

Some Coast Miwok Tales

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Isabel Kelly, who received her Ph.D. in 1932 at the University of California, Berkeley, lives in Tepepan, Mexico. In the 1930's, she carried out field research among the Southern Paiute, Northern Paiute, and other California Indian groups that resulted in a series of ethnographic papers. This was followed by archaeological work in Arizona and West Mexico. Since 1939, she has lived almost continuously in Mexico, except for stints in Bolivia and Pakistan. The material presented here is a by-product of ethnographic study among the Coast Miwok in 1931-32, when she was a graduate student in anthro-

pology. The tales were put in tentative shape for publication soon after completion of the field work. Recently, the introductory sections were rewritten and several end notes were added or modified. The orthography used in this paper is Dr. Kelly's own as recorded in the early 1930's, and varies slightly from that of Callaghan's "Bodega Miwok Dictionary" (1970). Concerning her consultants, Dr. Kelly recalls: "Both Mr. Smith and Mrs. Copa were agreeable, cooperative, and blessed with a delightful sense of humor; despite the passage of decades, I remember them vividly and with genuine affection."

THE stories herein presented were recorded between December of 1931 and May of the next year, incidental to ethnographic field work among the Coast Miwok, in Marin County, just north of San Francisco, California. Some qualify as myths; most are animal stories. Some are short fragments; others are comparatively long, in some cases with the component incidents not well integrated. The collection is far from complete but is augmented to some extent by the Miwok tales published by Merriam (1910), among which are seven from the two Coast Miwok dialectic groups and one from the Lake Miwok. In addition, de Angulo and Freeland (1928) have published a number of tales from the Lake Miwok (and Pomo).

Consultants were Tom Smith (referred to below as TS) (called also Tomás Comtechal)

of the Bodega or Western dialectic group and María Copa Frías (MC) of the Marin or Southern group (Barrett 1908:303-5). Mr. Smith was by far the elder and, on many scores, the better informed, but as raconteur Mrs. Copa was the better. Although both were more fluent in Spanish than English, in those days my Spanish was inadequate, and the tales were recorded directly in English. Editing has been limited as far as possible. Vocabulary has been changed very little, but there has been minor "correction" of grammar; repetition has been retained.

Some data concerning the consultants' background are pertinent. Mr. Smith's father and paternal grandfather were from the Fort Ross area, hence were Southwest Pomo; "they came here to fish." His father, in fact, was "baptized at Bodega, under a tree," before



Tom Smith (Thomás Comtechal) and María Copa Frías, both photographed by C. Hart Merriam, 1927. Courtesy of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8, *California*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

there was a church. His paternal grandmother, born at *tokau*, on the west side of Bodega Bay, "had two languages": Pomo and Coast Miwok, the latter of the Bodega or Western dialect.

The mother of Mr. Smith was born near Petaluma and was, as he expressed it, "half Petaluma, half Tomales, and half Bodega." The first two refer to the Marin dialect of Coast Miwok; the last, to the Bodega dialect. The mother's parents were essentially local: his maternal grandfather was "from around this country"; his maternal grandmother from Coleman Valley where Mr. Smith was born. As a young man, he lived about five years among the Lake Miwok, where he married a Southeast Pomo woman by whom he had two daughters. With his Pomo wife he spoke "a little in Spanish and a little in English." He also spent a good deal of time intermittently on the coast, among the Southwest Pomo, and was a Bole-Maru participant (see Note 15). Evidently Mr. Smith was exposed to considerable outside influence, although absorption of tales from non-Miwok sources may have been limited by linguistic differences.

Mrs. Copa was born at *etca-tamal*, near Nicasio, and was christened María Austina [*sic*; Agustina? Faustina?] at Benson, Lucas Valley, "where the poor farm is." Her parents were Pedro Copa of Solano [Mission?] and Juanita Bautista (native name: *sekiak*, an aquatic plant, apparently horse tail), who was affiliated with the San Rafael mission.

Mrs. Copa's paternal grandfather was one of Vallejo's captains and, as such, was considered "Mexican." However, his father was a "Solano Indian," perhaps Wintun (?), and his mother probably was the same. Mrs. Copa's cultural heritage from the male side was negligible. Because of mistreatment, the grandfather defected, with some of his "Indian" soldiers; the group was apprehended and wiped out. Mrs. Copa's father seems to have had little to do with his wife's family, and she was raised by her mother and her maternal grandparents.

Her mother (Juana Bautista) was the daughter of María Nicolasa (native name: *silai*, apparently *Sidalcea malvaeflora*, which produces an edible leaf) and El Siario, factotum at the San Rafael mission, where he was laundryman, violinist for Mass, and night watchman. His cultural affiliations are unambiguous; both his parents (christened Isidro and Isidra) were from the vicinity of San Rafael, hence Coast Miwok of the Marin group.

Mrs. Copa's grandmother, María Nicolasa, is a key person because from her Mrs. Copa learned the tales presented here. It is uncertain if the grandmother were born in the San Rafael area or in San Francisco, but apparently she was baptized at "San Dolores" [*sic*] and had lived at both the San Rafael and Dolores missions. Theoretically, her background could have been Coast Miwok, Costanoan, or that of one of the other native groups assembled in San Francisco. However, the mother of María Nicolasa was named Otilia and was from Nicasio; her father, Otilio, either was from the Dolores mission in the first place or had been taken there from Coast Miwok country. In any event, the native language of María Nicolasa was the Marin dialect of Coast Miwok. In addition, she could communicate, although not easily, with the *kekos* or *tüstüko*, as the people of San Leandro and (presumably Mission) San Jose were called. They could have been Costanoan or of some undetermined Miwok speech (A.L. Kroeber 1907:26, fn. 64). Her contact with them seems to have been related to the Pleasanton movement of the 1870's. It is evident that extraneous influences may also have colored the tales that Mrs. Copa learned from her grandmother, María Nicolasa.

THE LEGENDARY WORLD

Manifestly, the tales were an important means of instructing the young in Coast Miwok lore. "The old stories are called *a'kala*" (MC) and were related by women as well as men. Song was interspersed with the narrative (for

example, Nos. 11, 19*b*, 21, 22, 23). As usual, winter nights were the appropriate time for recitation:

"Coyote was our god. Four months every winter, [they] told stories about him" (TS).

"My grandmother used to tell them [the tales] every night in winter; she said the nights in summer were too short. If she told them in the day it would make the day short . . . Some of the stories were so long I went to sleep" (MC).

In combination with various isolated statements, the tales give some idea of the legendary world of the Coast Miwok:

Far to the north was a mysterious land: "*wali-kapa* was a sort of cliff or mountain. Beyond it the young ducks live. They say that on the other side the sky comes way down. It is to the north; it is not [reached by] a passage that is closed" (MC). For the same Marin Coast Miwok, Merriam (1910:214, fn. 21) has a somewhat clearer account and doubtless is correct in identifying the passage with the north hole in the sky.

There was neither creation nor creator, although Coyote (*óye-óyis*) dominated the scene and, to considerable extent, was responsible for certain natural and cultural features. His trickster aspect is little evident, and in one tale (No. 23) he was duped by the Blackbirds.

His land lay far to the west, beyond the ocean. He appeared first on the primeval water, followed by his grandson, Chicken hawk (*walinápi*),¹ the latter in the form of a feather floating on the water (No. 2; cf. Merriam 1910:203-204, who has another account from the Marin Coast Miwok). Coyote dried the water and land appeared without intervention of earth divers. He undertook to regulate the tides, first establishing such excessively low tide that the fish died, except those that managed to survive in water holes in the rocks. Later he corrected the error and arranged the tides as they are today (TS). There is a bald statement

to the effect that Coyote sometimes caused thunder (TS), and informants did not mention that the rainbow was considered Coyote's bow (Merriam 1910:223). In the tales I recorded there is almost no reference to celestial phenomena.

Coyote established his first ranchería at San Lucas, near Tomales (TS; Notes 12, 18). Eventually he returned west, across the ocean, "where the sun sets," and there the dead go to be with him (No. 19a; Note 4). So that his house in the afterworld would not be visible from the mainland, Coyote smoked, and the smoke formed fog (No. 14).

Coyote's "first people"² had "Land" and "Water" names, as did later folk (TS), apparently the reflection of a moiety organization. Eventually, Coyote turned his first people into animals (No. 3) and made the ancestors of the modern Indians. Some, of wood, became the Coast Miwok (cf. Merriam 1910:159); others, of mud, "might be" the South Pomo (No. 3). Despite the feather antecedent of Chicken hawk, informants did not mention people manufactured of feathers, although that notion is reported for the Lake and Marin Miwok (Merriam 1910:146, 149, 204-205) and for other Miwok groups. When Coyote fashioned human figures of mud, he made four or eight; "he wanted them in pairs and never made three" (TS). Four ordinarily is the ritual number, but occasionally in the tales three seems to function as such (for example, No. 4, and possibly No. 19c).

Coyote was "mean" and "never helped people; he worked by himself" (TS). Upon occasion, he divided himself; in one account (No. 13) he split into four parts; in another (No. 14), into two, and the left side became his brother. He and his first people survived a deluge (No. 7) and two conflagrations (Nos. 8, 19c). Coyote initiated menstruation by administering a beverage based on red paint to Mallard duck, wife of Chicken hawk (No. 5), and from that time fishing was prohibited

during the wife's menses. He sponsored death because he enjoyed hearing people cry (No. 6); he did not oppose death, only to be thwarted by Meadow lark, as is reported for some Miwok and Pomo groups (A. L. Kroeber 1907: 203; Merriam 1910:55-56, 131-132, 212-213; de Angulo and Freeland 1928:241; Barrett 1933: 249-250, 321-322).

Although he dispatched Humming bird to steal fire (No. 8), Coyote seldom ate cooked food. His wife, Frog woman, was unable to prepare meals because "she stayed in the water all the time" (TS). Nor was Coyote a generous provider. "Frog woman said that Coyote was a little bit stingy. He would crumble half an acorn in his fingers without pounding it and then make mush of it. Coyote didn't like to have his wife tell that story" (TS). In order to show Chicken hawk how to treat women, Coyote beat his wife, whereupon she left him and took refuge in the water. With a net he tried unsuccessfully to extract her (No. 19a).

At one time, Coyote wanted to marry Crab woman but was rejected:

"Coyote made *lupu-láma* (rock hole), a rock on Duncans Point, because he had no place to stay. He wanted to marry Crab woman (*amáta-kuléyi*) but she wouldn't have him. He stayed at that place alone, for a long time and finally went back to San Lucas. Coyote was all alone. Crab woman did not like him because when he opened his mouth it had too strong, too bad a smell" (TS).

Coyote had a brother, not identified by name; he is mentioned once only (No. 14). In none of the tales does Wolf figure. Several accounts (for example, Nos. 19a-c) concern the escapades of Chicken hawk, the grandson of Coyote; time after time, the latter had to come to his aid and sometimes restored him to life. Coyote and his spouse, Frog woman, had no children (TS), unless one counts Obsidian young fellow, born of Frog woman who, in the form of a deer, was impregnated by the point of

an arrow shot by Chicken hawk (No. 2). Obsidian man was a prominent figure among the Wappo (H. R. Kroeber 1908:323) and Pomo (Barrett 1933:589-590).

Coyote's grandson, Chicken hawk, had a small brother named *witwit*, whom he carried in his hair net (No. 19a). Chicken hawk also had a son called *kikus* or *kiküs* (No. 2); he was born from his navel, bearing a small bundle under his arm. In one tale (No. 5), Mallard duck was the wife of Chicken hawk; in another (No. 19a) his wife was Mountain lion:

"Chicken hawk's two sons used to pass through *wali-kapa* [entrance to the north country; see above] with their aunt, Bobcat (*tolóma*). She was the sister of Mountain lion (*upúsku*) [wife of Chicken hawk]. One of the sons was Chicken hawk's own child. The other was his wife's; I don't remember the name of this one" (MC).

The tales tell us something of several of Coyote's first people:

Grandfather Humming bird (*papoyis-kulúpis*) was a messenger, carrying news from one settlement to another (MC).

Meadow lark (*hulúma*) used to be a "doctor," and a song of the *wálipo* doctor [Kelly 1978:421-422] refers to him as *hulúma-tai'i* (meadow-lark-man) (TS).

Sea gull "was one of Coyote's men. Sometimes Coyote did not like the kind of work Sea gull did. He didn't say anything about it—didn't bother with it. Sea gull was a basket maker; he made baskets for Coyote. When he saw it was low tide, he went to the beach and gathered drift stuff in his basket" (TS). [It is interesting that this craft is associated with a male figure. However, it was acceptable for a man to make burden baskets, mortar hoppers, and the willow container for hunting equipment (Kelly 1978:418).]

Spider (*póküm*) was malevolent and "fights people." An obscure reference to his being a "fire-holder" (TS) may relate to the Yuki notion that Spider alone possess-

ed fire until it was stolen from him (A. L. Kroeber 1907:185).

Deer (*tcoyéke*) (TS) also was one of Coyote's henchmen.

"Mountain snake" (*pa'is-patai*) was "the mother of Rabbit and Elk. She stayed curled up inside a basket in the ground, but her children take after her in having large eyes" (MC).

Weasel (*lokóm*) used to sit in the brush and play the double-bone whistle skillfully (MC).

Lizard (*peténya*) insisted that the human hand have fingers (No. 4). This is a common theme among Miwok and neighboring peoples, but they regarded the Lizard as male. Not only was MC's Lizard decidedly female, but she was embroiled in marital problems.

It seems significant that sea mammals, fish, and shell fish (except for Crab woman) do not figure among Coyote's first people.

There is some slight suggestion of bear impersonation. One relates to *kikus* or *kiküs*, the bundle-bearing infant born from the navel of Chicken hawk (No. 2). The bundle in question was distinctly mysterious:

"Sometimes *kiküs* would threaten to show Coyote that bundle he had under his arm. It was called *kulen-tawai* (bear-hide). He would say, 'If you hit me, I'll open this bundle.' The old man would say, 'No, don't; I might die.' Sometimes *kiküs* unwrapped 'this thing' and hung it up as if it were four bear skins. Then he folded it again and put it under his arm" (MC).

Another hint of bear impersonation refers to the Raven brothers who dressed in bear skins when Coyote sent Chicken hawk to them (No. 22).

As is the case in many areas, the tales explain certain natural phenomena: the stony terrain (Nos. 15, 16); a "rock hole" where Coyote lived after having been spurned by Crab woman (see above); a perforation and a

depression in a stone (No. 17); a rock in human form, reputedly once visible (No. 22; Note 30); and, by implication, the abundance of obsidian on Mount St. Helena (No. 2; Note 10). Certain aspects of animals and humans are explained: the local scarcity of woodpeckers (No. 12); rabbit's hare lip, long ears, and "swollen" eye (No. 9); towhee's red eye (No. 11); hummingbird's red throat (No. 8); bat's wings (No. 10); and, somewhat obscurely, raven's consumption of carrion (No. 22). The form of the human hand is accounted for (No. 4), and Merriam (1910:159) has a Coast Miwok explanation why local people cannot stand the cold.

COMMENTS

Comparative notes are sparse, and what few there are date more or less from the time the tales were collected. Owing to four decades of residence in Mexico, I have been out of touch, and access to the literature is limited. It is evident, however, that the Coast Miwok tales to follow align with those of the area that Kroeber long ago designated as the northern part of Central California (A. L. Kroeber 1907:169-170).

There is nothing startlingly distinctive about the tales below, but a few details are of interest. An isolated statement—unfortunately not forming part of a tale—indicates that Coyote's first people had "Land" and "Water" names. As noted above, this is strongly suggestive of a former moiety organization. Other special features include *kikus* or *kikius*, a bundle-bearing infant born from the navel of Chicken hawk, and *witwit*, the small brother of Chicken hawk, who resided in the hair net of the latter.

Some of the stories are widespread—for example, variants of the evil father-in-law, who gave the daughter's husband or aspiring suitor Herculean tasks to perform (Nos. 19a, b). The lizard who imposed the form of the human hand is a common theme in California, but in a Coast Miwok account (No. 4), Lizard

is female, not male. Another tale popular in California is that of the Cubs and the Fawns (No. 20). And there are absences: a true creator; earth divers; Wolf, and the antithesis between him and Coyote; the sky rope; the tying or braiding together the hair of adjacent adversaries as they slept; the notion of people constitutionally unable to eat; animal marriages; the dentate vulva; Loon woman; and Crane, who obligingly provided passage across a stream. Most of these seem significant; some, however, could be the consequence of incomplete information.

Resemblances to Lake Miwok lore are less marked than might be expected, inasmuch as one of the chief informants of de Angulo and Freeland (1928) was Maggie Johnson, presumably the Lake Miwok daughter of my Bodega Coast Miwok consultant, Tom Smith (see above). However, if Mr. Smith lived only five years in Lake Miwok country, he must have left when his daughter was very small, and the chances are that she learned the tales from her maternal relatives, who were Pomo. Nevertheless, another of the Lake Miwok informants of de Angulo and Freeland was Salvador Chapo, whose tales in several cases are said to agree with those recounted by Mrs. Johnson. It would be interesting to know if Mr. Chapo also had Pomo ancestry. He could have been the "Salvador" cited by Loeb (1932:119-120, 122) as a Lake Miwok informant, aged "about ninety" in 1930. A third consultant of de Angulo and Freeland was Clifford Salvador, whom they identify once as Southwest Pomo but, on other occasions, as Southeast Pomo. In three instances, he is said to have related stories substantially the same as those of the Lake Miwok consultants. Unfortunately, Merriam (1910:138) does not identify his consultant by name.

With source material so fragmentary for both Coast and Lake Miwok, comparison is not very fruitful. The Lake Miwok do not report primeval water in the accounts at hand,

but both groups have world flood, world fire, and the theft of fire, with considerable difference in detail. Both appear to recognize a sky hole or gate, a notion widespread in California and elsewhere. My reference to it is obscure (see above, *The Legendary World*), but Merriam (1910:214) has a clearer account from the Marin Coast Miwok; gates to the north and south worlds are mentioned by the Lake Miwok (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:235, 239).

In both areas, Coyote is the dominant figure. There is a good deal of variation with respect to the people he made. The Bodega Coast Miwok (No. 3; Merriam 1910:159) have them fashioned of wood, as do the Lake Miwok and a Pomo group (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:237). In addition, the Bodega informant reported people of mud and thought they might have become non-Miwok (No. 3). One account from the Marin Coast Miwok (Merriam 1910:204) has Coyote toss feathers in the air, to become people, and a Lake Miwok version (Merriam 1910:146, 149) has humans result from goose feathers. The conversion of feathers into humans is widespread in the northern part of Central California, where also the stick or wood antecedent of man is popular.

Among both Coast and Lake Miwok, Frog woman was Coyote's wife (Nos. 2, 5, 19*a*; de Angulo and Freeland 1928:232); the same union is reported for the Wappo (H. R. Kroeber 1908:323) and some of the Pomo (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:232; Barrett 1933:202, 207, 210, 221-223, 268, 271, 285, 375). In the tales I recorded, Coyote's grandson was Chicken hawk, and Loeb (1932:107) reports the same relationship among both Coast Miwok and Wappo. For the latter, Radin (1924:51) speaks of Chicken hawk chief, while H. R. Kroeber (1908:332) mentions Hawk, kind not specified. Among the Lake Miwok and one Pomo group Hawk chief is reported (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:232, 237).

There is no dearth of information concerning the Pomo, whose lore has been fully recorded by Barrett (1933), but comparison is hampered by scarcity of material for the Coast Miwok. A few Pomo resemblances and differences have been remarked above, and a few more will be found in the Notes. On the whole, correspondence is not very close.

A few outstanding traits reported for the Pomo but not for the Coast Miwok may be noted. In some accounts Coyote—perhaps fused with Madūma or Marūmda—functioned as creator (Barrett 1933:16-17). The two upper worlds of the Pomo are not mentioned by the Coast Miwok, but the latter's reference to the north country implies the concept of multiple worlds, albeit not superimposed. Barrett (1933:18) describes an elaborate pantheon in which Madūma had six flunkies, including the bird-like Gilak. The Coast Miwok do not mention the latter nor the water monster Bagil; they know Kuksu, but he figures in no tale. Such absences could be the consequence of incomplete data, but more likely they point to a more elaborate and better preserved body of lore among the Pomo.

In some of the stories there are specific resemblances. For example, with his scent, Big Skunk killed Elk, who was doctoring him (No. 21); among the Central Pomo, Skunk woman similarly killed her attending practitioner (Barrett 1933:243, 306-307). Destruction of an opponent's drum by dancing on it crops up among the East Pomo (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:248) and the Marin Coast Miwok (No. 19*b*), although details differ widely. Big rock of the Coast Miwok was dislodged with the aid of yellow jackets (No. 16); under different circumstances, Barrett (1933:158-160, 163) has cooperative yellow jackets among the Pomo. The same Big rock had his neck protected by shell pendants (No. 16), while Mountain man of the Central Pomo wore a shell ornament that covered his heart (Barrett 1933:230). Similar protection, but at the throat, was used

by the Pomo Fire being (Barrett 1933:217). In all these cases, the bearer could not be shot until the shell was dislodged. Another correspondence is Obsidian man, who seems to have been far more important among the Pomo (Barrett 1933:589-590) than among the Coast Miwok (Nos. 2, 17, 18). As an aside, the Wappo recognize a "flint man" conceived when Hawk shot Coyote's wife, who was disguised as a deer (H. R. Kroeber 1908:323); in part, this corresponds closely to the Coast Miwok account (No. 2).

De Angulo and Freeland (1928:252) call attention to the dualism in their tales, and Barrett (1933:453-454, 481) discusses this aspect. Siblings figure commonly in Coast Miwok tales: the Elk and Skunk brothers (Nos. 16, 21); the two sisters of the *hunis* (No. 19*b*); the two Raven sisters and their two brothers (No. 22); the two Cubs and two Fawns (No. 20). Upon occasion, Coyote divided himself to form two or four separate individuals (Nos. 13, 14). In the material at hand, this feat is reported likewise for the East Pomo (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:249) and the Wappo (Radin 1924:145-146), although not for the Lake Miwok.

TALES

1. Origins (TS)

I don't know who made the ground; it was here when I was born.

2. Origins (MC)

The land was covered with water, and Coyote (*óye-oyis*) shook his *walik*—something like a blanket, of tule³—to the south, east, north, and to the west. The water dried and the land appeared. Coyote came from the west, where the sun sets. The old people think the dead go to the west because Coyote went back there.⁴

Coyote came alone and Chicken hawk (*walinápi*) followed him. He was like a feather on top of the water. When Coyote saw the

feather, he said, "*hinte mi?*" (what is that?); "*mante me?*" (who is that?).

Coyote was living on top of a rock. Coyote spoke: "Father? Mother?" No answer. "Sister?" No answer. "Brother?" No answer. "Uncle?" No answer. "Aunt?" No answer. "Cousin?" No answer. "Nephew?" No answer. "Niece?" No answer. "Father?" No answer. "Grandfather?" No answer. "Grandchild?"⁵

Then Chicken hawk answered, "*hai-hai-hai-hai-hai-hai*." Coyote said, "I did not call you grandchild." — "Oh, yes you did; you are my grandfather." Coyote spat; he did not want a grandchild. Then he said, "*tui-tui*. All right, you are my grandchild." Then the feather got up, a man, from the water.

Chicken hawk stayed with his grandfather. He got sick; his belly ached. "What's the matter?" Coyote asked him. — "I am sick; my belly is swelling." Then he had a baby boy [named *kikus* or *kiküs*; see No. 19*a*] born from his navel. Coyote took care of the child. When it was born, it had a very small bundle under its arm [see above, Introduction, The Legendary World].

Then Frog woman (*kotóla*) came out from under the house—out of the water, I think. She was old Coyote's wife. She went to the river to pick *silai* [*Sidalcea malvaeflora*] and to bathe. She said, "What's the matter with this?" [?]. Then she turned into a deer.

Chicken hawk saw the deer and said, "*papóyis* (grandfather), I want a *kono* (arrow)."⁶ — "What do you mean? I have never heard that word." — "You know what it is; something to kill game with. I want to go hunting." Coyote said, "But you don't know anything about hunting. Well, all right." That old man would do anything. He made that bow, too, with an obsidian point on the arrow.

Chicken hawk went after the deer and shot it.⁷ The deer ran into the creek. Chicken hawk followed and followed it. He came to old Frog woman bathing in the stream and asked her, "Have you seen a deer? I killed one." She said,

"I didn't see anything, but there might be one around here."⁸ Chicken hawk went home.

The old woman got sick. Coyote knew everything. She had a child that night. When the baby was born, it rattled like glass (see Note 7). Chicken hawk heard the baby crying. He called to his grandfather, "*papóyis*, a baby is born." No answer. Then he said, "If it is a boy, save him for me. He will be my hunting partner." The old man said, "You keep still. Go to sleep."

In a few days, the baby was quite large. He was named *tcíta-óli* (Obsidian young fellow). He was Coyote's son.⁹ He went around for a long time. He had no home. One day he decided to find a home. He went to Mount Tamalpais, but that hill was too low for him. So he went to Mount St. Helena and stayed there.¹⁰ I was telling Julia [consultant's daughter] that I guess that is why there is so much obsidian there.

Chicken hawk's boy [that is, *kikus*] was always with Coyote, always close to him. He never grew large.

3. Coyote and the First People (TS)

I don't know this "straight."

Coyote made his first people (*húke-mítca*) turn into animals. He was "mean." Then he made more people. He had lots of first people—lots of the birds in the hills and on the salt water. Sea gull, that's Coyote's man. He had Deer, too. I don't know about the fish.

Coyote made some wooden people, a man and a woman. He kept them close to his house for four days, with the man lying close to his wife. He kept them four days, and they became people. They became my people and the Tomales [Marin] people. He also made mud people. These might be the Sebastopol people [South Pomo]. Mud is all right, but I don't know about sticks.

Coyote talked as he made these people. Sometimes they answered him; sometimes they didn't.

4. Lizard and the Human Hand (MC)

This is a long story, but I don't remember much of it. I don't remember who was married to Lizard (*peténya*).

When the first baby [*tcíta-óli*, Obsidian young fellow; see No. 2] was born, Coyote said, "Oh, my baby is going to have hands like mine." Then Old Lady Lizard said, "No. All my grandchildren are going to be born with five fingers, just like mine." She spread her fingers. So there are [we have] five fingers.

Lizard and her husband fought a lot. She left him twice and told her mother, "My husband almost killed me today." — "Why don't you leave him? Run away. Come and stay with me." Her husband beat her again, so she left him. He followed her and got close; he caught her by the hair and pulled her home. Twice this happened.¹¹ He beat her again.

She thought, "This time I'll call on my mother to help me." Her mother was a lizard, too; she lived under the ground. Next time Lizard ran away, she called to her mother, who opened the ground to save her; she went into the earth. Her mother told her, "Now he won't get you any more."

There was her husband, running around, calling his wife. But she never went back to him.

5. Coyote Institutes Menstruation (TS)

Old Coyote saw more fish coming. He was going to "cure" his daughter-in-law, Mallard (*wátmal*); she was Chicken hawk's wife [and Chicken hawk was Coyote's grandson; see No. 2]. He took a basket cup and mixed red paint [in it] for her to drink. At first, she wouldn't touch it; she didn't like it. Finally, she drank it and began to menstruate; this was the first menstruation.

It knocked over the "boats" [balsas] in the bay; the fish took away her husband. The boats sank at Tomales Bar, and Chicken hawk nearly drowned. This was old man Coyote's fault. He

said, "That's too bad." His grandchild said, "Too bad for you, not for me" [?].

They had a long rope [?], and the two men in each tule boat jumped out. One was swimming to shore. Old man Coyote said, "Let the fish stay there. Anybody who fishes when his wife menstruates will sink there." When it is good weather, the ocean breaks right where the net is. If you don't watch, it will cover you, and you will die right there.

This is the reason [?] why Frog woman, Coyote's wife, left her husband. The old man tried to get her to come back, but she told him she'd had enough. I guess Chicken hawk belonged to Frog woman; he was either her son or his grandson [MC: he was Coyote's "grandson"; No. 2]. Four times he wanted Frog woman to come back. When she left him she went into the water and stayed there all the time. Coyote wanted to dry the "well"; he tried to drink the spring dry but couldn't.

6. Coyote Favors Death (TS)

In the early days, people didn't die. Coyote wanted to hear people crying after somebody had died. He liked to listen to the noise. I don't remember who was the first to die.

7. Flood and the Sharing of Fish (TS)

I don't know this very "straight," but water came over the earth. Old Coyote had a sweat-house under the ground; he and his people were in there. There were many people in the sweathouse; it did not leak. Coyote had all his first people in there—all of them except Chicken hawk. Water came from the ocean and rose, covering the hills. They had some kind of "boat" [balsa?].

The only one outside the sweathouse was Coyote's grandson, Chicken hawk. He didn't go into the sweathouse. Old Coyote made a pole which reached from the sweathouse to the surface of the water. Chicken hawk was flying around and sometimes rested on that pole. Then there was no ground around. The water

stopped rising.

The water dried, getting lower and lower until one morning they saw land. Old Coyote sent the young fellows to get arrows and hunt in the hills. It was summer and the grasses were ripe. He got a basket and sent the women to the hills for seeds.

Down at Tomales, they were fishing for herring [?]. They had four tule "boats" and were hauling nets. The first day they got some fish. Then Coyote sent a man up to Lake County [presumably Lake Miwok country] to tell the people they had lots of fish at Tomales Bay. The women [in Lake County] were pounding acorns, so that the fishermen could take flour with them and make mush.

These other people [Lake Miwok?] walked down to San Lucas.¹² They walked two days. They came and saw the fish. The boss (*hóipu*, chief or headman) counted the fish in piles. There were two men to carry the fish. Then they went back to their own country. All had loads: the men, fish; and the women, babies.

8. Humming Bird's Red Throat (TS)

One time Humming bird (*kulúpi*) went up the coast to get fire;¹³ they had none here. Old Coyote sent that *kulúpi* up the coast. He went at night and got a chunk of fire; he stuck it right under his throat. The next day, those people came after him. He had reached San Lucas already; he came pretty quick[ly].

Old Coyote saw the fire—all the coast and the salt water were burning; it was a big fire. Coyote came outside and said, "I'll fix it." He took mud in his hand and threw it on the man who was chasing Humming bird. The mud put out the fire. He asked the man, "Why do you want to be burning people?" — "Somebody took my fire in the night." Coyote told him, "That's all right. I have that fire. I had none for cooking." The man asked, "Why didn't you come and talk to me? Why didn't you tell me you wanted it? Why steal it?" They talked and Old Coyote said that now he

had his fire. "You can go home now and stay; take care of your fire. I don't need it any more."

Coyote had fire now. Humming bird wanted it on his throat so everyone would see it as he flew around. They made this fire at San Lucas.¹²

9. Rabbit's Long Ears and Hare Lip (MC)

Jack rabbit (*aule*) was crying for the horn of his mother's brother, Elk (*tánta*). He cried all the time. His mother said, "You can't carry that horn. It is too big for you. And your uncle won't let you have it." But Rabbit said, "Oh, I want that. I want it so I can pack something to eat in it and bring it home."

So the mother said, "Well, tell your uncle that you want to use it." They were living under the ground. The woman told her brother that Rabbit wanted his horn. The uncle said, "Let him have that horn, but he must be careful not to let anyone see it, or they will take it away [from him]. That horn cost a lot of [shell] money (*bispi*)."

Rabbit was glad to have the horn. He started out early in the morning, when the sun was coming up. He was playing—looking at his shadow. He did not think to pick any food.

A long way off [some] Elk were watching him. One said, "Let's go over there. It looks just like our horn." Another said, "Let's go and see. It is just like our horn."

They went and found the little boy playing with the horn. They came close and grabbed it. They said, "You can't pack this horn. You have no use for it." And then they gave Rabbit his long ears.

He was crying and crying. That is why his lip is cut. His face is swollen. He did not go home; he went far away. He has a swollen eye because he cried so much. His uncle looked for him but could not find him.

10. Bat's Wings (MC)

Bat is called *nawa-wínai'i*; it sounds like a *kekos*¹⁴ name. Bat and the Red headed wood-

pecker and other birds were going to eat clover. Bat said, "Brothers, I want to go with you." He wanted to fly with them. They said, "Let's go." — "I can't; I have no way to go."

So Bat went to his grandmother. She was wearing a skin skirt. He said, "Grandmother, make me wings. I want to go with my brothers." — "But how can I make you wings?" — "Make them of *palas*," which is a kind of tule. She said, "All right. Don't cry. I'll try."

They made the wings. Bat flew a little way, then fell. They tried again. Then once more. This last time, Bat cut wings from his grandmother's skirt. He sang, "I want to go with my brothers to eat clover."

The grandmother cut a piece from her [skin] skirt [for wings]. Bat tried three or four times, then flew off, but later came back. This is why he has the kind of wings he has.

11. Towhee's Red Eye (MC)

sewite (towhee) is a small bird that looks a little like a robin. He went with his friends to get firewood for the sweathouse. He saw a burned stump and thought it was a bear. He was frightened; he thought the stump was watching him. He forgot all about the wood. He came home late, long after the others. His eye was red, like blood, from crying, and he was crying and singing:

nomün-usele (black thing to see)

he-he-he-he (come, come, come, come)

wiltaci-nomün-usele (come people black thing to see)

This is a long story, but I don't remember the rest. A thing that scares a person in the night is called *nómüs*.

12. Coyote and the Dearth of Woodpeckers (MC)

When Coyote went to the north, he brought back a long pole covered with the heads [scalps] of red-headed woodpeckers. The pole looked nice and red. He got that pole

from the "doctor" (*hunis*)¹⁵ he killed to the north [see No. 19*b*]; this was the *kanwin-hunis* (north-doctor).

When he came back, Coyote lay there, singing. He said, "The people from the north; I give this cane back to the people of the north. Brother, I pass to you the cane."

He stood the pole on end, and the scalps turned into birds. Coyote walked on [southward]. This is why there are so few of these birds here, but lots of them to the north. By the time he reached here, no birds were left.

Coyote called this pole *luman*, the name of the pole that stands close to the sweathouse.¹⁶

13. Coyote Divides Himself (MC)

I don't know just when this happened, but that Coyote, he jumped high in the air and came down head first. He split into four pieces, and the heart was "him" [presumably, the heart became the Coyote of the tales]. The other parts went to the four directions; one went under the water.

14. Coyote Divides Himself (TS)

Coyote was all alone. That's why he shot his arrow into the air. Four times [three] times he did that and missed. The fourth time, the arrow hit the top of his head and split it. The left-hand side was his brother.¹⁷ Coyote told him, "I am bigger than you are. You go north and stay there. I am going where the sun sets."

He crossed [the ocean] with his tule "boat" and built a house over there where the sun sets. He worked four days and could not stop. The top of his house could be seen from the hills here. Coyote didn't like that. He wanted to make smoke. Sometimes he smoked tobacco. He wanted fog or smoke to cover the "shine" of his house. One day, early in the morning, he smoked. The smoke became fog. He filled his pipe four times and smoked. Then he stopped. He made the fog stay, and even when the wind blows, his house is still covered.

They say Coyote has lots of acorns over

there; I don't know about that.

15. Old Man Rock and Stony Terrain (MC)

Gray tree Squirrel (*sámkau*) went to hunt Old Man Rock (*lúpu-óyis*, rock-old man). I can't remember why he went. Anyway, the old man said, "No, you can't make me fall to the ground." He had four things, like strings, that did "this" for him. The old man went up in the air, and Squirrel ran quickly and cut one of the strings. This happened four times in all.

The third time, the old man went up slowly, and Squirrel cut the third string. Then he went up very slowly, and Squirrel cut the last string. The old man came down hard.

Squirrel ran and ran, and the old man followed him. He went over all this country, and the rocks on the tops of the hills are the drops of sweat that the old man left. Then he got tired and Squirrel left him. I can't remember how the story ends.

16. Mount St. Helena and Stony Terrain (TS)

Old St. Helena Mountain was named *omótok-lúpu* (big rock) (see Note 10). These boys [the Elk brothers] wanted to catch him, but they couldn't pull him out. He was large and round. They worked four days. Old Coyote was there with the boys and they told him they couldn't get Big rock out.

Coyote told the older boy, "You hunt some yellow jackets (*túkul*), the kind that hang on a stick." The boys looked but didn't find much [any]. Finally, one night they got one hanging from a tree.

They went home and told their mother, "We are rough men." — "What do you mean?" — "We have *túkul* here." — "What do you want with that?" — "We are going to chase that man out."

The mother asked, "Who sent you?" — "Grandfather Coyote (*papóyi-wüyogí*)." — "Son, have you a good bow?" — "Yes, and lots of arrows." — "Be careful." Then, "Are you going to kill that man?" — "Yes." — "Who told

you to kill him?" — "Our grandfather Coyote." — "All right, but look out; he is a fast man." — "I guess old Coyote will watch [out for] us."

In the morning they went there. They opened the nest and yellow jackets flew all over. The old man yelled, "What are you boys trying to do to me?" — "We want you to come out." — "All right, I'll come out."

He came rolling out, a big rock. There was no place to hit him with an arrow. He was all rock, with four large abalone shells at his neck. The boys wanted to shoot him. They went up the coast and around this country; they traveled the way the sun sets. They were climbing. The younger brother said, "I am going ahead . . . You follow slowly." — "He is coming pretty close; hide well." The boy left his brother and went ahead. He came to the top of a hill and the old man saw him. The boy asked the wind to blow so that the abalone shells would part and give him enough space to shoot an arrow. He shot. That old Rock burst. Coyote was watching and he yelled, "haaaaaaaaaaaaaa." Then he said, "That rock will be all over the country—in the hills, in the water—everywhere."

Coyote told the boys' mother, "You heard that noise?" — "Yes, what was it?" — "That was rock falling. The boys killed that man."

The boys sat there awhile, then one said, "I think we'll go home."¹⁸ Now the older brother said, "Which way are we going?" They went back and there were rocks all over the country.

Elk (*tánte*) were the boys who did all this. Coyote told them to do it; he wanted Rock off the mountain. Rock had killed the boys' father, and when the boys were big, they got him. Rock was a pretty "mean" man.

17. Obsidian-Young Fellow and Bear Woman (MC)

There is a big rock somewhere inland from Tomales; I have never seen it, but my mother did. On one side is something that looks like an arched door. It has holes, like windows. *tcíta-*

óli (Obsidian-young fellow; No. 2) passed through and made those holes.

One day he found Bear-old woman (*kulepotcis*) and she said, "Let's have a fight." But Obsidian-young fellow said, "Let's try to do this trick first. Pass through this rock and then we can fight." — "All right."

Bear-old woman started to butt the rock with her head. She made the depression that looks like a door. Then *tcíta-óli* went through, making the "windows." They had no fight.

18. Obsidian-Young Fellow and Worm Girl (MC)

Obsidian-young fellow never had a sweet-heart. One day he found Worm girl (*lókā*; Merriam 1905-1929:17, smooth caterpillar). She was singing a love song. Obsidian-young fellow was lying in the shade of a tree and heard this young girl's voice. He thought, "My, I'd like to see that girl. I think I'll get married; now I'll have a wife. My, she has a nice voice." He got up and looked around but saw no one.

The voice stopped. He lay down again, but still saw nobody. "Someone is fooling me," he thought.

Then he saw that Worm. "This must be it," he thought. He was angry. "Now I shall never marry," he said. He went away and never married.

19a. Chicken Hawk's Escapades (MC)

Coyote said to his old woman, "Let's go away. It is not good for us to stay together all the time." Coyote was always telling Chicken hawk to leave them and find some women to love. Coyote and his wife left in the night, burning their house. When Chicken hawk got up, there was nobody around. He said, "What's the matter? Is my grandfather burned?" Coyote had built a house some other place.

One day Coyote beat his wife.¹⁹ She left him and he followed her. She went into the water. The old man went home and made a

good net to fish out his wife. Frog woman jumped into the water. Three times he got her with the net and three times she jumped back again (see Note 11). She told him, "I don't want to live with you any more."—"Oh," Coyote said, "I guess the old lady is gone."

Coyote's grandchild, Chicken hawk, could go four places. He used to follow girls and he [even] followed them under the water. These girls had nice hair. He tied their hair with a hair net (*mutui*) and went beneath the ocean (*líwa*) with the girls.²⁰

Chicken hawk married and had two sons [Introduction, The Legendary World]. Once his wife ran away. Her name was *upúsku* (mountain lion). Chicken hawk went inside the sweathouse (*lama*) and heard a woman laughing. She [his wife] climbed on top of the roof and dug holes in it. She poured water on the roof, as if it were raining. She went back to her house and got all her husband's clam-shell money (*bispi*). She pounded it in small pieces. Then she climbed on top of Chicken hawk's grass house and [from it] took a long jump.

Chicken hawk came home and found his wife gone and all his money broken. He climbed through the smoke hole of his house and saw his wife's track way off. He tried to follow her. All the rancherías were against him; nobody liked him.

He found that a *hunis* (see Note 15) or a *hoípu* [chief or headman]²¹ had his wife. That man told him, "You must dance or [and?] bathe early in the morning and bring me salmon from the creek." Chicken hawk was crying. He said, "I have no net. How can I catch salmon? I think they are going to kill me."

He got up early in the morning and jumped into the creek. It looked deep and the water was dark green. As he jumped, he cried, "*wet, papa*." He called to his grandfather for help. Coyote knew everything. Chicken hawk's son was with him. When Chicken hawk cried, the

boy said, "Something has happened to my father." Coyote told him, "You keep still." Coyote was like a *walintéma*;²² he knew what was happening.

He helped Chicken hawk get the salmon. He [the latter] took the fish to the headman, who was glad to have it. That night he got another order from the headman. He had to have more salmon the next morning. Chicken hawk thought the people were trying to kill him. Early in the morning he jumped into the water. The lagoon was filled with obsidian points standing on end. As he jumped, he called, "*wet, papóyis*," thinking he was going to die. All the points turned downward and he was not hurt. Coyote said, "You always call my name when anything happens to you." Chicken hawk got the salmon and the chief was glad to see it.

Three times Chicken hawk was told to get salmon. The next morning when he went for salmon he saw that the lagoon was full of hairs which looked like worms. The water was the color of blood. He jumped, but he was afraid and cried, "*wet, papóyis*." When Chicken hawk jumped, all the worms turned to one side and he got his salmon. This was the fourth time.

The last time, they were playing the grass game (*hani*). Chicken hawk lost the game and they killed him. The *hoípu* put him outside the sweathouse. Chicken hawk always carried his little brother, *witwit*, inside his hair net. This little brother climbed out and went home; he told Coyote that his brother had been killed.

Coyote said, "All right. I shall go there and revive (*hunis*) (see Note 15) him. He went, taking all the people from his ranchería. He went to save his grandson. When he got there, the people were dancing and playing games; it was night. They were playing the drum (*tilen*). When my grandmother told me this story, it was the first time I heard of the drum. Chicken hawk's son was dancing there; his name was *kikus*.

They played the game differently from the way they play it now. It was played with bow and arrow.²³ All the wild pigeons (*unúme*) were there, helping Coyote's side. As the people played, they shot at Coyote's people and said, "I'll not miss you. See the blood." And [those of] Coyote's side said, "No, no. I have no blood." The others said, "I have you; I have your blood." The pigeons were helping Coyote; they were sucking blood all the time.

About daylight, they killed the doctor and his people. He [Coyote] gathered all the bones of the people the *hunis* had killed. They were in a big pile and Coyote burned them. Then all the people came alive again—Chicken hawk, too. The next day Coyote got everybody up. He talked and talked. Then he got Chicken hawk's [truant] wife and they all went back home.

Four times Coyote motioned to the directions; then they went back to the west, where the dead live. Coyote went there, taking his people [with him].

19b. Chicken Hawk's Escapades (MC)

Four times Chicken hawk was killed and came alive again. He was killed four times, and each time Coyote brought him back [to life]. The first time he went to the east, the next time to the south, then to the west, then to the north.

He was always in trouble because of women. He found two sisters. One said, "Oh, what a nice looking man. I wish I had him for a husband." The other said, "Oh, you must not say things like that." The girls took him to their *ranchería* and all the people were jealous. These girls were the sisters of the doctor (*hunis*) (see Note 15) but they were not married. The people killed Chicken hawk and Coyote restored him.

Chicken hawk went to the north and was killed there, too. This time, when he was in love, he sang, "My grandfather [Coyote] told me to cry for this salt water, [for] Ocean diamond's sisters (*líwa-yuhúpa-oas*)."²⁴ Chick-

en hawk saw the girls walking around and he sang this song. The girls found him. Coyote was listening and said, "And you always say that I tell you to do these things." Then Chicken hawk's son said, "Oh, you are always wishing that something would happen to my father." Coyote told him, "Don't you talk." Then all was quiet.

Chicken hawk went with the girls.²⁵ He was told to get salmon, as before. Finally, he was killed, and Coyote came to save him.

While Coyote and the others were playing the grass game, Chicken hawk's son [named *kikus*] was dancing on top of the drum. He was singing²⁶ and dancing and dancing, and the drum broke. The headman said, "Oh, my partner, my friend. Don't break that." This drum was of black oak. The headman had another, of white oak (*hakia*). His people and Coyote's people took turns dancing. The headman's people danced, then quit. But *kikus* danced again, and again broke the drum. He did that four times. The last drum was of redwood (*tole*). When that broke, the headman said, "No more, my friend. You have broken all my drums."

In the morning, Coyote killed all those people. He said, "Kill them all. I am going to restore the people that the headman has killed—Chicken hawk, too." He did that. Then he went home.

19c. Chicken Hawk's Escapades (MC)

Chicken hawk was always in trouble. He went to the water some place and saw a tule "boat" [*balsa*] tied at the bank. He looked around and found a *ranchería*, with a sweat-house, too. It was deserted, but there was a fire in the sweathouse.

Chicken hawk went outside and was about to take the tule "boat." He climbed on it and was going to untie the rope, when he heard a voice, "Leave that 'boat' alone." He said, "Oh, there are people around here." He climbed out and looked around but saw nobody. Then he

went back to the water, and a voice said, "Don't touch that 'boat!'"

Three times (see Note 11) that happened. Then Chicken hawk saw a small feather head-dress, a *yatce*, a *yatceni*.²⁷ He picked it up and tore it to pieces. He threw it into the fire and stirred this with a stick. It was burning. Then it began to boil. It blazed up and frightened him. He called, "*wet, papa*." Three times he called that way. He started for the door, and that burning thing followed him. He ran to his own ranchería, shrieking "*wet, papa*." Coyote used to answer him. This [burning] thing kept following Chicken hawk; it was like boiling blood. Chicken hawk fell dead. Old Coyote reached behind him and got a handful of mud and covered that [burning] thing with it.

Then he took Chicken hawk home and restored him.

20. Two Cubs and Two Fawns (TS)

There were two little Deer. Old Bear had killed their mother and eaten her; the poor little Deer had nothing to eat.

Bear went hunting. The two little Deer and the two little Bears played together. They played and played and played. They played hard, as if they were fighting. They clubbed one of the small Bears and said, "Your mother killed my mother." — "No, she must have gone away somewhere." But the little Deer saw [and recognized] a piece of deer meat to one side of Bear's house. Both of them saw it. They knocked down the other little Bear and took both of them, dead, to the sweathouse; they sat one each side of the smoke hole.

Then the little Deer ran a long way. They passed [a stream of] water. They said to the people there, "If somebody comes after us, tell them you have not seen us." They crossed the water.²⁸ They told the people that Bear had killed their mother and that they had seen a piece of deer meat at Bear's house. And they told what they had done.

Old Lady Bear came home in the evening. She was laughing. She saw the two little Bears and saw they were dead. She commenced to cry. She went to Deer's house, but nobody was there. She knew what had happened.

She took the little Bears from the sweathouse and tracked the Deer. She came to the man at the stream crossing and asked him. He said, "I know nothing about this; what is it?" She told him about the little Deer. Bear wanted to cross the stream.

The Deer boys went a long way; they were in the woods. There they saw a big redwood they were going to climb. They took some wood and rocks with them. The tree was flat on top and they made a fire up there.

They saw Bear coming. She asked the boys how they got up there. "We climbed." They asked her, "Can you come up?" — "I'll try." The boys said, "Be sure to come hind end first and head down; that is the way we did it." The fire was heating the rocks red hot. Bear came up rear end first. The older Deer said, "We'll throw a [hot] rock at her." They fixed a stick "like a spoon" to handle the rocks. They threw, and the [hot] rocks went right in [the anus of] Bear and killed her.

The little Deer came down and went away; I don't know how far they went. They looked upwards; they thought they saw someone pass. One told his brother, "Watch. Somebody is passing over there." They saw someone again. The older one said, "It looks like our mother." The younger one said, "That *is* mother."

They didn't know what to do. They had no bows, no arrows. They broke sticks and made bow and arrows. "We'll throw this arrow into the air. Then you must follow it. Maybe mother will see us." And the older one shot an arrow. Their mother caught it and pulled her son up by it.²⁹ She was glad. The other said, "I am going to follow my arrow now." Then both were with their mother.

She asked the older boy how they had come up, how far they had come, and if they

had been running. "Yes, we ran until we came to the redwood tree." They all sat down, and the mother began to cry because she felt sorry for her children. She told the older son that Bear had been delousing her head and had bitten her on the neck.

Poor old Deer cried. The little ones stayed with her until they were big. Then they went some place—I don't know where.

21. Skunk Brothers (MC)

Big Skunk (*káluk*) and Little Skunk (*tawáye*) were talking. One said, "I'm hungry." The other one said, "Me, too. What shall we do about food?" — "I don't know." Big Skunk said, "Let's do something."

They looked around for hulled acorns (*watuk*). Big Skunk said, "Bring me some. I'll eat lots. Then I'll swell and play I'm sick. I'll lie down." This he did. He told Little Skunk, "You go and tell Uncle Elk (*kakaya-tánta*) that I'm sick. Tell him I'm dying. He will come to see me. He will be sitting way back (*tule*) in the sweathouse. Tell him to come and doctor Big Skunk. You go now; I'll wait for you. Don't bring anyone but our uncle who is sitting way in the back of the sweathouse."

He started to cry and cry, and he sang:

ha, ha, ha, ha
tilka-luktil (tilka, sick)
tilka-luktil
ha, ha, ha, ha

Little Skunk reached the sweathouse. He said, "I come after my uncle." One person said, "After me?" — "No, no. For the one who sits way back there." They all wanted to come. They all said, "After me?" Little Skunk said, "No, no, no. My brother is sick." Then Elk said, "I never leave my sweathouse; I never go outside." Little Skunk told him, "My brother said to get you to doctor him." Finally, Elk said, "Well, I go if your brother is very sick. Show me where your brother is."

They found Big Skunk. He was pretty sick, badly bloated. He was crying. Elk said, "You are pretty sick." — "Yes, I am very sick." Elk commenced to doctor Big Skunk. He sucked; he worked all over his body. He worked downwards. When he reached the lower part of Big Skunk's body he [the latter] "shot" his fluid. His uncle fell back dead.

Then Big Skunk told his brother, "Get the knife." They cut Elk's neck and then they took out the guts. Big Skunk told his small brother to take the guts away. "Take all of them; take them way off on top of that hill, on the other side of that hill; otherwise they will smell."

Little Skunk started off. He said, "Here?" — "No, way back there. Farther on." He went a little farther and called, "Here?" — "No, no. Farther away." This kept on for a long time and all the while Big Skunk was eating as fast as he could. Little Skunk reached the hill. "Here?" he asked. "No, farther back." And Big Skunk was eating and eating.

Finally, his poor [little] brother cleaned the guts and brought them back. "What have you done? Eaten all the meat?" — "No, I didn't eat it. Lots of my friends came and ate. Do you see that fireplace? And that one? That one? Lots of my friends came and ate, but they have all gone away."

Little Skunk said nothing, but brought out the guts. "We'll try to eat these." Big Skunk tried to help him eat, and they finished the guts.

22. Coyote's People Kill the Raven Brothers (MC)

There was a man called *pute-hinau* (feathers-sticking to him) from Coyote's ranchería. He was traveling and came to the two sisters of the Raven (*kakális*) brothers. The Ravens used to kill people and eat them. When this man met the girls, he said, "Well, how did I find you two girls?" They said, "Come home with us; it is getting late." — "No, I must go back." — "Oh, no, come with us. Let's run."

And they ran home.

It was late in the evening. The old mother was there. She was blind but smelled the stranger. She said, "Mmmm, I smell somebody." The girls said, "There is nobody around here, mother." — "Mmmm, I do smell somebody." — "No, mother. There is nobody here. Who would come? They are all afraid of us."

The man stayed. The girls told him to wait. "We'll go to bed early; then you come to us." He waited and saw the two brothers arrive, bringing with them a dead man. "Hmm, hmm, hmm," the old woman said. "That's good, I am going to eat good meat." Then they cut and cooked the meat.

The sisters did not eat the meat for fear the young man would smell it. "Let's say we don't feel well and can't eat." The old woman began to cook. When she offered [the girls] meat, they said, "Oh, we don't feel well. We want to go to bed."

"All right," the [one] brother said, "Tomorrow we go to Coyote's ranchería and try to get Chicken hawk." The other man [the girls' guest] was listening. He did not go to the girls at all. He went to Coyote to tell him that the Ravens were coming for Chicken hawk. "Those Ravens have killed people from all the rancherías," he said. Old Coyote answered, "All right, I'll tell my men to get ready."

The next day came. Coyote said, "All you boys be ready. The Ravens come today. You, Humming bird, go and watch for them." Humming bird was fast, like the telegraph. When he saw the [Raven] brothers coming, he went, "*hippi*." They said, "Where are the boys? In that brush?" Coyote sent Chicken hawk to them. "Go and talk to them. Don't be afraid; they will not kill you."

Chicken hawk took his staff (*keak*) and said, "*ha-ha-ha*." The Ravens were all dressed up in bear skins. They tried to grab Chicken hawk, and he cried, "*wet, papa*." Four times they jumped and four times Chicken hawk yelled. Coyote's people came closer and closer,

and the last time the Ravens jumped, they were shot with bow and arrow.

Then Coyote told Humming bird, "Go tell the sisters and the mother that my people have killed the Ravens." He cried, "*lipi*," and went to tell them. The girls were sitting on *tcukamis* hill, near Novato. They were [had been] gathering leaves from a plant like *kapisa* (*Wyethia angustifolia*), but not quite the same. They started to cry [presumably as an expression of grief; MC says there should be a song here, but she has forgotten it]. Humming bird said, "Let's sit down, girls. Don't cry now. We'll all cry later." Then he tried to "molest" the girls [sexually]. He left to tell all the people that the girls were on a hill. The girls sat there; they couldn't move; they had turned to stone.³⁰

I guess this is why ravens always eat dead meat—such as fish—that they find.

23. Coyote Deceived by Blackbirds (MC)

Coyote was traveling and found lots of Blackbirds (*tcapil*) swimming; I've seen them swim with my own eyes.

One of the birds saw him coming and called, "*atako, atako, papoye oni opui*" (brothers, brothers,³¹ grandfather [Coyote] is coming). The brothers said, "Oh, oh, let's play a trick on grandfather. Let's gather big oak galls and throw them in the lagoon." They did that and then swam among the galls. The water looked black; it looked thick with birds.

Coyote came close. "This is good. I have found lots of blackbirds. I shall jump in the lagoon." Coyote hid in the brush and wished for a dance apron (*siliwa*). He wished for a flicker headband (*tawaka*), for another feather headdress (*yatceni*) (see Note 27) and another (*wilina*). Then he wanted gray paint (*walanas*) and red paint (*awa*). Coyote called for all these things and they came to him. Now he was dressed for a dance and he began to sing.

He came to the water and said, "*tcatoko onai*" (my grandchildren, I am coming). He said this in a high voice, and all the birds called,

“Come in, *papóyis*. Come and swim with us.” Coyote said, “*ha-ha-hai*,” as if he were dancing. Then the birds called, “Right here, right here, grandfather.” They started to sing, for Coyote to dance. They sang:

oni papa oni (Come in, grandfather, come in)

wila oni oyen oni (Come on, come Coyote, come)

powilili, powilili (oak galls, oak galls)

[Song said to be incomplete].

Coyote started to sing with them. They said, “Jump right here; jump right here.” They knew that Coyote was hungry for them. He was singing when he jumped into the lagoon. He went into the water and drowned. As he jumped, he called, “*he, tcikita kon mütcis*” (*he*, bones go to pieces).

Tepepan, D. F., Mexico

NOTES

1. Instead of the Chicken hawk of my informants, Merriam (1910:202-205) has Falcon (his *Wek'-wek*) in one tale from the Marin Coast Miwok and in those attributed to other Miwok groups.

2. My consultants referred to them as such, never as the “Bird people,” which seems the preferred Pomo designation (Barrett 1933:11).

3. In a tale recorded by Merriam (1910:203) for the Marin Coast Miwok, Coyote tossed his raft—which was a mat of tule and split sticks—on the water.

4. MC: “The dead travel over the land on a cloud path. They say that a long time ago, at Point Reyes, they found two mussels [mussel shells, presumably] and two fire sticks.” These were thought to identify the last spot on earth where the dead camped. “They said that was the trail of the dead; there was a kind of string leading west through the surf.” The dead proceeded to the afterworld (*úte-yómi*, dead-home). “Dead people are called *uteko* and they go to be with Coyote, where the sun goes down. Coyote went back there. It is just like this country . . . The dead play hockey,

and you can hear them ‘hollering.’ It sounds just like a woman’s voice.”

TS: “The dead go toward Point Reyes and go down there. They say there is a little chunk of wood there, which they use to make a fire. A piece of rock about two feet long is at the spot where they jump into the ocean and then follow a road back of the breakers.”

5. Upon another occasion, MC repeated this part of the tale, using native kinship terms:

ápi (father); *ünü* (mother); *hama* (grandmother; Bodega dialect: *hamáiya*, father’s mother); *papa* (grandfather); *áta* (brother; Bodega dialect: older brother); *woko* (older sister); *kaka* (uncle); *amoko* (aunt; Bodega dialect: stepmother); *eneni* (father’s sister); *tata* (not translated; presumably Spanish-American colloquial term for elderly male relative); *towe* (sibling’s child); *elai* (niece; Bodega: no corresponding term recorded); *ola* (stepfather); *memoyis* (father-in-law); *mempotcis* (mother-in-law); *olatci* (mother’s sister); *eai* (offspring; Bodega equivalent apparently *ka'ai*); *tune* (daughter); *tcatco* (grandchild; Bodega: *tcatcai*, grandchild; *tcatco*, daughter-in-law).

6. This part of the story was repeated thus: “When Chicken hawk asked for an arrow and a quiver [*sic*], Coyote said, ‘*eh, eh, eh*. Where did you get those names, *lanta* (bow) and *kono* (arrow)? How do you know I can make those?’ — ‘I know you know how. Make me one.’ — ‘No, no, no, I don’t know how.’ Chicken hawk asked him three times and after that [presumably the fourth time] Coyote started to make them.”

7. As he tried his bow and arrow, Chicken hawk shot Coyote’s wife who, at the moment, had assumed the form of a deer. The obsidian arrow point impregnated her and when, later, a child was born, he “rattled like glass” because of his obsidian origin. For the same reason, he was named *tcíta* (obsidian, obsidian blade) or *tcíta-óli* (obsidian young fellow). As I recorded this name, MC suggested it might be changed to *tcíta-óye*, because his “father” was Coyote (*óye*); she thought it “sounded better.”

8. A supplementary account runs thus: “As Chicken hawk came toward Frog woman, he said, ‘*hama* (grandmother), have you seen a deer?’ —

'No, I am bathing; I saw nothing.' — 'But I saw the deer right here.' Chicken hawk looked around, then he went home. The old woman went home, too."

9. Coyote's "son" because he was born to Frog woman, Coyote's wife, but he had been conceived by the obsidian point of the arrow shot by Chicken hawk, Coyote's grandson.

10. Mount St. Helena, in Wappo country, was an important source of obsidian. Merriam (1907:355) gives its name, presumably in the Marin Coast Miwok dialect, as *Chitch'-ah-pi's*; in the orthography used here, this would be *tcitca-pai'is* (obsidian hill or mountain). In one tale (No. 16), TS calls Mount St. Helena *omótok-lúpu* (big rock).

11. Among the Coast Miwok four is the common ritual number, but occasionally three appears as such. In tale No. 4, Lizard seems to have left her husband following the third beating; three also figures in tales Nos. 19a and 19c.

12. San Lucas, near Tomales, was said to have been Coyote's first ranchería in the area (see Note 18).

13. Theft of fire is a common theme in California lore. Merriam (1910:153-154) has another Bodega Coast Miwok version in which Hummingbird steals the fire.

14. *kekos*, or *tüstüko*, is the name MC applied to the language spoken at (presumably Mission) San Jose and at San Leandro. (See introductory comments, pp. 21-23.)

15. *hunis* was used by both MC and TS as a generic term for "doctor." Apparently it is associated specifically with the Bole-Marú, and TS himself once was a "*huni* man" (DuBois 1939:111). In another story (No. 19a), *hunis* refers to the resuscitation of a dead person.

16. MC had no idea of the utility of the pole, and it was not mentioned by TS. It may be the dance house pole(s) connected with Ghost Dance developments (Loeb 1926:372; DuBois 1939:68, 74, 93). MC was speaking of Nicasio, where there was no dance house and the sweathouse functioned as such.

17. Upon inquiry, it was said that the "brother

who went north made no noise; we heard nothing about him." He is not identified by name. A Lake Miwok (and Pomo) tale has Coyote's brother, unnamed, as chief in the north world (de Angulo and Freeland 1928:239).

18. In another, more abbreviated, version of the same story, TS called the boys Coyote's grandchildren. After the death of Rock, he told the lads, "come home; we are going to leave the country." Here, TS added that they went to San Lucas, "over there in Tomales . . . old Coyote's first ranchería. There were lots of people there."

19. As an aside, MC remarked casually that Coyote fought with his wife so that Chicken hawk might learn how to treat women.

20. This may anticipate No. 19b, when Chicken hawk was involved with the sisters of Ocean diamond.

21. At the start of this tale, MC said she was not sure if Chicken hawk's wife had fallen into the hands of a *hunis* ("doctor"; see Note 15) or a *hóipu* (chief, headman); subsequently, she shifted from one term to the other.

22. *walintéma* is difficult to define. MC used it to indicate spirits as well as individuals who could confer with them through supernatural powers. In her youth there was one *walintéma* at Nicasio; a native of (presumably Mission) San Jose, he married locally and was a sort of doctor-magician-diviner.

23. As among some of the Pomo, the games mentioned in the tales were a "life-and-death" struggle in which the contestants shot at one another (Barrett 1933:185, ftn.85; 273-274; 318).

24. *líwa*, water, ocean; *yulúpa*, "diamond," or crystal. Supposedly *oas* is sister, although it does not appear among the terms given in Note 5. On one occasion, MC said that "the name of the *hunis* under the water was *yulupa*. He was the brother of the two girls."

25. "When Chicken hawk was loving the two girls from the ocean, he said, '*papan*, my grandfather, told me to cry for those girls.' That's the time Chicken hawk went under the water with the girls."

26. Upon inquiry, it was said that *kikus* sang: "*huyu kon ela*" (*ela*, toy or doll).

27. *yatce, yatceni*, a dance headdress, usually of upstanding raven and blackbird feathers.

28. Crane apparently did not provide transportation, as in some versions from elsewhere.

29. This could be a variant of the arrow chain to the sky.

30. Upon another occasion, MC gave the end of this story with somewhat more detail: "They went to the rancheria to tell the sisters of the Ravens. They [the sisters] had gathered lots of plants with a blossom like a sunflower, but with stickers. They spread these on the ground; they sat on them and [then] turned to stone. My grandmother saw the whole of their bodies. My mother saw them only from the breast up, for they were being buried. Now, they are completely covered. They had the old style hairdress, called *hopin*, with the hair wrapped around the head. This showed in the rock."

31. Presumably elder brothers; Bodega dialect: *áta*, elder brother.

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