot. For example, in myths numbers one, two and four. The last models of myths

numbers six and seven (1⁻ and 1⁻) also further extend the plot. In the Alaskan myths we find this same type of example in episode III of myth number three. In both corpora all the other model IV episodes form a related and cohesive part of the overall myth. Furthermore, model IV is always found more often in the latter part of both corpora, is never found at the beginning of a myth, whereas more often than not, it concludes a myth.

Model IV plays a most important and varied role in each corpus. It is in the model IV episodes of most myths that the plot climaxes. This is accurate for all the Alaskan myths, while in the Beaver myths there are only two exceptions, in myths numbers one and four, where the climax of the plot is contained in model III and the following model IV episodes transfers to a generalized level of narration and concludes the myth. Other model IV episodes, however, have this latter trait in common, wherein the terms or functions become generalized as opposed to specific *dramatis personae*, or functions. Beaver myth number six is a good example of this; in the second episode the terms are very specific, *dramatis personae* found in the myth. By the time the last or sixth episode is reached, the terms have become generalized *dramatis personae*. In the second Beaver myth, the last episode also becomes rather generalized as opposed to the two previous terms. In this case the last generalized example leads again into a more specific *dramatis personae*. In this case the terms in these episodes go from particular *dramatis personae* to generalized characters and back again to particular characters. In the rest of the Beaver myths, the terms tend to be specific *dramatis personae*, although some, for example, in myth numbers seven and nine, the terms are certainly generalized *dramatis personae*. In the Alaskan myths in contrast, the movement from particular to general is not utilized in the same manner. For example, in the Alaskan myth number two, the terms from the first

model IV episodes are general, while the following episodes terms are particular, and in Alaskan myth number seven the terms from both model IV episodes are particular rather than general *dramatis personae*, even though in the latter episode, Raven is introduced in order that the subject matter become more generalized. In the other Alaskan myths, the terms tend to be particular *dramatis personae*. In relation to this idea of particular *dramatis personae*, each corpus differs somewhat in the kind of *dramatis personae* specified. Upon examining this more closely, we see that there are proportionately twice as many kin terms used in the Alaskan corpus as there are in the Beaver corpus. Another difference occurs in that there are no plant terms used in the Beaver myths, whereas in the Alaskan corpus we find two, tree and wood. We also see that the Beaver corpus has proportionately more animal and human terms than the Alaskan corpus. In relation to this the differentiation between human and animal terms is more difficult to discern in the Beaver myths. For example, these *dramatis personae* have characteristics of both human and animal, ie. Old Man Owl, Wolverine Man, Mosquito Man, Bear Man, Moon Man. In Beaver myth number nine, Boy Moose is slightly different in that at the beginning of the myth Boy Moose is a human being, and he gradually makes a transition to animal by the end of the myth. Other *dramatis personae* are definitely animal, such as Geese and Ducks, Loon, Fox, Muskrat, Bear and Chicadée, while others again are definitely human, i.e., Usakindji, Wabshu, Father, Girl, and Brother. In the Alaskan tales, the difference between human and animal appears to be clearer. For example, Bear, Seal, Walrus, Moose, Sheep, Caribou, are definitely animal characters, while Man, Tarah, Grandfather, parents, spouses, Poor Boy, hunters, dwarfs, women, chiefs, daughter, mother, old men, Chief are human characters. The *dramatis personae* which contain both characteristics in the Alaskan myths are the Bear

Youth and Raven. However, we also have other characteristics such as human plus plant, i.e., Doll, or human plus inanimate, i.e., Father Moon, that does not occur in the Beaver myths. Furthermore, in the Beaver myths the terms often include a monster, or something unknown, quite foreign to human or animal origins which does not occur in the Alaskan corpus.

Not only are the myths climaxed in most of the model IV episodes, but it is in this episode that any resolutions, explanations or psychosocial function or underlying message is clarified, and they are not necessarily one and the same thing. In both corpora, the psychosocial function of a situation is obvious in a few myths. For example, in the Beaver corpus this function is made obvious in five instances, in myths numbers, one, two, three, four and six, and in the Alaskan corpus myths numbers four, nine and ten. In these non-linear instances the position of a dramatis personae is raised or lowered to such a degree from which he cannot escape because he/she laid the guiding rules for the action. In other instances, model IV yields a situation described by P. Maranda as a flip flop. The following examples will clarify this expression. This is found twice in the Beaver myths numbers three, four, and eight, and once in Alaskan myth number one. In these instances the situation pertaining to two dramatis personae at the beginning of the myth is turned about so that the circumstances are reversed at the completion of the myth. In the Beaver myths there are some interesting adjustments revealed. Firstly, we might note that the psychosocial function and the flip flop of Beaver myths numbers three and four overlap. In the one Alaskan myth, these two myth characteristics are quite separate. Secondly, in Beaver myth number four, the flip flop is extended through a mirror image of the functions, but the same point is emphasized. Lastly, in Beaver myth number eight, the flip flop does not apply to the overall myth, but is specific to that episode only

In contrast the Alaskan flip flop example, as well as the other Beaver myth example, apply to the overall myth.

Generally most of the model IV episodes represent a much greater than relation between the initial and final situations up to and including that episode. In the Beaver myths, this applies in numbers one, five, seven, nine and ten, and in the first model IV episode in myths numbers two and six. In the Alaskan corpus, this occurs in myths numbers three and ten, and in both model IV episodes in myth number seven. We see here that there is a difference in the two corpora in that in the Alaskan myths two model IV episodes in the same myth include a much greater than relationship between the initial and final circumstances, while in the Beaver myths, where there is more than one model IV episode in a myth, the much greater than relationship is found only once, and in the first model IV episode.

In some of the myths in each corpus an underlying or deeper message is reached, while in others an overt message and/or explanation is offered. In some instances, the psychosocial message is contained in these, and in other instances it is not. In considering the episode which contains the climax of the plot, we see that in both corpora the formula is generally directly related to the overt or manifest message that the episode gives. The psychosocial function in both is also usually related to the overt message. Also in the four myths in both corpora that exhibit the flip flop, it is found in the overt or manifest message of the myths. These in turn generally lead to another more significant and deeper meaning of the myth. In the Beaver corpus, six out of the ten myths reveal a rather latent message, and in the Alaskan corpus, four were discovered. Two myths in each corpus refer to man's autochthonous origins. Other important questions raised in the Beaver myths refer to man's gain of power over the animals, the important

question of paganism versus christianity, the necessity to recognize ones kin or blood relation and the importance of an animal helper. In the Alaskan myths, the important issues revealed are the necessity of a spirit helper, and the vertical opposition of forces as opposed to horizontal opposition of the same. Also, each corpus discloses a set of explanations. Each Beaver myth contains at least one explanation, and as many as five. Seven Alaskan myths offer from one to three explanations. The explanations are also disclosed at the overt, or superficial and manifest level. They do not offer any insight into the hidden meanings of the myths. In both corpora, the number of explanations per myth seem to have no relation to the underlying message that a myth might conceal.

Thus we have revealed some similarities and differences between the different episodes in each corpus. The above has clarified the results of each application of the Marandas' method of analysis to the Beaver and Alaskan myths.

IV 4, ii) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ANALYSIS

A more general view of the Marandas' method of analysis in relation to the two corpora is discussed below. They have also incorporated Levi-Strauss' formula on a restricted, formal basis to "point out some general recurrent patterns of folkloric items" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:30).

The Marandas have defined terms as "symbols, concrete embodiments, actualizations, a *dramatis personae*, magical agents, cosmographic features, i.e. any subjects capable of acting, that is, taking roles" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:33). Furthermore, they are "mutually opposed in that those belonging to the category of (a) are univocal while terms belonging to the category of (b) are ambiguous" (Maranda and Kõngäs Maranda, 1971:32). This quote is applicable when there is only one model used to represent the myth. We will consider this in terms of the overall model, usually model IV. For example, in the Beaver myths all terms are obviously *dramatis personae* except 25.8 percent, while in the Alaskan myths we have a very similar situation with 26.1 percent that are not *dramatis personae*. In the Beaver myths some of the terms are general, such as blood relative which does not refer to any one character in particular, while others appear general, such as roast meat, but actually have a direct reference to the 'fowl'. Moreover, other terms such as spring, summer, origin and death have no reference to a particular *dramatis personae*. In the Alaskan myths, there are some particular *dramatis personae* described by rather general terms; for example, tree, wood, earth, fire, islands and mountains are made specific reference to as *dramatis personae*, yet they are animate plants and inanimate objects. Herein lies an important difference, that is, the naming of terms between the corpus. Other terms are as in the Beaver myths, general and vague but with a specific refer-

ence to characters such as barren, none and they. Again, as above, there are general terms which do not refer to any one character but there are fewer in the Beaver myths. These terms are all treated as though capable of assuming roles. There are few cosmographic features in either corpus. In the Beaver corpus, we might consider Moon Man. The Alaskan myths have more; for example, Mother and Father Moon (stars). There are no magical agents included in the terms in either corpus. In considering the terms separately, as univocal or ambiguous, we see that in each episode they generally follow the Marandas' ruling — the (a) terms are univocal while the (b) terms are ambiguous or mediating. Sometimes it is difficult to define the univocal term for each episode. However, we might note how terms (a) and (b) are used in relation to the first criterion. For example, in the Beaver myths the first criterion is used in thirty out of fifty-nine, or fifty-one percent of the total episodes for the corpus, while in the Alaskan myths the first criterion is used in twenty-nine out of forty-one, or seventy-one percent of the total episodes. Furthermore, in the Beaver myths the univocal term (a) is used as the first criterion in only thirty-seven percent of the situations while in the Alaskan myths, the univocal term (a) is used as the first criterion in fifty-two percent of the cases. Thus the use of terms (a) and (b) differ greatly between the two corpora — term (a) is used mostly as a first criterion in the Alaskan myths and term (b) is used as such in the Beaver myths. The term (b) is interesting in that its ambiguity and its mediating capacity are quite separate. Sometimes term (b) entails both, but more often it is an ambiguous, rather than a mediating term. In the Beaver myths for example, term (b) more often plays firstly a mediating, and secondly an ambiguous role with a combined mediating and ambiguous role third, while in the Eskimo myths, term (b) firstly plays a mediating function, secondly a combined ambiguous and media-

ting role and lastly, an ambiguous role. We should also note here that in the Alaskan myths the term (b) plays a mediating role in approximately half (forty-six percent) of the instances, while in the Beaver myths term (b) plays a mediating role in approximately forty percent of the cases, even though the mediating role in term (b) is most prevalent in both corpora. In looking more closely at both corpora, the overall model for each myth conforms to this rule more so than does every episode in each myth. For example, in the Alaskan tales, there is only one seemingly poor or inappropriate representation of term (b) by the functions f_x and f_y . In myth number six in the overall representing episode, if earth is interpreted in its literal sense, then the analogy is acceptable. However, the I⁻ episode seems rather inaccurate. In the Beaver myths all the overall models conform remarkably well to this rule. Additionally, there are proportionately fewer instances of awkward or inappropriate specifications of term (b) by both functions in the Beaver corpus than in the Alaskan myths.

In further considering the functions, they also follow the Marandas' general ruling. They are described as "constant and more general and abstract expressions of conflicting forces" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:33). They are also defined as "roles held by symbols. They form the dynamic composition of underlying active strings which gives the terms their bearing, their impact. That is, if the terms are not determined by functions, they are only floating elements. Moreover functions do not exist independently, but only as expressed in terms which give them their concrete figure" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:34). We can see that in both corpora in the great majority of instances this is true. Only in very few cases do we find concrete functions or ones that might be considered inappropriate. There are proportionately more of these concrete functions found in the Beaver myths (twenty-four percent)

than in the Alaskan myths (fourteen percent), although they are still dependent upon the terms for their full expression. Furthermore, the functions and terms do not exchange places except in rare exceptions. For example, in the Beaver corpus in myth number four, nature and culture in episode four are functions, while in episode five they are a pair of terms. In the Alaskan tales, this also occurs only once in tale number six. In the first episode mountains and islands are terms while in the second episode they are functions. The function fire in the first episode becomes a term in the second as well.

Furthermore, according to the Marandas, "the term (a) can be found in the narrative by discovering the univocal element in its initial situation; i.e., the situation before the solution of the crisis", while term (b) (mediator) "can be found by discovering the ambiguous element in the situation before the solution of the crisis" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:33). This is applicable when there is only one model used to represent the myth. In the corpora it has been either model III or IV, usually model IV. In both corpora we see that in most of the cases the model which represents the overall myth also contains the model representing the climax of the plot. In the Beaver myths there are seven out of ten myths and in the Alaskan myths six out of ten that conform to this. Furthermore, all the Beaver examples are represented by model III. In the remaining examples in both, the episodes containing the climax and the overall or summarizing situation are different. Of the three remaining Beaver myths, in one instance, number two, the climax and overall situation are both represented by model IV, but are in different episodes; while in the remaining two instances, numbers one and four, the climax is found in a model III episode, and the overall situation represented by model IV. Of the four remaining Alaskan myths, in three instances, numbers

two, three and seven, the climax and overall situation are both represented by model IV, but again are found in different episodes, while in the remaining one instance, number five, the climax is found in a model II episode, and the overall situation represented by model III. And finally, in considering myths numbers three and five in the Alaskan myths and numbers two and four in the Beaver myths in each corpus, the overall models representing the myths are contained in separate and additional overall episodes, while the models representing the climax of the plots are contained in episodes beforehand in the plot. In this way, the two corpora are rather similar, yet dissimilar in the smaller details.

It is in a model IV episode that the use of the Marandas' application of Levi-Strauss' formula enables the mediation of opposites and interprets a non-linear transaction. In the final outcome of a model III formula there is a nullification of a term while in the final outcome of a model IV formula, one function becomes a term according to the permutation. In using these two formulas for each myth the first half of the formula involves the establishment of a conflict, the third transaction involves the turning point of the plot and the last transaction describes the end process or result. The term (a) and its inversion or negation are examined in conjunction with the overall models and formulas for each myth in both corpora. Firstly, in the Beaver myths, all the overall models are represented by model IV, but not all are straightforward permutations of term (a). For example, the permutation of term (a) results in another meaning in myths numbers one, two and four, the straightforward grammatical negation of the term in myths numbers six, seven and nine, the actual nullification of the term (a) or in other words, the death of a dramatis personae as the term in two myths, numbers five and

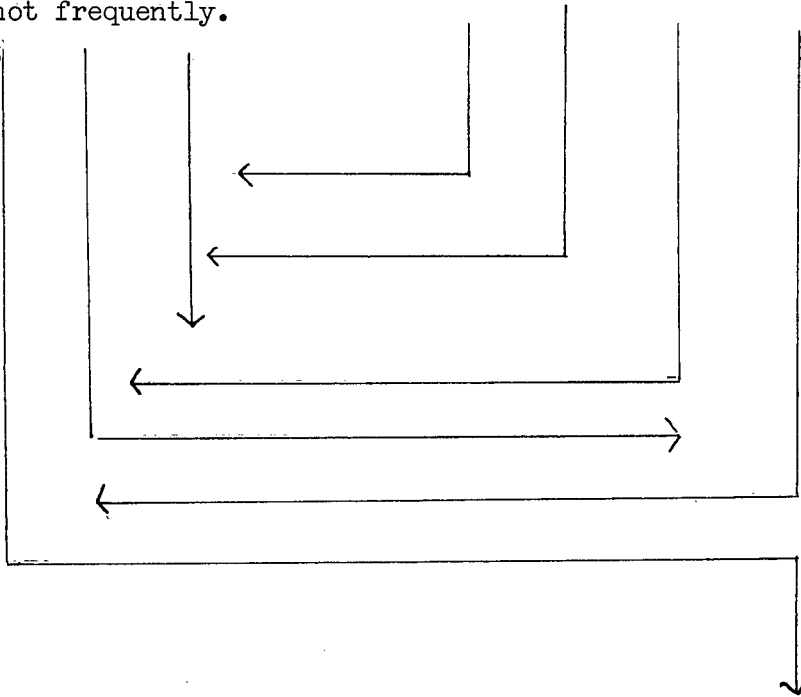
ten, and finally the nullification, as well as transformation of the term (a) in myths numbers three and eight. In comparison, in the Alaskan myths the inversion of term (a) results in another meaning in myths numbers two, six, seven and ten; the straightforward negation of the term in myths numbers four, five, eight and nine, the nullification of the term in myth number one, and finally the nullification and transformation of the term in myth number three. Thus the end process of mediation, $fa^{-1}(y)$, $fy(\bar{a})$, $fa^{-1}(x)$, or $fx(\bar{a})$ have a somewhat different emphasis in both corpora. Alaskan myths numbers five and eight are both represented by model III, and in both these cases the end process of mediation is more simplistic than in most of the other cases in which model IV is appropriate.

Each myth is climaxed and or concluded by situations represented by either Model III or IV. These end processes of mediation, $fa^{-1}(y)$, or $fa^{-1}(x)$ and $fy(\bar{a})$ or $fx(\bar{a})$ conclude the myths in a variety of ways; for example they may offer an explanation for why certain things are as such, they may summarize and conclude a plot, they may offer a moral, illustrate a psychosocial function and/or portray a deeper, underlying message. Also in the corpora in which the climax and overall episodes were separate, the overall episodes usually carried the message of the plot, while the climax lead toward this, although climaxed the plot on another more superficial literary level. This point is illustrated in Beaver myths numbers one, two and four, and in Alaskan myths numbers two, three and seven. Deep messages to varying degrees were found in Beaver myths numbers one, two, four, six and seven, and in Alaskan myths numbers one, two, three and seven. The difference between these results is that the Alaskan myth number one and the Beaver myths numbers six and seven perport to reveal some underlying message. They also contain the climax and overall model in one episode, while the others containing

underlying messages utilize two episodes and models. However, the myths which seem to reveal the most profound conflicts are those in which the climax and overall episodes are separate, while those which exhibit the psychosocial function in both myths, for instance, generally include the climaxing and overall episode in the same model; for example, Beaver myth number eight (while number four employs two models) and Alaskan myths numbers four, nine and ten. We might also note that the length of the myths according to number of episodes is high in relation to those myths which contain deeper meaning. For example, Beaver myths numbers one, two six, seven, nine and four are arranged in the order of the longer to the shorter in length, while the Alaskan myths numbers five, two, seven, three, four and eight, are arranged in the order of longer to shorter. All Beaver myths carrying an underlying meaning are long, while all Alaskan myths performing this function except number one, are also lengthy in relation to the rest of the Alaskan corpus. However, the message is not dependent upon the length of the myth — in other words, the structure of the myth is not changed by its length. Thus it appears that the difference between the manifest and latent content of a myth is also related to the way in which the climax of the plot represented by a model, is separated from the overall model of the myth defined as the end result of the mediating process, and described by the last part of Levi-Strauss' formula $fa^{-1}(y)$ or $fa^{-1}(x)$.

Although the Marandas do not elaborate on the subject of embedding, let us take embedding to mean that one episode is contained within another, larger or encompassing episode. This is differentiated from the diagrams of models representing various episodes, one inside the other, as seen below, which gives the appearance of an embedded effect, when in fact it is a linear representation of sequential actions, (Maranda and Kōngās Maranda, 1971:89).

In the Alaskan myths an example of embedding is given in myth number three, wherein model IV^- actually also contains model III^- , and number five wherein model III^+ also contains model I^+ . In the Beaver myths embedding is found in model number two, wherein the second model IV also contains a sup-episode represented by models I^- and I^+ . Both myths numbers six and seven also contain at first what seems to be embedded episodes at the conclusion of the myth. However, these are both more accurately described as an extension of the plot, and serve as probing mechanisms, into a deeper meaning and pick up where the previous episodes left off. Embedding does not occur in the total corpus, but not frequently.



In considering the units, used in this analysis, there are many pertinent details to be emphasized in relation to the two corpora. The main character or first criterion in each myth is that dramatis personae who is mentioned the greatest number of times in the myth. This may differ from the outcome of the more subjective determination of heroes in the myths. All

other characters and the roles they take are then inclined towards developing two fronts; those in opposition to the main character and those who become helpers to the main character. Maranda points out that "European (and other) folktales usually stage an opponent and a number of actors who simply bring into relief, or make possible, the actions of the two; these can be named test givers and according to the actions of the hero (and the opponent) can become helpers or adversaries. But they are as a rule undefined because the motivation of their actions rests with the hero's fate, not with their own selves. Thus we are inclined to see two fronts in a folktale and a host of actors who can become allies of one or the other" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1977:33).

In the Beaver myths the two fronts were more clearly distinguished than in the Alaskan myths. For example in some myths the dramatis personae opposing the hero or main character is also one of those dramatis personae supporting him at another time; or vice versa. This is illustrated in Alaskan myth number two, where there are not two clear fronts in terms of a conflict. The parents appear on both fronts, supporting and opposing the main character at different times. This also occurs in other Alaskan myths. In number four the Walrus has a double role of helper and abductor. This myth also includes, however, another opponent which balances the opposing side so to speak, as all the other dramatis personae are supporting the hero and main character. In myth number eight the helpers to the hero on one front become the adversaries on the opposite front. In the Beaver myths the two fronts are very clear, except for myth number nine where boy slowly transforms from human to animal. The only conflict around this is Boy Moose and his brother's hide and seek hunt throughout the transformation. Some of the dramatis personae have a double role, or a function on both fronts. For example, in Beaver

myth number four the geese and ducks are used by both Usakindji and his adversary. In Beaver myths numbers five and six, the opponents are also one of the *dramatis personae* on the hero's front. In myth number five, the muskrat goes along with what the hero or main character demands but on the other hand, sabotages it. In myth number six, the hero's (girl's) lover, on her front is actually in opposition to her brother who would also be considered on her front. Also in Beaver myth number ten the main opponent is also Usakindji's biggest helper. Finally the Beaver myth number two exemplifies how actors change fronts. Three *dramatis personae* began their role in the myth on the side of the hero and concluded their role in the myth on the villain's front. These *dramatis personae* are Wabshu's father, his step-mother and Onli Nachi, and all are eventually killed by Wabshu.

In both corpora it was found that the main character, the *dramatis personae* mentioned most often did not always fit the role of hero, and another *dramatis personae* seemed appropriate in this category. For example, in the Alaskan myths numbers one, five and nine and Beaver myths numbers seven and eight, the main actor is different from what would be subjectively determined as the hero, the favoured or most important *dramatis personae* in the myth. Generally, the majority of the *dramatis personae* are lined up as we have seen as helpers on the side of the hero, except in the above mentioned myths where the main character is also the villain or *dramatis personae* in opposition to the hero. In these myths, the majority of the *dramatis personae* are on the side of the villain. In the Beaver corpus the *dramatis personae* in opposition to the hero fall into the category of trickster tales — or the clever deceiver, as differentiated for example from some of the other tales wherein the hero is duped. In the Alaskan tales, the *dramatis personae* in opposition to the hero are not tricksters, but might be referred to as

anti-heroes as they are in two instances the same *dramatis personae* as the villain or that *dramatis personae* on the opposing front to the hero. In Alaskan myth number nine, the role of the villain is taken by the *dramatis personae* in opposition to the main character rather than the hero. The hero, on the other hand is in opposition to other suitors for the main characters or woman's daughter.

That *dramatis personae* in opposition to the hero do not always play the role of the wicked villain, with intended malice towards the hero. Other roles he plays are abductor, or simply a character that is necessary to balance the opposite front as opponent to the main character or hero. In the Beaver myths, numbers two, three, seven and eight contain villanous characters with murderous intentions towards the hero. We do not find that this applies in the Alaskan myths, but in most of the Alaskan myths, the villain might be more appropriately called an abductor as in numbers four, five, seven, nine and ten. In the Beaver myths numbers one and six are about abductors. The remainder in each corpus are considered opposers' roles that are necessary in balancing the plot, and highlighting the hero and/or the main character. Thus the two fronts in the folktale are made more apparent. This is also depicted by the fact that the different *dramatis personae* who line up as either hero or villain, as opposed to being the main character, as either hero or villain. In the Beaver myths we might note that of the mediators eight *dramatis personae* were heroes, six were main characters and only two were on the villains or opponents side, while in the (a) terms six *dramatis personae* were villanous, two heroic, and four were main characters. In the Alaskan myths the difference is not so clear — of the mediators five were heroes, five were main characters and four were villanous, while of the (a) terms six were main characters four were heroic, and three were villanous. In both Alaskan groupings the villanous role is of less importance than the other two.

The Marandas point out that folklore consists of other communicated messages within a cultural context, for example, there are myths, rituals, songs, riddles, dances, proverbs, narratives, operas, games, etc. One of the most simple is the myth which involves only language, as opposed to also including aspects that some of the others involve such as music and motion. Opera is a form of communication which involves language, music and motion. The pattern of communication within myths is usually that of a verbal or tactile message from sender to receiver, and remains relatively simple in comparison to what it might if one also had to consider these other aspects simultaneously. Let us examine more closely some loose communication models of the two corpora. Contingency tables were drawn up so that the *dramatis personae* who interacted could be quickly determined. In terms of senders and receivers of messages of speech, direct or indirect, or an action which involves bodily contact with two *dramatis personae*, both corpora have a greater concentration of sending messages of one *dramatis personae*, than they do receiving messages of one *dramatis personae*. The fact that many of the sending messages were determined as indirect accounts for this, as many verbal messages were not received by or said to any *dramatis personae* in particular. We might note that Beaver myths carry approximately six times as many indirect messages as the Alaskan myths. Also more often than not, the senders and receivers are one of the main characters. In terms of these combinations of the hero, villain, main character, the messages in the Alaskan corpus are imbalanced, while the Beaver are not, as may be seen in the chart on page 359a. There are equal sending and receiving messages. We also might note a difference between the two corpora — in the Alaskan myths as hero only sends one message, while in the Beaver myths the hero receives two messages only. Also the villain's role in the Alaskan corpus is more active in terms of messages than is the Beaver corpus, as in the Alaskan myths there are two sending and two receiving messages, while in the Beaver myths there is only one senders message.

ALASKAN MYTHS

1. Sender: Ten Footed Bear(2) Main Character
Receiver: Ten Footed Bear(2) & Villain
2. Sender: Doll(8) Main Character & Hero
Receiver: Wind(6) -
3. Sender: Father Moon(6) Main Character
Receiver: Mother Moon(5) & Hero
+1 indirect by Father Moon
4. Sender: Poor Boy(5) Main Character
Receiver: Poor Boy(4) & Hero
+1 indirect by 2 Poor Boy
5. Sender: Dwarfs(7) Hero
Receiver: 2 Hunters(6) Main Character & Villain
+1 indirect by 2 men
6. Sender: Makusinkaia &
Recesnaia(2) Main Character & Hero
Receiver: Makusinkaia & Recesnaia(2) Villain
7. Sender: Gonaquade't (5) Main Character
Chief's Daughter(5)
Receiver: Chief's Daughter(4) & Hero
+1 indirect by Chief's Daughter
8. Sender: Sheep(18) Main Character & Hero
Receiver: Caribou(14) Opponent
9. Sender: Woman (18) Main Character
Receiver: Woman (27)
10. Sender: Chief (4) Villain
Receiver: Chief's Daughter (4) -
+2 indirect by servant & baby

ESKIMO MYTHS

1. Sender: Old Owl Man(21) Main Character
Receiver: Old Owl Man(22) & Hero
+7 indirect by Birds, Whiskey Jack,
Chicadee, Owl, Daughter
2. Sender: Wabshu(15) Main Character
Receiver: Wabshu(19) & Hero
+4 indirect by Wabshu, (1) Father
(2) Onli Nachi
3. Sender: Wolverine Man(5) Villain
Receiver: Indirect (6)
4. Sender: Usakindji(13) Main Character
Receiver: Usakindji(9) & Hero
+2 indirect by Usakindji
5. Sender: Usakindji(15) Main Character
Receiver: Usakindji(6) & Hero
+2 indirect by Usakindji
6. Sender: Girl (6) Main Character
Receiver: Girl (7) & Hero
+1 indirect by Girl
7. Sender: Moon Man(8) Main Character & Villain
Receiver: Usakindji (7) Hero
+1 indirect by Usakindji, 4 by people
8. Sender: Mosquito Man(12) Main Character &
Villain
Receiver: Usakindji(7) Mosquito Man(7) Hero
+1 indirect by Usakindji(2) by Mosquito Man
9. Sender: Boy Moose(1) Father(1)
Brother(1) Main Character
Receiver: Boy Moose(1) Brother(1) Indirect(1)
+1 indirect by Father
10. Sender: Usakindji (15) Main Character
Receiver: Usakindji(9) & Hero

- Numbers in brackets are the number of messages, taken from the frequency tables of each myth.
- Only the messages between the main characters, heroes and villains or opponent were considered. These dramatis personae correspond with the two fronts of the folktale.

The main character in both corpora, without either the villain or the hero, has equal senders and receivers messages. In one instance, number nine, the main sender and receiver is the same *dramatis personae*. The main characters plus the villain in each corpus is different. In the Beaver myths there are two senders and one receiver, while in the Alaskan corpus there are two receivers and one sender. In both corpora, the combination of the main character and the hero is the most popular in terms of two way communication. In all Beaver cases here the sender and receiver of the most messages are the same *dramatis personae*, while this applies in only two out of six cases in the Alaskan cases. Furthermore, eight out of ten myths in the Beaver corpus a sender and receiver of the most messages are identical. In the one instance, the sender is Mosquito Man, the main character and also the villain, and the receivers are Usakindji, the hero and Mosquito Man. In the other instance Boy Moose, the main character is both sender and receiver of the most messages. We might also note that in three cases in the Alaskan corpus do we have a receiver of the most messages that is not a main character, hero or villain, while this occurs once in the Beaver corpus. Also this does not apply to the sender of messages in either corpora.

In the Alaskan corpus we have an exception. In one myth two *dramatis personae*, one the main character and hero, the other the villain, are both senders and receivers of the most messages. In all other cases the opposing forces are more clearly separated. The Alaskan corpus also illustrates the balance between senders and receivers in myth number eight. For example, the Sheep sends the most messages, Moose is second and Caribou is last. In terms of receiving messages, the Caribou is first, Moose is second and Sheep is last.

Senders

Sheep → Moose → Caribou

Receivers

Caribou → Moose → Sheep

Thus with the Marandas' method of analysis one also becomes aware of the use of dialogue in myths.

A discussion of some of the important aspects of the Marandas' method of analysis has facilitated a better interpretation of their analytic approach. Their statements have been discussed in terms of the corpora and they generally hold true as well as reveal some pertinent information about Beaver and Alaskan tale information. In addition, their method of analysis has been most useful in reaching deeper and meaningful and even profound messages from the corpora and has afforded a unique experience in folklore analysis.

The Marandas' method of analysis proposes to "point out some general recurrent patterns of folkloristic items", and "remains exclusively on the formal level" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:30). The method of analysis applied here is structural as opposed to formalistic. Formalism, as stated in the introduction, focuses on the component parts of a myth which are obtained by a sophisticated awareness of the comparative implications. Formalism draws a distinction between form and content, whereas structuralism, in the broad sense of the word, views form and content as components of a dynamically integrated whole. As we know, Piaget differentiates between global and analytical structuralism. Global structuralism is concerned with emergence and holds to systems of observable relations and interactions which are sufficient to themselves, whereas analytical structuralism is concerned with the laws of composition, and the explanation of "such empirical systems by postulating deep structures from which the former are in some manner derivable. Since structures in this sense of the word are ultimately logico-mathematical models of the observed social relations, they do not themselves belong to the realm of fact ... the search for deep structures is a direct

consequence of the interest in the details of the transformation laws" (Piaget, 1970:98).

The Marandas' structuralism as applied here tends to be somewhere between global and analytical structuralism. They define structure as "the internal relationship through which constituent elements of a whole are organized. Structural analysis thus consists of the discovery of significant elements and their order" (Maranda and Kongs Maranda, 1971:16). One might add ordering and reordering here, however, the important point is that the elements do not exist in isolation but are ordered in relation to each other to form a different entity. Furthermore, they say its "aim is to mark how the content is organized and how the function is expressed, not to negate the existence of the functions or the content" (Maranda and Kongs Maranda, 1971:52). Let us consider this and their method of analysis in relation to what Piaget considers to be the three key ideas that form the basis of analytical structural thought. These three ideas are of wholeness, of transformations and of self-regulation. In terms of the idea of wholeness, the Marandas see the whole tale or a corpus as a dynamic entity rather than a static resultant totality. They see the whole as a complete interdependent entity as opposed to a group of elements independent of the composite of which they form a part. The whole as comprehended by the Marandas is similar to that of Piaget's operational structuralism, where the relations among the elements are considered first, not the elements nor the whole.

This becomes clearer when considering Piaget's concept of transformation. The Marandas attempt to map transformations: "A transformational analysis is, to us, a natural step from the investigation of the structures of folklore 'at rest' to studying them 'in motion', in the dynamic processes

which are the essence of folkloric communication" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:15). Here the focus is slightly more on these transformations, rather than on the laws that govern them. As Piaget points out, elements and their relations undergo change. The elements of a structure must be differentiated from their interrelationships and the transformational laws, also dynamic, which apply to them. Piaget stresses that transformation rules are not stable or innate; whereas, the Marandas refer to the combinatorial rules as static, or as something unchanging, as stable — "Myths and other narratives, and for that matter other genres, are perhaps never learned 'by heart', but the stability which can be discovered is due to the strictness of the combinatorial rules used" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:15).

Finally, self-regulation is Piaget's third key idea that forms the basis of analytical structural thought. According to Piaget, self-regulation, which entails self-maintenance and closure may be achieved by an operational system which excludes errors before they are made, which is entirely reversible, or depend upon the interplay of anticipation and correction, or lastly depend upon rhymic mechanisms. The latter two properties are not analytical, but are global because they are not entirely reversible. The Marandas have tried to find "operational units, ie, elements which can be manipulated and on which logical operations can be done, such as reductions, products, summations, transformations, etc." (Maranda, and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:21). They have used these operations so that accurate and reliable reproductions may be expected. Also, feedback in separating the corpora into episodes and rhythmic mechanisms are also employed in the Marandas analysis. Generally the Marandas' structuralism contains aspects of both global and analytical structuralism and might be seen as a practical intermediate step in the process of developing an analytic method of analysis. The Marandas'

method of analysis explains empirical systems by postulating deep structures from which the former are in some manner derivable. We also found an underlying meaning of the empirical data, the structure of which is described by the formulas and structural models.

According to Levi-Strauss' categories we would describe the Marandas' logic associated with this method of analysis as employing empirical deduction, both direct and indirect, as well as transcendental deduction. The deep underlying message obtained is directly related to the kind of logic used. Where a more analytic, sophisticated logic was applied, significant underlying messages were discovered. In some instances the absence of the application of transcendental analysis was due to lack of information about the culture or lack of the initial perception of similarities and contiguities. The Marandas' method of analysis is less easily replicated, and more subjective in the sense that knowledge of the culture is necessary, than either Propp's or Armstrong's. Their method also deals with concrete data but includes abstract ideas too, is descriptive and initially deals with fact, although the analysis does not necessarily remain at this level. The Marandas' method of analysis as applied here reveals some deeper messages. The deep messages and underlying structures of the myths coincide. These two separate parts of the myths evolve together and are interdependent and interrelated. As the Marandas state, "the classification and placement of terms into slots in the narrative stock is something that happens on the level of deep narrative structure, interconnected and part of the *weltanschauung* of the group, whereas the unfolding of the different functions is something on the level of the surface structures and constitutes the narrative line or plot" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:33). Furthermore, they also state that "the deep structures of a myth

is the solution to a problem of a cognitive, sociological, technological or other central order and, once found it generates the myth in the codes available to the society" (Maranda and Kóngás Maranda, 1971:30). In other words, the deep structures of a myth help determine the kinds of messages that are needed by the society, which are, in turn, defined by the questions of the society.

The Marandas' linear and sequential ordering of the models representing each episode is diachronic as opposed to synchronic. At this level of the analysis superficial explanations are given to statements in the myths, such as why Whiskey Jacks hate frogs, why Chicadee wears a black collar, etc. At this level we have a one dimensional description of a myth along a horizontal axis. What this gives us is the basic framework from which to view the myth on an overt or manifest level, and also continue the analysis from this point. According to Levi-Strauss one cannot see the synchronic structure of a myth unless the diachronic structure is first obtained (Levi-Strauss, 1967:226). In other words, the diachronic sequences may be read synchronically. In the Marandas' method of analysis, each myth contains only one set of models. In addition, with few episodes, few models are embedded. Thus, each myth usually has few models to represent it, and thus less opportunity to view the models from a synchronic viewpoint. However, important comparisons would be illuminated if different versions of a myth were subjected to the same analysis — the differences between the outcomes that each model represents would be the focus, not the models themselves.

The Marandas' method of analysis breaks away from the Proppian type analysis which consists of the events in the myth simply being chronologically organized. The Marandas' method takes the syntagmatic type of analysis a step farther and examines each episode, using the various elements or smaller units in the myth. Often binary oppositions are mediated and a latent message

is discovered. Furthermore, at this level comparisons are also made with other 'deep' messages and binary oppositions are discovered throughout the myth. This secondary process is initiated by the diachronic sequential ordering of the episodes; not defined, or ordered.

The syntagmatic chains are the identifying models for each episode as follows; I, II, III, IV. Each model representing an episode is "based on the difference between beginning and outcome and one(1) the presence or absence of an attempt to bring about this difference when it exists, and (2) the failing, cyclical or heliocoidal result of the attempt. Our models can, of course, be embedded" (Maranda and Kongas Maranda, 1971:88). Again, as in Propp, the entire Beaver and/or Alaskan corpus can be examined to give the syntagmatic - paradigmatic difference, however, not as easily. In Propp's analysis for example, each myth was chronologically and sequentially ordered from A to Z, while in the Marandas' method of analysis, models I to IV represented any episode. Thus if all the model I episodes are examined a new perspective will be gained, a paradigm is formed, whereas if all the 'a' functions from Propp's analysis are examined we know we are still dealing with a form of villainy in the introduction of a myth. The metaphoric - metonymic distinction is also illustrated here. The models, as chronologically representations of the myth, are an illustration of the metaphoric relationships between the episodes; while the regrouping of the model I episodes for example, from either one myth or the entire corpus, is an example of the metonymic relationships in the myth.

Thus the Marandas' method of analysis has been described, applied to two sets of corpora, and the results compared and contrasted. Their method of analysis has also been discussed in relation to some of Levi-Strauss' and Piaget's basic principles. Hopefully this exercise will give clarification to their method of analysis and encourage further analysis.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This last section will clarify what has already been made apparent. It also gives us the opportunity to view all three methods of analysis from an overall comparative basis, as well as view the corpus from a perspective other than those previously applied to them.

All three anthropologists suggest viable methods of analysis which recommend breaking the myths into smaller parts, or workable components. All analysts broke the myths down using the same premise, that each component part is similar to a sentence structure, that the subject, verb and object entail one 'action'. Propp calls the smaller parts motifs, which are described in terms of their functions; Armstrong calls the smaller parts units of behaviour which consist of an actor, action and recipient (of the action). The Marandas refer to these smaller parts of the tale as verbal propositions, which revolve around the main character. In this latter method of analysis mediation is also included as an integral part of the verbal proposition. Thus in examining all three methods of analysis we see that the Marandas' method of analysis is the only one with smaller or component parts which do not remain at the level of the sentence. The transfer from one smaller part to the next is based upon whether a contrast is made or whether a dramatic personae attempts to change something in the plot. The manner in which each method of analysis restructures the myths according to the analysis is interesting. Propp's functions grow into a linear, chronological retelling of the myth to form a move, until a new lack or villainy is discovered. At this point a new move is formed. This process continues until the myth is concluded. The sub-plotting, embedding is brought to light by this method.

In other words, form or manifest structure is made apparent. Armstrong's method of analysis employs units of behaviour to give a chronological description of each myth from beginning to end. The Marandas' method of analysis also proceeds chronologically from the beginning and works its way through to the completion of the myth. Each episode is represented by a model. Additionally, each episode allows a closer examination of that part of the myth. We see from the above that on the manifest level each method of analysis firstly, deals with the chronological sequencing of the myths. However, as or after this is completed the real task is reaching deeper levels of understanding should begin. Propp's and Armstrong's method of analysis ends here. The Marandas' method of analysis allows the opportunity to examine each piece of work during the analysis and also the opportunity to expand it... Propp and the Marandas' methods of analysis also assume that the corpora have an Aristotelean plot structure with a beginning, middle and end. Propp's analysis begins with a preparatory section which prepares for the introduction of the villainy or a 'lack'. He also sees the middle or climax of the plot as a very important function and states that a move exists as long as it contains an A and K function. The denouement varies and may be fulfilled by several functions. However, these three aspects are easy to determine in Propp. The Marandas handle the concept of a plot structure in a different way. This depends upon the results of the analysis, and the subjective interpretation based on the time of resolution of the conflict rather than a predetermined formula incorporating this concept. In applying Levi-Strauss' formula the Marandas state that "the first two members of the formula refer to the setting up of the plot, the third to the turning point of the plot, while the last member refers to the final situation" (Maranda and Köngäs Maranda, 1971:27). In the application of their

formulas and models we have found that model I generally introduces myths, while model IV generally concludes them. Model III is unpredictable. It introduces three Beaver myths, and closes two Alaskan myths. It also climaxes two Beaver and One Alaskan myth. As we can see there is no predetermined model for the climax or denouement, and no strict ruling that the corpora must adhere to. Armstrong's method of analysis does not involve the recognition of a plot structure in the myths. Rather, Armstrong refers to dramatic movement, and whether "a succeeding unit bears toward the preceding one a relationship of forward dramatic movement, whether it arrests that movement or whether finally, it is involved with the dramatic point of departure" (Armstrong, 1959:161). Since no comparison in Armstrong's analysis was made of what category began, climaxed and concluded each myth, we might mention at this point that there is a similarity between the corpora. The category, acquisition and dissemination of information generally begin both corpora. The category acceptance and avoidance of obligation also introduces as many Alaskan myths. Objectives pertaining to resistance and attack generally conclude both corpora.

The relationship between the units in each analysis is viewed from a different perspective. Propp's units are viewed in a lineal, chronological relationship to each other. Armstrongs are also viewed chronologically, but in isolation to each other. The Marandas' units of analysis are important individually as well as from an overall perspective. One analysis of an episode is not isolated in relation to the other episodes of the myth. It is interdependent on and significant for the analyses of the other episodes in the myth. The overall representative episode of each myth is based upon the outcome of the other episodes.

The way in which each analyst handles the differentiation of char-

acters is unique. Since the hero is the most important *dramatis personae* in the myths, let us take a comparative look at this first. Propp gives a rather lengthy description of the hero who is "that character who either directly suffers from the action of the villain in the complication (the one who senses some kind of lack) or who agrees to liquidate the misfortune or lack of another person. In the course of the action, the hero is the person who is supplied with a magical agent and who makes use of it or is served by it" (Propp, 1968:50). Furthermore, Propp differentiates between two different kinds of heroes, hero seekers and victimized heroes. Seeker heroes have a search as their goal and leave home of their own accord, while victimized heroes start on a journey and leave home unwillingly. Armstrong's method of analysis does not include a definition or referral to a hero, or any other specific *dramatis personae* included in a myth. Armstrong refers only to a 'trickster tale'. This identification refers to the kind of myth as opposed to the identification of a *dramatis personae* within the myth. The Marandas, like Propp, identify *dramatis personae*. In looking at the *dramatis personae* of the hero, the Marandas reveal an important point of difference. They do not accept the reader's perception of who the 'hero' might be and we find that there is indeed a difference between the main character as the *dramatis personae* mentioned most often in the myth, and an analysts subjective determination of the hero. In the total corpora, five main characters were different from what was subjectively determined as the hero, or the favoured *dramatis personae*. The other *dramatis personae*'s roles in the tale are determined in relation to that of the main character. Another important point to be mentioned is the difference between Propp and the Marandas is that the heroes sometimes change in Propp's analysis from one move to another. For example, in Beaver myth number six, the hero

changed from the brother in move 1 to the sister in move 11. In the Alaskan myths, there are two instances of this. In myth number three the hero and the villain exchange places. In move 1 the hero is Father Moon and the villain or opponent Little Man of the Tundra; while in move 11 the hero is Little Man of the Tundra and the villain Father Moon. In myth number seven the hero in move 1 is the Chief's daughter and in move 11 is Raven. Comparatively, in the Marandas' analysis, the hero or main character, remains the same *dramatis personae* throughout each myth. Furthermore, the analyses generally agree as to whom is the hero or first criterion. In only two instances in both corpora there is a difference of opinion. In the Beaver myths numbers seven and eight, and Alaskan myth number one the main characters are playing the role of villain. In the last instance, in Alaskan myth number two, it is a matter of definitions.

Both Propp and the Marandas see the myth as divided into sections according to the placement of the *dramatis personae*. The Marandas' state that the *dramatis personae* in each myth and the roles they take are inclined towards developing two fronts; those who become helpers to the main character and those in opposition to him. Most of the characters, it seems, line up on the front of the main character, whether villain or hero. Propp's division of the myth, according to the roles of *dramatis personae*, is somewhat more complex and different. For example, one might say that he has seven fronts which coincide with various functions. These fronts are that of the hero, the villain, donor, helper, princess, the dispatcher and false hero. Both Marandas' and Propp's fronts overlap to different degrees. In Propp, one *dramatis personae* can appear in several spheres of action, and in the Marandas', a *dramatis personae* can appear on both fronts. The *dramatis personae* in Propp are separated from each other to form a concentration on

actions, while the Marandas' *dramatis personae* are grouped together to do the same thing. Both methods of analysis are concerned with those *dramatis personae* who assist or oppose the hero. Although Propp has more categories for these *dramatis personae*, the actions which correspond to them are determined by Propp. The Marandas' analysis is looser and its categories are dependent upon the corpora itself. As we have seen, the *dramatis personae* certainly do not always assume, or maintain the role expected of them. Both methods of analysis emphasized that the majority of the action, and *dramatis personae* revolve around the hero or main character in the myths.

Another *dramatis personae* that plays a very important role in both Propp's and the Marandas' analysis is the mediator. Mediation itself is seen by both anthropologists as an integral part of their analysis. To Propp, mediation is a "connective incident" and only one of thirty-one functions. According to Propp, an important function of the mediator is bringing the hero into the story. More emphasis is put upon mediation in the Marandas' method of analysis. Here, mediation or an attempt at mediation is a part of every episode, and is necessary in determining the kind of model by which an episode will be depicted. The mediator is defined as "the especially fitted agent which ensures the passage from an initial state to a different final outcome" (Maranda and Kongäs Maranda, 1971:87). The mediating role of term *b* in the Marandas' formula is also ambiguous at times, in that it is specified by both functions *x* and *y*. In this sense, the mediator is also a connector and according to the Marandas, mediates opposites. Armstrong's method of analysis does not make mention of a mediating aspect or a mediator. Thus we see that the mediator and the mediating process of the Marandas' method of analysis plays a most crucial role in the analysis.

Mention might be made of the flexibility of each method of analysis.

The Marandas' method is the only one which allows for the retention of a myth's style and is able to include all aspects of a myth into their analysis. For example, the explanations often given by the myths sometimes play an important role in reaching a deeper meaning than the myth carries. The Marandas' method of analysis also allows for the development of any subject that seems important in a myth. For example the concept of time, past and present, is important in two of the Beaver myths. Another important subject brought out by the Marandas is the different use of terms in both corpora. It was found, for example, that both corpora use both general and particular terms, that kin terms are employed twice as often in the Alaskan myths than in the Beaver myths, that there are no plant terms in the Beaver myths, nor are there any innate objects employed as terms. Both the latter examples are found in the Alaskan myths. Thus small structural differences, such as these are important when trying to understand what it is that differentiates one group of myths from another. Most importantly, the Marandas' method of analysis exposes various depths of messages hidden in each myth, whereas the other two methods do not. The Marandas find mirror images and binary oppositions to illuminate contrasts and conflicts. Descriptive processes, such as flip-flops and psycho-social functions, help reveal underlying messages. All these processes, employed together or separately sometimes lead to underlying latent meanings not available through either Propp or Armstrong.

Let us compare what each method of analysis reveals about each of the two corpora, beginning with the Beaver corpus. The conclusions reached are based on the understanding that very little is known about the cultures before analysis.

Propp's method of analysis is interesting in that although very

little is revealed about the Beaver culture itself, there is certainly a great deal of analytical information to compare and contrast. This method of analysis encourages a rather objective look at the form of the myths through a Proppian viewpoint. For example, we are made aware of some of the techniques used in myth making such as trebling, the breakdown of a tale into various and somewhat complicated moves, the fact that the tale usually ends quickly after the climax of the plot. Generally, Propp's outcome of analysis is totally contained by the framework of his method of analysis and is useful on a superficial comparative level. We learn more about how the outcome of the analysis of one myth compares with the analysis of another myth, eg., how many moves, the length of the introduction, variation in determination of the hero, etc.

At this point we might try and interpret what the results tell us about the Beaver culture. For example, through the lacks mentioned, food and family were rather important to this culture. Villanous actions were slightly more frequent than lacks mentioned. Because cannibalism and kidnapping were mentioned relatively often, one might assume that these topics were of some special concern or significance to the culture. However, we do not have any insight as to how to determine in what way these things have a special significance, and indeed, if they did. Other functions employed allow certain assumptions to be drawn about the culture. The area of conflict plays an important role in the Beaver corpus, as all but one myth employ the HI functions. Six of these are concerned with a contest, while the remainder involved a battle. Function K, the liquidation of misfortune or lack, was concerned with acquisition through force or cunning. If we combine these two functions, we know that the Beaver culture put great emphasis on winning. The use of cunning and trickery to outwit their opponent was pre-

ferred to the use of force, but winning was certainly emphasized. At the denouement of the myths we find that the function U, punishment of the false hero or villain is employed far more often than function W, wedding, which is a reward as opposed to punishment. In other words, we might assume that the Beaver myths hold a harsh lesson or warning for those that break the social rules. Few assumptions can be made about the Beaver corpus from Propp's analysis.

Armstrong's method of analysis offers only nine basic categories, or a strict framework of thoughts against which to compare a very intricate corpus. The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack was employed most frequently in the Beaver myths. The element most often used was kill. We know that the Beaver people kill for food, and do not spare their enemies. The fact that killing is by far the most popular element does not necessarily imply that the Beaver are an aggressive warlike people. Killing, as employed in the Beaver myths, is part of their everyday life and survival. The next most important category pertained to the acquisition and dissemination of information. In this category the element discover was employed most frequently. Information getting was very important to this culture. The third most popular category pertained to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation in which three elements seek, outwit and contract played equally important roles. The element outwit suggest that the Beaver held intelligence and cunning in the defeat of an opponent in quite high regard. Seek relates to a search for somebody or something and ties in with the importance of information gathering. The emphasis on contract or agreement suggests that this is something taken seriously, and not to be broken; there is very little emphasis on the avoidance of a contract. The fourth most popular category pertained to the distribution of reward,

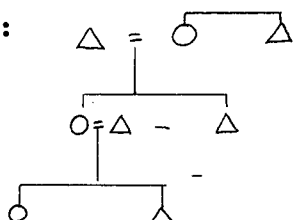
assistance and punishment. The positive aspect rather than the negative is employed and the element aid is employed most frequently. This might imply that helping one another for whatever purpose is important or that the Beaver people rely on one another for assistance. We might also note here, however, that punish is employed three times as often as regard. The fifth category employed pertains to permission and prohibition. The element invite is employed most frequently. It seems that in these cases of trickery part of the humor is that the dramatis personae duped willingly becomes involved in the situation of his undoing. The sixth category employed pertains to the acquisition and loss of property. Here the elements lose is employed most frequently. In this situation the loss of a person or thing involves a successful attempt to retrieve it. The seventh category pertains to praise and condemnation, and the negative element berate is employed most frequently. The positive aspect of this category is not employed in the Beaver myths, implying that anti-social behaviour is admonished, while appropriate behaviour expected, taken for granted. The eighth category, gratification and deprivation is employed next. Here neither one extreme or the other is indulged. The neutral elements provide and put at ease are employed. The last category pertaining to the conduct of affairs employs one neutral element, prepare. Again neither extreme succeed or fail is relevant to the corpus. Anticipation and preparation are important however. This in itself will ensure a suitable outcome. Few basic assumptions about the Beaver corpus could be made and it was not always feasible to make a statement based on the outcome of Armstrong's method of analysis.

The Marandas' method of analysis reveals several aspects of the Beaver culture, some of which will be mentioned briefly below.

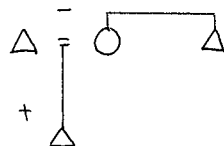
Through the use of their formulas and also those of Levi-Strauss, contrasts and conflicts are brought out. Mediation is important and the outcome of such, ie., success or failure is noted. The concept of time is noted in the Marandas' use of contrasts — the concept of past and present is markedly compared and contrasted. In conjunction with this the point is made that their situation was a better one before the intrusion of the 'white man'.

Through the Marandas' analysis importance is given to kin relationships. Loyalty to blood relatives as opposed to non blood relatives, for example, offspring versus spouse. Recognition of blood relatives, irregardless of outward appearance, is emphasized. We are also aware of a brother's concern regarding his sister's absence from the family. In one instance a brother took up the search for his lost sister and in another instance, father and son (brother) searched for the missing girl. The kinship diagrams in these cases were quite different:

the first is:



and the second is:



Both can either be matrilineal or patrilineal, according to Levi-Strauss (Levi-Strauss, 1967:44). Perhaps the Beaver peoples are ambilineal. A rule that might apply here is that the women do not decide who they will marry. Furthermore, there is a taboo on some women remarrying a man from the Bear tribe. The Bear seems to have great powers and is held in high esteem throughout the corpus. He must have a special place in their lives.

A different family constellation raises another point. For example in tale number two the diagram



describes Wabshu's relationship with his father and step-mother. This diagram describes a patrilineal relationship. In this example, a rule on incest is emphasized; father and son do not share the same woman.

We are given some insight into how food is prepared and preserved. Drying and freezing might be considered two important methods of preservation, while roasting the main method of preparing food. Regarding food, much mention is made of cannibalism. There must exist in this culture various taboos about what kind of meat can be eaten when and by whom. Furthermore, there are rules as to when raw meat can be eaten, whose, and under what circumstances. It is insinuated that only animals and monsters eat raw meat, while humans learned to cook their meat. The cooking and preservation of food were believed to be learned from the animals. The methods were improved upon by humans and became everyday practice. Ritual also surrounds the catch of a great animal, ie. the Bear, for food, and the flesh is returned symbolically to the Bear before the rest is distributed.

The subject of dreaming, of powerful medicine, and the importance of a spirit helper is prevalent in the Beaver culture. In some cases, we are made aware that an individual's dreaming or powers are not enough and that the presence of a spirit helper is needed. Other tools that man needs in dealing with everyday situations are intelligence and intuition. Some method of dealing with enemies is quite explicit. Again, this is something the Beaver attribute to learning from their animal ancestors. Revenge is also a part of this, and the degradation or humiliation of the foe plays an important function, both practically and symbolically. We also learn that one thing the Beaver people would go to war over was loss of their land, their

place of making drymeat. Although the loss of a woman is also important, usually only one person, her father or brother went in search of her, and brought her back.

The different spheres of the universe are also emphasized in the corpus such as the sky world, land and the underworld. The placement of nature's elements, i.e., sun, moon, etc. are very central to the Beaver culture. Their routines, timing, memory revolve around these things.

Different depths of awareness are recognized in the Beaver corpus, such as a simple superficial explanation, a contrast, a mirror image, psycho-social function, or a deeper message. These latter messages are concerned with the profound statements of the culture. They raise questions regarding man's origin, born from one or two; the finality of death; they also weigh two philosophies regarding this — paganism versus christianity or in other words, rebirth versus resurrection. Thus as we can see, the Marandas' method of analysis lends itself to revealing much more about the culture from which a corpus is taken. The method of analysis is loose enough that the natural concerns contained in a myth are brought to the fore.

Secondly, the Alaskan myths are discussed from each anthropologist's viewpoint.

Propp, as applied to the Alaskan corpus is no more revealing here than he was with the previous corpus. Again, we are made aware of techniques such as trebling, and the fact that the villany or conflict usually occurs quickly in the Alaskan myths; there are few long introductions. Also the myth usually ends quickly after the climax of the plot. Again it is obvious that the outcome of analysis is specified by the framework of his method of analysis. Let us attempt to interpret what Propp's results tell us about the Beaver culture.

There are a greater number of lacks than villanous actions in the Alaskan corpus. Lacks of people seemed most important, such as lack of a child for a couple, or lack of parents for a child, of a wife for a husband, and also lack of a husband for a wife. It seems that the survival of the family unit was of concern to this culture. The villanous actions also emphasize the kidnapping of people. Concern over loss of their members seems important here.

The area of conflict, as exemplified by either H1 or MN plays an important role in the Alaskan corpus. A fight or a contest are both ways in which differences are settled. However, generally it is discovered that most differences are settled peacefully, and often a struggle or even the overcoming of a difficult situation is not necessary for the plot. From this we might conclude that the Alaskan people hold 'life' in great reverence, and are generally peace loving and non aggressive.

The function K liquidates the misfortune or lack. Only twice is K used and in each case refers to the use of cunning rather than force. Force is not used unless absolutely necessary and perhaps only when it is necessary to protect oneself from the aggressions of another. It appears that if a passive solution can be found it is employed. The other functions are also passive as opposed to aggressive actions. This ties in with the above functions and adds credence to the belief that the Alaskan culture is non-aggressive. At the denouement of the Alaskan myths we find that a positive rather than a negative function is most often employed. A harsh lesson was not necessary for the Alaskan culture, but great emphasis was put upon reward and the gain at the denouement was considered in terms of this. It seems that perhaps the people of this culture experienced many hardships and, therefore, needed no strong punitive forces to keep them from seeking to fulfill

their individual desires as opposed to the needs of the community in general. Few assumptions, or statements can be made about the Alaskan corpus based on the results of Propp's method of analysis.

The use of magic also plays a small role in the myths and also must have an important place in their culture.

Armstrong's categories also contain a strict framework of ideas against which to discuss the Alaskan corpus. The category of objectives pertaining to resistance and attack was employed most often. The elements most often employed in one group of objectives are release and escape. This is in contrast with the next most popular element, kill. Here we are made aware of resistance rather than the aggressive act of attack. The next most important category pertained to the acquisition and dissemination of information. In this category there are again as above, two contrasting groups of objectives. The actions discover and doubt are both concerned with the acquisition of information. It seems that information gathering was important to this culture. The third most popular category pertained to the acceptance and avoidance of obligation. The element most often used is contract. From this we might assume that the acceptance of obligation was taken seriously, and not broken easily. The fourth category in the Alaskan model pertains to the distribution of reward, assistance and punishment. The positive element aid is used most frequently. We might assume that to the Alaskan people assisting one another is most important. We also might note here that the element punish is also mentioned once, while the element reward not at all. We might assume that when necessary, punishment plays a necessary part in the culture. The fifth category employed pertains to the acquisition and loss of property. Here the elements acquire, obtain and give, from the negative group of objectives, all pertain to the acquisi-

tion of property. In the Alaskan culture someone else's loss is another's gain. Nothing is wasted. The sixth category employed pertains to permission and prohibition. The element employed most often is request. In other words, obtaining permission is a norm as opposed to giving directives. The seventh category pertains to gratification and deprivation. Here both extremes are employed. The element indulges is employed most frequently, and both examples concerned are in relation to one family member attempting to please another. The last two categories pertaining to praise and condemnation and to the conduct of affairs are not employed in the Alaskan corpus. From the above analysis one might assume that although elements of these categories are not employed in the analysis, that they may still have a function in the corpus, as it seemed that the Alaskan culture was indeed concerned over the attitudes regarding the conduct of affairs. However, this was encompassed by the category acceptance and avoidance of obligation.

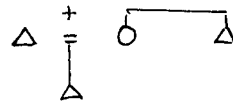
Few basic assumptions can be made about the Alaskan corpus, based on the results. The results of this analysis are very much controlled by Armstrong's framework of analysis. In addition, chances of duplicating the analysis are dubious because the choice of elements is left to a subjective determination.

The Marandas' method of analysis reveals many things about the Alaskan culture. The most important aspects are mentioned briefly below.

The concept of time is mentioned in the Alaskan corpus in terms of past and present; of very long ago when there was no light during night or day and the present, where there is light. Great emphasis is put upon the placement of heavenly bodies such as the stars, moon and the sun, and also

upon nature's elements such as wind, rain, sleet, snow, sunshine, etc. Their world is defined by a sphere, the outer reaches of which touches all the horizons. These things play such a large role in the everyday life of this culture that often inanimate objects, such as the Moon and the mountains are personified. We also have the impression that personified nature takes care of its own and corrects any imbalance that occurs. The different spheres of their universe such as land, sky world, and the underworld are also emphasized in the corpus. These exist in conjunction with nature's elements and all the heavenly bodies.

Through the Marandas' analysis the importance of the family becomes apparent. Happiness is equated to having children; unhappiness to barrenness. Several myths of those without families or offspring end with this lack filled. An orphan finds a mother, a childless couple create a wooden child. We might assume here that the need for a 'family' superscedes the need to be blood related. In a harsh environment, those without family must have difficulty in surviving. The kinship diagram which best describes rules regarding family ties, etc. in the corpus is:



which indicates a matrilineal unit. We notice that in this corpus, either the mother or daughter decides whom a girl shall marry, but that the disciplining of her sons is the duty of the mother's brother instead of her husband. Based on the circumstances in the corpus, perhaps we might assume that marriage is fairly easy to arrange and also relatively easy to terminate. This involves the woman taking up residence with her spouse, while divorce entails moving out of her husband's home. Also there is a suggestion of strict rules as to what group or tribe a girl may marry into. However, without a great knowledge of the culture, little more can be assumed.

Our attention is brought to the question of authority in the corpus. In the myths it appears that anyone challenging another position of authority is taking a great risk, as losing means severe punishment. From this we might assume that in the culture everyone has a social position, the changing of which is very difficult, unless a spirit helper intervenes. Also in this culture the idea of a non-hierarchical form of leadership is introduced. This concept seems to indicate that every person is given value and consideration in, for example, a decision making process. A leader is also considered equal, but given the respect of a first among equals. Revenge is an issue over which there is disagreement. Perhaps again because of a harsh climate where life is difficult to sustain, it is not always pursued as it entails loss of life.

The importance of magic powers, or of spirit helpers are obvious in the Alaskan corpus. Spirit helpers help change impossible situations. Magical powers are also shown to be quite potent. Wisdom and physical strength are also important, but cannot compete with magic or spirit helpers.

Different levels of awareness are recognized in the Alaskan corpus, such as contrast, conflict, binary oppositions, psychosocial functions or deeper messages. In this corpus these messages ask questions concerning man's origins — born from one or from two, the finality of death. Also the Alaskan corpus weights two belief systems on this question, such as paganism versus christianity or rebirth versus resurrection. Thus the Marandas' method of analysis lends itself to reveal much more about the Alaskan culture. The method of analysis is open enough that the concerns within the myths are emphasized.

Of the three methods of analysis, we find that the Marandas' is most advanced as a structuralist method as defined by Piaget. The Marandas'

method of analysis tends to be part way between global and analytical structuralism, whereas, Propp's and Armstrong's methods tend to be global. In terms of Piaget's three key ideas, wholeness, transformation and self-regulation, that form the base of structuralistic thought, Piaget's understanding of each is mentioned. A whole is considered as something other than atomistic compounding of prior elements, or emergent totalities. The relationships among the elements are considered first not the element, or the whole itself. Transformations are considered with wholes in that the character of structures wholes depends on their laws of composition which are defined as governing the transformations of the system which they structure (Piaget, 1970:10). Transformations should be thought of as being simultaneously structured and structuring, as they are still subject to change. Self-regulation is achieved by a) an operational system which is a perfect regulation because it excludes errors before they are made, b) transformations which are not entirely reversible, and c) non-technical or rhythmic mechanisms. The Marandas comprehend the whole as a complete interdependent entity, one that is dynamic rather than a static resultant totality. Propp and Armstrong, however, see the whole in terms of the atomistic compounding of different parts. In terms of transformations, the Marandas put more emphasis on the dynamic transformations, rather than the rules governing them, as Piaget suggests. Perhaps the difference in opinion here is that Piaget sees the transformational rules as also being dynamic while the Marandas do not. Propp concerns himself with transformations rather than the laws governing them, while Armstrong concerns himself with neither, but instead with the significance of each unit. In terms of self-regulation, the Marandas have tried to find operational units, or elements on which logical operations can be done. Feedback and rhythmic

mechanisms are also employed. Propp's and Armstrong's methods depend upon trial and error. Both hold to observable relations rather than attempting to explain the empirical systems by postulating deep underlying structures.

Both Propp's and Armstrong's logic is described as direct, empirical deduction as opposed to induction, indirect empirical deduction or transcendental deduction. The Marandas, however, employ direct and indirect empirical deduction as well as transcendental deduction. The deeper messages are obtained from a more sophisticated logic than direct empirical deduction.

All three anthropologist's methods of analysis have yielded a linear sequential breakdown of a myth, as the functions or categories or episodes describe the myth in chronological order from the beginning of the myth to its completion. At this level the approaches can be viewed as diachronic rather than synchronic. Both Propp's and Armstrong's metalinguistic strings can be enumerated, and a synchronic perspective can be gained by viewing a column as opposed to the rows. We are unable to effectively enumerate the Marandas' models in order to view the corpus from a synchronic perspective. However, the Marandas' method of analysis takes the syntagmatic type of analysis a step farther and examines each episode. Often binary oppositions are mediated and a latent message is discovered. This process is initiated by the diachronic sequential ordering of the episodes of each myth, as told from beginning to end.

Propp's and Armstrong's methods of analysis can be referred to as syntagmatic as opposed to paradigmatic. However, paradigmatic sets can be made from the syntagmatic chains by viewing the corpus from a synchronic viewpoint. However, in the Marandas' analysis a new paradigm can be formed

by viewing all the model 1 situations, etc. This kind of paradigm is different from those developed, and are more productive than the sequential ordering of metalinguistic strings. Furthermore, the metonymic-metaphoric difference is made apparent here, as we have metaphoric relationships between the episodes and metonymic relationships in the paradigms formed.

Thus the three methods of analysis have been applied to two sets of corpora and the outcomes of each compared and contrasted with the others. The Marandas' method of analysis has been shown to be more structural in its theory, and more productive in practice. The Marandas' method of analysis has helped give many insights into the Beaver and Alaskan corpus, and has revealed some profound messages.

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APPENDIX I

BEAVER MYTH #1

THE FROG AND THE OWL

A long time ago all the animals used to live like people. All the birds that lived on land, Crow, Wiskey Jack, Woodpecker, Chickadee and Owl, used to camp around the shores of a round lake.

The made drymeat from fisheggs. They picked the eggs out of the water and dried them on the rocks around the lake. All the birds used to stay together in the winter making drymeat. People first learned to make drymeat from the birds. At first they put it on the stones like the Owl. Now they hang it on poles.

One day, Old Owl Man couldn't find his daughter. She was just missing. He looked for her for ten days. When Owl Man still couldn't find his daughter he began to cry. Pretty soon his old lady, the Old Owl Woman came to see what was the matter. "Old Man," she said, "What are you crying for?"

"My daughter is missing".

"Old Man, don't cry for nothing," his wife said. "We can make another one easy. How many kids have we made? It won't be hard to make another."

But that Old Owl Man just kept on crying. "I'm too old," he said. "I can't even see to the end of the lake. I'm just too old to make a baby Owl."

The Old Lady said, "It's no good to cry, I'll tell you what to do. You know that little Owl that lives at another lake? That little Owl is really a good tracker, maybe he can find our daughter."

So the Old Owl Man went to the other lake. He walked over there. Pretty soon he found that Little Owl who was a good tracker. The Little Owl said, "How come you visit me for the first time? I've never seen you here before."

The Old Owl Man just began to cry.

"Old Man", said the Little Owl, "Why are you crying? You've got lots of drymeat; you don't need to cry."

The Old Man said through his tears, "My daughter's been gone for ten days."

"Did she die?" said the Little Owl.

"No", the Old Man replied, "She's just missing and that's why I've come to you. You're a good tracker. You find her for us."

"Alright," said the Little Owl. "I'll try to track her. If I find her, you give me lots of drymeat. I can't make much myself."

"Alright," said the Old Owl Man, "We'll give you half our drymeat if you can find our daughter."

The Little Owl said he would come the next day and the Old Owl Man went back to his wife. He felt better and said to his wife. "We will pay him drymeat and fat and he's going to come tomorrow." But the Old Lady only said, "You walk too much for nothing. I could make another easy."

The next day the Little Owl came to the Old Owl's camp. "Now I come to visit you," he said.

"Sit down," said the Old Owl. "Now I'm going to feed you."

After he had eaten well, the Little Owl asked the Old Owl Man when he had seen his daughter last.

"Did you fight with her the last time you saw her? Maybe she ran away."

"No," The Old Man said, "I can't fight her. We just lost her." Then the Little Owl asked the Old Man where he had seen his daughter last. The Old Man said he had seen her last at the place where she slept. That was in the evening. The next morning she was gone. No one had seen her since.

The Little Owl looked and looked around the place where the Owl Man's daughter had slept. He looked with his big, big eyes. He could see things that the other birds couldn't see. Pretty soon he saw the Owl daughter's track and the tracks of a strange man going together down to the lake. When he told the Owl Man what he had seen, Owl Man began to cry. "My daughter's drowned, my daughter's drowned. I don't know how she could go in the water."

"I can't track her any further," the Little Owl said. "All I can see are two tracks going down into the water and five steps more before it gets too deep. That's all I can do for you." The Little Owl went away.

The Old Owl Man had a big boy, about fifteen years old, who was good at listening. He had good ears. The Old Man sent this boy around the lake to listen and look for tracks coming out of the water. He went toward the end of the lake and met Woodpecker Man's boy.

"Where are you going?" asked the Woodpecker Boy.

"I'm going to the end of the lake to look for my sister. Have you seen her anywhere?"

"No," he said, "but you'd better not stay around. This morning my dad said that there's going to be a big war pretty soon. I'm trying to find a safe place and you'd better do the same. Don't go to the end of the lake."

But the Owl Boy said to himself, "There's no war now," and slept at the end of the lake. Pretty soon he heard somebody crying. "Daddy, Mommy, Daddy, Mommy," the voice cried. He listened and he listened well. It was his sister's crying under the water. He tried to go to her but he couldn't make it. He called to her but she didn't answer. Then he went back to the Old Owl Man, his father.

"Dad," he said, "You are old enough, you should know something."

But the Old Lady broke in and said, "He's too old, just like a child. He doesn't know anything."

The boy told them he had not been able to find his sister, but that he had heard her crying. He heard her crying "Daddy, Mommy," five times.

"Alright," said the Owl father, "You show me where you heard her."

They went to the place at the end of the lake and the boy showed the Old Man just where he had heard his sister crying. Then the Old Man took the air sack of a fish. He put it on his head. He went into the water at the place his boy showed him. That Owl Man was pretty smart; with the air sack on his head he could go into the water. Pretty soon he came to the bottom of the water and found dry land, just like on the earth. There were lots of trails and lots of tipis. Then he saw a stout little fellow, the Frog Man. There were other Frog Men there too and they were all sucking the hands, face, breasts of his daughter. Owl Man saw his daughter crying.

He took a stick and hit the Frog Man. He took a rope and led his daughter away from them. The Frogs cried to Owl Man, "You just wait, we're going to see your boss and there's going to be trouble soon."

Sure enough, they went and got the Frog Chief. "That's not your daughter," the Frog Chief said. "She's ours now. You can't take her."

Owl replied, "You took her but I'm going to take her back."

"No, you've got to die if you take her back."

"No, you will die," said the Owl.

"Frog soldiers are going to come soon," said the Chief, but the Owl took his daughter and left.

When he got back to his camp with his daughter, he told his old lady and his boy that there was big trouble coming from the Frog soldiers. They decided to tell all the other Birds to get ready for a fight. When Owl Boy saw Woodpecker Boy he told him, "You were right, there's sure going to be big trouble soon. I don't know how your father knew. Old Owl's killed lots of Frog Men and soldiers are coming soon."

The Crow called all the Birds to come, for the Crow has the loudest voice of all the Birds. "Soldiers coming soon; Owl Chief in trouble; Frogs stole his daughter; Frog Soldiers coming soon," he called.

"If we lose the war we lose the place where we make drymeat," the Birds thought. They decided to come and help fight the Frog Soldiers. Whiskey Jack, Crow, Owl, Chickadee began to tell how they would help fight. When it was Chickadee's turn he said, "I can't fight, myself, but I can hold on and not let go. I will help by holding onto the Frog Men while the other birds hit them." After they had planned how to fight, all the Birds Soldiers hid by the Owl Chief's camp.

Soon the Frog soldiers came, walking and singing. They swayed from side to side as they walked like water moving or heat shimmering on a hot day. The Owl Chief met them and told them, "Frogs, we don't want to fight, we want to be friends, but we've got lots of soldiers." The Frog Chief said, "No, you killed too many of my men. Don't try to back down now."

For a long time they fought like this with words, just talk fighting. They yelled at each other and showed that they weren't scared. Both sides lined up and called names at each other. They cried, "Yellow, Chicken." All the Birds had big sticks. Then the Frog Chief yelled to the Birds, "Don't be afraid, what are you waiting for?"

"Who's going to start?" asked Owl.

"We came a long ways, we'll start," said the Frog Chief, and he tried to poke the Owl Chief with a stick.

The Whiskey-Jacks had been just waiting for the fight to start and they came out fast and started to kill the Frogs with big sticks. The Frog Men just couldn't fight and they only had little sticks. They couldn't kill any Birds. While the Chickadees held onto the Frogs, the Whiskey-Jacks hit them and just about cleaned them up. They fought so furiously that pretty soon there was only one Frog left.

The Old Chief told the Whiskey-Jacks, "Stop. Leave that one Frog to go back and tell the story."

But the Whiskey-Jacks wanted to kill that last one too. "When I get made, I just can't stop," they said.

"Look how many we've killed, leave this last one. See, the Frogs couldn't kill any Birds," Owl said.

But still the Whiskey-Jacks grabbed the last Frog.

"Don't kill me, I have to tell the story," the Frog said to him.

The Whiskey-Jack looked at him and said, "Til the end of the world I will be mad. Every time I see a Frog I will kill it."

Finally the Owl Chief let that Frog go and sent him back under the lake to tell his story, but nobody knows what he told the rest of the Frogs in the lake.

Still today the Whiskey-Jack is a mean bird and whenever he sees a frog he kills him.

The people heard the story of the Frog and the Owl and that is the way they fight too. When they fight they cannot kill all their enemies. They leave one to go back and tell the story. They cut the wrist of the one they send back and put a spruce bough through it so that his people will come back and fight some more.

BEAVER MYTH #2

THE BOY WABSHU

This is the story of how Usakindji came to kill all those animals.

Once there was a boy named Wabshu. Wabshu means swan. He lived with his father and mother. His mother was a good woman. But when Wabshu was still young his mother died and his father had to raise him.

Before his mother died, she told his father, "I like my son. When I die and you take another woman I want you to find one who will be good to my boy. Do not take a woman from where the sun goes down. Do not take a woman from where the sun comes up. Sunrise women and sunset women are no good. Take a woman from where the sun is at dinner time. That kind of woman will be good to my son."

After his mother died, his father wanted to find another woman. He remembered his wife's words. He looked for one where the sun was highest but could not find one. Wabshu's father went to look for a woman where the sun sets. With him he took Wabshu and he travelled toward the setting sun. He came to the ocean and he stopped. In that country he found a nice looking woman. He told that woman's father, "I need a woman for my boy. I want to take your daughter back with me." The girl's father said, "I'll give you this one if you look after her well. That's what I've raised them for."

Then Wabshu and his father went back to their own country. They took that woman with them. When they got back his father made a bow and arrow for Wabshu for rabbits. Wabshu was a good shot. He couldn't miss anything with his bow. He got everything he shot at.

Wabshu's father went out to hunt and left his son and that woman in camp. That woman said, "Wabshu, you go out to hunt rabbits, I'll come with you."

"Alright, songe stepmother," he said.

They went out. She told him, "Every time you see a rabbit shoot it in the head. You can shoot anything you want."

When he shot a rabbit in the head and it went down that woman took the rabbit and put it under her dress between her legs. As it died it kicked and scratched her legs. When you shoot an animal in the head it always kicks like that.

"Songe, why do you do that? We have to eat that meat."

"Well", she said, "I hold him that way with my legs so he'll die quick." Every time Wabshu shot a rabbit through the head that woman did the same thing.

When they got back to camp the father went to sleep with his wife and saw that her legs were all scratched up and covered with dried blood.

"What happened?", he asked. "You weren't like that last time I saw you."

Then that woman lied to her husband, She just wanted to get Wabshu into trouble. She told him, "Well your boy did that. He threw me down and did that. He's a big boy now and he is stronger than I am."

Wabshu's father believed what she said and got mad at his own boy. He knew he could not kill his own son so he told Wabshu, "Let's go hunting out where the sun goes down in the ocean." He was going to leave Wabshu on an island in the ocean.

Wabshu and his father got to the ocean. "Wabshu, we'll look for land out there."

Wabshu looked. "Yes, I see something black way far out."

"All Right, we'll go now."

So they made a canoe and paddled out into the ocean until they were

almost out of sight of land. Finally they came to the island and went ashore.

"Wabshu, you go around one side, I'll go around the other. We'll find out how big this ground is."

"Alright," said Wabshu, and set out around one side of the island. As soon as Wabshu was out of sight the old man turned around and went back to the canoe. He got into the canoe and went out into the ocean. He waited for Wabshu there.

Wabshu went all the way around the island but he didn't meet his father. When he got back to where they had left the canoe he saw his father way out in the water. The father yelled back to Wabshu, "I leave you here. We've both shared the same hole. We can't both go in the same place. Now I'm leaving you here."

"Daddy, daddy," said Wabshu. "I have never done that. She just went hunting with me and when I shot a rabbit in the head she put it under her dress." But the father didn't listen.

"Don't lie too much. I'm going back now." He went back to the shore and then to his own country.

Wabshu lay down next to the water and cried. He didn't know what to do. Pretty soon he cried himself to sleep. Then he heard someone talking to him but he saw no one there. It must be Nahata wo was helping him. The voice said, "Why do you cry? Don't cry. You're going to live." It told him, "Do you see all those geese and ducks flying over going to a different place?" It was fall time and the geese and ducks were flying south. "You get a lot of pitch. Put it on the rocks of this island wherever the sun strikes. The ducks and geese will get stuck there. You can live like that." His friend told him this and Wabshu got up and felt better.

Wabshu put lots of pitch on the flat rocks of the island. It was a hot day and the pitch melted when the sun struck it. The next morning Wabshu began to make a house on the highest part of the island. All he had was a stone knife but he cut a stick and dug into the ground to make a hole for his house.

The next morning he went out to check the pitch, just the way you go out to check a trap. When he got to the place he found 40 ducks and geese stuck in the pitch wherever the sun had made it soft. He just hit them with a stick. After that he was happy and thought, "Maybe I'll live."

Wabshu took the feathers from the ducks and geese and put them in the hole he had dug. That way he made a good house lined with eider down. Then he cut up the birds into fine pieces with his stone knife and dried the meat. He kept on doing this for a month while the birds were flying south. By then he had caught hundreds and hundreds and made lots of drymeat. He fixed his house with down and feathers inside and he put a flat rock for the door. He made a toilet, found a place to get water and began to live in his new house. All this he did with only a stone knife.

Wabshu lived in this house and the cold of winter did not bother him. Soon it was March time but he still had lots of drymeat. Wabshu did not go back to the place where his father had left him. He didn't want to leave any tracks there in case his father might come back.

Spring time came, and he began to see the first blue-birds. He knew that summer was coming soon. By then he did not have very many bundles of drymeat but still he had some dried fat and guts.

After the summer birds, the geese and ducks began to come back from the south. Wabshu tried to catch them but this time the pitch wouldn't melt on the rocks. It was cold and he couldn't get anything. Soon he had

only one bundle of drymeat left. He thought, "Maybe my father will come back."

One day he heard somebody singing way out in the water and hitting a canoe like a drum. It was his father, singing as he paddled his canoe toward the island. "Wabshu," he sang, "I want to see your headbone. We shared the same woman and now I come to see your bones." Wabshu hid himself and watched his father take the canoe up on the shore. He kept on singing. "Now Wabshu, you're smart enough. You fooled around with my woman and now I want to see how your headbone sets. Is it in the water or in the bush? I want to see where it is.

The old man went around one side of the island. As soon as he was gone from sight Wabshu jumped in the boat and paddled it away from the shore. The old man kept walking around the island. Soon the sun came out and he saw fresh tracks. Wabshu had been smart. He had not left tracks where his father landed the canoe. The old man ran back when he saw the fresh tracks but it was too late.

He shouted to his son in the canoe. "Wabshu, my son! I just wanted to see how tough you were. That's why I left you here. But Wabshu shouted back to him, "Now you are going to live the way I lived," and he paddled the canoe back to the mainland.

Wabshu thought to himself, "My dad is crazy so I will just leave him there ten days. He can't die in ten days. Look how long I stayed there." But when Wabshu came back in ten days he found his father dead with a little bit of feathers in his mouth. He had starved to death and tried to eat feathers. Then Wabshu got mad. "It's that bad woman who did this. Now I'm going to kill her."

4 ... He went back to his country and saw that woman. "Wabshu," she said, "Where's your dad?" Wabshu didn't say anything. He got mad. He took an arrow and shot it in the ground by her feet. The arrow caught fire when it hit the ground. The woman started to run away and every time Wabshu shot an arrow at her feet it caught on fire. Finally she ran into the water. Wabshu shot his arrow into the water after her. The arrow was so hot the water boiled. When the woman came out of the water she was just bones. That is how Wabshu killed that bad woman.

... After that, Wabshu became a man, but he stayed with a big animal, a monster that ate people called onli nachi, something big.

... After he killed that bad woman, Wabshu met a monster, onli nachi. The monster said to him, "I can't make babies any more. You stay with me." So Wabshu lived with her. After a while Wabshu told onli nachi his story. Onli nachi told Wabshu how she lived. She told him she lived by eating people. "You try it too," she said.

... But Wabshu said "No, I can't do that. I only eat ducks and geese and chickens, I can't eat people like myself."

... Pretty soon onli nachi saw tracks of game. "Look!" she said, "A bull, a cow and two calves." Wabshu didn't see any game tracks. There were only people tracks and Wabshu couldn't follow them, but onli nachi ran after the tracks. "That's good game. I hope there's lots of fat," she said.

... Pretty soon onli nachi came to a little camp in the bush with a man, a woman and two children. Onlinnachi started to go after them. Wabshu tried to stop her.

"Mommy, Mommy, don't go after them. They're my people," he cried.

... "That's your people yourself," she said. "That's my game," and she started after them again.

They tried to run away, but she hit the man and he fell down flat. Then she hit the woman and she fell down too. Wabshu got mad. "Mommy, you leave them alone. You've killed two, you leave the others alone." Still onli nachi kept on after the two children. They were smart and rolled themselves fast down a hill. Onli nachi was too big to catch up with them. Wabshu ran down the hill and put the children behind him to hide them from that monster. Onli nachi came down. She said, "My son, do you want to die too? That's my food. If you don't let me have it I can eat you too."

Then Wabshu took an arrow and shot onli nachi in the breast. "Wabshu, my son," she cried, "I should have listened," but Wabshu shot her again and killed her.

After that Wabshu changed his name and took the name of Usakindji. Since that time he became just like a soldier looking for bad things that ate people. He cleaned up all the monsters that used to live in the world. If he didn't do that, maybe those things would still make trouble for people. When Usakindji finished killing all the monsters he turned to stone. He said that he would come back when the world comes to an end. He will come back to fix it up. Some time when Jesus comes back, Usakindji will come back too.

BEAVER MYTH #3

USAKINDJI AND THE WOLVERINE MAN

One time Usakindji was walking in the bush. He didn't feel easy. Something was strange, something was not right. He took a big spruce bough and he swept the ground in front of him as he walked through the bush.

Pretty soon he came to a place where all the leaves fell down when he swept the path. He saw a big square hole in the ground, twelve feet deep. At the bottom of the hole were spikes all covered with dried blood. This was the pit of the wolverine man who lived on people.

Usakindji caught some grouse and put their blood all over the spikes. Then he lay down as if he were dead. The wolverine man came back to the pit and saw the leaves gone. He said to himself, "Good, Pretty soon there's going to be grease around my mouth. I wonder if it's a man or a woman. Hope there's lots of fat. I haven't eaten good for a long time."

Wolverine man looked in the pit. The wolverine had a big bag on his back. He always wore it and he put the people he killed in it. "This must be the main game trail," he said. Everytime I come I get game." He reached in and pulled out Usakindji and put him in the bag. Wolverine man always wore a big bag on his back. He put the dead people in it. Then he fixed the pit again, putting sticks and leaves over it. "Good," he said, "My old lady is going to love me tonight!" And he set out for his camp.

The Wolverine man had a bunch of children and a big, big, fat woman. One of his boys was named tsimaka, whiteface. When the wolverine man came into camp, tsimake called out, "Daddy's got a big, big, bag." Around the camp were people arms, legs, all different parts of people, hanging up drying. "Old man, what do you have? Woman or man?", the old lady said.

"I've got a man inside," he said. "Lots of fat on his bottom."

"I want that part," said the old lady.

Usakindji just sat inside listening.

The old lady cut new spruce boughs and laid them out just like people do when they skin a moose. She laid Usakindji down on the spruce. Usakindji lay there like he was dead.

"This is the heaviest game I have ever killed," the wolverine man said. "He must be very fat. But I'm tired now, I'll skin him later," and he went and lay down and slept.

His children, the wolverine pups, sneaked up closer and looked at Usakindji. They reached out and felt him. "Really fat," they purred. Usakindji opened one eye to look around. Tsimaka saw him and called to his father; "Daddy, that man's not dead, he opened one eye."

"Wolverine man was mad. He said, 'You fool, you go to the pit and look at those spikes. They're covered with blood up to here.'" and he held out three fingers. "Go away, he can't be alive."

Usakindji had seen a big stick. He reached out and picked it up and stood up. The Wolverine lady and all the pups were so scared they jumped on top of the wolverine man to hide. But he couldn't move with his wife and all his pups on him. Usakindji went whack, whack, with his stick and they all fell dead. Then he cut them up into little pieces and threw them in the winds. It's a good thing too; because those big wolverines lived on men. They killed many people before Usakindji stopped them.

But still today wolverines have a ring of white on their fur where the wolverine man used to carry his pack.

BEAVER MYTH #4

USAKINDJI AND THE GEESE AND THE FOX

Usakindji left after he killed the wolverines. "I don't know how I'M going to get meat. I'm hungry," he thought to himself. Pretty soon he came to a big lake with lots of geese and ducks. He tried to think how he could catch them.

Usakindji came walking up to the lake carrying a big pack, a great big pack. It reached way over his head. It was filled with moss.

"Hey, Usakindji, what are you carrying? You've got a big pack."

"Who's that talking to me?" Usakindji said.

"Me, goose," the goose said.

"Why, I've got my songs in my pack," Usakindji answered.

"Gees, you must have lots of songs. We want to hear your songs. I'll go round up all the ducks and geese. Then we'll dance."

Usakindji made camp and fixed a door on his shelter. All the ducks and geese came, and there were lots. "You have to close your eyes," he said. "If you don't close your eyes I can't sing."

"What about the fire," they said, "We don't want to burn."

"Oh, I'll put the fire out," Usakindji said.

So the geese and ducks all closed their eyes. Usakindji started singing and they started dancing. "Hak, hak, hagatchi inga, hagatchi inga," he sang; "Honk, Honk, easy to kill duck, easy to kill duck," he sang. The Birds couldn't understand him. With that he would take a goose or duck and wring its neck and toss it outside. "Hak, hak," the gasping goose would say, fluttering its wings and Usakindji just kept singing louder, "Hak, hak, ~~that's right, hak, hak!~~ That's the way," and breaking the neck of another bird he would throw it outside. He had a big pile of ducks and geese outside.

One little duck, a loon, felt there weren't very many birds dancing. He opened one eye. Usakindji was just throwing another duck outside.

"Hey," he said, "they're not many birds left dancing."

All the birds opened their eyes. All they saw was a pile of birds outside with their feathers fluttering.

"You're smart enough," the little duck said, and he started to run outside. Usakindji stepped on his tail: that's why the loon can't walk to this day. The rest of the ducks and geese ran away.

Usakindji made a big fire and started to roast the ducks and geese. "Oh boy," he said, "I'll eat for weeks. Lots of ducks and geese," he roasted them all.

A red fox came and saw Usakindji with his feast of fowl. He pretended he had a bad leg and came limping over.

"Hey, sharp face," Usakindji called. "What are you doing here?"

"I'm sick," the fox said. "I'm looking for duck eggs."

"Hah," said Usakindji, "Let's race. The one who gets to the end of the lake first can eat lots of ducks and geese, sharp face."

"I can't race. I've got a bad leg, I'm lame," said the fox.

"Alright," said Usakindji. "You're lame, so I'll put a sharp stone on my foot. I'll make myself lame too."

"Alright, I can't run, but I'll try," said the fox.

So Usakindji and the fox started out.

Usakindji ran as fast as he could. He had a sharp rock tied to the bottom of his foot, and it really hurt. He ran and ran. "I sure beat that sharp face," he said. "Why, I can't see him anywhere." He got to the end of the lake. Usakindji looked back. He couldn't see the red fox anywhere. He stayed behind and took all the ducks and geese and hid them.

Usakindji limped back. Only the feet of the ducks and geese were left. Usakindji tried to find where the fox had hidden his ducks. Fox had eaten so many he just laid down to rest his tummy. Then Usakindji got smart. He built a big fire all around. "Hey sharp face," Usakindji called, "You think you're smart. You're going to burn now."

The fox saw fire leaping up all around him. He jumped up, jumped over the fire — he got singed all over; that's why some foxes don't have any hair on their legs. We call them Usakindji foxes.

BEAVER MYTH #5

HOW THE ANIMALS GOT THEIR FAT

Usakindji was hunting again. He met a bear and he said, "Asta, uncle, keep me company." So the bear stayed with him. Usakindji picked berries and fed them to the bear.

"I'll feed you now and you feed me in the winter," Usakindji said. He kept giving the bear more berries. All fall he gave him more and more berries.

"You help me in the winter," Usakindji said.

"I've had enough now," the bear said. "But in winter I get low on fat."

"Here, have some more," Usakindji said.

Pretty soon the bear had a headache. "I've got a headache," the bear said. Usakindji saw his chance.

"I know just what to do," he said. "Fill your eyes with cranberries."

"Oh, I've eaten too much. Now I've got a headache," the bear said, but Usakindji filled his eyes with cranberries.

"Owww, that hurts," the bear cried.

"It only hurts for an hour," Usakindji said and he put more cranberries in the bear's eyes. Then when the bear couldn't see, Usakindji took a stock and killed him.

He built a big fire and roasted the bear nicely. The bear was very fat and Usakindji sat there and ate bear meat and fat and berries till half of the bear was gone. He ate lots and lots.

"I have to go to the toilet now," Usakindji said to himself, and he went and sat down in the fork of a tree that had been split in half. He was sitting there going to the toilet when the tree snapped back together and caught him by the backside. Usakindji tried and tried but he couldn't get out.

A whiskey-jack flew down and began eating the bear meat roasting by the fire. "You bald headed scoundrel, don't eat my bear meat," Usakindji screamed, and he picked up sticks that he could reach and threw them at the whiskey-jack. The whiskey-jack ate his fill and then went and told all the other meat-eating birds to come. Usakindji was still caught in the tree. He saw the birds picking away at his bear meat and he threw all the sticks he could reach. The crow ate the most of all. "You dirty face, you dirty face," Usakindji yelled. "You're the worst tasting bird and the quickest to clean up my bear!" Pretty soon all the sticks around Usakindji were gone. He didn't have anything to throw. The birds kept on eating. They cleaned up all the meat. When there were just bones, they all flew away. At that, the tree snapped open again and Usakindji stepped free.

"You tree," Usakindji said, "someday you'll be in a tight place too, Someday people will need you." He was right too. Now people use timber like that for all kinds of things; for fire, for lumber, even for matches.

Usakindji went back to the bear. There were just bones. "For nothing I got this bear," Usakindji muttered. But he chopped up the bones and boiled them and filled the bear's water sack with the grease from the bones.

The grease wouldn't cool down. It was just too hot. Then Usakindji saw a muskrat swimming in the lake.

"Hey, needle eye, why are you swimming?"

"That's alright, big eye," the muskrat answered.

"My grease won't cool. You tie it to your tail and swim with it in the lake. That way it will get cool right away," Usakindji said.

The muskrat said, "Maybe something will happen to it. I can't swim with all that tied to my tail."

"You just try," said Usakindji. "I'll watch you pretty close and tell you if anything's coming, you needle eye."

They called each other names for a long time, but Usakindji tied the water sack with the fat in it to the muskrat's tail. The muskrat went out into the water. Usakindji shouted "Needle eye" at him. Muskrat shouted "Big eye" at Usakindji. When he got out in the middle of the water he dived down under the water and the water sack burst. All the grease floated out over the lake.

Usakindji called all the animals and they started to swim across the water. The bear went first. That's why he's the fattest of all the animals. The porcupine came too. "Sa Klaze, my brother-in-law," he called to the beaver. "I can't swim. Carry me across on your back." So the porcupine climbed on the back of the beaver, and held tight. And the beaver swam across the lake. That's why the beaver has fat on his belly and none on his back, and the porcupine has fat on his back but none on his belly.

All the animals swam across. That's how they got to have fat. The last animal to swim was elk. The grease was getting cold and jelled then, and when he swam across he broke through the grease like a thin layer of ice. From that day, elk's fat has been poor. It tastes like it's frozen. Elk fat isn't any good.

That's how Usakindji settled the world and made the animals fat, and people learned from his story how to trick the bear. Sometimes it is hard to find a bear's den.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE BEAR

One time some women and girls went out to pick berries. They put the berries in baskets made out of roots. They filled one basket and then they all set their baskets down together. They went off to some other place to fill their second basket. This time when they came back, the basket of one of the girl's was missing. "What could have happened to it," she wondered. This kept on happening day after day. Her mother was getting angry at her for not bringing home any berries.

One day the girl said she would stay out after the other women and try to pick some more berries.

"Come on back with us," they said. "The sun will go down soon."

But she said, "No, I'll stay out a little longer, I have to try to get some berries. My mother will really give me a hard time if I don't bring any berries back." So she stayed.

After the others had gone, a bear came there. This bear had been stealing her berries. He looked like a bear, but he was just like a man.

"Come live with me for a winter or a year," he said.

The girl like him so she went with him.

At camp her mother and father were worried. The next morning they went to look for her. They didn't find her and they didn't find any tracks. They were very sad. They didn't know what had happened to their daughter. They were very sad, but their son was thinking about his sister. One night he dreamed about her.

The Bear-Man and his new wife travelled far away, across mountain after mountain. It was getting to be winter and it was getting cold.

"Let's make a house here," the girl kept saying, "It is getting to be winter."

The Bear knew her brother was trying to find them, so every time he started to dig a hole he farted and he said, "Oh, we can't use this hole. It smells too much, people will come." And they went on. Finally they crossed many mountains, and snow was beginning to fall and they dug their house. The Bear and the girl crawled in and the Bear covered the opening with moss. They stayed in there so her brother couldn't find them.

"Whenever the girl was hungry the Bear would put his paw over her mouth and she would feel full. Whenever she was thirsty he would put his paw over her mouth, and she would feel like she had just had water. That is how bears can live in a hole all winter long. And the girl gave birth to two bear cubs.

But the girl's brother had a dream, and he knew that his sister was living with a bear, and he knew where they were, for he was a very powerful man.

Her brother came and he had strong medicine. He put his arrow on his bow and then he threw some hides towards the door of the bear house and called to the Bear Man to come out. Inside the bear and his wife listened.

"Come out, Bear Man," her brother cried, "I am going to kill you."

"Oh don't go out," said the Bear Man's wife, but the second time her brother threw the hides to the door the bear couldn't help it. He went outside and his wife's brother shot him.

The woman rushed out then. Her husband was dying.

"Don't ever marry again," he said. "If you do a bear will kill you," and he died.

"Alright," said her brother. "Now you are coming back with me."

He skinned the bear and he made her carry the hide on her back. They started back. When they were walking back the girl began to turn into a bear. First one hand and then the other, turned into a bear paw. Her brother was walking ahead, but he looked back. He saw her beginning to rise up big and rear like a bear. He took the bear hide from her and she was herself.

They went back. The girl smelled like a bear but many men asked her to marry them. She remembered what her bear-husband had said and she always said, "No, my husband is too jealous, I can't marry." She turned down many men.

One time a half-crazy man came and asked her to marry him. She said, "Do you have power to fight off monsters?" He didn't believe in powers, but he said, "Yes, I can take care of anything," so she married him.

In the old times a couple used to go off by themselves and make drymeat after they were married. So the girl went off, with her crazy husband. They were camped making drymeat when two big grizzly bears came after them.

"My husband, do you think you can kill them?" she asked.

"No, I don't think we'll make it," he said. "I never thought anything like this would happen."

They climbed a big tree, but the bears came and tore them to shreds. That is the end of the story. Since the time the brother looked for the Bear Man and his sister, bears have lived in holes in the ground all winter long, without eating.

BEAVER MYTH #7

USAKINDJI AND MOON MAN

One time Usakindji was walking in the bush. He saw some strange looking tracks. They were big tracks close together, big feet taking short steps. They were very straight and even, and they just went along in a straight line.

"How can people walk here without snowshoes?" Usakindji thought to himself. "He must have really big feet."

Usakindji wanted to find out so he followed the tracks.

Pretty soon he came to the place where the someone had camped. He saw where someone had been eating lynx. There was lynx grease on the ground. Usakindji knew that the person didn't eat the whole lynx, just the grease. Usakindji really wanted to know who made these straight little tracks with his big feet and ate lynx grease. The next day he followed the tracks again.

That night he came to another camp, just like the first one. That person had eaten lynx grease just like the first time. For two or three days Usakindji followed the tracks and every night he came to the same kind of camp.

Finally he caught up with the tracks. He saw a little man with big feet. It was Moon Man. Moon Man didn't have any teeth and that is why he couldn't eat meat, and he had to eat the juice that cooked out of the lynx.

When Moon Man saw Usakindji he said, "Aha, yes, hello. I'm lonesome," he said. "I'm glad you've come. You camp over there on the other side of the fire. You camp with me."

Usakindji said, "Alright." He camped on the other side of the fire from Moon Man. But Usakindji didn't feel right. He felt something was wrong and he'd better watch out. He couldn't sleep. He watched Moon Man from across the fire.

Moon Man hung up his big moccasins on his side of the fire. Usakindji hung up his on his side. Pretty soon he saw Moon Man looking at his moccasins. Then he knew what Moon Man was up to. He pretended to go to sleep. When Moon Man wasn't looking he got up and put his own moccasins up on Moon Man's side of the fire and Moon Man's moccasins on his side of the fire. Then he lay down again.

Moon Man thought Usakindji was asleep. Near morning he got up and threw the moccasins hanging next to Usakindji into the fire. He didn't know what Usakindji had done. He didn't know he had burned up his own moccasins. Moon Man used tricks like that all the time but this time he tricked himself. He used to kill people when he had taken their moccasins.

In the morning Usakindji got up and took down his moccasins from Moon Man's side of the fire. Moon Man jumped up and said, "Hey, those are mine!" Usakindji showed them to him, and Moon Man saw that he had burned his own moccasins. Usakindji had fooled Moon Man.

Moon Man said, "I'm stuck now. Maybe I will starve and that's the end of me." But Usakindji had ready one more trick. He told Moon Man. "No, you won't starve. I'll help you once." Usakindji had two pairs of moccasins. He gave one to Moon Man.

After that Moon Man said, "Let me stay with you for just one more night." Usakindji said all right so they set out together, Moon Man making short steps with his big feet and leaving a nice neat trail behind him. That night they made camp together. Moon Man said, "I'm hungry, we've got to get a lynx." Usakindji watched. Moon Man made a noise like an owl. Pretty soon a lynx came looking for that owl and Moon Man shot him. He cooked the meat and caught the juice as it dripped down.

"How come you just eat the juice?" asked Usakindji.

The Moon Man said, "I don't have any teeth. I can't eat the meat." He had to live by eating the juice.

"I'm going to make you teeth so that you can eat the meat," said Usakindji.

"No, don't do that," Moon Man said. "If you give me teeth maybe I'll get into big trouble. There's a bad place that I have to pass by. Every time I go there the people tell me to bite their fingers, but I just suck them. They reallyylike that, and after I suck their fingers they let me pass by. If I had teeth I might bite them and then they would kill me."

Usakindji didn't listen to what Moon Man said. He went ahead and made a set of teeth for him out of wood. He cut a stick so that it had sharp points like teeth and put it into Moon Man's mouth. Then he gave Moon Man some lynx meat. He ate it with no trouble. He liked it.

The next day Usakindji went one way and Moon Man went another. Moon Man had to go by the bad place. When he got there he saw a big camp with lots of people. They saw him coming and were all excited.

"Here comes that round man who always sucks our fingers."

"Boy, are we going to have a good time!"

"Who's first?" They all wanted Moon Man to suck their fingers. One really big tall lady, eight feet tall was going to be first.

Moon Man told them, "No I can't do that any more," but they wouldn't let him go without having their fun. When Moon Man began to suck that big lady's finger his new teeth just bit into it and pretty soon her finger was half gone. When they saw that they all got mad. They started to chase Moon Man around the camp. They shot lots of arrows after him but he ran away as fast as he could. He ran from their camp up into the sky and he has been there ever since. That is the story of how the moon got up into they sky.

BEAVER MYTH #8

USAKINDJI AND MOSQUITO MAN

Usakindji killed all the monsters that used to be in the world and eat people. One of the worst was Mosquito Man. This is how Usakindji killed him.

One time Usakindji tracked a toboggan. The track was fresh. When he caught up he saw a tall, slim fellow. That was Mosquito Man. Mosquito Man never looked back; Usakindji sat down on the toboggan.

"Gees, what the hell, my toboggan got stuck. Good road too," Mosquito Man said. He pushed and pulled and just about fell down. Pretty soon Mosquito Man saw a bear den. Mosquito Man said, "I'm going to cook you to-night. I'm going to come back for you soon as I make camp." Mosquito Man went on to make camp.

Usakindji jumped off the toboggan and killed that bear. He hid him in the snow. Inside the bear den he put old burned sticks. Then he shook the trees and snow fell down and there weren't any tracks.

Mosquito Man came back. "I make camp for you now, bear," he said. Mosquito Man had already made one stick to spit the bear's ribs on, one for hindquarter, one for forequarter, one for every part of the body. That's how man learned how to spit meat and roast it by the fire.

Mosquito Man reached into the bear's den. "Gees, you blue eyes (for bears have blue eyes), what are all these sticks? I don't know," he said to himself, and he pulled out the burned sticks and put them on his toboggan. Mosquito Man wasn't very smart; he thought maybe the bear had turned himself into sticks, but there was still meat inside.

Mosquito Man tried to spit the sticks and then he tried to eat them. "Gees, this bear is no good," he said. "For nothing I made camp. The sun's

still high; I'll go look for other game." Mosquito Man packed up and moved on.

Usakindji took the bear out of the snow and took it to the camp Mosquito Man had left. All the spits were ready. Everything was already made, all ready. Usakindji stayed all night.

Mosquito Man went to a big beaver dam. He went down under the ice and got nine beavers. He tied them all together by the feet, like a long rope.

The next day, Usakindji came. Mosquito Man saw him.

"Here, Asa, grandfather, pull out my beaver. I got ten furs," Mosquito Man said.

"Hah, asa, not your asa," Usakindji said, but he pulled out the Beaver, through the hole in the ice.

"One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine," Usakindji counted. "There's nine, not ten," he said. Mosquito Man came popping out of the hole after them.

"I'll kill you too, that makes ten furs," Mosquito Man said.

"You can't kill me, I've got no fur, just skin."

"I'll skin you too. You'll make half my blanket," Mosquito Man said.

Usakindji hid Mosquito Man's axe under the snow. "You forgot your axe under the ice," he said.

"You get it for me."

"I can't swim. I can't go in the water," Usakindji said. So Mosquito Man went down through the hole.

"I'll kill you with that axe," he said.

After he went down, Usakindji covered the hole with sticks and snow.

"Hey, it's dark down here. Where do I get out?" Mosquito Man called.

"Here" said Usakindji, and he brushed off the snow from a different place. Mosquito Man came up there and hit his head on the ice, wham.

"Oh, not there, here," Usakindji said, and he brushed the snow off in another place. Usakindji did that all over the lake.

Mosquito Man started to shiver and shake. "Good," thought Usakindji. Down below Mosquito Man called, "You got me, but till the end of the world, my people are going to suck man's blood.

Usakindji went back to the camp. The next day he came back. Mosquito Man had gone up into the Beaver house; he was frozen. Usakindji dug him up. He was twelve feet long, and thin. Usakindji cut him up into tiny, tiny, pieces and scattered them in the wind. Each tiny piece went "zzzz"; each was a mosquito.

That's why there are lots of mosquitoes in beaver houses in the spring time. Usakindji shouldn't have come and cut him up. Maybe he knew what he was doing though. It's a good thing to have mosquitoes in the summer time. In the summer time they bother moose, so moose just shakes his head. He can't hear you coming.

BEAVER MYTH #9

WHY THE MOOSE IS WARY OF MAN

Before the highway, young boys used to go out in the bush and try to make friends with some animal, like beaver, moose, caribou. That's how they get to be medicine men too. When somebody gets sick, you could dream to your friend and he would tell you what was the matter with the sick person, and then you could cure him. Like old asa, he made friends with Frogs.

Everybody used to go before the highway. You had to be clean and not lie around on the floor. You couldn't be getting drunk all the time; like now. When you made friends, your friends might tell you there was some part of the animal you couldn't eat, some cut of meat, or maybe you couldn't eat cow moose, just bull. Some people can't eat beaver.

One time there was a boy whose father sent him out to make friends and get a song from some animal. He sent him out in the bust early in the morning without any breakfast or any water. The boy went out and he was gone a long, long time. His mother and father began to worry about him. They thought "Maybe he's dead, maybe some animal caught him."

That boy was living with the moose. He lived with them, just like them. They talked together. He stayed with them for a long time. One time the moose knew that the boy's mother and father were worried. They told the boy to go back and stay with his parents. The moose showed him where to go; they were camped not far away.

The boy went back to his parents and they were very happy. He had an older brother too. Now the boy knew moose well, and his brother learned from him.

One day the boy and his older brother went out hunting. His brother

knew how to hunt moose well, and the boy turned into a moose and ran away with the moose.

One time the boy-moose decided to really make it hard for his brother. He went on a mountain covered with very thick bush. The moose-boy went in the center of the bush and lay down. After awhile his brother came. He saw moose tracks all around the thicket. He knew a moose was in the middle. He was a very good hunter. When he was hunting he would come close to the moose and then tap eagle feathers on a tree. The moose would get up, and then he would shoot him with his bow and arrow.

So his brother came through the thicket towards the moose-boy, When he came close, the moose-boy saw him and got up and ran away. His brother ran after him. The moose-boy jumped into the lake and swam across. His brother walked around the edge of the lake. He waited for the moose to come out of the water. When the moose-boy came out he was turned back into a real boy. It was his brother. He didn't shoot.

They parted ways and the moose-boy went back to live with the moose. He turned back into a moose. His brother went back to his people.

One time his older brother was walking through the woods. It was fall; mating season. He came across his brother lying on the ground, asleep. His horns were lying on the ground next to him. He was very thin.

"How poor you are, just skin and bones." his brother said to him. He got up, put on his horns and smiled. "Me poor? I'm not poor. This is mating season, I feel great." And he went off to chase some more cow moose.

Ever since that boy turned to moose, the moose have been wary of man; the moose know man; they are a little bit people.

USAKINDJI, BEAR AND CHICADEE

One time Usakindji was out walking, walking, walking, past one big deep creek and to the top of a big hill. He saw lots of trails, all around. "What kind of trails?" he thought to himself. "They must be bear trails."

Then he looked across the bush and he saw one big bear standing eating berries. "I want to talk to that bear," he thought, "but maybe I'll scare him or maybe I'll make him mad." "Oh, I'll call to the bear anyway," he thought. He called out, "Uncle, Asta,". The bear turned around and looked, looked, looked to see who was calling. Usakindji hid. He called again, "Uncle". The bear looked up again. "Who's calling me?" he thought. Pretty soon he saw Usakindji.

"I want to talk to you," Usakindji called out to the bear. "Come, I need company," the bear said.

Then Usakindji went over to the bear and the bear shook his hand. Usakindji told the bear, "I want to stay with you."

The bear said, "No, there's not enough food for you here. There's only my kind of food, the things that bears eat. What do you live on?"

Usakindji looked out over that country. All he saw was dried berries. The bear calls them "drymeat". He gets them in the fall and dries them.

Usakindji thought he better not eat the bear's drymeat. Usakindji told the bear, "I live on fresh berries just like you." "Alright," said the bear, and Usakindji started living with him.

Usakindji called him Asta, Uncle. He taught the people all the words for people - Sazi, Klaza, like that. Before that all people knew was mother.

Usakindji looked all over the country for berries. In the fall time

when there were lots of fresh berries he found the places where they grew and called the bear. "Uncle, Asta, come here. There's lots of food here. Lots of fresh meat. You eat lots."

After the bear had eaten lots Usakindji would lie down to sleep next to him. He didn't have any bedroll. The bear kept Usakindji warm. They lived like this all fall. Usakindji found lots of food for the bear and the bear ate lots.

Finally Usakindji thought to himself, "Maybe that bear is pretty fat now and I can kill him." That night when they were sleeping, he started to feel the bear's back to see how fat he was. The bear was so fat he couldn't even feel the backbone. But the bear was smart. He wasn't all the way asleep and he knew what Usakindji was up to. He felt Usakindji feeling his back and he knew Usakindji was going to kill him.

In the morning the bear talked to himself. "I know womething. I'm smart enough. I didn't sleep much. That guy Usakindji he felt all over my back. He thinks it's fat. I knowasomething's going to happen to me. Maybe he'll kill me. I'd better go run away." Then he told Usakindji, "You go look for more berries, you find a good place." So Usakindji went off into the mountain. Pretty soon that bear got everything ready. Then he ran away.

It started to snow after that. He went a long way and the snow covered his tracks. Even today bears run away to find a den when it is snowing so no one can follow their tracks. The bear found a good place and made himself a den.

That day when Usakindji came back he didn't see the bear and he called out, "Uncle, Asta! Here's lots of berries; lots of berries from high up on the mountain." But the bear didn't come. He didn't show up.

Usakindji went back to the same place they had camped and there was a little snow on the ground. "I don't know which way he went, that bear." He started to track him. Usakindji went to sleep and then he knew what place the bear had gone to. He went to that place but he couldn't find the bear. There were fallen trees all around. He looked for the bear around the windfalls. For three days he looked but he couldn't find him.

Finally Chicadee came. He saw Usakindji.

"Chicadee."

"What? What do you want?"

"I want to tell you something. Come."

"O.K." Chicadee came over to Usakindji.

"You find that bear for me. He's around someplace, but I can't find him. I know he's around here. If you find him for me, I'll give you heat," Usakindji told chicadee. "You'll have heat till the end of the world. I don't care how cold, you'll be warm all the time. I'll give you heat.

"O.K." that chicadee said. "O.K., I'll find him for you. That's my friend. The bear's my friend."

Chicadee started to look for bear. "When I find him I'll whistle. When you hear me whistle, you go over there," he told Usakindji. Pretty soon, not long, that Chicadee began to sing "Chick-a-dee; chick-a-dee," his bird's whistle. Now Usakindji knew where to go.

Usakindji started to go where the chickadee had shown him. When he got near the bear's hole the bear heard him and began to talk. The bear was pretty smart too.

"Usakindji," he said. "Why do you want to kill me? I've got a bad disease, don't get close, I'll give you my disease. Usakindji, you stay back. Don't kill me. You kill me and you'll get that disease." That

bear said this from inside his hole.

"O.K. I'll leave you," Usakindji said.

Usakindji went back and hid near the bear hole. He pretended to go away. Pretty soon the bear came out from his house. He looked all around. Usakindji was hiding. That bear looked all over, all around. Then he came out and said to himself;

"Uhf, Uhf, I'm sure smart, Uhf, Uhf. I've got no bad sickness. I'm alright. I just fooled him. I'm smart enough."

"Here, you're smart enough," said Usakindji, and he jumped up and killed the bear.

After that, Usakindji gave the chickadee a black collar of feathers around his neck. That collar is chickadee's heat. He got that from Usakindji. With that he's never cold.

THE TEN-FOOTED BEAR

The Ten-Footed Bear lives most of the time in the water like a seal. But he is very big, and his fur is long and white. His nose is black on the end, and his ears are small and lie flat against his head. The Ten-Footed Bear looks like a Polar Bear except that a Polar Bear has only four feet just like his cousins, Brown Bear and Black Bear. But Ten-Footed Bear has ten feet. He has five feet on one side and five feet on the other side.

When Ten-Footed Bear walks, all the five feet on one side step forward at the same time. Then all the five feet on the other side step forward at the same time. All the five feet on one side make a track like the track of a sled runner. Then all the five feet on the other side make a track like the track of a sled runner.

Sometimes when Ten-Footed Bear walks, he gets his feet tangled up. He has so many feet that he can't manage them all. Then he falls down.

One time a man was followed by a Ten-Footed Bear. The man heard the ten feet of the Ten-Footed Bear making tracks in the snow. The man looked over his shoulder. He saw the Ten-Footed Bear walking. The man was scared. He had never seen a Ten-Footed Bear! He didn't know what to do!

The man saw two big cakes of ice close together. He ran fast and went between the two cakes of ice. The Ten-Footed Bear followed him. The Ten-Footed Bear ran fast. Then his ten feet got tangled up. He fell between the two big cakes of ice.

Then the man threw his spear very hard. He hit the Ten-Footed Bear with his spear. Then the Ten-Footed Bear waved all his ten feet in the air. Then he was dead.

This is an old man's story. Tarah told this story. Tarah was an Eskimo man. Tarah said that he had never seen a Ten-Footed Bear. He had never seen a Ten-Footed Bear track, either. But Tarah's grandfather had.

ALASKAN MYTH #2

THE BEGINNING OF THE WINDS

In a village on the lower Yukon River, lived a man and his wife. Because they had no children, they were very sad.

One day the woman said to her husband, "Won't you go to the place on the tundra where a tree is growing? It grows all alone, and it is the only tree on the tundra. When you get there, cut a piece off the trunk of the tree and make a doll from the wood."

The man was sure that he could carve a doll from wood, so he started out to find the tree. When he left the house, he saw a long track of bright light, like that made by the moon shining on the snow. The bright track lay across the tundra in the direction that he must take. Along this path of light, he traveled far away, until at last he saw before him a beautiful object shining in the bright light.

When he went close to the bright object, he found that it was the tree for which he had been searching. The tree was small, so he took his hunting knife and cut off a part of the trunk and carried the piece home.

When he reached home, he sat down and carved an image of a small boy. His wife liked the doll so much that she at once set to work and made two beautiful fur parkies, two pairs of warm fur pants, and two pairs of strong muk-luks (snow boots). Then while the wife dressed the doll in the beautiful fur clothes, the husband carved some toy dishes from small pieces of the wood.

"But I can't see the use of all this trouble," he said. "We shall not be any better off than we were."

"Oh, yes," said his wife. "Don't you see, before this, we had only ourselves to talk about; but now we can be amused by talking about the doll too?"

When the doll was nicely dressed in a new parki, a new pair of fur pants, and a new pair of muk-luks, it was put in the place of honor. This was a skin-covered bench directly in front of the entrance. The toy dishes full of food and water were set before the doll, and the man and his wife went to bed because they were tired.

In the middle of the night, the man and his wife heard some low, whistling sounds.

The woman said, "Do you hear that? It was the doll!"

"It must have been the doll. There is nothing else here," answered the man.

They got up and made a light.

What did they see? The doll had eaten all of the food and had drunk all of the water, and they could see its eyes move!

The woman was so delighted that she picked up the doll and played with it as though it were a real little boy. At last she put the doll back on the bench, and she and her husband put out the light and went back to bed.

In the morning when they waked up, the doll was gone! They looked under the deer skins and in the food boxes and even under the stone lamp. The doll was gone!

At last they went outside, and there was the doll's footprints leading away from the door. They followed the tracks to the bank of the creek. A little way beyond the village, the tracks stopped, because the doll had walked from this place on the path of light upon which the man had gone to find the tree. The man and his wife did not follow any further, they turned around and went home.

Doll had traveled along the bright path until he came to the edge of day, where the sky comes down to the earth and walls in the light. Not very

far away, in the east, Doll saw a skin cover over a hole in the sky wall. The skin was bulging inward as though something were pushing on it from the other side.

Doll stopped and said, "It is very quiet in here. I think that a little wind will make it better."

So he drew his knife and cut the cover loose from the hole. A strong wind blew through and with it came some live reindeer.

Doll looked through the hole and saw another place like the earth. Then he put the cover over the hole again.

He told the wind, "Do not blow too hard. But sometimes blow hard, sometimes blow lightly, and sometimes do not blow at all."

Doll walked along the sky wall until he came to another opening. It was at the southeast and it pressed inward like the first.

When he cut the cover loose, the force of the gale swept in; and with it came reindeer, and trees, and bushes. Doll put the cover over the hole again.

He told the wind, "Do not blow too hard. But sometimes blow hard, sometimes blow lightly, and sometimes do not blow at all."

Doll walked on until he came to a hole in the south. When the cover was cut off, a hot wind came rushing in; and with it came rain and a spray from the great sea lying beyond the sky hole on that side.

Doll closed the opening and told the wind the same words that he had told to the others. Then he walked along to the west. There he saw another opening, and as soon as the skin was cut off, the wind brought in a heavy rain storm, with sleet and spray from the ocean.

Doll repeated his warning and went to the northwest. Here a blast of cold wind came rushing in. It brought snow and ice so that he was

chilled to the bone and half-frozen. As quickly as he could, he closed the sky hole just as he had the others.

Again he went along the sky wall till he came to the north. There the cold was so intense that he hesitated for a long time, but finally he cut away the cover. A fearful blast rushed in. With it came masses of snow and ice, which were soon spread all over the earth plain. He closed the hole very quickly, and said the same words he had said to all of the other winds. Then he traveled on until he came to the middle of the earth plain.

He looked up and saw the sky arching overhead. The sky was held up by long slender poles all leaning together at the top. The poles were all made of a beautiful material which he had not seen before, and he did not know what it was.

He traveled far away, until at last he reached the village from which he had started.

He wanted all of the people to be his friends, so walked clear around the village, and then he went into each of the houses. He went to his own house the last of all.

Doll lived in the village for a very long time. When his foster parents died, he was cared for by the people of the village, because they were his friends. For many generations, he lived in the village. He taught the people the custom of wearing masks; and ever since his time, the winds have blown and parents have made dolls for their children.

ALASKAN MYTH #3

LITTLE MAN OF THE TUNDRA

Many, many years ago, before there were any stars in the sky and only a few people lived on earth, there were two moons which sailed across the heavens side by side. One was a father-moon, the other a mother-moon, and each night they arose in the east and traveled westward — always side by side. They must give off as much light as possible, for not a star existed then.

Night after night they traveled their lonely way — nor did they ever complain. The Little Man of the Tundra was good to them; and they were obedient to him.

One clear night, however, when they had about reached the zenith, the father-moon began to wonder as he looked down on the vast reaches of snow and ice. The villages were quiet; and all the animals, the polar bears, the wolves, the foxes and the eagles were hiding.

He turned to mother-moon and said, "We've always traveled from east to west and never from north to south. I wonder what there is beyond the northern horizon." And in the same breath he said, "I think I'll take a run down there and see." He went. No sooner had he reached the horizon, when there suddenly formed a black cloud; he was engulfed in its density. A deafening noise split the atmosphere and he felt the grasp of a terrible hand.

Shaking himself free, he scurried back to his position in the heavens beside his moon-mate.

All out of breath he panted, "I heard the Little Man of the Tundra speak in that cloud — though I couldn't see him. His voice was loud, and he warned me; he said that if I ever left my place in the sky again he would destroy me. O-oooo, I'm scared!"

Well, that was enough! The little father-moon was satisfied to sail the sky where he belonged, and for years the two moons continued to move side by side.

Happy they were. Time passed — yes, hundreds of years went by and nothing was ever heard of the Little Man of the Tundra. Was he gone? Surely he couldn't be anywhere near. The little father-moon forgot about him at times.

With nothing else to do but to shine brightly in the heavens, he would grow bored and complain; but not the mother-moon. She'd rise each evening so bright and shiny, and smiling, too. She seemed content forever to watch over the villages below. But the father-moon? No he. He grew impatient and restless.

So one night he looked first carefully all about and then turned to the mother-moon and said, "I don't think the Little Man of the Tundra exists any more."

She replied, "You wouldn't be here if he didn't -- better stay where you are."

But he couldn't believe that. So, turning to the mother-moon again he said, "This time I'll run quickly to the south horizon and come right back. The night is so very clear and I don't believe the Little Man of the Tundra is near, if he does exist."

So saying, he slid down the heavens to the south horizon.

"Come back, come back!" cried the mother-moon.

But he only waved to her and called gaily. "I won't be long!"

Ah! Again, as he reached the horizon, he was suddenly engulfed in a dark, dense cloud. He was terribly frightened and turned around to run back to his position, but he was caught again in that horrible grip.

He called and called for help, but soon his calling was stopped.

No one knows how much he was hurt, or whether he was hurt at all, but they tell us that the Little Man of the Tundra took him in his powerful hands and crushed the little moon. The little moon was crushed and smashed and ground into smaller and smaller pieces. The moon cried and called, but no one came to help him. He was being punished for disobeying.

When the Little Man of the Tundra had ground him to very fine pieces, he cupped his hands with all the sparkling powder, raised them to his mouth and blew the powder off into the sky; and that's why we have stars.

Now the little mother-moon sails by herself in the sky, but she no longer smiles.

THE POOR BOY AND THE NORTHERN LIGHTS

There was a Poor Boy who lived in a big village. The boy had no mother and no father. That meant that he had nobody to make boots for him and nobody to give food to him.

He had a reindeer skin parka' (coat) without any hair left on it, and he had some short boots. They were just long enough to come to his ankles. He did not have any long boots, and he did not have any skin pants. Just the short boots and the reindeer parka were all that he had.

The Poor Boy went into the kazigi (kah-si-ghee'), or men's house to live. It was warm in the kazigi, and all of the men of the village came there to eat and to sleep.

Some of the people felt sorry for the Poor Boy and gave him food.

Poor Boy stayed in the kazigi a long time. He grew taller and taller, and the reindeer parka looked shorter and shorter.

A very rich man lived in the village. Every evening the rich man's wife brought food to the kazigi for him. And every evening the rich man's wife kept out a little meat from the dish. Poor Boy always stayed near the entrance. As the woman put her hand on the edge of the entrance, to climb up, she had a piece of meat in her hand. She was very close to Poor Boy and she dropped the piece of meat into his hand. None of the men in the kazigi saw her drop the meat.

Early in the winter, the men all made new masks to wear in the dances. The women prepared a great deal of food. All of the people from the next village were invited for a visit. When they came, there were dances and much feasting. There were presents for everybody, too. and Poor Boy received good presents.

His presents were new boots, new pants and a new parka. Poor Boy still stayed in the kazigi, but he tried to learn the work of the men in the kazigi. He watched carefully everything that the men did.

In the spring and summer when it was warm, Poor Boy went out and helped the fishermen who had helped him in the winter.

The next winter they did the same things.

One very cold night Poor Boy woke up. He went out of the kazigi into the moonlight. He noticed somebody beside him. Poor Boy could not see who that somebody was. It was like a person yet different somehow.

Before he knew what was happening, that "somebody" picked him up and flew up into the air. He tried and tried to come down, but he couldn't. That "somebody" carried him up and up until they reached the sky.

When he got to the sky, Poor Boy could see that "somebody" was a queer old walrus. The queer old walrus had carried him to the place of the walrus spirits, and the walrus spirits were the northern lights. He did not want to stay there, but he couldn't get down, so he stayed there for the rest of the year.

When it began to be warm, he noticed that there were not so many walrus; every day there were fewer and fewer. At last it was warm all the time and the walrus were all gone and he was left alone.

At last he remembered the spirit song that he should sing to bring his spirit helper. He sang his spirit song, and then he began to go around and around in the air.

He saw a wide doorway that was covered by a mat made of the rough grass that grows in ponds. He pushed aside the rough grass mat and went through the doorway. Soon he came to another doorway. It was covered by a mat made of green grass. The green grass mat was blowing back and forth

in the wind. Poor Boy pushed the green grass mat aside and went through the doorway.

All summer he went around and around through the air, and always he went down and down. At last he saw the land. There was a house with smoke coming up from the smoke hole. And there was the rest of the village!

Beside the village, there were some clay pots being burned. Poor Boy smelled the clay being burned, and he went faster and faster. At last he came down right beside an old woman who had no son, no daughter, and no husband. She was glad to see him! T

That young man, when he got back to earth, knew how to steal! Even though he was not trying to, he would steal from a little hook that he held in his hand. He did not steal from the other people who lived in the village, but if strangers came, he stole from them.

Sometimes when the men were in the kazigi, a fisherman would say, "I wish that I had some of those fish in the bay." And Poor Boy would steal some of them without going out of the kazigi. He could get salmon-berries without going to pick them, too. That Poor Boy was getting to be a good medicine man!

When the people wanted the weather to be calm, they would ask him to go up and bring fine weather. He could do it because all those walrus were his spirit helpers. That's the end!

ALASKAN MYTH #5

THE DWARFS OF HAWKINS ISLAND

Two men went hunting in the thick woods on Hawkins Island. They climbed to the top of a mountain and looked down the other side. Greatly to their astonishment, they saw a space of nearly flat ground below them. No trees were growing on the flat ground, and they heard someone shouting, "Ahoo! A boat is coming!"

At first the men could see nothing but the bare ground, but presently they saw that smoke was coming from holes in the ground. Because they were curious to look at this strange sight more clearly, the men went down the mountain-side to the flats.

A little man no bigger than a thumb came to meet them.

The little man said, "Don't abuse us! If you do, you will never get home."

The hunters looked at the little people and at their smoke-houses. The smoke-houses were so small that the hunters could not get into them. In fact, the houses were so small that the men could pick them up like toys, but they soon discovered that the little people did not like to have their smoke-houses picked up.

The two men made a bark-house for themselves quite near the little people. They had just begun to eat a meal, when one small man came to them and said, "We found a whale, and we are butchering it over on the other side of the flat."

When the hunters went with the little man, they found a great many of the little dwarfs on the beach. They were butchering a silver salmon, but they called it a whale. They each took a piece of salmon and gave one whole side of it to the two men.

The hunters stayed on the flats a long time . They had brought meat with them, and they went hunting and were never hungry.

One day, after the hunters had been there for some time, one of the little men came to them and said, "We have found a brown bear in a hole. Come and help us!"

The hunters took their bows and arrows and went to look for the brown bear. Its den was just above the salmon bones and all of the little men were standing around the hole with bows and arrows and spears in their hands.

The hunters found a mouse-hole, but no bear did they see, and they went back to their own camp.

Very soon a little man came running.

"The bear is biting one of our boys! Come and help us," he shouted.

The two hunters went back again. Still they could not see a bear. But a dwarf was lying on the ground in front of the mouse-hole. They could see that he had been bitten, because blood was on his face.

The two men began to dig in the ground. They wanted to know where the bear was hiding. They dug and dug and found a mouse! They killed it and threw it onto the ground. The dwarfs were glad to get the bear!

Because their home was so far away on the other side of the mountains, the little fellows had never seen big men. Neither had the two hunters seen the little people. But they knew that anyone who saw the little people was lucky all his life.

The two hunters wished to be lucky, so they stole two of the dwarfs and hid them in their clothes. The hunters were ready to go back to their homes, so they walked away from their camp. They walked and walked, but when they looked around, they saw that they were still at their camp. They

worked hard, but they could not get away.

The Little men told the hunters that they must give back the dwarfs which had been stolen, but they were so tiny that the hunters could hardly hear them when they shouted. At last the hunters put the two dwarfs down onto the ground.

Then the two dwarfs said, "When you get home, do not let anyone come this way, because they will never get home."

The hunters promised and then they were able to go home. When they arrived at the village, all of the people came to hear them tell of their visit to the land of the little men.

THE MOUNTAIN WHICH FOUGHT A BATTLE

One time all of the fire-breathing mountains on Unalaska and Umnak Islands began to dispute among themselves about which one had the largest fire inside. They quarreled and quarreled, but not one of them was willing to give up to any of the others. Each one was sure that its fire was the largest.

The quarrel went on for some time, with much grumbling and rumbling. At last the mountains began to fight, and they threw fire and rocks at each other in a most frightful battle.

The smaller volcanoes could not stand against the larger ones. They became desperate with rage, and in their despair, one by one they exploded into such small pieces that never again could they be high mountains.

Finally one two volcanoes were left: Makusinkaia on Unalaska, and Recesnaia on Umnak. They had overcome all of the others, but they were still hot for battle, so they fought a duel. The noise was frightful. Fire and rocks and ashes were thrown out in huge amounts. They killed all the living things in the neighborhood, and even the air became heavy.

At last the Umnak volcano could see that it was almost beaten. It was exhausted. It made one final effort and gathered all of its powers together and blew itself up!

The Makusinkaia was the victor and not very much harmed, although it had sent out great amounts of fire and rocks and ashes. There were no more enemies for it to fight, so it grumbled a while. Then it became quiet and put itself to rest. But from time to time it smokes a little.

ALASKAN MYTH #7

THE CHILKAT BLANKET

A small group of women went into the woods to look for wild celery, the first sign of spring. It would be good to eat after a winter diet of oil and dried salmon. They gathered as much of the celery as they needed and tied it into bundles so that it would be easy to carry to the village. Late in the afternoon, they started homeward.

Among the women was the daughter of the chief. She put some large bundles of the wild celery on her back and walked along with the others. Some very dry twigs were close beside the trail, and the chief's daughter began to pick them up to carry home to use in starting fires.

All at once the chief's daughter slipped into a huge footprint of a brown bear. She stumbled so hard that her bundles broke loose from the thongs which held them, and she had to stop to tie them up again, all the while grumbling crossly and saying bad things about all the bears in the world.

The other women kept on walking down the trail and were quickly out of sight around a bend.

The chief's daughter put her bundles onto her back again and went down the trail toward home. Presently it was dark in the woods, and all at once the girl heard footsteps behind her.

She turned around quickly and found herself held closely in the arms of a very handsome youth. He whispered soft words in her ear and at last persuaded her to follow him to his home and to become his wife. Deep in the forest, they reached a village, and the girl learned that her new husband belonged to the Bear tribe.

The girl did not like to stay in the Bear tribe, and one day she escaped and reached the sea shore. She looked across the water and saw a fisherman in a canoe.

She called to him for help, but he would not come close to land until she promised to be his wife. Then he touched his canoe with his killing-club, and it sprang to land.

The girl stepped into the canoe just as her Bear-husband and his friends appeared at the edge of the forest.

The man took his club in his hand, jumped from the canoe and hit Bear-husband on the forehead. Bear-husband's heart was right behind his forehead, and when the club hit him he dropped down dead.

The girl soon discovered that her new husband was not a real man, but a good sea spirit named Gonaquade't.

Gonaquade't jumped into the canoe and put to sea. Soon the canoe sank to the bottom of the ocean, where Gonaquade't lived in a great rock house.

When they reached the house, Gonaquade't wrapped the girl in his cedar-bark canoe mat and carried her through the house to a big room in the back.

Gonaquade't was kindly and gentle, and the girl loved him very much. By and by they had a little boy who was just like any other little boy.

The mother remembered that in her tribe, it was necessary for her son to be trained to hunt and fish and to do all the things that a man should do, by her mother's brother. At last the boy was old enough, and the father gave his consent for the boy and his mother to leave him and to go back to her tribe. But first she had to promise that she would not forget Gonaquade't. She kept her promise by weaving for him a beautiful ceremonial robe, with pictures showing their meeting and their courtship. It took her a long time to make it, but when it was finished and her son

was grown up to be a man, she took the robe to Gonaquade't in his under-sea house.

..... In the meantime, Raven had gathered together all the knowledge that was needed to make life on earth possible. Before he went back to his home in the high snow-peaks, he traveled all over the world, and at last he came to the sea shore and went into a great cave which he found there. Inside the cave, he found Gonaquade't seated on a long bench and with the beautiful blanket thrown over his shoulders.

..... Gonaquade't received Raven courteously, and had food placed before him on long, carved wood platters. After Raven had feasted, Gonaquade't taught him many dances; and when Raven was ready to leave, Gonaquade't gave him the blanket because it was his most precious possession. Raven took it to the people on the land so that they could copy it.

..... Gonaquade't had the very first Chilkat blanket, but after Raven brought it to the people on the land, they made many blankets with a story. And the people called themselves the Chilkat people, and they still use the blankets in some of their dances -- the ones that Raven taught to them.

THE MOOSE, THE SHEEP AND THE CARIBOU

The Moose, the Sheep and the Caribou all had a camp together in the timber.

The Moose said, "I am the chief! I am the Big Chief!"

But the Sheep said, "No, I am the Chief."

And the Caribou said, "I am Chief!"

Moose said, "I am the biggest, I should be Chief. Caribou is next larger. He will be Little Chief. Sheep will be last."

But Sheep said, "I am the smartest. I understand everything. I am the boss."

Moose and Sheep and Caribou talked and talked. But no one was willing that the other should be chief. At last they agreed to choose a number, and the one with the largest number should be chief.

Moose said, "My number is as many as the number of hairs on my back."

And Sheep said, "My number is as many as the number of hairs on my back."

Then Caribou said, "And my number is as many as the number of hairs on my back."

They talked and they talked. At last they agreed to count the hairs on their backs.

Sheep had the largest number of hairs on his back, so he won. Moose was next, then Caribou.

But Moose was not satisfied. He said, "I have the biggest bones."

Then Sheep said, "No your bones are too soft. They break easily."

Moose said, "My legs are long. In the deep snow, I can walk farther than you can."

But Sheep said, "No, In winter, I am wise. I do not go down into the deep snow. I stay on the top of the hill. Your bones are soft. Feel them. They break easily."

Moose felt of his bones. Yes, they were soft. So were the bones of Caribou. Sheep's bones were hard. They were hard like iron.

Sheep said, "I am Chief."

Then Sheep had another idea. He said, "Tonight we will all go to the top of the hill. He that first gets cold and has to go down into the timber cannot be chief."

They all went onto a high bald peak. A cold wind came up. It blew and blew. Caribou became cold. He had to leave the peak and go down into the timber. Still the cold wind blew. By and by Moose became cold and he had to go down into the timber. But Sheep stayed on the bald peak all night. The next morning he came down and joined the others.

Sheep said, "Let there be no Chief. It only makes trouble. Let us all be brothers. I will be the oldest brother. Moose may be the next brother and Caribou may be the youngest brother."

Moose and Caribou thought about being brothers. They liked that idea very much. They all agreed to live like brothers.

Sheep said, "my legs are short. I shall stay on the high hills so that the wolves cannot catch me. You, Moose and you, Caribou, stay down in the timber and be warm."

Moose said, "All right."

Caribou said, "All right."

After that there was no more talk about being Chief and they got along in peace.

ALDER PEOPLE AND SUN PEOPLE

Once there was war between the Alder People and some other people. The Alder People killed off all but a woman and her daughter. Afterwards the woman stayed outside and cried all the time.

"I wish someone would come around and marry my daughter."

She cried for a long time, until Frog came and asked, "What about me?"

The woman asked him, "How are you going to get revenge on my brothers who were killed?"

The Frog said, "Every time when I jump from under a man's feet, I think that I have done something great."

But the woman thought that that wasn't enough.

"What about me?" The next was a little bird.

The woman asked, "What could you do?"

"When I scratch up the ground, I think that I have done something great."

But the woman didn't think much of that either.

Then came a Snipe. "What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I jump around the edge of the river, I think that I have done something great."

But that wasn't enough.

The Blue Jay came next.

"What could you do?"

"When I pick up all the salmon eggs around the beaches, I think that I have done something great."

But that was not enough.

Then Magpie came.

"What about me?"

The woman asked him, "What could you do?"

"When I find something that is hidden away, I think that i have done something great."

But she did not think that that was enough.

Then Robin came.

"What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I pick those red berries, I think that I have done something great."

But that wasn't enough.

The Kingfisher said, "What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I catch those little fish, I think that I have done something great."

But the woman didn't think much of that.

Then came the Goose.

"What about me?"

The woman asked him, "What could you do?"

"When I fly over seven bays without rest, I think that I have done something great."

But that was not enough.

4 The Fox came next.

"What about me?"

"What could you do?"

The Fox said, "When I travel around the world in one night, I think that I have done something great."

The Brown Bear came.

"What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I start to get mad and start to run after someone and tear up all the earth and break everything, then I think that I have done something great."

The woman thought a long time before she refused the Brown Bear.

The came the Black Bear.

"What could you do?"

"When I slap anything and make it fly away from me, I think that I have done something great."

But the woman refused him too.

The Wolverine asked, "What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I find a cache and rob it, I think that I have done something great."

But that wasn't enough.

The Goat came.

"What about me?"

"What could you do?"

"When I climb the steepest hill, I think that I have done something great."

But he was refused.

At last came the Sun Man. He had a cane.

The woman asked, "What could you do?"

"When I start to make the rivers boil and heat the mountains half-way down, I think that I have done something great."

The old lady said, "Show us how you make the water boil and heat the mountains."

The Sun Man gave the woman his cane and said, "If I should start a fire and the fire comes toward you, put this cane over the top and the fire will stop."

He left them and crossed the river and the river boiled. He caused a fire. When the fire started to reach the woman, she passed the cane over it and put the fire out. The woman thought it was great and gave her daughter to him.

The Sun Man went home with the girl up in the sky. The woman told the Sun Man before he left that her people were all killed by the Alder People and that she wanted revenge. The Sun Man didn't say anything, but went home.

ALASKAN MYTH #10

ADVENTURES OF RAVEN

When the sky was clear, there was a little light from the stars, but most of the time the world was dark. Raven felt sorry for man, and sometimes he had a hard time to find food for himself, too.

A very rich man, who was also the chief, kept the daylight all for himself. He had the daylight and the sun and the moon in boxes that were fastened by thongs to the rafter of the house.

The chief had a daughter who was very beautiful, and he had two servants. The name of the one servant was Old Man Who Foresees All Trouble of the World, and the name of the other servant was He Who Knows Everything that Happens. The two servants looked after the daughter. Especially did they take care to see that she had clean water to drink.

Raven wanted to get daylight, and he knew where it was. He traveled a long time in the dark. When he became tired, he changed into a raven and flew. When his wings became tired, he changed into a man again and walked along.

At last he put on the raven-skin that his father had given him and flew through a hole in the sky. Just as he took off his raven-skin to leave it, he saw a light. He flew towards it, and at once he was out of the dark and in the light.

There was a village, and it was light in the village! He went among the people, but they were so many that they did not notice him.

He saw the big house of the village where, he knew, all the important meetings were held. Quite close to the meeting house was a smaller house where people had a home. A tall pole was set up in front of the home, and on top of the pole were a wolverine and a wolf carved from wood and painted in bright colors.

Farther along the street was the chief's house, and in front of it was a large pond of clear water.

As she often did, the oldest daughter of the chief came to the pond to get water. When she saw Raven, she asked him to sit down on the grass, and they talked for a long time.

Raven liked the girl so much that he asked her to marry him. But she was afraid that her father would not approve, so she said no.

The girl took the water and went back to the house and Raven stayed beside the pond. He wished for her to come back, and when he had wished hard enough, she started back.

When the girl picked up the water-carrier, her father said "Why do you go yourself? I have many servants."

"They always bring muddy water," she said, and went back to the pond.

The girl was dressed in a beautiful marten-skin garment that reached nearly to her ankles, and around her neck was a wide ruff of deer-skin. She was beautiful!

Raven worked some magic, and when the girl dipped water from the pond, he changed himself into a tiny spruce needle and fell into the waters.

Twice the girl tried to throw out the spruce needle, but she could not do it. Raven thought, "Drink it!" And she took a drink of water and swallowed the spruce needle, too.

After quite a long time, the girl had a little baby. The chief was so pleased that he took a spruce-root basket and cut it in two and made a cradle for the baby. Ever since that time, cradles made like half-baskets have been used.

The baby had such bright eyes and they moved so quickly that He Who

Knows Everything that Happens said, "His eyes look like those of Raven."

"So the baby was named Raven."

The Grandfather was so happy to have the baby in the house that he gave the child everything which he wanted as playthings. Everyday the baby was washed, to make him strong and healthy; and every day his grandfather gently pulled his head and feet, to make him grow. Very soon he could creep about the house, and not long after that he could walk. He wanted to play with everything that he saw.

One day the boy began to cry. He would not stop crying, although many things were offered to him as playthings. He pointed to the boxes which were hung from the rafter of the house; and he would not be satisfied with anything else. Finally the grandfather feared that the boy would be sick because he cried so much.

He took down the boxes and opened the first one. It was full of stars, and the boy played with them for a while. But all at once the stars whisked away through the smoke-hole and flew up into the sky.

Then the boy began to cry again. "Boo-hoo, moon! Boo-hoo, moon!"

His grandfather opened the second box and took out the moon. The boy was delighted and bounced the moon about like a big yellow ball. The moon bounced through the open doorway, and when the boy went running after it, it bounced again and went right up into the sky.

The little boy cried harder than ever. His eyes showed different colours, and the people thought that he must be more than an ordinary child. So his grandfather took down the last box and opened it and took out the sun.

"My grandchild," he said, "I am giving you the last thing that I have in the world."

Then he bored a hole in the sun and fastened a string through the hole and around the child's neck.

The boy stopped crying and presently his mother and his grandfather both went out of the house. Then he changed himself into the form of a raven and flew away with the sun in his beak. He tossed the sun up, and it went high above the sky. Then he came to a hole in the sky. He put on his raven-skin again. He was Raven and he went back to his old home.