

UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Particle, Pause and Pattern in American Indian Narrative Verse

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9c08q6t9>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 4(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Hymes, Dell

Publication Date

1980-09-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

Particle, Pause and Pattern in American Indian Narrative Verse

DELL HYMES

In a recent issue of this journal William Bright has presented a Karok myth cycle from northwestern California as a sequence of lines of verse. Bright remarks that the presentation of the Karok text and the English translation is based on the principles of recent work by Dennis Tedlock (1971, 1972) and myself (Hymes 1976, 1977). The presentation, indeed, combines a principle adopted by Tedlock in the presentation of Zuni narratives, with a principle adopted by myself in the presentation of narratives of the Chinookan-speaking peoples of Oregon and Washington. Tedlock and I both recognize that American Indian narratives may have the structure of poetry, may consist of lines organized in verses; but whereas Tedlock finds Zuni narrative to have lines on the basis of pauses in speech, I have found Chinookan narratives to have lines on the basis of certain features of syntax, features that are discernible in written and printed transcriptions. Each predication in a text is likely to be a line, whether or wherever the speaker may have paused. Particles that are translated as 'now', 'then', and the like are markers of lines and groups of lines (verses), and enable us to discover the poetic pattern of a narrative, even though the written record does not reveal the intonational phrasing and pausing that Tedlock can attend to on tape recordings.

In presenting the Karok cycle, "Coyote's Journey," Bright is able to reconcile these two approaches. On the one hand, initial particles, such

Dell Hymes was born, raised, and educated in Portland, Oregon. He attended Reed College (B.A.), Indiana University (M.A., Ph.D.), and UCLA. Professor Hymes taught at Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley, before going to the University of Pennsylvania where he is a professor of Folklore and Linguistics and Dean of the Graduate School of Education. He has worked with the Chinookan languages, especially Wasco, since 1950.

as 'now', 'then' and the like, occur in the Karok myth, and Bright recognizes a unit of verse almost everywhere they occur. On the other hand, Bright knows where minor and major pauses occur in the telling of the myth, and finds that each line ends with a minor pause, while the groups of lines that form verses each end with a major pause. Since verses almost always coincide with the occurrence of sentence-initial particles, the two kinds of features, pauses and particles, cooperate in marking the poetic structure of the myth.

Is Karok typical or unique? If one could go backward in time to hear Louis Simpson tell Wishram narratives at Yakima in 1905, or Victoria Howard tell Clackamas narratives near Oregon City in 1929 and 1930, would pauses for breath turn out to coincide closely with units marked in other ways? Do the Zuni narratives recorded by Tedlock have particles, and patterns associated with particles, in addition to lines that can be distinguished on the basis of pause? And even if these, and other American Indian languages, have both pauses and particles in their narrative verse, are the relations between pauses and particles always cooperative and reinforcing, as seems to be the case in Karok?

If we are to go by what has been published, the answer would seem to be that the narrative verse of the three cultures, Chinookan, Zuni and Karok, is after all quite different in each case. Perhaps it will be found that Chinookan narratives have pauses that mostly coincide with lines and verses marked by particles—Michael Silverstein has tape recordings of some narratives in Wishram (Wasco) from the late Ida White and George Forman of Toppenish, Washington. Even so, the kinds of grouping of lines into verses, and of verses into larger units, found in Chinookan, seem rather different than those in Karok. And the one text in the Zuni language that Tedlock has included in his book (1978: 76-83) looks very different from either Chinookan or Karok, as presented in lines marked by pauses.

I myself believe that Zuni and Karok are rather alike in certain essential respects. Indeed, I think that Zuni and Karok share with the Takelma language of southwestern Oregon, the Tonkawa language of Texas, and probably many other American Indian languages, certain essential characteristics in the patterning of narrative verse. This is so, I think, because the nature of narrative verse in American Indian languages goes deeper than either pauses or particles. It depends upon a conception of narrative action as fulfilling a recurrent formal pattern. All American Indian narratives, I believe, will prove to be organized in terms of lines and verses, and sets of verses. Where syntactic particles are present, they will play a role, often a major role, as is the case in Wishram Chinook; but the fundamental consideration will not be the presence of any particular

linguistic device. The fundamental consideration will be the presence of a certain conception of narrative action. That conception, which can be called a rhetorical conception, will have it that sequences of action will satisfy one or another of two basic types of formal pattern. In Zuni, Karok, Takelma and Tonkawa, the formal pattern is built up of pairs and fours. In the Chinookan languages, and in the neighboring Sahaptin and Kalapuyan languages, the formal pattern is built up of threes and fives.

The significance of this hypothesis is that it enables us to appreciate more fully the artistry of narratives such as those in Zuni, for which modern tape recordings exist, and it enables us to discover the artistry of narratives, such as those of the Tonkawa, Takelma, and Clackamas Chinook, which are preserved from a time before tape recorders could be used.

If lines and verse could be recognized only on the basis of pauses, only on the basis of tape recordings, it would mean that the poetic nature of many American Indian narrative traditions could never be known. When he first published his book of Zuni narratives, Tedlock was so enthusiastic about the possibilities of the tape recorder, and about finding a natural basis for poetic lines in the natural pausing of the voice, that he disparaged earlier collections. He did indeed seem to imply that one could never know whether or not they were poetry, taking 'poetry' to mean texts organized in terms of verses and lines. But in fact it is possible to recover much of the true face of the myths and tales told by the ancestors of American Indian people whose native languages are no longer spoken, or no longer used for traditional narration. Repetitions and relationships among words and grammatical features, such as particles, disclose a great deal. And, as I have said, the fundamental key is the presence of formal rhetorical pattern.

In this article I should like to show the presence of such pattern in several languages with which I have worked, and show that such patterning appears to be present also in Karok and Zuni.¹ These examples will illustrate the fact that the relationship between particular linguistic markers, such as pauses and particles, and underlying form, is variable from one language to the other. Indeed, the relationship may vary from one speaker to another of the same language. The work that has been done so far indicates that narrators make creative use of linguistic markers, and of underlying rhetorical form as well. Because there are such markers, and because such underlying rhetorical form exists, one can discover lines, verses and larger relationships in narratives. These larger relationships, and the place that lines and verses have within them, however, depend upon the skill and intentions of the narrator. The

various devices are means that the narrators use for their own ends. They strongly condition, and pervade, the text, but do not of themselves control its final shape. This being so, when we discover the shape of a text through tracing such devices, we are doing more than document a cultural pattern. We are revealing something of the expressive purpose of a particular person in a particular place and time. No analysis can restore the actual human voice, but analysis of this kind can bring us much closer to the weighing and balancing of words, the rhythms and emphases, of the original voice.

Let me now present a series of examples. In keeping with the Karok "Coyote's Journey," all but one are from adventures of Coyote. In them Coyote establishes a fish trap (Wishram Chinook), fools Pheasant (Clackamas Chinook), runs to a girl's puberty dance (Takelma), tries to get himself a raccoon coat (Karok), and tries to bite Old Lady Junco (Zuni). In addition there is the ending of an impressive Klikitat Sahaptin myth, telling how all good things became children of the Sun, when the land and the people changed. This passage deserves to be seen in poetic form, and demonstrates a point about the working of underlying pattern.

In presenting the examples, I adopt a set of terms from the drama, because a set of terms is needed to name the several levels of relationship in the narratives, and because actual performances of narratives are akin to dramatic presentations. Lines are numbered for convenience of reference. Sets of lines are understood as organized in verses, which are indicated by small letters (a, b, c). Sets of verses are understood as organized in stanzas, which are indicated by capital letters (A, B, C). In longer texts it is necessary to recognize groups of stanzas, which can be called scenes, and are indicated by small Roman numerals (i, ii, iii), and sometimes to recognize groups of scenes, which can be called acts, and are indicated by capital Roman numerals (I, II, III). Sometimes a text has even larger units, which can be indicated as Part One, Part Two, etc.

The titles and headings in the examples are almost without exception supplied, rather than given by the narrator. In the case of the Wishram and Clackamas Coyote sequences, the whole has a Chinookan title, but not, so far as we know, the parts. The titles of the Klikitat and Takelma myths were devised by the recorder. The Karok part is like the Chinookan parts, apparently, in not having its individual title. The Zuni story does have a Zuni title.

It is important to provide headings, I think, even though they were not given in the language, because they serve to orient the reader, and because they seem to reflect a reference point for the narrator himself or herself. While we cannot know what words, if any, the narrator would have used, we can see evidence that the story was presented as having

parts, each part having a point that can be indicated in words. Indeed, a tentative model of the mind of a narrator would have to represent that mind as moving along two parallel tracks simultaneously, one marked out in units of plot, such as the headings indicate, and one marking out, as it were, units in terms of the poetic patterns of the culture. One can imagine the narrator deciding to elaborate or shorten a certain unit of plot (as the end of the Zuni myth is elaborated); to interrupt the flow of plot and poetic form for the sake of the person recording (as in the Wishram story); to slow the pace of the event when Coyote is deceiving Pheasant, or enjoying his repast of Pheasant in the Clackamas story; to use "people" and "land" as the words, and ideas, around which to organize the end of the Klikitat myth; to elaborate the first instance of Coyote's rush to the girl's puberty dance, and the catalogue of girls he finds there, in the Takelma story, while building the intervening elaboration of his eager exertion and self-deception around a constant rhetorical question; to balance out the action of Coyote's first adventure on his way to Klamath Falls with rather straightforward delineation in terms of formal pattern, no one part getting much more emphasis than another, in the Karok episode; and to end the first half of Coyote's encounter with Old Lady Junco on her song, and to use the four-part formal pattern to set up an expectation of Coyote's fourth coming for the song in the next part, only to delay it, using its place to elaborate Old Lady Junco's preparations, and then making quite a set piece of the fourth coming in an entire last part (in which the four-part, counted out demand, is delayed until after the demand has been made twice without counting), in Andrew Peynetsa's telling of the Zuni myth.

One value of the discovery of patterns, such as proposed here, is that it enables us to recognize and calibrate such choices on the part of the narrator, as to the relation between units of content and units of poetic form. We have to get behind lines to underlying patterns to be able to appreciate the full artistry involved.

Here now are the several examples.

Wishram Chinook

The narratives of Louis Simpson, transcribed by Edward Sapir at Yakima, Washington, in July and August of 1905 (Sapir 1909a), are a clear example of verses defined by initial particles. To the study cited by Bright of Simpson's narration of "The Deserted Boy" (Hymes 1976), let me add a fresh example. It is part of the Wishram version of "Coyote's Journey," being in this case up the Columbia River. In Chinookan versions Coyote's adventures and misadventures are interspersed with the

establishment of customs about fishing, the mainstay of sustenance and trade. This short account of establishing a fish-trap has a bit of characteristic humor as well.

Louis Simpson marked verses by use of two initial particles, *Aga* "now" and *kwapt* "then," most often paired as "Now then." Their occurrence was so constant that Sapir abbreviated the writing of them in his field notebooks as just "A.K." A few other particles could occur in the same initial slot with the same function. Occasionally, as in this short text, "now" and "then" might occur singly to mark a verse, and a turn at talk could count as well (see lines 1, 4, and 20). The pair "now then" does not automatically demarcate verses, then, but if a text is written with each instance of "now then" to the left, starting a new unit, most of the work of analysis into verses is done.

[Coyote establishes a fish-trap]

Aa	Aga gayúya Isk'úlya,	1
	ná:wit gay'uya,	2
	gačúguikl itk'áuwán ičqwába.	3
b	Kwápt galixlúxwait:	4
	"Qóngi andúxwa?"	5
c	Aga kwapt galixlúxwait:	6
	"Anúxw(a) alálax."	7
	(Gačúguikl itk'áuwán itksubnáit,	
	gačúx alálax).	
Ba	Aga kwapt k'áu gačúx alálax,	8
	k'áu gačáiluxix.	9
b	Aga kwapt gatssúbna náwid dačáxai alálaxpa,	10
c	Aga kwapt gačúlxam alálax Isk'úlya:	11
	"Šmáni pá:l amxúxwa alálax,	12
	"Šmáni pá:l itk'áuan imíkwšxat,	13
	"Aga kwapt amgíluma,	14
	'Ú::: núlmst',	15
	"Amgíluma,	16
	'Aga pá:l itk'áuwán alálaxpa.' "	17
Ca	Aga kwapt galaglúma:	18
	"Ú::: núlmst, alálax."	19
b	Galigíluma Isk'úlya:	20
	"Ú::: "	21
c	Aga kwapt gayúya Isk'úlya,	22
	gačúguikl,	23
	aga pá:l.	24
d	Aga kwapt dák gačúx alálax.	25
e	Aga kwapt galíkim Isk'úlya: -	26
	"Gwá::nəsum qé:dau amšktúxwa;	27

Even with so regular a device one has to be alert to the course and force of the story. Twice in this text Mr. Simpson evidently inserts explanatory comment that is not part of the story itself. After line 7, he repeats the fact that white salmon were seen, and anticipates the making of the trap, probably because he had meant to specify that the white salmon were, as the insertion adds, "jumping about" (*itksubnâiut*). After Coyote has finished the story with a pronouncement for future times, the alternative names of the place of the story are given in a metalinguistic comment that must have been addressed to Sapir and would not have fitted a native audience. (To a native audience the most likely mode of identification would have been to begin by saying, "Now then Coyote got to X," or to include the naming in the pronouncement at the end.)

[Coyote establishes a fish-trap]

Aa	Now Coyote went,	1
	straight on he went,	2
	he saw white salmon in the water.	3
b	Then he thought:	4
	"How shall I get them?"	5
c	Now then he thought:	6
	"I shall make a trap."	7
	(He saw the white salmon jumping about,	
	he made a trap).	
Ba	Now then he tied the trap,	8
	he tied it on (the string).	9
b	Now then he jumped straightway right into the trap.	10
c	Now then Coyote told the trap:	11
	"Whenever you become full, trap,	12
	"Whenever your mouth is full of white salmon,	13
	"Now then you will cry out,	14
	'Ú:::, I'm full',	15
	"You will cry out,	16
	Now it's full of white salmon at the trap.'"	17
Ca	Now then it cried out:	18
	"Ú:::, I'm full, the trap."	19
b	Coyote cried out:	20
	"Ú:::."	21
c	Now then Coyote went,	22
	he saw,	23
	now (it is) full.	24
d	Now then he unloosened the trap.	25
e	Now then Coyote said:	26
	"This is the way you shall get them for <i>all</i> time.	27

"Gačtúx qé:dau Isk'úlya."
 (Dáuya wilx Škałxólmax iáxliu,
 áwači Sq'áldalpl).

The text shows not only demarcation of verses, but delineation of a cultural rhetoric. The first three lines are typical of Chinookan depiction of action, presenting it as three successive moments: he went, he went straight on, he saw. This three-part pattern of onset, ongoing, outcome is repeated in the relations among verses. In stanza A, Coyote sees white salmon, thinks what to do, decides to make a trap. In stanza B, he fixes the trap, jumps into it, tells the trap what to do. In stanza C, the trap cries, Coyote cries, Coyote goes and sees that it is full. (Within verse c the three lines show another common form of the three-part pattern: he went, he saw, then the object of perception as a distinct line, marked off by "now," as an indication of outcome. It is the fit of this pattern that makes clear that "now" is here not the start of a new verse, but an element completing one.) The outcome of the first three lines, the seeing that the trap is full, also initiates a three-part sequence that completes the story: he sees the trap full, he loosens the trap, he pronounces for the future on the basis of this success. The middle verse (c) is in effect a pivot. In it two distinct three-part arcs intersect within a five-part whole.

The three-part pattern is repeated also in the relations among stanzas. In A Coyote decides to make a trap; in B he makes a trap and instructs it; in C the trap works as planned.

The pervasiveness of this patterning is one reason for being sure that the two parenthetical comments are parenthetical. Not only are they not marked as verses, and commentary-like in tone, but also they do not fit into the three-part patterning that involves all the other lines at every level. The patterning in effect helps to distinguish the status of two different kinds of speech act, two different functions of speech, one narrative and poetic, the other metalinguistic.

Clackamas Chinook

Victoria Howard's "Coyote and Pheasant" is the first episode of a series of Coyote's travels, told in Clackamas Chinook by Victoria Howard. She was the last speaker of the language able to tell stories, and we might know nothing of the richness of the tradition, had not Melville Jacobs found her living in West Linn, Oregon, near the ancestral home of the Clackamas, south of Portland, a year or two before she died. She had been born and raised on the Grande Ronde Reservation, and learned stories from her mother's mother and her mother-in-law. Jacobs tran-

Coyote got them this way."

28

(This country's name is *Skałχəlmax* ("eating-place"),
or *Sq'áldalpł* ("it keeps tearing out"—a lake
connected with the river by a narrow creek).

scribed two volumes of texts from her dictation in 1929 and 1930, and managed to find a publishing outlet for his own typed manuscript a generation later. The two volumes are now out of print (Jacobs 1958, 1959a). They should be reprinted, or, better, yet, republished in the form now discovered in them. All of Mrs. Howard's narratives are discussed in two other volumes (Jacobs 1959b, 1960).

In this first episode of one version of Coyote's journey, the initial particle *Aga* "Now" occurs a number of times, but it does not regularly indicate the beginning of verses. It is the first word in the story, but occurs only that once in the first part. At the end of the story it occurs at the end of parts (D, E), introducing a sort of summing up or conclusion. In the middle parts (B, C) it occurs irregularly, from the standpoint of marking verses. Here its role appears to be that of intensifying, pointing up the action.

Thus we seem to find three kinds of use for the initial particle in this story. In one role it starts a section of the story going (first word of stanza A, first word of stanza B, first word of stanza C, followed by "again"). In another role it introduces summings-up (last part of the last two stanzas, D and E, when Coyote pronounces the name and nature of Pheasant, and when he eats). In a third role in the middle of the story it intensifies the action. After Pheasant has accepted Coyote's invitation, "Now" occurs three times as they start to dance. Presumably the three "nows" express an accelerated tempo. The "now" before Coyote's singing underscores the deception within whose context he is going to kill the Pheasant girls one by one. The "Now again" that begins C is a common marker of repeated action; the "now" that follows two lines later appears to highlight what Coyote is doing; and the "now" of Cc highlights Pheasant's belated recognition of what is going on. If we single out just the actions introduced by "now," we have:

Now they stand up, now she sings, now they dance;
Now he for his part sings (but);
Now again they go,
now he takes hold of another;
now she hears (at last).

In sum, the initial particle contributes to the organization and dramatic force of the story, but does not suffice to define it. The patterning of the story depends upon a more abstract, fundamental principle, that of the

rhetoric of narrative action. In brief, narrative action in Chinookan is organized in terms of three moments, an onset, ongoing, and outcome, as it were. The first lines of the story are typical: he went, he's going along, he reached a house. The first lines of the second part, in three actions introduced by "Now," form such a sequence: they stood, she sang, they danced. Each verse of B and C, indeed, shows such a sequence: he called out, he told her, he for his part went; he took hold of one, he wrung her neck, he stuck her in his belt; they go, they dance (as one action, doubly expressed), he took hold, he wrung; they dance, they go (one action, doubly expressed), she did not hear him, and the outcome as third part: all but a few; she heard, she turned to look, and the outcome: no children.

The story is built up of this pattern at each level of organization. Where there are five units, the third is a pivotal unit. It concludes one three-part series, and begins another. Thus in the first part (a), Coyote reaches a house, finds a woman with many children, pretends to invite her to a big gathering. That invitation introduces a three-part conversational exchange: his invitation, her acceptance, his instructions to practice. (Notice that within the fifth verse of stanza A, the last six lines [16-21] form three pairs: you lead, they follow; you sing, they dance; we'll do, we'll arrive [both these last in the future tense in the original].) When the pairings are recognized, the verse as a whole is seen to have five elements. The first two elements, "He told her" and "First let us practice" lead into the crucial arrangement, that Pheasant go first, the children be behind her. This intermediate culmination in turn introduces the three pairs. From some other texts, I suspect that pairing of lines like this has something of a lulling or quieting effect, as against a continuing progression of individual actions. Stanza B has just three verses: the Pheasants sing and dance, Coyote pretends to take part, Coyote kills a

[Coyote and pheasant]

A	a	Aga gayúya,	1
		yú::yt,	2
		gayugáqwam itgwə́li.	3
	b	Gayáškupq,	4
		agagílak úxt,	5
		łábla ičáquq.	6
	c	Gačúlxam,	7
		"Iyamškmadáwəlxmam.	8
		"Idálxam tgúyu,	9
		"agwə́li utxwíla."	10
	d	"Aw,"	11
		gagúlxam,	12

Pheasant girl. Stanza C has just three verses: Coyote kills another Pheasant girl; he kills nearly all, unheard; the mother hears and discovers what is going on. Each three-part sequence fits the pattern of onset, ongoing, outcome. The next stanza is simply a three-part sequence in five lines: she flies, the remaining children fly, Coyote pronounces. The final stanza is a three-part sequence in pairs of lines (a practice found elsewhere in Chinookan narratives, when the action is beginning or ending): preparing a fire, cooking, eating. (The next lines in the longer journey start Coyote off again, going three times, to another house and adventure.)

The five stanzas seem to group themselves into three parts, actually: A is an introduction that starts the action; B and C present the complication and climax of the action, the killing of most of the children; D and E present the denouement—on the one hand, there will be a few Pheasants around (since Coyote didn't kill them all), but just as Pheasants should be; on the other hand, Coyote gets a meal. One could see the sequence of stanzas A B C as a unit—the deceptive invitation, the deceptive participation in the dancing and first killing, the outcome of all that. One can also see the sequence of C D E as a unit—Pheasant discovers that most of her children have been killed, she flies away as Coyote pronounces her name and nature for the time to come, Coyote enjoys the fruits of his trickery. (Notice that this pattern treats the pronouncement as incidental on the way to dinner.)

One could recognize lines in this text by assigning a line to each predicate or construction with predicative force (such as the possessive phrase in line 6). To recognize pattern in this text, a patterning of lines, one has to recognize an implicit rhetoric of action. Initial particles participate, but do not suffice to define.

[Coyote and pheasant]

A	a	Now he went,	1
		he's going along,	2
		he reached a house.	3
	b	He entered,	4
		a woman is there,	5
		she has many children.	6
	c	He told her,	7
		"I have come to invite you.	8
		"The people are dancing,	9
		"The house is standing (ready)."	10
	d	"Very well,"	11
		she told him,	12

	"alxúya."	13
e	Gačúlɣam,	14
	"Yániwadix alxq'wákšda.	15
	"Amusgə́nma,	16
	itxəquq qíqəmtgix alxúɣa.	17
	"Amglálama,	18
	aga ałúyučgwa.	19
	"Kwatłqí alxúɣabt,	20
	alxúyam."	21
B a	Aga gałxínxaxit,	22
	aga naglálámčk,	23
	náxux,	24
	"Qí:nit'aqínit'a,	25
	"Qí:nit'aqínit'a."	26
	Aga gałwíyučk.	27
b	Nigə́lúma,	28
	gačúlɣam,	29
	"T'áya múyčk!	30
	"Małgəmk'ámidapx itqádutinkš."	31
	Aga yáxt'ax níxúɣa,	32
	"Qí:nit'aqínit'a."	33
c	Gačáglga áyxt,	34
	gačiqxálagwa ičátuk,	35
	qwə́tl naxə́lux ayat'ámadiba.	36
C a	Aga wít'ax łúyt,	37
	łúyu;	38
	aga agúnax gačáglga,	39
	gačiqxálagwa ičátuk.	40
b	łáwiyu,	41
	łúyt,	42
	nə́šqi gagilčə́maq;	43
	ká:nawi k'wátłqi gačə́lux,	44
	łqáwatkadikš.	45
c	Aga naxə́lčə́maq,	46
	č'ík;	47
	íwi naxux,	48
	k'ú::ya ičáquq,	49
	kánawi It'álap'as gačdúdina.	50
D	Núka,	51
	qáwatkdikš ičáquq gałúka;	52
	Aga T'álap'as níkim,	53
	"Qánčix Ašmútmuť idə́kaqwł!	54
	"Qánaga k'watłqi imíxliw Amšmutmuť."	55

	"we will go."	13
e	He told her,	14
	"First let us practice.	15
	"You lead,	16
	our children will be to the rear.	17
	"You sing,	18
	now they will dance.	19
	"That's how we'll do, once	20
	we arrive."	21
B a	Now they stood,	22
	now she started to sing,	23
	she went,	24
	"Qí:nit'aqinit'a,	25
	"Qí:nit'aqinit'a."	26
	Now they danced.	27
b	He called out,	28
	he told her,	29
	"Dance it right!	30
	"You might mix up the children."	31
	Now he for his part went,	32
	"Qí:nit'aqinit'a."	33
c	He took hold of one,	34
	he wrung her neck,	35
	he stuck her in his belt.	36
C a	Now again they go,	37
	they dance;	38
	now he took hold of another,	39
	he wrung her neck.	40
b	They dance,	41
	they go,	42
	she did not hear him;	43
	that's how he did them <i>all</i> ,	44
	save a few.	45
c	Now she heard,	46
	squeak;	47
	she turned to look,	48
	<i>no::</i> children,	49
	Coyote killed them all.	50
D	She flew,	51
	a few of her children flew;	52
	now Coyote spoke,	53
	"When should Pheasant have a house!	54
	"Just like that's your name, you Pheasant!"	55

E	Gayúya T'álap'as,	56
	galayxálkił;	57
	gačdúlkčáləmčk,	58
	gatgákšt;	59
	aga niłłóləmčk,	60
	nixk'itłxum.	61

Klikitat Sahaptin

The Sahaptin-speaking peoples of Oregon and Washington are neighbors of the Chinookan-speaking peoples, and share their preference for five as a pattern number. Their myths, tales and personal histories, when told in the language, show patterning in terms of three and five of the sort found in Chinookan. That, at least, is what has been found by Henry Morrison, examining texts recorded fifty years ago by Melville Jacobs (Jacobs 1934, 1937), and by my wife, Virginia Hymes, in texts told at Warm Springs Reservation, Oregon, by Mr. Linton Winishut and Mrs. Hazel Suppah.

Initial particles play a part in the organization of stories into lines and verses, but the exact nature of that part is not yet clear. One story told by Joe Hunt in Klikitat Sahaptin (translation in Jacobs 1934: 33-40, original text in Jacobs 1937: 28-34), "His daughter makes Sun forego human food," is both moving in conception and instructive in form.

The outline of the story is this. A woman refuses men, but when one man comes to her, she opens the door. He shows evidence of power in that she can not see him when she opens the door, turns and finds him already sitting in the back. She tells him to go away and return. When he does, she demands his hair. He finally lets her cut it, but when he comes a third time, she gives it back and sends him away. Ashamed, he sleeps five days and bathes, restoring his hair, then tells his younger brother that he is going to go where the sun rises. He sets up a feather and tells his younger brother that if it does not fall for five years, he will be coming home. No one else knows any of this.

Kú pá'əna,	1
"Áunam nč'í: i:nək išənwái pákutkuDna.	2
"Áuḡanam pḡwiša,	3
"Č'áunaš-mun tún wáDa əwínš,	4
"Áu-kuš-yú:knaš-áu, wáta əwinšnúDyau.' "	5
"Áu itənuḡwiDa ti:čám,	6
"tənux tí:n;	7
"wušúwani: iwá tł'áḡł tún;	8
"iwáDa waniki: ičnək;	9
"Áu k'pənəknaš ínək náčiks tamánwiD ḡáixtknik.	10

E	Coyote went,	56
	he built a fire;	57
	he started to roast them,	58
	they got done;	59
	now he started to eat,	60
	he finished.	61

Having used up all the five arrow bundles he carried, putting one arrow in the ground at an interval, he reaches a house. A young woman comes out, addresses him as "my husband," and warns him of her father, the Sun, a dangerous being. The Sun kills a person on his travels each day, bringing him back to eat. When the Sun arrives, he demands the truth, and gets it. His daughter says she wants the man she has hidden, and he acquiesces. She then tells the man not to eat what her father does (humans), but enables him to spear Chinook salmon and hunt deer, which they eat. She intends to change her father's food and succeeds. She tells her father that soon the land will be changed, the people will be there, "That is how the land speaks," the foods will be his own children, when the land has been changed. He agrees: "Everything will be completed now." The two have a boy and girl, gladdening the Sun, her father. She says the people, the Indians, will call the children of the land, of the Sun, the roots, berries, fishes, deer, older brother and older sister.

She then tells her husband they should return to his younger brother. They go round the island on which they live, returning upstream from the west, watched over alternately by the Sun and his younger brother, the Moon. When they return, everyone is excited, including the haughty woman who had rejected the man. He uses her eagerness to make her fall in the water, and then the myth ends with this address. (The form of presentation is my own, advised on several points of grammar and meaning by my wife. Jacobs prints the address as a single paragraph. Within the paragraph he places five parenthetical numbers, which divide it into parts of which the last two almost agree with the last two presented here.)

And he told her,	1
"Now you treated me exceedingly badly.	2
"Now you have been thinking, I suppose,	3
" 'I shall never have a man,	4
" 'Now I, there I now, shall be without a man now.' "	5
"Now different will be the land,	6
"different the people;	7
"everything is ready,	8
"it will be named so here;	9
"Now that is the law I bring from the east.	10

"Ímæknam pášaBa'yaḡatanš;	11
"Kuš-áukúk ayáyaD áwiya:xš,	12
"anakúk itxánaDa tánux ti:cám,	13
"tənuxtənuxtí:n.	14
"Kú:knam pawaníkta 'Čmúk-tá:tpas';	15
"K'pónəkDyamaš áukuk wáDa i:míč'a waq'íšwiD ttáwaḡt	16
"Čáunamún aníDa əwínš,	17
"wáDaḡimaš xtúwiD."	18
Íku:nik pá'əna tláx ^u pənmínək ti:nma.	19
Anaməl-áwača,	20
čáu-tún pániya,	21
páwapawəxi:na.	22
"ÁuDyanam-ímč'a wáDa tánux či:míknik ti:nmamíknik.	23
"Íci:š-wá íku:k íkwətk nəmí ti:nma.	24
"Kwállətémi:nwa čáu-tún išaláwiDa álxaix, á:n, xa:slú,	25
"Kwenkínk iwáDa ti:čám wáq'íš,	26
"I:šáta ti:nmíyai."	27
Áu ík'wak tl'áx ^u .	28

This address contains initial particles, but they play a minor part. The particle *au* "now" marks the first lines addressed to the haughty woman, occurring initially four times, and probably five. (It is not certain how to take the fourth line of the speech, which seems to repeat *au* three times, but whose first word, hyphenated by Jacobs, might be an idiom in Kłikitat). The frequent Sahaptin particles *ku* "and," and *kuk* "then," occur, together with *aukuk* "now then." But the fundamental pattern of the address appears to depend upon the contrast between the woman being addressed, and her people, on the one hand, as against the true people and land as they will be in the future about to be established. Her haughtiness has caused the journey which leads to the new and better order, yet excludes her and her people from it. In pursuing this contrast, the speech returns five times to mention of "people" (*ti:n-*), three times coupled with "land" (*ti:čám*).

The logic of the speech appears to be: (1) you did and thought this, but now it will be this way (with regard to land and people); (2) you caused me to go, and it will be this way with the land and the people (different); (3) you yourself will be without issue (never accept a man), and so also all your people; (4) all of you will be different from these people, my own people; and (5) the heavens will sustain the life of the land and of the

"You caused me to go find it;	11
"And I, now, have found it wonderful,	12
"when it will have become a different land,	13
"very different people.	14
"Then you will be called 'Black-dress';	15
"That is what your heart and life now will be.	16
"You will never accept a man,	17
"but you will be strong in power."	18
That is the way he spoke to all her people.	19
As many as there were of them,	20
he gave them nothing,	21
he turned them away:	22
"Now you will be different from these people.	23
"These many are now my own people.	24
"Never at any time will the moon, sun, or stars weaken,	25
"Because of them the land will have life,	26
"It will lie there for the people."	27
Now that is all.	28

people. The first three parts spell out the state of affairs, ending with the direct pronouncement as to the future identity of the haughty woman. The fourth part continues the theme of separating sheep from goats initiated in the third, and the fifth asserts a general blessing for the people chosen.

Insofar as this account of the logic of the speech is correct, one finds overt linguistic marking of it, not in initial particles so much as in key words, thematic words, in the last lines of each part. The key words, "people" and "land" occur in the first two lines of the third, last verse, of the particle-marked first part. In the four remaining parts, which lack much in the way of particle-marking, "people" occurs in the last line in all, accompanied by "land" in the preceding line in the second and fifth; by another use of "people" in the preceding line in the fourth; and by "different" (*tənuχ*) in the second and fourth.

The principle at work in this address seems to be widely used. A speech by the late Wishram Chinook, Philip Kahclamet, returns at the end of each of its five parts to the pervasive theme of continuity of native religious tradition and eschewal of Christianity (see ch. 6 of Hymes 1981). Many times, when a sequence of initially marked lines and verses does not seem to have a clear organization into parts, the patterning

becomes clear when one has discovered the recurrent ending-point to which each part builds. The section of a Takelma myth about Coyote, to be presented next, is an example.

The importance of this principle can hardly be exaggerated. It makes clear that the patterning of these texts is not mechanical. It is not the filling out of a fixed form, such as the four lines of a quatrain, the five lines of a limerick, the six lines of a stanza of a sestina, and so on. The text is being shaped to expressive purpose, as it proceeds, arousing and fulfilling expectations, as is the case with all traditional literary form (Burke 1931)—I would say, all satisfying literary form. Particles and patterns are made use of; devices such as these condition what can and will be done; but what is done is controlled ultimately by the imagination and artistry of the narrator. Recurrent ending points along the way are a recurrent clue to what that imagination and artistry have focussed upon as important. There will never be a mechanical procedure for recognizing the shape of the result, and some aspects of shape may remain uncertain. We can come close, but only insofar as we can enter sympathetically into the imagination and artistry that produced the shape, and share a sense of the satisfactions, moment by moment, as device accumulates into design.

Takelma

The Takelma language was spoken in southwestern Oregon not far from the Karok of northern California. What we know of texts in Takelma were recorded in 1906 at the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, by Edward Sapir from Mrs. Frances Johnson (Sapir 1909b). One of the stories about Coyote helps to deepen understanding of the shaping of narratives through the linking of lines and verses in terms of underlying pattern.

In this story, "Coyote goes courting" (Sapir 1909b: 101-109), Coyote lives alone, hunting gophers every day, when he hears the sound of a girl's puberty dance. He rushes off, finally arrives, and immediately singles out the girl with obvious wealth (jingling dentalia). When he tries to join in the singing, he gets the songs wrong (only "half-right"). As one girl (bird) after another comes forward and sings, there comes a song which mentions Black Bear's anus, and he comes, indignantly but harmlessly. The singing itself attracts Grizzly Bear, and some of the girls persist, despite warnings by others, until Grizzly does appear and breaks up the dance. No one is harmed, and Coyote seizes the opportunity to seize the chief's daughter and take her into the bushes. There he discovers

to his dismay that she has no proper feminine parts. Pronouncing her merely "Frog," he goes off.

The theme of Coyote pursuing a woman, only to be frustrated or lose her, is widely enjoyed, and the pairing of Coyote with Frog is fairly common in stories. Here the main point of interest is in the shaping of the Takelma myth by means of initial particles, on the one hand, and ending-points, on the other.

As mentioned, Takelma was spoken near Karok, and like Karok, the pattern number of the culture is four, rather than five, as is the case among Chinookans and Sahaptins. Whereas grouping into threes goes along with grouping into fives among Chinookans and Sahaptins, grouping into twos goes along with grouping into fours in Takelma myths. (We shall consider later whether or not the same is true for Karok.)

The clearest feature of the patterning of Takelma myths, indeed, is the pairing of verses marked by an initial particle. The common particles are *Gane*: "then" and *mi*: "now." Both are often followed by an emphatic element, *-hi'*. Sapir construed this element as a quotative, and translated it as "it is said," but *-hi'* bears no resemblance to any Takelma element for "saying"; Mrs. Johnson apparently did not suggest such a translation; and discovery of patterning in verses opens up the possibility of a discourse function for *-hi'*, which indeed is almost identical to an emphatic particle, *hi*, that follows pronouns and demonstratives (cf. Sapir 1922: 272, 274, 277-8). Other particles and adverbs may play a parallel role, especially those containing the correlative or contrastive suffix, *-si'*.

If one reads through the section of the myth presented here, one will find it evident, I think, that adjacent verses belong together. Thus, Coyote hears, listens (II *i ab*); asks "where," declares "there" (II *i cd*); goes, runs until tired and listens (*ii ab*); rushes and runs, then rests again (and implicitly hears) (*ii cd*); "must be here," but no (*ii ef*); "where," must be upriver (*ii gh*).

The use of pairing, and occasionally, of four-element patterning, is evident along the way. Thus, "he rushed off, he ran" are paired twice in this section (lines 33-34; 51-52), along with the similar pair, "he went, he rushed off" (62-3). Four times an initial "he ran," "he rushed off," "he went," "he ran" is followed by the rhetorical query, "How long did he not run/go?" (48, 57, 64, 72). Lines 29-32 seem a natural sequence of four elements: "he ran, was tired, stood still, listened." The same four elements in almost the same sequence occur again (lines 79-82), but an intervening initial particle separates them. The verse denoted (f) in *iv* (lines 84-90) has a kind of couplet, "girls in great numbers/many kinds of girls" to introduce a catalog, and the final two verses (91-92) amplify the same idea ("What kind did not dance/many kinds").

COYOTE GOES TO A DANCE.

.....

II. [HE HEARS AND HURRIES TO THE DANCE]

[i. *He hears a girl's puberty dance*]

(a) Mi: khai dà:'agán, 18
wù:lham hoyodagwán. 19

(b) Mi: da:sgèk'i:. 20

(c) Gane:hi', 21
"Š'à: Gwidi wù:lham hoyodagwán?" 22
nagàihí' Sgisi. 23

(d) Mi: da:t'ayàkh, 24
wu:lham hoyodagwánma' — 25
"S'à! Ge ginìkhde' ". 26

[ii. *He runs*]

(a) Mi:hi' yà', 27
thì:s hí' he:k'u:wú:. 28

(b) Mi: hò'kh, [hò'kh,] 29
hu:línth, 30
sasíní:, 31
da:sgèk'i:. 32

(c) Gane:hi' mi: hono' he:biłu, 33
hò'kh. 34

(d) Gane:hi' mi: hono' ligí:ntn, 35
hàwi wu:lham hoyodagwán da'ól. 36

(e) Gane:hi' 37
"Ah! Emè' mì:'wa wu:lham hoyodagwán." 38

(f) Ge wó:kh, 39
àni:' khai yàp'a. 40

(g) "S-gemè'di aga'à hoidiàukh?" 41
nagàihí', 42
à:khi wahimithgwith. 43

(h) 'Ali: da'ól wu:lham hoidiàukhí', 44
na'nagài': 45
"Emè' mì:'wa hinwadá." 46

[iii. *How long does he not run?*]

Aa Mi: hono' hò'kh. 47

COYOTE GOES TO A DANCE.

. . . .

II. [HE HEARS AND HURRIES TO THE DANCE]

- [i. *He hears a girl's puberty dance*]
- (a) Now he heard something, 18
 a round dance of nubile girls being danced. 19
- (b) Now he listened. 20
- (c) Then, 21
 "Sh'a! Where is the girls' dance being danced?" 22
 said Coyote. 23
- (d) Now he discovered (the direction in which) 24
 a girls' dance was being danced— 25
 "Sh'a! That's where I'll go!" 26
- [ii. *He runs*]
- (a) Now he went, 27
 he threw away the gophers. 28
- (b) Now he ran, 29
 was tired, 30
 stood still, 31
 listened. 32
- (c) Then now again he rushed off, 33
 he ran. 34
- (d) Then now again he rested: 35
 still the dance was danced (as if) nearby. 36
- (e) Then, 37
 "Ah! It must be here the dance is being danced!" 38
- (f) There he arrived: 39
 no people. 40
- (g) "S-where *is* this dancing?" 41
 he said, 42
 he spoke to himself. 43
- (h) This (place) nearby they were dancing the dance, 44
 they were doing it (it seemed): 45
 "It must be here upriver." 46
- [iii. *How long does he not run?*]
- Aa Now again he ran. 47

b	Gwi:'nè di wede hókh?	48
	Da'òl hoidiàukhi',	49
	na'nagài'.	50
c	Gane:hi' honò' he:biliu',	51
	hò'kh.	52
d	Thgá: khwedèi p'u:wù:'aukh:—	53
	"Ge mì:'wa hoyodiàu',"	54
	nagàihí' Sgisi.	55
Ba	Gane:hi' honò' he:biliu'.	56
b	Gwi:'nè di wede hókh?	57
	hu:línth,	58
	lìgilagánth.	59
c	Ganga heleliàuda'.	60
d	Ali: nà'nagài.	61
Ca	Gane:hi' honò' yà',	62
	he:biliu'.	63
b	Gwi:'ne dì wede yanákh?	64
	"S-gemè'di aga'a wu:lham hoyodagàn?"	65
	nagàihí',	66
	da:sgek'eí:ha.	67
c	Gane:hi',	68
	"S'à! Emè' hinwadà mì:'wa"—	69
d	Agàsí' gwentgha:bòkhdanda wu:lham boyodagwàn.	70
Da	Mi: hono' ge hiwiliu'.	71
b	Gwi:'ne dì wede hókh?	72
c	Gane:hi' gwì:'ne la:lé:.	73
d	Mi: hu:línth;	74
	ge' yà:hi da'òl la:le:.	75
[iv. <i>He arrives</i>]		
a	Gane:hi' ba:dè'yeweyákhw.	76
b	Gane:hi da'ò:l di:'hiwiliu'	77
	wu:lham hoyodagwànma'.	78
c	Mi: honò' hò'kh.	79
d	Gane:hi' sasiní:,	80
	hu:línth,	81
	da:sgèk'í:.	82

- b How long did he not run? 48
 Nearby they were dancing, 49
 they were doing it (it seemed). 50
- c Then again he rushed off, 51
 he ran. 52
- d He would name the name of the land— 53
 "There they must be dancing," 54
 said Coyote. 55
- Ba Then again he rushed off. 56
- b How long did he not run? 57
 He was tired, 58
 he kept resting. 59
- c Always there is singing. 60
- d This (place), it seemed to be done. 61
- Ca Then again he went, 62
 he rushed off. 63
- b How long did he not go? 64
 "S-where *is* the girls' dance being danced?" 65
 he said, 66
 he listened about. 67
- c Then, 68
 "S'a! It must be here upriver"— 69
- d And indeed the dance was being danced in the east. 70
- Da Now again he ran there. 71
- b How long did he not run? 72
- c Then a long time passed. 73
- d Now he was tired; 74
 there he became just nearby. 75
- [iv. *He arrives*]
- a Then he went ahead again. 76
- b Then he came from below [downriver] nearby 77
 (where) the dance was being danced. 78
- c Now again he ran. 79
- d Then he stood still, 80
 was tired, 81
 listened. 82

e	Gane:hi' mi: gè wó:kh—	83
f	A:: waiwi: neyè:da' wu:lham hoyodákhw,	84
	khài gwala waiwi:,	85
	Bélph,	86
	Hà'kha:,	87
	Ts'ài's,	88
	Ts'amà:l,	89
	Laphá:m.	90
g	Khài nàk'a di 'àni: ' wu:lham hoyodákhw?	91
h	Khài gwalá sasiní:.	92

What is not so evident is any larger shaping of the elements of the story. If one looks for repetition of particular words, such as "land" and "people" in the Sahaptin text just considered, one is disappointed. There is indeed repetition, but it does not occur in such a way as to group the parts of this section symmetrically or regularly. One might, for example, organize the material into units introduced by "he ran" or its equivalent. The result is not very satisfying. There would seem to be ten instances (allowing for pairing in 76-77 as one instance, and not counting "arrived" [83], one has 27, 29, 33-34, 47, 51-52, 56, 62-63, 71, 76-77, 79). To count "arrived" (39, 83) and "became just nearby" (75) as implying running would give thirteen instances. The rest of the action groups only loosely and irregularly around these ten or thirteen points, taken either as initial or concluding elements.

One may notice that "listen" occurs as the second in a sequence of four or more elements in the text as presented here (32, 67, 82), and that may be significant. The patterning of which it is part, however, depends upon recognition of a recurrent element that is not expressed each time in the same words.

Let us review the basis for presenting the section of the story as is done here.

[i.] *He hears a girl's puberty dance.* This seems clear enough. Two pairs of verses introduce the complication of the action. Coyote hears and listens; exclaims "where?" and declares "There" (I'll go).

[ii.] *He runs.* It is easy enough to see that "Now he went" starts a new part, but not easy to see where the new part ends. The key, I believe, is not to

e	Then now he arrived—	83
f	Ahh girls in great numbers were dancing the puberty round dance—	84
	many kinds of girls,	85
	Swan,	86
	Goose,	87
	Bluejay,	88
	Mouse,	89
	Frog.	90
g	What kind did not dance the puberty dance?	91
h	Many kinds were standing there.	92

count, but to think. This is the first instance of Coyote's way of finding the dance, and it is depicted extensively. Lines 27-46 all have to do with only the first instance. To be sure, Coyote runs and stops, runs and stops (27-36), but all this is building up to the discovery that there are no people where he had expected to find them (39-40), and the outcome of the discovery. In a pair of verses that parallel the final two verses of the first of these four scenes (22-26), he asks himself "Where?" and declares again, in effect, "there" ("must be here upriver").

Consider, now, the underlying relationship of the eight verses that make up this scene. All but one have an initial particle (and a turn of speech appears to count as a verse in Takelma, as in lines 41-43). Each pair of verses seems to fit a pattern of onset and outcome, or initiation and result. Even within a verse, the four lines of 29-32 seem to show this pattern twice: ran, and therefore, tired; stood still, and then, listened. Let us summarize the relations of the eight verses in this regard:

- (a-b): started (throwing away the gophers), ran until stopping to listen.
- (c-d) ran again, rested again (and heard again).
- (e-f) decided it must be here, but no, no people.
- (g-h) Where then? Must be here upriver.

It is not difficult to consider each pair of verses as related to an adjacent pair in the same way: (a-b) are something of an initiation to the result of (c-d), which ends by stating that she rested (which is more of a stop perhaps than he stood still), and that the dance was still as if nearby (which is more of an explicit outcome than he listened); (e-f) is clearly an initiation of the result expressed in (g-h).

It is possible to consider each pair of pairs as related in the same way: (a-b-c-d) have the running; (e-f-g-h) have the outcome.

It seems then that Takelma has an underlying rhetorical logic, built around sequences of two and multiples of two, at each successive level of organization of a myth.

To discover the application of this logic in a given myth requires, however, sympathetic imagination, and acquaintance with the nature of such story-telling. These eight verses have been grouped together on the basis of recognizing them as an expression in some fulness of the first instance of Coyote's running to find the dance. That recognition is reinforced by the fact that the parts before and after this section seem coherent units too. Having considered *i*, let us turn to *iii*.

The constant element in *iii* is the repetition, four times, of the emphatic rhetorical question, "How long did he not run?" What of the groups formed around this fourfold repetition? Each begins with a variant of running or going. Each ends a variant of the end of the preceding scene, Coyote's expectation that the dance is being danced at the nearest place. Stanzas A and C repeat the "must be" (perhaps, probably, are alternative translations, but "must be" is in keeping with Coyote's character and action) that framed the second half of the preceding scene (38, 46). There is a progression in the repetition. In the first stanza, Coyote is still far away; the statement that he would name the name of the land (53) implies a good many lands to be named. In the second stanza the singing makes it seem to be where he is, this place; that simply elaborates the description of the recurrent situation. In the third stanza the narrator confirms that he has the direction right. He repeats, "must be here upriver," and the narrator completes the stanza with the statement that indeed it is in the east. The fourth stanza states that after a long time he is just nearby. (And indeed he will now come up just where the dance is being danced).

The notion of place appears to be a recurrent ending point, variously expressed: "there," "this (place)," "upriver" and "east," "nearby" in the fourth verses of each of the four stanzas of scene *iii*.

But what about lines 49-50? They are quite parallel, expressing the idea that the dance is being danced nearby, it seems. Why are they not the end of a unit, coordinate with the rest? And indeed, they are followed by a pair of lines that can initiate, "he rushed off, he ran" (51-52). Given the very reference points just stated, should it not be granted that the number of stanzas, coordinate units, in this part of the story is not four, but five? Whatever the Takelma pattern number?

I do not think so. The repetition of the rhetorical question, "How long did he not run?" seems to me an important device, probably seriously

intended as part of the structure of the scene. Its four occurrences seem an important clue. The "he rushed off, he ran" of lines 51-52 is not followed by this question. That is a strong reason for not considering it coordinate with the four instances of "he ran," and the like, that are followed by the rhetorical question.

A second reason is that the double occurrence of an indication that the dance is nearby, in a certain place, seems to me parallel to the double occurrence of such an indication in the preceding scene *ii*. In that scene the first occurrence of "nearby" (36) seemed to be a moment on the way to the outcome of a continuous incident (44-46). This next incident (47-55) seems to me a somewhat condensed equivalent. First a full-scale depiction of Coyote's rushing off (scene *ii*), then a foreshortened depiction, introducing a scene whose focus is progression toward the dance, while ringing changes on Coyote's behavior, anchored by the constant rhetorical thrust, "How long did he not run?" Scene *ii* depicts Coyote's over-anxious misjudgment and exertion full scale; scene *iii* depicts him going and going until he is almost there.

Certainly scenes *ii* and *iii* are closely akin. It is striking that the expressions "nearby" and "must be" each occur four times, and occur only in these two scenes. Their relation to each other is striking also. "Nearby" (*da'ól*) occurs in one verse, "must be" (*mi:wa*) in the next (36, 38); then "nearby" and "must be" occur in the same order within the same verse at the end of *ii* (44, 46). "Nearby" and "must be" occur again in the same order, separated by a verse, in the next stanza (49, 54)—one reason I think that this stanza is a reduced reprise of the preceding scene. And then the two occur in reverse order, at the ends of successive, separate stanzas, at the end of the scene (70, 75), neither to occur again. This reversal the fourth time around seems to me significant. It implicitly prepares for the change from mistaken optimism to actual arrival.

Each pair of verses can be seen as initiation and result, and such a relation can be seen between pairs of pairs, as with scene *ii*. The connection is rather loose in some instances, to be sure. It is perhaps strongest in the second pair of stanzas, C and D.

In scene *iv*, the first four verses seem to fit the logic of the rhetorical pattern well enough: went ahead, came from below; ran, stopped and listened. The second set of four verses seem to elaborate a single pairing: he arrives, there are all kinds of girls.²

The four scenes of the act show the pattern readily enough: he hears, he runs; he runs long, he arrives. The pattern of initiation and result, or of onset and outcome, appears in this section of the myth, not as a straightjacket, or exact formula, but as a pervasive, persistent way of formulating action, and relations among actions.

A similar pattern appears in the myths of another culture, remote from the Takelma, where the pattern number is also four. In John Rush Buffalo's "Coyote and Eagle's daughter," as told in the Tonkawa language of Texas, initial particles again serve to identify verses, and groups of verses again express a logic of action as consisting of onset and outcome, or initiation and result. Within this general framework, to be sure, some significant variations occur. The very fact that almost every part of the myth fits the pattern just described forces one to recognize that one verse does not: it is a set of six lines, and there is nothing two-by-four about it. The clear coherence of the action also forces recognition of the fact that the pattern of action is more fundamental than the number of particles. In one section of the myth, Coyote's wife goes to find him, and comes four times to a camp. The details are strictly parallel in each of the four encounters, yet a strict counting of particles would destroy the parallelism. The first encounter has two particles, but each of the remaining three have three. The narrator has manipulated the relation among particles, verses and logic of action. Further study of the small set of Tonkawa texts preserved for us may disclose the expressive purpose. (This myth is analyzed in Hymes 1980.)

If distant Tonkawa and nearby Takelma have an underlying logic of action, what about Karok? It seems possible to indicate that it does as well.

Karok

The test of the hypothesis that Karok shows an underlying patterning in the sense of a logic of action, and a resulting grouping of verses into sets, must depend upon a close knowledge of the language. Only Bright himself is in a position to carry out such a test. The material he has so carefully presented, however, permits the suggestion of such a pattern by someone familiar with analogous patterning in other languages.

The first episode of "Coyote's Journey" concerns Coyote's attempt to shoot raccoons for new clothes. It does appear to consist of groups of verses that constitute a multiple of four, namely, eight. The associated logic of action seems to have a somewhat different flavor than that of the Takelma texts from Frances Johnson. It does not seem so often to be pairwise, this, then that; this, then that. Each set of four elements seems to proceed more directly from first to last.

The Karok text can be consulted, of course, in Bright's article (1980). Let me mention a few minor changes in the presentation of the English here. In order to bring out the role of initial particles in marking structure, it is necessary, I think, to translate a given particle always in the

same way. When one is concerned simply with a clear and readable English equivalent, such invariance is of course not essential, and may be detrimental. Throughout the presentation to follow, then, I have translated *Káan* always as "there"; *kári* always as "now"; *xás* always as "then." *Káru* seems the word appropriately translated always as "and"; *vúra* is rendered always as "again." The translation of an initial particle is always put at the beginning of a line (as in line 3). Each initial particle is counted as coordinate in determining larger units. Thus particles are taken as overriding differences in degree of pause (as a comparison of the first lines to follow and the first lines in Bright 1980 will illustrate).

[Coyote tries to shoot raccoons]

Aa	There a man lived,	1
	he had many strings of shell-money;	2
b	There Coyote saw him,	3
	he saw him measuring shell-money,	4
	that person there.	5
c	Now then Coyote said,	6
	"Where do you find it,	7
	that money?"	8
d	Now then that person said,	9
	"At Klamath Falls."	10
Ba	Now then Coyote,	11
b	then he went home.	12
c	Now then he thought,	13
	"I'll make some string!	14
	"I have to go to Klamath Falls!	15
	"I'll go get that money,	16
	"I like it so much."	17
d	Then he made a lot of it,	18
	that string.	19
Ca	So he tied it in a bundle,	20
	that string.	21
b	Now then he thought,	22
	"I'll just start out."	23
c	Now then he hurried upriver,	24
	the string in a pack,	25
	the little bits of string,	26
	what he was going to string it with,	27
	that money.	28

d	When he had packed it up, he carried it upriver, that string.	29 30 31
Da	Finally he had gone far upriver.	32
b	Then he looked upstream.	33
c	There a tree was standing, he saw ten raccoons sitting there.	34 35
d	Then he said: "Aha, good! I'll make new pants, "and a shirt for myself, "and a quiver, "and shoes for myself."	36 37 38 39 40
E a	Then he ripped them apart, his clothes.	41 42
b	Then he tore them to bits, again (to) little bits.	43 44
c	Then he threw them downslope.	45
d	Then he stood naked.	46
F a	Then now thus (he said): "I'll just shoot one!"— but he missed it.	47 48 49
b	Then the raccoon jumped away downslope.	50
c	Then he shot at one again, it jumped down again.	51 52
d	Then he missed every one of them.	53
Ga	Then again he felt really <i>bad</i> .	54
b	Then he crept away downslope.	55
c	Then he collected them, all his torn-up clothes.	56 57
d	Then thus he mended his clothes.	58
Ha	Then he'd been carrying a lot of string—	59
b	That's what he was going to string it with, his money.	60 61
c	Then he put his clothes on.	62
d	Then he hurried downstream.	63

The stanzas so revealed appear to have coherent relationships in terms of a fourfold pattern. Each of the eight can be summarized as follows:

- (A)Coyote finds out about money at Klamath Falls.
- (B)Coyote decides to go get some.
- (C)He starts out.
- (D)He sees raccoons and decides to stop to get new clothes.
- (E)He tears up his old clothes.
- (F)He shoots and misses every raccoon.
- (G)He fixes up his old clothes.
- (H)He puts his old clothes back on and goes on.

There appears to be a natural pairing among (A-B), (C-D), (E-F), and (G-H). (A-B-C-D) seems to form one reasonable sequence, having to do with the starting out, and the diversion from his initial purpose, while (E-F-G-H) seems to form another sequence, having to do with the attempt to shoot the raccoons.

If such findings obtain throughout the rest of "Coyote's Journey," and in other Karok texts, then Karok will be, at least for the present, the fullest and best example of the relations among particles, pauses, and patterns. Particles and pauses will be seen to closely cohere in the context of larger patterning. The nuances introduced by variation in kinds of pause may be able to be easily understood.

Such is not possible with the texts for which we have no recordings—Wishram texts from Louis Simpson, Clackamas texts from Victoria Howard, Sahaptin texts from Joe Hunt, Takelma texts from Frances Johnson, Tonkawa texts from John Rush Buffalo. Such may be possible with the tape-recorded texts of Zuni narration, but the relationship between pauses and particle-patterning seems far less clear, far more remote. That there is patterning, however, that Zuni is not an exception to the kind of patterning found in other languages, can now be shown.

Zuni

In the 1978 reprinting of *Finding the Center* Tedlock includes the Zuni text of Andrew Peynetsa's telling of "Coyote and Junco" (see p. xii of the new preface). The notes report that the performance took four minutes, and that Mr. Peynetsa had learned the story from a man who had a reputation for telling only very short stories. Old Lady Junco is an Oregon Junco, and her "shirt" in the story is the hood-like area of dark gray or black that covers the head, neck, and part of the breast.

In reworking and implicitly criticizing the original presentation by Tedlock, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I have great respect for Tedlock's work. He has been foremost in insisting that American Indian narratives must be recognized as poetry, both through his own work and through the editing of the journal *Alcheringa*. My intention is to add to the understanding of Zuni narratives, not to depreciate what Tedlock has already contributed.

Here is a section of the story, as presented in *Finding the Center* (1978: 78-79).

"What are you DOING?" that's what he asked her. "Well, I'm winnowing," she said.

"What are you winnowing?" he said. "Well

pigweed and tumbleweed"
that's what she told him.

"Indeed.

What's that you're saying?" "Well, this is

ANDREW PEYNETSA'S "COYOTE AND JUNCO"

[i. Coyote meets Junco]

A Son'ahchi.

Sonti ino:::::te:
Shoplhuwayal'an,
Sil'okyattsik ky'akwappa.

B Taachi Suski,

Suski lak a'l iimulhan holh cha'lliye,
cha'llapa. 5

C Taachi sil'okyattsik holhi kyawashey'a,
teshuk'o taap k'ushuts'i holh kyawashey'a;

il'anna wolunholh lesna kyawashnan allachelhky'akkya, 10
allachelhky'ap.

D Taachi Suski,

Suski's lhat allu'ya,
yam chal'aawan lhat allu'ya laks,
Silo kyawashennankwin tecchikya. 15

my winnowing song," she said.
 "NOW SING IT FOR ME
 so that I
 may sing it for my children," he said.
 Old Lady Junco
 sang for Coyote:

	YUUWA ^{HINA}	YUUWA ^{HINA}
	YUUWA ^{HINA}	YUUWA ^{HINA}
	YU ^{HINA}	YU ^{HINA}
(blowing)	PFFF	PFFF
	YU ^{HINA}	YU ^{HINA}
(blowing)	PFFF	PFFF

That's what she said.

Here now is the full text of the story, presented in terms of the discussion and analysis that follows.

ANDREW PEYNETSA'S "COYOTE AND JUNCO"

[i. Coyote meets Junco]

A Son'ahchi.

Sonti Lo::::ng ago:
 At Standing Arrows,
 Old Lady Junco had her home.

B Meanwhile Coyote,

Coyote was there at Sitting Rock with his children,
 he was there with his children. 5

C Meanwhile Old Lady Junco was winnowing,
 pigweed and tumbleweed she was winnowing;
 with her basket she winnowed these
 by tossing them in the air, 10
 she was tossing them in the air.

D Meanwhile Coyote,

Coyote was going around hunting,
 going around hunting for his children there,
 when he came to see where Junco was winnowing. 15

[ii. Coyote asks Juno]

- A "Kop to leye'a?",
le'anikwap.
"Ma' ho kyawashey'a,"
le'. 20
- B "Kwap to kyawashey'a?" 20
le'.
"Ma' teshuk'o taap k'ushuts'i",
le'holh anikwap.
- C "Hayi. Kop to' ikwe'a?"
"Ma' hom luk kyawashnakya tenanne," 25
le'.
- D "Ama hom'aan tena'u,
"akky ho' yam chawotenna,"
le' 30
Sil'okyattsik s yam Suski an tenakya:
"Yuuwa hina, yuuwa hina,
"Yuuwa hina, yuuwa hina;
"Yuhina, yuhina,
pfff, pfff (blowing);
Yuhina, yuhina, 35
pfff, pfff (blowing),"
le'holh i'.

[iii. Coyote keeps losing the song]

- Aa "Ee, ho' so'akky ma'so anne,
"yam ho' cha'aawan tena'unna." 40
- b Suski aakya lak wiimayaawan,
holh lottikyap,
niishapak'o aala'hippa,
taa yam tenan okky'akkya.
- c Ikya ina:
"Hanatte! tom'an tena'u,
"niishapak hom tenan okky'anapky," 45
le'.

[ii. Coyote asks Junco]

A "What are you doing?",
that's what he asked her.
"Well, I'm winnowing,"
she said.

B "What are you winnowing?" 20
he said.
"Well, pigweed and tumbleweed,"
that's what she told him.

C "Indeed. What's that you're saying?"
"Well, this is my winnowing song," 25
she said.

D "Now sing it for me,
so that I may sing it for my children,"
he said.

Old Lady Junco sang for Coyote: 30

"Yuuwa hina, yuuwa hina,
"Yuuwa hina, yuuwa hina;

"Yuhina, yuhina,
pfff, pfff (blowing);

"Yuhina, yuhina, 35
pfff, pfff (blowing)",
that's what she said.

[iii. Coyote keeps losing the song]

Aa "Yes, now I can go,
"I'll sing it for my children."

b Coyote went on to Oak Arroyo, 40
as he got there,
mourning doves flew up,
and he lost his song.

c He went back:
"Quick! sing for me, 45
"some mourning doves made me lose my song,"
he said.

- d Taas an tenne.
Tenan yaanikwatinan.
- Ba Taas aakya; 50
lak teshoktaawan holhi.
- b Taas iskon yeyye an'a kwachukya,
taas yam tenan okky'akkyā.
- c Taas, ha''iky'annan inan 55
itekkunakkyā.
- d Taas, an tenne.
- Ca Ha''iky'annana s'anne,
taas wiimaya holh tecchippa;
- b k'eccho aala'hip,
taas yam tenan okky'akkyā. 60
- c Aawitenaky'annan iyappa.
- d Sil'okyattsik leskwikkyā,
"Aa lak to' iyappa,
"kwa'so tenaashukwa,"
le'kwanas. 65
- Da A'ky'amon teshuna,
a'ky'amon awana,
yam sil'ucchun ullunan,
an sil a'unan kyala''u.
- b "Shemak yamante ko'le'ona." 70
Silo yam ky'akwen kwatokya.
- [iv. Coyote threatens Junco to his cost]
- A Suskis aawitenaky'annan iya.
Inan,
"Hanatte! tom'aan tena'u,
"taas an tenan okky'anakkyā,
"Iya,"
le'anikwappa. 75
Kwa' Silo peyena'ma.

- d Again she sang for him.
He learned the song.
- Ba Again he went on;
he went through a field there. 50
- b Again, he broke through a gopher hole,
again he lost his song.
- c Again, he came for the third time
to ask for it. 55
- d Again, she sang for him.
- Ca He went on for the third time,
again he came to Oak Arroyo;
- b Blackbirds flew up,
again he lost his song. 60
- c He was coming for the fourth time.
- d Old Lady Junco said to herself,
"Oh here you come,
"but I won't sing,"
that's what she said. 65
- Da She looked for a round rock,
she found a round rock,
she dressed it with her Junco shirt,
she put her basket of seeds with the Junco rock.
- b "As for you, go right ahead and ask."
Junco went inside her house. 70
- [iv. Coyote threatens Junco to his cost]
- A Coyote was coming for the fourth time.
When he came,
"Quick! sing it for me,
"I lost the song again,
"Come on,"
that's what he told her. 75
Junco said nothing.

- B "Hanatte."
le'anikwap. 80
Kwa' penamkya.
- C "Toopa,"
le'.
"Aawitenaky'annan ho' penap,
"kwa'hom'an to' tena'ma, 85
"tom ho'uttenna,"
le'anikwappa.
- D "Kwiliky'annan, Kwili,"
le'.
"Hanat tom'aan tena'u," 90
le'.
Kwa' tena'ma.
- E "Haa"i. Alhnat
"Alhnat ho'penuwa," 95
le'.
- F Suskis,
"Hanat tena'u,"
le'anikwappa.
Kwa' tena'ma.
- Ga Sil'ucchun Suski a'u. 100
- b Sil uttep,
KWAAM, a'ky'amon s'olh uttekya,
liilhno luy'anna ko' yo'nashky'an,
akkyaluk yo'na yalhakwin.
- c "Luhappa tenhish tom ho' leyan." 105
- d "AY! AY!"
le'kwana.
- H Sani yam cha'likwin tecchip,
kyaakysmash ko'an,
chawe yashekya tekkwin tecchikya. 110
Le'n inoote teyatikko'akky,
kwa' Suski liilhno aawo'nawamme.
LEE::::::SEMKONIKYA.

- B "Quick!"
that's what he told her. 80
She didn't speak.
- C "One,"
he said.
"The fourth time I speak,
"if you haven't sung,
"I'll bite you," 85
that's what he told her.
- D "Second time, Two,"
he said.
"Quick sing for me," 90
he said.
She didn't sing.
- E "Three.
"I'll count once more,"
he said. 95
- F Coyote said,
"Quick sing",
that's what he told her.
She didn't sing.
- Ga Junco had left her shirt for Coyote. 100
- b He bit the Junco,
CRUNCH, he bit the round rock
right here he knocked out the teeth, ·
the rows of teeth in back.
- c "So now I've really done it to you." 105
- d "AY! AY!"
that's what he said.
- H The Prairie Wolf went back to his children;
by the time he got back there,
his children were dead. 110
Because this was lived long ago,
Coyote has no teeth here.
LEE:::::::::SEMKONIKYA.

If we examine this section, we can see that it does indeed have four turns at speech for Coyote, and four for Old Lady Junco, four exchanges between them. That it ends with Old Lady Junco singing seems right. Sections of narratives seem regularly to build up to the saying, or singing, of the most important thing at that point. The song itself seems to be built up of two-part repetitions, and to have in fact three groups of four elements. The first group appears to consist of the four occurrences of *Yuuwahina*; the second group consists of the shortened *yuhina* (twice) and blowing (twice); the third group is identical with the second. The initial and concluding statements perhaps constitute a fourth constituent. Alternatively, perhaps the initial and concluding statements are the first and eighth of a series of eight elements, the other six elements consisting of the six lines of the song as presented by Tedlock. The two interpretations are mutually compatible: eight elements, on the other hand, grouped into four constituent parts, on the other.

The evidence of use of the pattern number four is not restricted to this section. Such evidence is found throughout the text.

The text begins with an introduction of the two actors, Coyote and Old Lady Junco, following a formal opening. First we are told where Old Lady Junco is, where Coyote is. Then we are told what Old Lady Junco is doing, what Coyote is doing (and that brings him to where she is). These four elements of content appear to be marked by initial particles. After the formal opening, which is untranslatable, but whose ending in *-ahchi* may be significant, we are told where Old Lady Junco is. Each of the remaining three elements of content is introduced with the particle *taachi*. Its meaning is essentially that of "meanwhile," of something correlative. It is translated the same way in each occurrence here. (Tedlock translated its third occurrence [line 13] with "while," but the first two occurrences with "and." It is not, however, the usual Zuni word for "and").

These four elements, marked by initial particles ending in *-chi*, comprise the first scene of the story. The second scene, as we have noted, consists of the four-exchanges in which Coyote asks Old Lady Junco and she replies. Here there is some indication of initial particle in the first word uttered in the first three exchanges by Old Lady Junco, *Ma'* "Well." And there is balancing off of the exchanges by the direct quotation, followed by forms of the verb "to say," *le,* even when the Old Lady bursts into song at the end.

In the first half of the story, then, Coyote encounters Old Lady Junco and gains her song. In the second half he loses the song and keeps returning to get it again. There is a good deal of pair and four-part organization in the next, third scene, although not at every point. Coyote's response of pleasure at having the song is two lines. His departure and loss of the

song is told in four, as is his return and second request. Old Lady Junco's response is two lines, introduced with *Taas* "again."

The second round of loss and repeated request has *taas* "again" all the way through, four times. The third round subordinates *taas* to the second line of each of the first two verses. Then, when Coyote is coming for the fourth time in all, the four-part pattern is shifted dramatically. Previously, Coyote has gone, has lost the song, has returned, has received the song again. Here he goes, loses the song, is returning, but the fourth element is not receipt of the song, but a resolve on Old Lady Junco's part that enough is enough. In four lines she declares that resolve. A fourth stanza leaves Coyote still implicitly on his way, and turns to describing her preparations in neatly paired lines: she looks for a round rock, she finds a round rock; she conceals it with her Junco shirt, she conceals the Junco rock.

Now we (the story, rather) are (is) ready for Coyote to come the fourth time. This formal device, a sort of narrative extraposition, putting over the culminating turn to a coordinate section of its own, is found in other American Indian narrative traditions (cf. Louis Simpson's 'The deserted boy' [Hymes 1976] and may be found in all.)

The fourth scene is the culmination, dramatically and artistically, of the story. Coyote tells Old Lady Junco he will count four times, and bite her if she does not sing on the fourth, but there is nothing simple or mechanical about the handling of the four part pattern here. Old Lady Junco is said to say nothing four times (lines 78, 81, 92, 99), but these four occurrences, all beginning with the negative particle *kwa'*, are distributed at intervals in a complex structure. The first two occur the first two times Coyote asks her to sing. The third time Coyote asks is the time he begins the four-part countdown. He counts (two lines) and declares his plan (four lines) without stated response. The fourth time Coyote asks—the second time of the countdown, he insists in four lines, and she is said to not sing (92). The third time of the countdown (fifth time overall), no response is stated. The fourth time of the countdown (lines 97-99), again she is said not to sing (99). In effect, the explicit statements that Old Lady Junco does not sing organize the first six verses, or stanzas, of this elaborated scene. The statements pair (AB); then, instead of repeating that she doesn't sing each time Coyote speaks, the statements join (CD) and (EF). Each pair (AB, CD, EF) contains two turns of speech by Coyote. I infer that Mr. Peynetsa has intended to hold to a four-part use of Old Lady Junco's silence, while elaborating the final scene into twice four parts; by first establishing the relevance of the statement that she does not sing (AB), then spacing out the remaining uses of the statement (CD, EF).

The question marks indicate that we do not presently know about the status of pauses in the languages in question. Old recordings or unanalyzed recordings may yet shed additional light in some of these cases. The parentheses around "yes" indicate that particles enter into the patterning of lines and verses, but not in a definitive way, so far as the examples in question are concerned. The particles participate, but only partly define, the patterning. The most important outcome of our consideration of these examples is to indicate that patterning of verse and line is present in all the cases, whatever the relationship between pause and particle, and between pause, particle and pattern. The presence of such patterning is the fundamental fact. There is much to be learned about it. Only a few texts have been analyzed in this way. The old editions need all to be redone in terms of such patterning. Here is the great challenge for the rest of the century to students of American Indian language and culture. It is especially a challenge in cases such as those of the Indians of Oregon, whose original artistry in material objects has largely been lost. It is chiefly through such of their words as have or can be recognized as poetry that their stature as artists can be demonstrated. It is a sad and shameful thing to have to say, but there are still many citizens of Oregon and of the United States who do not recognize that stature. Poetic analysis can perhaps make them face the fact.

NOTES

1. Some of the material in this article was prepared for a forum lecture at the 1980 Linguistic Institute, held at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, particularly the Zuni example. I want to thank Garland Bills and the staff of the Institute for the invitation. Let me also thank William Bright for sharing his Karok work.

2. I am indebted to Daythal Kendall, the leading contemporary authority on Takelma linguistics, for discovering in Sapir's field notebooks the words which constitute lines 76-77 of the presentation here. Perhaps the sequence of words was overlooked in preparing the texts for publication because of the repetition of the word "nearby." Sapir, or someone else, might have passed from the "nearby" that ends the preceding line (75) to the phrase of the later line (78). The result is a grammatical sentence. Without a formal analysis such as this, the resulting gap might not come to notice. Alternatively, one might have taken scene *iv* to consist just of lines 79-92. Lines 79, and 80-82, would of course still constitute each a verse, but now (a) and (b). Lines 83-90 would have been taken as a verse (c), and lines 91-92 as a verse (d). That version would have the attraction of giving eight lines to verse (c) (83-90), but obscure a bit the apparent structural reiteration of "kinds" (*khài*), and lose the parallel and contrast between Coyote standing at the end of the first half of the scene (d) and the many kinds of girls standing at the end of the second half (h) (*sasini*:). One would also lose the apparent four-part

sequence of movement on Coyote's part: went ahead, came (ran) from below, ran, arrived. On the whole, there seems a good deal more structural articulation in the set of lines as given in the field notebook.

REFERENCES

Boas, Franz

- 1911 Introduction. *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Part I. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 40). Washington, D.C.

Bright, William

- 1980 Coyote's Journey. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 4(1-2). 21-48.

Burke, Kenneth

- 1931 The psychology of form. *Counterstatement*. New York: Harcourt, Brace. (Reprinted, Chicago: Phoenix Books P14, 1957) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hoijer, Harry

- 1972 *Tonkawa texts*. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, 73). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hymes, Dell

- 1976 Louis Simpson's "The deserted boy". *Poetics* 5.119-155.
- 1977 Discovering oral performance and measured verse in American Indian narrative. *New Literary History* 8. 431-457.
- 1980 Tonkawa poetics: John Rush Buffalo's 'Coyote and Eagle's daughter'. In *On linguistic anthropology: Essays in honor of Harry Hoijer*, ed. by Jacques Maquet, pp. 33-88. Malibu, California: Undena publications, for the UCLA Department of Anthropology.
- 1981 *In vain I tried to tell you*. (Studies in Native American Literature, 1). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- ms. *Myth as verse in Tonkawa, Takelma, Kathlamet*. (To be revised and published in 1982).

Jacobs, Melville

- 1934 *Northwest Sahaptin Texts, Part I (English)*. (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, 19). New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1937 *Northwest Sahaptin Texts, Part II (Sahaptin)*. (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, 19). New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1958 *Clackamas Chinook texts, Part I*. (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 24, no. 2; Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Publication 8). Bloomington, Indiana.

- 1959a *Clackamas Chinook Texts, Part II*. (Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, Publication 11). Bloomington: Indiana University.
- 1959b *The Content and style of an oral literature: Clackamas Chinook myth and tales*. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundations for Anthropological Research (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 26). Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- 1960 *The people are coming soon. Analyses of Clackamas Chinook myths and tales*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Sapir, Edward
- 1909a *Wishram texts*. (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II). Leyden: E. J. Brill.
- 1909b *Takelma texts*. (Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, vol. II, no. 1). Philadelphia: The University Museum (University of Pennsylvania).
- Tedlock, Dennis
- 1971 On the translation of style in oral narrative. *Journal of American Folklore* 84. 114-33.
- 1972 Pueblo literature: Style and versimilitude. In *New perspectives on the Pueblos*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 222-24. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- 1977 Toward an oral poetics. *New Literary History* 8. 507-19.
- 1978 *Finding the center. Narrative poetry of the Zuni Indians*. From performances in the Zuni by Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. New preface. (First published, New York: Dial Press, 1972).
- 1979 Beyond logocentrism: Trace and voice among the Quiché Maya. *Boundary 2*, vol. 8.321-333.