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**FOLK LITERATURE OF THE
SELKNAM INDIANS**

**Martin Gusinde's Collection of
Selknam Narratives**

UCLA LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES SERIES

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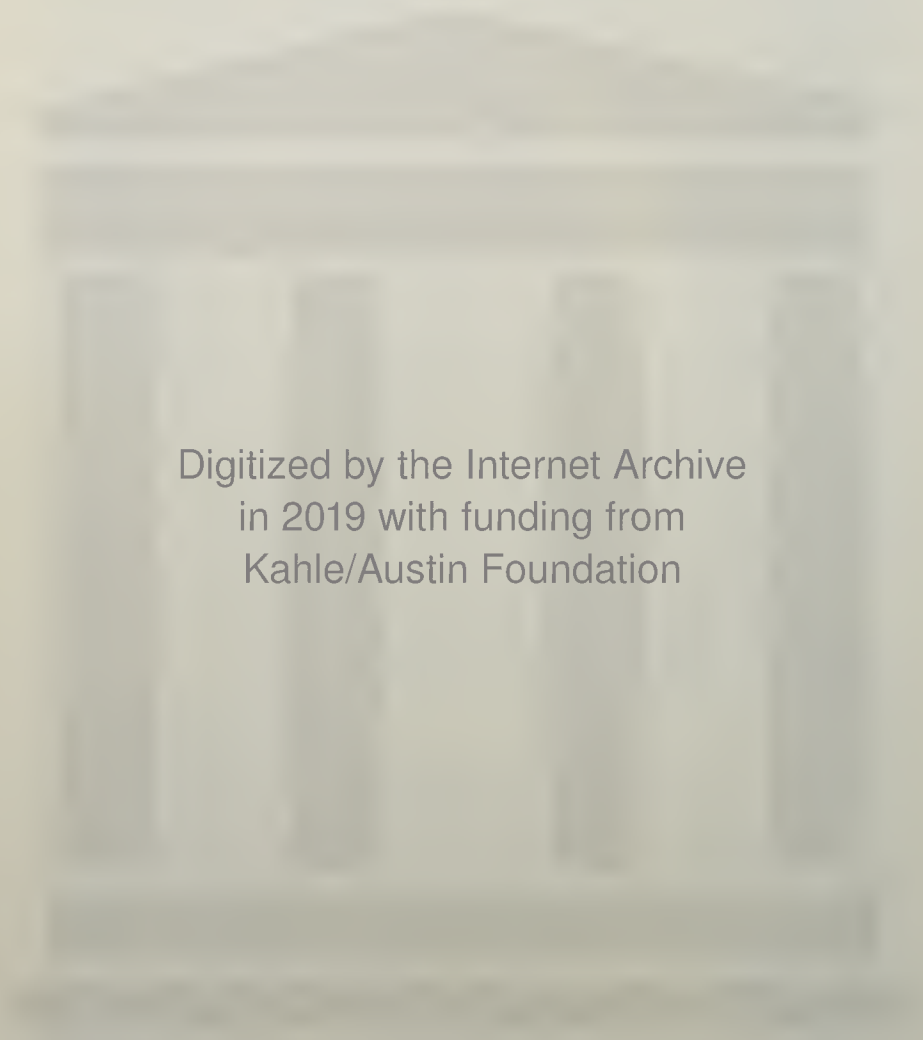
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Martin Gusinde

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FOLK LITERATURE *of the* SELKNAM INDIANS

Martin Gusinde's Collection of Selknam Narratives

JOHANNES WILBERT
Editor



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PREFACE

This volume continues my project of making accessible in English the treasure of oral art of Paleo/Meso-Indian Societies of South America.* The folk literature of these Indians has been recorded by a host of authors and published in various European languages in numerous sources over centuries. My project makes no further claims beyond the initial purpose of documentation and baseline work of presenting the narrative material of each society in a single language and furnishing for each corpus a motif index. By doing so, I hope to pave the way for scholars pursuing comparative research in the oral traditions of South American Indians.

My signature to the present volume of Selknam narratives as its editor is more a matter of convenience than of merit. To prepare the manuscript for the printers was the work of many. As on previous occasions, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to Karin Simoneau who furnished the first draft of the translation. She assisted me in the identification of the motifs and the organization of the material. There was not a single phase of the production that did not have the benefit of her help and concern. Without her persistent and reliable assistance, the entire project would be in jeopardy. The translation was further checked by myself and my son Werner Wilbert, while Charlotte Treuenfels and Peter T. Furst edited the manuscript for style and consistency. Nelly Williams and Sofia Speth rendered efficient secretarial assistance.

The Anthropos-Institut, St. Augustin near Bonn, Germany, generously conceded the translation rights to the text. Hodder and Stoughton, Publishers, London, granted permission to reproduce the photograph of Tenenés. To all these I acknowledge my heartfelt gratitude.

*For the first volume which presented narrative material of the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta in this series see Wilbert 1970.

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INTRODUCTION

The narratives contained in this book were originally published by Martin Gusinde in the first volume of his monumental three-volume work *Die Feuerland-Indianer* (1931-1974). The first volume focuses on the Selknam (Ona) Indians who with the Yamana (Yahgan, Vol. II) and the Halakwulup (Alakaluf, Vol. III/1) comprised the Indian population of Tierra del Fuego on the southernmost edge of South America (Map 1).

From the time of discovery considerable though sporadic information concerning the land and the culture of the Fuegian Indians has found its way into the literature (Cooper 1917). But it is only because of Martin Gusinde's fieldwork that these Indians have been studied in systematic fashion. As it happened, his ethnographical investigations coincided with the final phase of what appears to have been a ten-thousand-year Fuegian history. In Gusinde's words: "It is a sad fact that at the present time no remedy can be found that could prevent the impending and complete extinction of these tribes. Hardly more than twenty-five years will pass before the last of these Fuegians will have been lowered into the grave" (1924:199). Unfortunately, this prophecy came to pass. All three tribes have since become extinct: victims of epidemics, territorial displacements, and outright slaughter wrought upon them by ruthless European intruders.

Martin Gusinde, a priest of the Catholic Order of the Divine Word (S.V.D.), was thirty-two years old in 1918 when he embarked on his first expedition to Tierra del Fuego.¹ His point of departure was Santiago de Chile rather than Germany, his birthplace. He was born on October 29, 1886, as the first of three sons of a lower middle class family; his father was a meat processor and his mother a seamstress. When the father died his widow supported the family and provided for the education of her three sons. Martin, the eldest, became a priest. His brother Franz studied to be a teacher, and Friedrich had just become a graduate student of medicine when he and Franz were killed in World War I. This tragedy

¹Biographical data according to Bornemann 1970. See also Rahmann 1957.

made a lasting impression on Martin, who dedicated *Die Feuerland-Indianer* to the memory of his brothers.

Possibly because of these trying family circumstances Martin Gusinde developed into the humanitarian that he was. During his years as a seminarian at Mödlingen, near Vienna, he felt strongly attracted to the medical profession. Not only did he enroll in medical courses but, in a more practical vein, took charge of the medical ward of the seminary. His free time was spent in volunteering in a Viennese hospital and studying the basic texts of medicine. During his fieldwork and briefly during the chaotic post-World War II years in Austria, he made good use of his knowledge as a paramedic. His studies in physical anthropology also benefited greatly thereby (Gusinde 1939).

His ordination on September 29, 1911, as a missionary priest was quite in keeping with his humanitarian inclinations, as was his subsequent volunteering to serve in Togo or New Guinea, with a special request to nurse lepers. He also indicated Chile or Argentina as possible service areas and, somehow, hoped to become involved in child education. The latter is what his superiors chose to assign for him: to become a schoolteacher in Santiago, Chile. Gusinde arrived there in 1913 and thus found himself in a strategic location when the Fuegian Indians moved into the spotlight of European and American anthropology.

The Expeditions

As a student at the seminary in Mödlingen, Gusinde—like so many of his fellow students who in later years gained fame as ethnologists (e.g., Paul Arndt, Wilhelm Koppers, Paul Schebesta)—came under the influence of the anthropologist Father Wilhelm Schmidt, who lectured there. With Schmidt in the classroom and active about the Anthropos Institute, Gusinde could not help but become exposed to his eminent professor's culture-historical approach. "*Kulturkreise*" (culture circles) and "*Hochgottglaube*" (belief in a Supreme Being) had by then probably become household words in Viennese ethnological circles, although neither Schmidt's teachings nor his concept of *Kulturkreise* was ever convincing to Gusinde. Nevertheless, it would indeed be surprising if the tribes of Tierra del Fuego had not been mentioned by the master as one possible *Urvolk* whose culture and monotheism promised to corroborate his theories of the "Origin of the Idea of God" and the diffusion of cultures around the world. In fact, Wilhelm Koppers volunteered, in 1922, that

"an expedition to the tribes of Tierra del Fuego, and especially to the Yaganes was seriously contemplated off and on for some twelve years" (1924a, 1:310)—that is, during the time Gusinde was Schmidt's student. Schmidt had even raised money during this planning stage to send a missionary student of his choice to Tierra del Fuego, but the outbreak of World War I brought his plans to naught.

Upon his arrival in Santiago, Gusinde joined the Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory, first as an associate (1913) and later as a part-time curator (1916). A year later, the Catholic University in Santiago, appointed him professor of anthropology (1917). He soon became involved in a study of Araucanian ethnomedicine. It was in the course of an expedition through Araucanian territory that his attention was directed toward the Indians of Tierra del Fuego whose extinction, he learned, appeared imminent. Thus, whether or not the plan to study the Fuegians had been in the air at the Anthropos Institute, Gusinde never mentioned it as a major motivation for his own involvement.² Instead, he was moved by the degradation and injustices these Indians had suffered throughout their post-discovery history. Through a study of the literature he had become seriously interested in restoring to them their proper place in South American culture history before they became extinct. Quite in keeping with his personality he was primarily concerned with human dignity and only secondarily with the position of Fuegian culture within the theoretical schemes of theologians, philosophers, and anthropologists. Once he had made up his mind, Gusinde pushed for the realization of his plans entirely on his own initiative, convinced that a sound knowledge of Fuegian culture would serve all interests concerned. His zeal was spurred by his conviction that there was no time to lose (Gusinde 1922:9-10). By the time World War I came to an end in 1918, Gusinde had established himself sufficiently in Santiago to raise the funds for his first journey to Tierra del Fuego.

His fieldwork design called for a series of expeditions to the various tribes. Aware of their nomadic life-style but especially also of the dismal relations between Indians and whites, he was under no illusion concerning the difficulty of his undertaking. As it turned out, Gusinde found it necessary to embark on four successive expeditions, between 1918 and 1924, before he finally felt reasonably confident of having accomplished his research objectives.

In terms of field methodology, Gusinde practiced what has become

²There is no evidence to substantiate Koppers's (1924b:3) claim that Gusinde's Fuegian research was inspired by Schmidt.

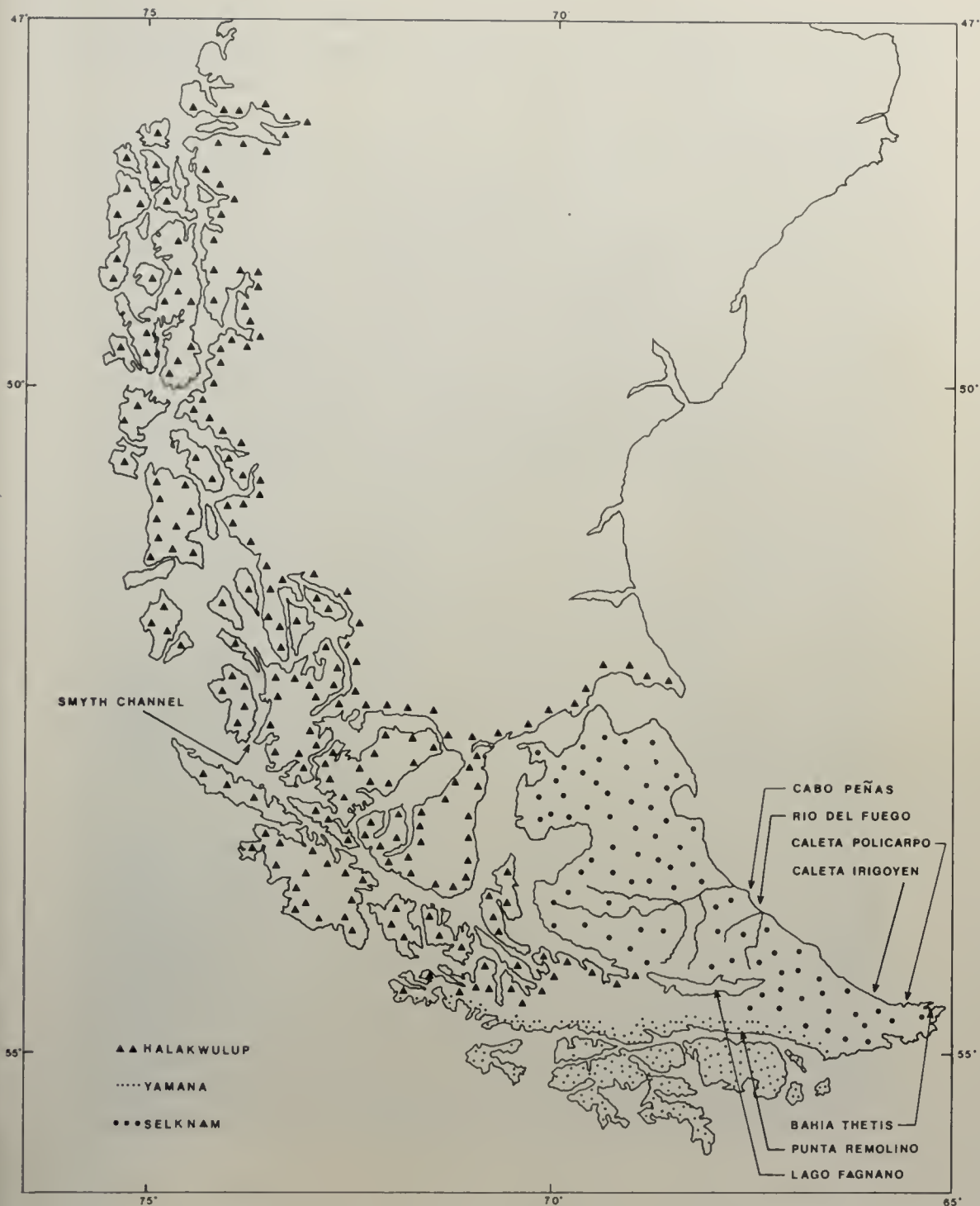
known as the participant observer technique (Gusinde 1924a:195–199). He insisted that it was best for the fieldwork to be conducted by a single investigator who would attempt to negate, as much as possible, his own cultural background and participate in tribal life to the maximum extent. His method of collecting narrative materials is described later.

On December 8, 1918, just one month after the Chilean Ministry of Education had authorized and partly funded the project, Gusinde left Santiago on his first expedition to Tierra del Fuego. "I left," he wrote later, "intent on conducting a preliminary reconnaissance and to design, *in situ*, a specific work plan for a detailed examination and a methodical investigation of each one of the three tribes [Selknam, Yamana, Halakwulup]."

On this first expedition Gusinde was especially successful in contacting two major Selknam groups: a group of 27 families consisting of 216 individuals in a village near a mission station, in the vicinity of the Río del Fuego, and a smaller group of 5 families with 32 individuals, near Lago Fagnano (Gusinde 1922:21, 27). Considering that at the time of his visit the total surviving Selknam population was estimated to comprise no more than 276 persons, it became sadly apparent to the investigator that his worst fears had turned out to be true. The two Selknam groups whose acquaintance he had just made represented practically all that survived of the tribe. He had indeed come "in the last hour, shortly before the extinction of these Indians. . . ."

Through his love for children and by aiding the sick, Gusinde slowly worked his way into the hearts of the Selknam. His deep concern for the individual Indian as a human being and his respect for their culture and institutions were not lost on these intimidated hunters. Gusinde stayed for several weeks among the larger group, near the Río del Fuego, and for about eight days among the smaller group, at Lago del Fuego. While he was able to collect much basic information among the former, more decisive for his future work was his success in befriending the shaman-headman of the Lago Fagnano group, a man by the name of Tenenés (Plate 1). Convinced of the white man's integrity, the Indian leader was to become a key interpreter of Selknam culture during Gusinde's fourth and final expedition in 1923–24.

On his way back to Santiago from his first expedition to Selknam country, Gusinde had an initial encounter with Yamana Indians at Punta Remolino. This sheep farm had become a major gathering point for the Yamana, where they found work and protection during shearing time. When Gusinde arrived the work had been completed for that season and



Map 1. Geographical Distribution of Indian Tribes of Tierra del Fuego. Adapted from M. Gusinde, *Die Feuerland-Indianer*. (Courtesy Anthropos-Institut, St. Augustin/Siegburg.)

the majority of these maritime nomads had again dispersed in small family units. They had left behind only one old man and five women, and Gusinde was soon to learn that the total Yamana population then amounted to no more than seventy people.

The most decisive circumstance for Gusinde's future work among these Indians was his encounter with a Yamana woman who had become the wife of an influential white man at Punta Remolino. Because of the rapport this couple enjoyed with the entire Yamana group and especially also because of the personal interest the woman took in transmitting, for posterity, as much of Yamana culture as possible, Gusinde made Punta Remolino his headquarters on two subsequent expeditions, in 1919–20 and 1921–22. Thus, the bulk of information contained in the second volume of *Die Feuerland-Indianer* (1937) was collected with the assistance of the Yamana Indians who seasonally took up residence at Punta Remolino. It includes most of the narrative material I propose to publish next.

But here, as among the Selknam, Gusinde, during his first exploratory trip, refrained from initiating a comprehensive investigation. He had located the sites for future research, he had established good rapport with the Selknam and Yamana, and he knew what field methods to employ. Thus the stage was set for the work ahead. Satisfied with the results of his reconnaissance he left Tierra del Fuego for Santiago where he arrived on March 30, 1919, anxious to start the in-depth study of the Fuegian tribes at the earliest possible opportunity.

When Gusinde first arrived among the Fuegians, the Halakwulup survived in a small group of approximately 80 individuals along the shores of the Smyth channel. It was only on his fourth and last expedition, that he succeeded in befriending also these Indians, and from September 1923 to January 1924 he remained in the camp of these Meso-Indian maritime nomads and collected the material that reached the hands of the printers only shortly before the explorer's death in 1969 (Gusinde 1974). But as the explorer (1970:335) himself indicated, the surviving Halakwulup had forgotten their oral traditions and were capable of recalling only disconnected fragments of their lost verbal art.

The Narratives

Of all the otherwise irrecoverable information on Fuegian culture recorded in *Die Feuerland-Indianer*, we must be especially grateful for the



Plate 1. Tenenésk. (Courtesy Hodder and Stoughton, Publishers. London.)

rich treasure of Selknam and Yamana narratives. About the place of oral tradition in the Selknam daily round of life, Gusinde (1931:568) explains that frequently the people got together after dark in the hut of a storyteller and sat around the fire to hear him spin his tales. On such occasions only experienced old men would speak, as young men dared not open their mouths in the presence of elders to narrate a story of any length. The women were always passive listeners and would not even tell stories to their children.

Of special interest to the Selknam were those narratives that dealt with the exploits of prominent mythological personages. These heroes, far from being only memories of a distant past, were much present in the minds of the Indians. There was Kenós, for instance, the first man who was instructed by the Supreme Spirit (Temáukel) to organize the world and distribute the wind and the clouds. He also parceled out the land among the headmen into districts that the Selknam recognized as group-specific hunting grounds to the very end of their tribal existence (Map 2). Kenós also separated darkness from light. He allowed, however, for much longer periods of light than darkness, an arrangement Kenós's younger brother, Kwányip, changed against the former's will. Kenós was especially remembered as the Selknam hero who was capable of revitalizing the aged when they felt worn out by the hardships of life. After a deep sleep they went to present themselves to Kenós who washed and rejuvenated them. Only when after a long life they finally wanted to give up their existence as humans did they forego this process of rejuvenation and change into the mountains or lakes, rivers or animals that surrounded the living as landmarks of their environment. Here the ancestors were present for all generations to see. Kwányip, eventually, interfered with his elder brother's plan. He sent Kenós back to his grave forever and, thereby, introduced death to all mankind.

Kwányip was remembered also as the hero who came from the north, the Argentine pampas. This occurred in a remote time when there existed a land bridge across the Strait of Magellan that connected the South American continent with Isla Grande, the home of the Selknam (i.e., before the rise in sea level at the end of the Pleistocene, ca. 10,000 years ago). Especially remarkable about Kwányip was that he was the steadfast opponent of Čénuke, a powerful evil shaman who terrorized the country and murdered at will. More noteworthy even was Kwányip's extraordinary way of providing himself with guanaco meat. On his way through Selknam territory he would drive before him a large herd of tame guanacos that were easy to catch and that provided him and his people

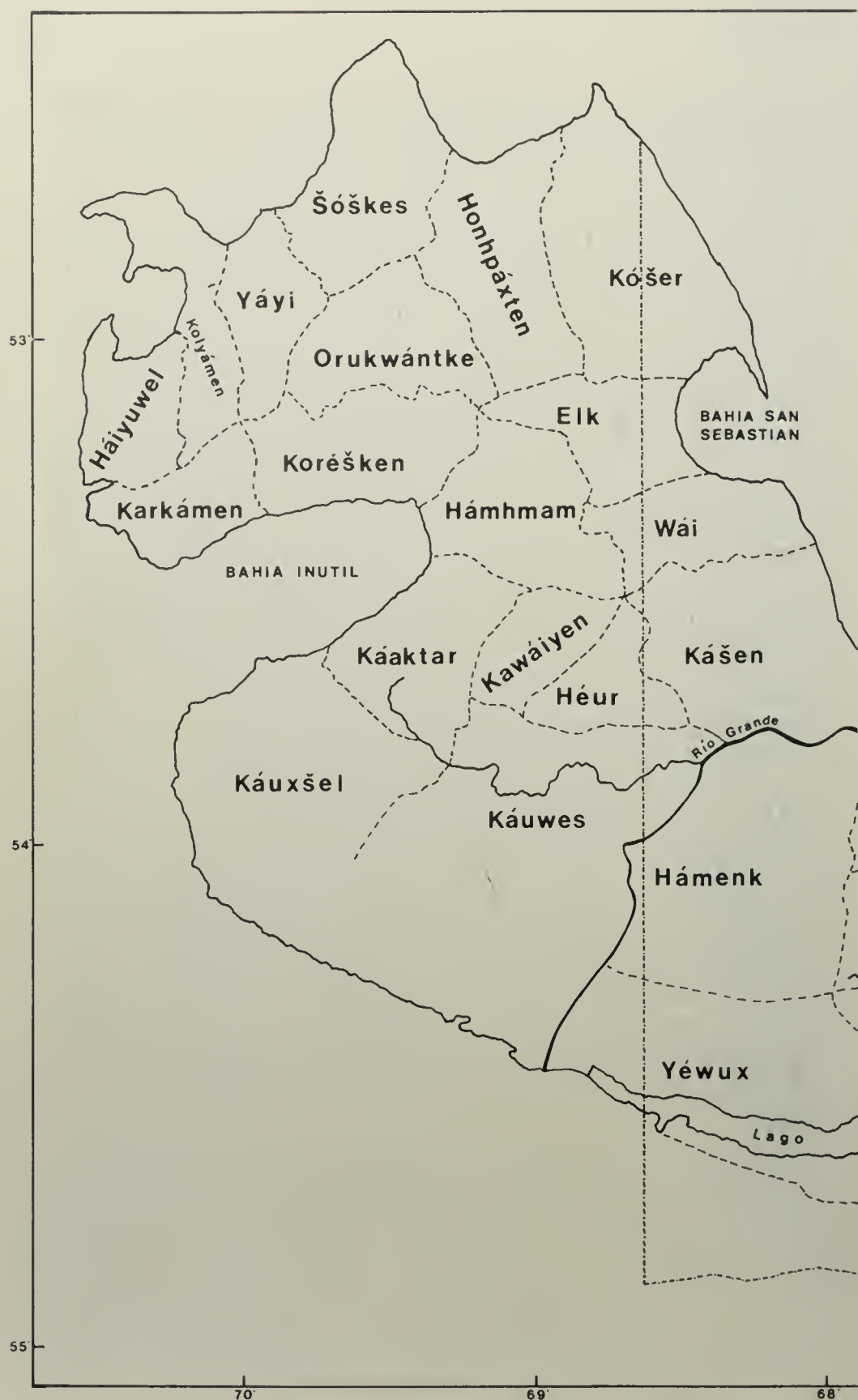
with an unlimited supply of food. But, he refused to share his wealth with the southern people. They had no recourse but to pursue the wild guanacos on exhausting hunts through the mountains. Every man and woman who listened to the story of Kwányip felt envious of this paradisiacal situation, ever aware of their precarious food situation.

The ancient hero-leaders of the south-wind and north-wind armies also continued to make their presence felt engaging in battles of jealousy and demonstrating unparalleled bravery. Then there were the tales of great ancestor shamans who waged magical battles over enormous distances in defense of their honor and for the protection of their people.

One of the most prominent heroes of Selknam lore is the sun-man who discovered how scheming women of past generations had kept the men in bondage. His own wife, the moon, was the leader of the women, and the cheated sun-man pursues still his treacherous wife. The myth dominated especially the minds of Selknam men who hated to admit that their ancestors had been intimidated by treacherous womenfolk through sham appearances of spirits. The men were told that these spirits had descended from the sky to reinforce the social order that governed Selknam matriarchy. Only after sun-man discovered that the women themselves impersonated the spirits, did the men reverse this state of affairs. In its stead they instituted a patripotestal organization that was perpetuated through the exclusively male and secret *klóketen* ceremony.

The three *klóketen* myths at the end of the collection were too sacred and important to be narrated around the fire of a dwelling hut. Instead their recitation was reserved for gatherings in the ceremonial hut, where they served as the charter for the *klóketen* rite. The rite itself had two main purposes: it initiated the adolescent boy into manhood by subjecting him to intensive instruction while depriving him of normal food, sleep, and comfort, the effect of which was to place him in a receptive state of mind for esoteric matters. The second major purpose of the rite was to keep the women subjugated through spirit apparitions staged by the men.

To reinforce these objectives the *klóketen* myths treat the same basic subject matter but concentrate on successive historical events. The first myth explains the origin of the *klóketen* ceremony in primordial times and articulates with the second myth which focuses on the Selknam ancestors who adopted the ceremony after the mythological heroes had wrested it from the treacherous womenfolk. Being thus provided with legitimacy the secret male rites spread to all the Selknam, assured, as shown by the third myth, of perpetuation for all future time.



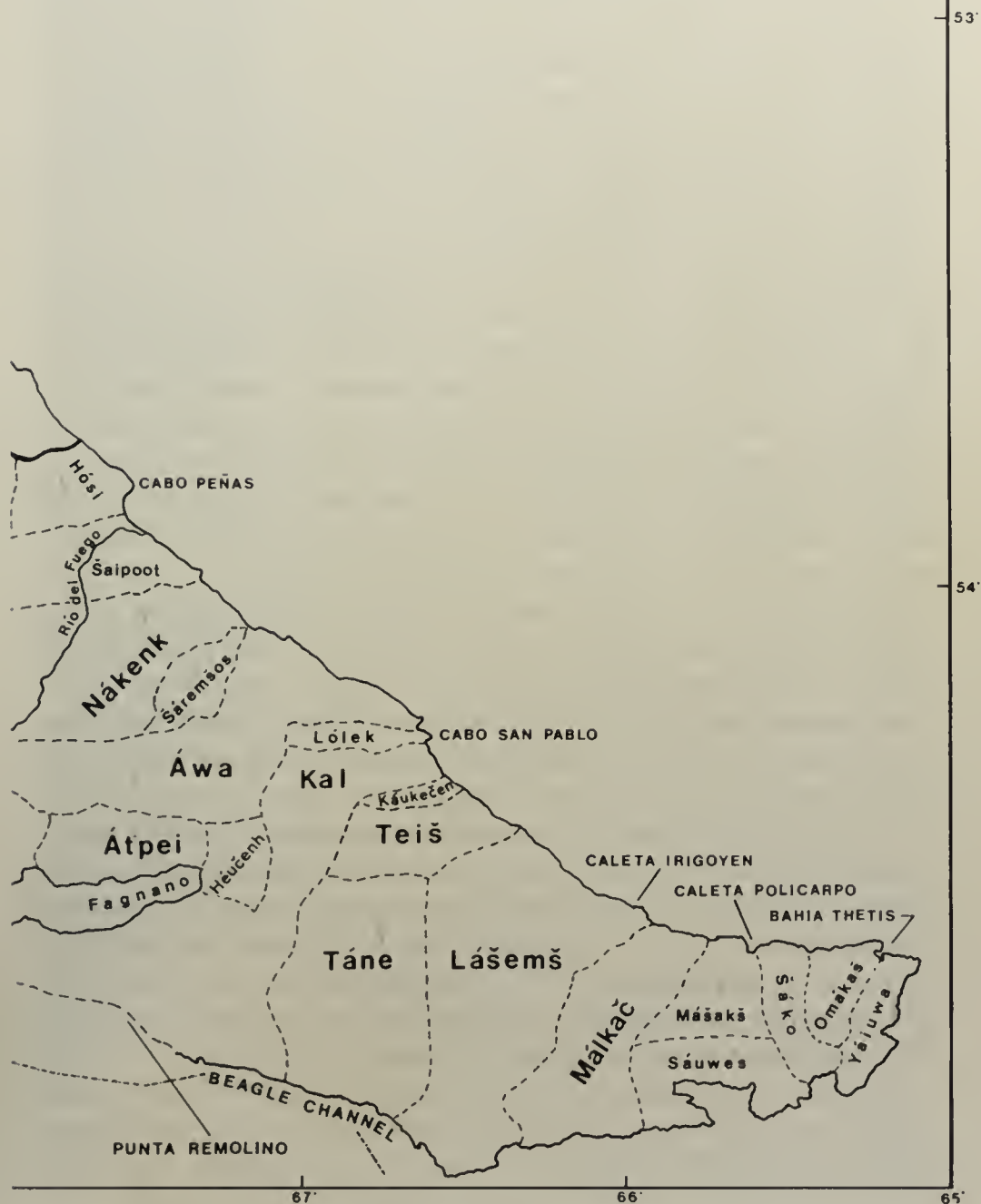
Map 2. The Homeland of the Selknam. Adapted from M. Gusinde,


~~~~~ Boundary between Southern and Northern Selknam

----- Boundary between family territories

----- Boundary between Argentina and Chile

Place names transliterated as in text



The three *klóketen* myths represented revelations for the uninitiated youth, since their content, like the ceremony itself, was kept secret from women and children. The rites lasted for several months but the master of ceremonies, who was the father of the oldest youngster to be initiated, would see to it that the origin myth of the *klóketen* was revealed to the novices soon after commencement of the rites. He complied with his duty not by simply telling the entire myth in a single session, but by singling out especially important passages, which he told and retold several times in order to underscore their significance. The other two *klóketen* myths might or might not be made part of the process of initiation, but rarely was the ceremony concluded without also having exposed the candidates at least to the message they contained. The narrators varied from time to time and several men might participate in telling the myths or parts of them according to knowledge and inclination.

Every man and novice occupied an assigned place in the ceremonial hut. But for the purpose of narrating the *klóketen* myths the seating restrictions were suspended. The boys sat close to one another in a semi-circle before the narrator, who was also allowed to leave his assigned position. Absolute silence had to be observed and the youths as well as the men had to adopt a respectful squatting position. Men who before the telling of the myths had been lying around the fire got up, those who had been standing would squat down. Those who had been roasting or eating meat interrupted their activities and laid the food aside.

The language of the myths and the sequence of their episodes varied slightly from one narrator to another. By and large, however, form and content of these major myths appear to have remained rather stable. Gusinde reproduced Tenenés's versions which to him appeared to be the best informed and the most complete and cohesive of those he had heard when he himself underwent initiation.

Rounding off the body of narratives are the tales of clever animals outwitting stupid ones and, especially, tales about the ever present night spirits, called *yóxi*. As Gusinde pointed out, Selknam thinking and feeling was dominated by the vividness and immediacy of their oral lore (1924b:131). The Indians connected current experiences of their daily lives with those of the personages of their oral traditions and felt and lived with the greatest confidence within the context of their lore.

Much in evidence during these long sessions of storytelling was the creative role of the narrator. While the basic theme of the narrative was tenaciously adhered to, the narrator enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom of style. The kind of tale selected and the mode of rendering it



reflected to a large degree the storyteller's personal interest and experience. Thus parts of different narratives were interwoven for comparative purposes, empirical information of the narrator or that of a friend was inserted to illustrate a special point, and frequently the narrator interrupted himself to allow a fellow elder to confirm a particular episode in his own words. "That is how the Selknam always told it," was the general disclaimer. It provided legitimacy through invocation of the ancestors.

Gusinde found it impossible to record the narratives literally because of the variations in style of the different informants and because the inserted comments of personal experiences were often longer than the actual narrative. Instead, he recorded the various episodes as they occurred and explained that "the form which I am able to present here, is the result of arranging the individual parts according to an implicit train of thought" (1931:569). The arrangements were made mainly by three informants, Tóin, Inxiól, and Čikiól, subsequent to discussing the sequences with other persons and the narrator himself. Only after the Indian informants had assured themselves of the adequacy of their versions did these men repeat them, in Spanish, to the ethnologist. It follows from this technique of data collecting that style and form of this corpus of Selknam narratives do not necessarily conform to those of the original telling.

### The Informants

I have recorded the name of the informant at the end of each narrative whenever Gusinde identified him. (The page number following the informant's name refers to Gusinde, 1931.) Concerning the main informants with whose help Selknam oral tradition was recorded, we learn from Gusinde's various writings that his most important general informant was Tenenés, headman and shaman of the small Selknam group near Lago Fagnano. He was considered by far the greatest shaman of his time and the last true representative of his art. As an elder he was highly influential, the central figure in the camp. Previously Tenenés had been living in the large settlement near the Río del Fuego but had been made to leave after repeatedly causing trouble among the people there. Consulted ceaselessly by the people around him, he guarded his position jealously against rivals. Although much respected for his knowledge and experience he was also generally feared because of his great magic power, his somewhat contentious disposition, and his reputa-

tion for ruthlessness in the exercise of his art, especially in his younger days. He was known to have disposed of several opponents in a violent manner. But he was also extremely knowledgeable concerning Selknam tribal lore, customs, and underlying ethos and in the course of their friendship gave Gusinde invaluable information.

Nearly equally important as sources of information were Gusinde's closest personal friends among the Selknam, two young men named Tóin and Hótex with whom he spent much time. These two accompanied him on his final journey back to civilization. It was on this occasion that Tóin saved his life, on an icy mountain slope at the height of a snowstorm.

Tóin was a shaman and the nephew of Tenenés, from whom he had received his instruction. He turned out to be a particularly valuable informant because of his good command of Spanish, his wide-ranging knowledge, and his seemingly endless patience in answering Gusinde's questions. Equally important, he never tried to put Gusinde off with superficial answers. Instead he gave each question deliberate thought and consulted with his uncle if he considered his own knowledge in the matter insufficient. He was also willing to discuss the shaman's professional secrets and work, something that old Tenenés was reluctant to do.

Hótex was originally from the north but had joined the southern group. He gave Gusinde a good deal of information about the northern Selknam. Contrary to his friend Tóin, he was indifferent to religious matters and once or twice privately expressed to Gusinde even his disbelief.

Inxiól was the son of Tenenés. He had been given detailed instruction by the latter in the traditional religious belief system but had forgotten much because of his frequent association with Europeans. Good-natured and friendly, he lacked the strong personality and imposing presence of his father.

Čikiól was a thoughtful man, generally respected, about Gusinde's own age (approximately forty). He spoke some Spanish. He was especially helpful in facilitating Gusinde's introduction into the group, and remained throughout a faithful friend and helper. He, Tóin, and Inxiól more than any others assisted Gusinde in collecting and establishing the mythological material that follows.

Šaipóten is described as a friendly old man, good-natured and helpful, but of less than average intelligence. He gave Gusinde several mythological tales.

Old Keitetówh was a powerful and skillful shaman, a man of strong and enterprising character. He was generally more popular than Tenenés

because he never threatened the people around him and showed more restraint in the exercise of his powers. He was especially famous for curing the sick. As an informant he was very reliable.

Another shaman and informant was Hálemink, an obstinate and unpleasant old man. Tolerably well acquainted with Selknam mythology, he added some tales to Gusinde's collection. There was long-standing rivalry between him and Tenenés, although he was generally considered to be far inferior to the latter in skill and power. He was thoroughly unpopular and was avoided by all the people as a man not to be trusted. As a result, he was hardly ever consulted professionally and had to limit his activities to his closest relatives.

Gusinde's only female informant of some importance was Catalina Alamśarke, an old widow. Since she came from the north she could give Gusinde valuable information on the northern Selknam. It was thanks to her help that he was able to determine the territorial boundaries between the northern family groups.

Other informants were Páren (a middle-aged man) and his son, Lóyux (an old man), and Kuanen.

## The Translation

A number of observations are in order concerning some of the special features of the English translations of the original German texts. The reader will notice a certain awkwardness of style which is the result of our intent to translate as literally as possible. Gusinde himself chose to render his versions as true to the diction of his informants as the German language would permit (cf. 1937:178, 1337). At the expense of a more elegant translation, I respected the author's intention and preserved much of the flavor of Gusinde's rendition.

The titles of the narratives are mostly Gusinde's. Some of the narratives, though, were taken out of the general context where they were incorporated without specific headings. Since they had at least a minor plot, I treated them as separate narratives and invented a title for them.

The phonetic rendering of native terms in Gusinde's original manuscript is according to the *Anthropos-Alphabet*, an early attempt by Wilhelm Schmidt (1907) at symbolization of sounds with specially defined phonetic values. I have simplified the spelling where uncommon diacritics occur. The reader interested in the phonetic system of the



Selknam language may consult Gusinde's phonetic key (1931:xxxi-xxxii) or his special treatise on the subject (1926:1002-1010).

The footnotes in the text are Gusinde's unless otherwise indicated by the editor's mark, that is, *Ed.* Some footnote material in italics (other than technical terms) was also added by the editor and relates mainly to bibliographical references of Selknam narratives. In an attempt to establish the uniqueness of Gusinde's collection, I have compared his Selknam texts with Fuegian narratives published by other authors (Valory 1967: 181-184). I found that Gusinde's versions were almost always more original and more complete. Nevertheless, for scholars interested in comparisons, I have called attention in italicized footnotes to variants of particular Gusinde narratives recorded by Bórmida 1956, Bridges 1948, Dabbene 1902 (whose narrative "The origin of the first Ona man and woman" is not contained in Gusinde and which Dabbene probably obtained from Bridges), and Cojazzi 1914.

The superior quality of Gusinde's folk literature collections of the Fuegian Indians is symptomatic of the general quality of his ethnographic work. Lowie called the Selknam volume a "magnificent monograph on the Ona, now supplemented by his parallel study of the Yahgan" (1937: 192-193). According to Bornemann (1970:749) Lowie, in later years, explained the main reason for his judgment in this way: In the exactness of his fieldwork Gusinde has reached the ideal of North American ethnologists and in his ferreting out and critical utilization of all literature the ideal of European armchair ethnologists; by combining the two he exceeds them and us.

### The Motifs

To facilitate future comparative research, I have examined the narratives of the present collection for motif content. The identified motifs are listed after each narrative and all are compiled in a comprehensive index at the end of the book. Identification of the motifs is according to Thompson's (1955-58) *Motif-Index*. Thompson motifs that needed to be amplified to accommodate specific Selknam characteristics are marked by a plus (+) sign, and Thompson's original wording of the motif is inserted in parentheses. In the text itself insertions in parentheses are by Gusinde, insertions in square brackets are by the editor.

This volume of Selknam narratives will be followed by a compendium of Yamana narratives translated into English from the German original as contained in the second volume of *Die Feuerland-Indianer*. These two volumes, the Warao collection already published (Wilbert 1970), and others projected have as their main objective the documentation of the extraordinary treasure of oral tradition of the so-called marginal Indian tribes of South America. The motif indices planned for each collection represent a first attempt at organization and systematization of the content of this narrative material. A final volume will assemble all the motifs identified in the individual volumes into a Motif Dictionary of the Folk Literature of Marginal Indian Societies of South America.

In 1954, Gusinde, then on the faculty of Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., was conducting somatological and anthropometric studies among the Yupa Indians of Venezuela. That year on the way back from my first expedition to the Warao, I found he had left word for me in Caracas expressing his hope to see me in Washington on my way home to Germany. I did visit him and was richly rewarded by receiving my copy of *Die Feuerland-Indianer*. Over the last fifteen years of Gusinde's life I saw the aging scholar on various occasions until on April 21, 1969, I met with him for the last time. It was in Vienna, where I was teaching as a visiting professor at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Vienna where Gusinde had received his doctorate in ethnology with a dissertation on the Indians of Tierra del Fuego. Gusinde had returned to the seminary at Mödlingen, in 1961, intent on spending the last years of his life in the house where his career had begun fifty years before.

It was a wintry afternoon when we met. I told Gusinde that I planned an English translation of his Selknam and Yamana narratives, and he was delighted with the idea. At the same time he let me know that he was immersed, once again, in Fuegian material, this time preparing a second draft of his Halakwulup monograph. The major portion of the first draft, together with the drawings and photographs, had been lost in the turbulence of the immediate post-World War II period. Now he had found the time to rewrite the book and he expressed to me his hope that he might live long enough to finish his work. I watched this great man through the big window of the café where we had met as he walked back through the snow to the bus stop. He had written almost sixty scientific publications on the Fuegian Indians and shortly before his death he sent the

finished Halakwulup manuscript to the printers. To the very end of his fruitful career he had been engaged in erecting a fitting memorial to the dignity of his beloved Indians of Tierra del Fuego. Without his efforts an important page in the book of human history would have remained unwritten. Martin Gusinde died on October 18, 1969, eleven days short of his eighty-third birthday.

Eagle Mountain, California  
April 6, 1975

# The Narratives





## PROMINENT PERSONAGES

### Kenós

#### 1. HOW THE ANCESTORS CAME TO BE

When Kenós<sup>1</sup> had wandered over the whole wide world he came back here. This land he gave to the Selknam. In those days Kenós was all alone. No one else was on the earth. He looked about him, and then went to a wet (swampy) place. Here he dug out *háruwenhbos* (lumps of mud with matted roots, grass tufts with the earth sticking to them) and squeezed out the water. From this he formed a *šeés* (male sexual organ)

<sup>1</sup>Ed.—Gusinde emphasizes the role of Kenós as intermediary between Temáukel, "Someone-up-there" or Highest Being, and the inhabitants of earth. The world to which he came was flat and unformed, illuminated by unvarying twilight, and wholly devoid of life. Kenós is the "son" of *Kebačónh* (the South) and *Sóonh*-Woman (the Heavens). Gusinde's informant specified the following precepts of Kenós (p. 575):

Kenós arranged everything. "Someone-up-there" commissioned Kenós to set in order everything down here.

In the beginning Kenós stood alone. When the first ancestors were there he began to talk to them. He taught them how to speak. Then they spoke with one another, all *bówenh* and Kenós. Kenós taught our ancestors of old to use speech.

Kenós said, "Man and woman should live together; thus children are created. A man may not sleep with a strange woman; a married woman may not secretly visit another man." Kenós determined what man's work should be and what woman's work is (division of labor according to sex). How husband and wife conduct themselves today (in their familial situation) was thus determined by Kenós. Because there are man and wife, there are children—this was established by Kenós. When husband and wife lie with each other, children are created. Father and mother should tell their children of the teachings of Kenós. When youth and maiden are grown, they marry, and from their union come new children.

So it was since the beginning when Kenós was here among us. Kenós has told all people what is good; and they should conduct themselves accordingly. And just as the ancestors lived, so do we Selknam also order our lives. "Someone-up-there" told Kenós that to act in this manner is good. It is good for all people to hold to the general pattern. Each must teach this to his children. Kenós has taught this to our first ancestors. And thus (according to this example) should every Selknam conduct himself. Each must conduct himself in the manner determined by Kenós; then such a one is a good man! "Someone-up-there" sent Kenós, who established how the Selknam may live. "Temáukel is our Lord; Kenós is our commanding overseer."

which he placed upon the ground. Then he dug out another lump of mud from which he likewise squeezed the water, and from it formed an *ásken* (female sexual organ). This he put beside the first. Kenós now left those two objects there and went away. During the night the two lumps of earth joined. From this arose (*sáren* = to be born) something (looking) just like a human being: *kórke hówenh pená* = the first ancestor! Those two objects of earth now separated but remained lying there, one beside the other. The someone, however, grew big at once (into a fully developed person). During the following night the two objects of earth joined again. Again someone arose instantly (a person looking like a human being): the second ancestor. This one also grew up quickly. The two mud objects parted and remained lying one beside the other. In the same way it continued night after night for a long time. Every night a new ancestor was formed, thereby quickly peopling our region. After some time there was a good number of women, and from that time man united with woman. The number of people steadily increased.

Kenós had made those two mud objects from moist (swampy) earth. They were dark, like the (swamp) water he had squeezed out. That is why we Selknam people are dark. The *koliót* are light. Because later, when Kenós went northward into the wide world, he likewise shaped, somewhere up there, two lumps of mud (of the same kind). This time, however, he took white earth which he found on the beach. At night the two mud objects joined, and from this someone was created (a person)! In this manner it continued; every night a new person was formed. But these people were white like the soil on the beach. That is why the *koliót* are lighter than we are. So now there were *koliót* in their homeland. The people up there in the north became ever more numerous. In our region there were also many people at that time.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 574–575.

### *Summary*

In empty primeval world steward creator of God fashions male and female genitals from dark earth; they unite, and first dark-skinned Indians are born. Later in the north he makes sex organs of white earth; first light-skinned men are born from them.

### *Motif content*

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| A30.  | Creator's companions. |
| A221. | Sun-father.           |

|          |                                            |
|----------|--------------------------------------------|
| A1210.   | Creation of man by creator.                |
| A1221.   | Mankind from unusual primeval mating.      |
| A1241.   | Man made from clay (earth).                |
| A1352.   | Origin of sexual intercourse.              |
| A1610.   | Origin of various tribes.                  |
| A1614.6. | Origin of light and dark skin color.       |
| A1620.   | Distribution of tribes.                    |
| F547.    | Remarkable sexual organs.                  |
| F547.3.  | Extraordinary penis.                       |
| F547.5.  | Extraordinary vagina.                      |
| M207.    | Land grants (bargains).                    |
| T517.    | Conception from extraordinary intercourse. |
| T615.    | Supernatural growth.                       |

## 2. HOW KENÓS BROUGHT NEW LIFE TO THE OLD ONES

Kenós had been on earth for a long time. Three men stayed close to him, following him everywhere. The four were found together almost all the time.<sup>2</sup> When Kenós reached old age there were already many ancestors. Then Kenós tried to fall into a long sleep (transformation sleep). He tried this again and again and finally succeeded. He lay like dead. The three other men tried the same. They also lay down without moving. They lay that way for a long time and sleep came over them. They did not die, however, but soon rose again, to find themselves exactly as before.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore Kenós went far up to the north with the three men. They would try to die up there; for in the south they had not succeeded.<sup>4</sup> On the way to the north these four dragged themselves along as wearily as do the old and weak. They spoke but feebly and in low voices, their actions as weak and tired as those of the mortally ill. Toiling onward they reached the north, and there they let the other people wrap them in their mantles and put them into the ground.<sup>5</sup> Now these four men remained lying

<sup>2</sup>Because Kenós had remained without wife and relatives we have this association with the three other men. One of them was Čénuke; the names of the two others no one could tell me.

<sup>3</sup>I was informed of the meaning as follows: During their deep sleep those four aged people felt no transformation at all, no return to a youthful state, no renewal of their vital power, which they had anticipated. Why they had not attained their goal cannot be established. "It was only a try, after all!" Teneněsk told me.

<sup>4</sup>Here dying means lying down to sleep because of old age, for the purpose of becoming rejuvenated and renewing one's physical strength.

<sup>5</sup>They underwent the same treatment as a dead body at a burial.

there completely motionless; they were really like dead. But after just a few days they began to stir. They moved slowly, a little at first, then more. Next, they started to move their lips. They whispered a little, spoke first in a low voice, then louder. Finally they rose up and stood erect, gazing upon one another.

Those other people had watched all this happening in their midst. Much surprised, each looked the four men over carefully. Then they rejoiced for those who had come back to life again. All the people had wept very much over those four, mourning them deeply, so that now their joy was the greater. The four men lived from that moment on, feeling well, fresh once more, and wholly youthful. They had finally succeeded!

It was the same for the other ancestors. He who grew old let himself be wrapped in his mantle and laid himself down. For several days he remained motionless, as if dead. Completely quiet he spoke not, nor did he move. After a few days he came to. At first he moved but little, then more. He awoke and began to speak. Then he got up slowly and stood straight. He was fresh once more and youthful.

Each went at once to the hut of Kenós, not one dragging weakly as before. Each said to Kenós: "Wash me!" And Kenós washed each of them, at which the bad odor disappeared.<sup>6</sup> Then each returned to his own family. All rejoiced when someone awoke from the sleep (of old age) and rose up young. When Kenós was in the north he had washed first himself and immediately thereafter his three companions. He who had been washed by Kenós lived on, rejuvenated and healthy. Then he aged once more, and lay down again in deep sleep. Only when he did not wish to rise again was he transformed into a mountain or a bird, a wind or a sea animal, a rock or a land animal. Others followed Kenós to the sky after he himself had gone there, and these became stars or clouds.

In those days (during the time of the ancestors) Kaux (the great owl) was transformed, and so were Síta (the owl), Hahápel (the albatross), Kax (the bald buzzard), Kokpómeč (the wild duck), and many others. They all became birds. Others became winds and went to their lands, each to his own district. Still others became sea animals: Soikáten (the squid), Elankáiyink (the whale), and others who live in the water today. Some became mountains: Oixála, Téxnol, Euwan, Šíla, and others. All these remained in our country where they still stand today. Those are the mountains that were not to be found here before. And so it continued

<sup>6</sup>This refers to the actual odor of the corpse, which is considered very unpleasant by the Selknam.



over a long, long time. He who had been washed arose again and lived on in youthful vigor.

Before Kenós himself went up to the sky, however, he sent for Čénuke. From that time on the latter washed those people that had arisen from the sleep of old age so that the bad odor should cling to them no longer and they might live on. Čénuke knew how to wash the people for Kenós had told him. Ever after, the people came to Čénuke; they became young again and stayed alive.

Such was the origin of the winds, the origin of the animals on land and in the sea and in the air. No one remained dead. Everyone had arisen again and was washed by Čénuke. It was not until later that Kwányip ordained that man might no longer rise from the sleep of age. Since then nobody comes back from the grave. Whoever lies down now is truly dead.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 576–578.

### *Summary*

After initial failure, steward creator of God rejuvenates himself and others: they enter into long, deep sleep, then arise to be washed by creator. People live as long as they want to. When they choose to die they transform into animals, stars, winds, or topographical features of the land.

### *Motif content*

|            |                                                                               |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A30.       | Creator's companions.                                                         |
| A81.       | Creator goes to sky.                                                          |
| A185.12.1. | God resuscitates man.                                                         |
| A191.+.    | Creator rejuvenates self when old. (A191. Goddess rejuvenates self when old.) |
| A528.      | Culture hero has supernatural helpers.                                        |
| A564.      | Remarkable longevity of culture heroes.                                       |
| A960.      | Creation of mountains (hills).                                                |
| A1120.     | Establishment of present order: winds.                                        |
| A1128.     | Regulation of winds.                                                          |
| A1335.     | Origin of death.                                                              |
| A1710.     | Creation of animals through transformation.                                   |
| A1715.     | Animals from transformed man.                                                 |
| A1958.     | Creation of owl.                                                              |
| A1970.+.   | Creation of albatross. (A1970. Creation of miscellaneous birds.)              |
| A1983.     | Creation of duck.                                                             |
| A2135.     | Origin of whale.                                                              |

|          |                                                                                      |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2170.+. | Origin of squid. (A2170. Origin of miscellaneous animal forms.)                      |
| D127.3.  | Transformation: man to whale.                                                        |
| D150.    | Transformation: man to bird.                                                         |
| D152.3.  | Transformation: man to vulture.                                                      |
| D153.2.  | Transformation: man to owl.                                                          |
| D161.3.  | Transformation: man to duck.                                                         |
| D169.+.  | Transformation: man to albatross. (D169. Transformation: man to bird—miscellaneous.) |
| D170.+.  | Transformation: man to squid. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.)                   |
| D170.+.  | Transformation: man to sea animal. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.)              |
| D231.    | Transformation: man to stone.                                                        |
| D270.+.  | Transformation: man to cloud. (D270. Transformation: man to object—miscellaneous.)   |
| D281.1.  | Transformation: man to wind.                                                         |
| D291.    | Transformation: man to mountain.                                                     |
| D293.    | Transformation: man to star.                                                         |
| D1882.   | Rejuvenation by supernatural person.                                                 |
| D1887.   | Rejuvenation by bathing.                                                             |
| D1889.+. | Rejuvenation by sleep. (D1889. Miscellaneous means of rejuvenation.)                 |
| D1960.4. | Deathlike sleep.                                                                     |
| D2061.   | Magic murder.                                                                        |
| E151.    | Repeated resuscitation.                                                              |
| E181.    | Means of resuscitation learned.                                                      |
| F10.     | Journey to upper world.                                                              |
| H927.    | Tasks set by deity.                                                                  |

### 3. HOW KENÓS RAISED THE SKY

Kenós had divided up the wide world. This land here he gave to the Selknam. Our ancestors rapidly increased in number and soon there were many people. Kenós saw that they would grow even more numerous, too numerous for a country so small. In those days the celestial vault was much closer to the earth. Before Kenós himself went up there he lifted the firmament to its present height. He stands up there as a star. But down here there was room now for all people, for the ancestors and for the Selknam.



*Informant not named; p. 579.*

*Motif content*

|           |                                 |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| A81.      | Creator goes to sky.            |
| A250.     | Star-god.                       |
| A566.2.   | Culture hero ascends to heaven. |
| A625.2.   | Raising of the sky.             |
| A625.2.2. | Why the sky receded upward.     |
| A1100.    | Establishment of natural order. |
| A1620.    | Distribution of tribes.         |
| M207.     | Land grants (bargains).         |

## Čénuke

### 4. ČÉNUKE

Čénuke lived in the time of the first ancestors. He was a very dangerous man and a mighty *xon* [shaman]. His father was called Kákřečen, his mother Sekurá. He was his parents' only child. While he lived here on earth his name was Hásaps; later he became a star and was called Čénuke. As a youth he was insufferable and disliked, with a repulsive and disgusting disposition, always trying to hurt and torment the other children. His parents lived near Caleta Irigoyen. This family belonged to the south. When Kaux divided up the land he received the tenth district of Kal.

Čénuke grew stronger and more powerful, and thus more dangerous to the people. His power as a shaman reached far. No one could prevail over Čénuke; he was very strong. He had tried to impose his strength on all the other people so as to rule over them, but they allied themselves and successfully resisted him. So, although his family was very numerous, Čénuke did not attain his goal.

Čénuke killed for mere pleasure. He ruled the people through violence. He would make someone fall dead on the spot. Once a woman was walking along the beach looking for mussels. Čénuke approached her, sat down on a stone, and watched her for a while. Then he said to the woman: "Give me some mussels!" The woman at once went up to him and handed him some. But he burst into scornful laughter and looked at

her with his peculiar glance. The woman collapsed that very moment and was dead. He found a strange satisfaction in this.

Čénuke was a strong opponent to Kwányip. The latter, too, had caused the people here great harm. Against him the others were just as helpless. All the people suffered severely under those two violent men. Fortunately, the two were fighting each other. The people do not like to think of those arrogant and violent *xon*.

Kenós had instructed Čénuke to wash those people that arose from the profound sleep (of age). Čénuke agreed: "Yes, I will wash the people." After Kenós had left this earth, the ancestors came before Čénuke one after the other and said to him: "Wash me!" Then Čénuke washed each one of them, after which they felt youthful and happy again. But when Kwányip did not let his elder brother rise from the deep sleep, Čénuke's anger knew no bounds. He reprimanded Kwányip furiously and hurried up to the sky. There he is now. He is that star that does not appear until late. He always appears with his two wives, standing between the two.

*Informant:* Inxiól; pp. 580–581.

### *Summary*

Powerful evil shaman terrorizes country, killing at will. After creator's departure he takes over latter's work of washing (rejuvenating) old people, until he quarrels with culture hero and leaves to become a star.

### *Motif content*

|            |                                                                      |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A185.12.1. | God resuscitates man.                                                |
| A525.      | Good and bad culture heroes.                                         |
| A528.      | Culture hero has supernatural helpers.                               |
| A761.      | Ascent to stars. People or animals ascend to sky and become stars.   |
| A1335.     | Origin of death.                                                     |
| D293.      | Transformation: man to star.                                         |
| D1882.     | Rejuvenation by supernatural person.                                 |
| D1887.     | Rejuvenation by bathing.                                             |
| D1889.+.   | Rejuvenation by sleep. (D1889. Miscellaneous means of rejuvenation.) |
| D2071.2.   | Person kills with Evil Eye.                                          |
| F10.       | Journey to upper world.                                              |
| F592.      | Man's ferocious glance kills (causes swooning).                      |
| G464.+.    | Ogre tyrannizes over land. (G464. Ogre tyrannizes over fairyland.)   |

|             |                                               |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| H927.       | Tasks set by deity.                           |
| K800.       | Killing or maiming by deception.              |
| K2211.      | Treacherous brother.                          |
| K2220.      | Treacherous rivals.                           |
| M207.       | Land grants (bargains).                       |
| P12.2.1. +. | Tyrannical ruler. (P12.2.1. Tyrannical king.) |
| S73.1.      | Fratricide.                                   |
| S400.       | Cruel persecutions.                           |

## Kwányip

### 5. THE WIVES OF KWÁNYIP

By and by Kwányip wanted to marry a second wife Oklta,<sup>7</sup> Okričin's sister, very beautiful to look upon. Okričin was a fine young fellow, tall, slender, white, and a good hunter; but he did not want to give his sister to Kwányip to be his second wife, because he loved her very much. Kwányip got vexed and turned him into the screech owl Šit,<sup>8</sup> and told him, he should no longer eat guanaco meat, but mice, and should hide in old trees so as not to see the sun. Then Kwányip went to Oklta, but she would have nothing to do with him, she was so angry with him for having changed her brother. So he got wild and said: "You shall be black and naked, you shall have no clothes or fur [or] feathers, you shall go about at night and not in the day; people shall be afraid to see you, and if they do see you, they will get sick and die."

*Informant unknown*;<sup>9</sup> pp. 582–583.

#### *Motif content*

|            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| A1732.     | Creation of animal to take revenge. |
| A1895.     | Creation of bat.                    |
| A2317.8.   | Why bat is bald.                    |
| A2433.4.1. | Why owl lives where he does.        |

<sup>7</sup>This is the name of the bats, *Myotis chiloensis* and *Vespertilio magellanicus*.

<sup>8</sup>Ed.—According to Gusinde: Šita, the light-colored horned owl, "nucu" (*Asio accipitrinus*).

<sup>9</sup>Ed.—The narrative was collected by Lucas Bridges. Gusinde copied it from an unpublished manuscript entitled "Vocabulario y frases de la lengua de los Onas." Manuscript 32 pp. Mitre Museum, Buenos Aires. See also Bridges 1948:436–437; Cojazzi 1914, 10:11.

|            |                                                           |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| A2435.4.9. | Food of owl.                                              |
| A2491.1.   | Why bat flies by night.                                   |
| A2491.2.   | Why owl avoids daylight.                                  |
| B147.1.2.  | Beasts of ill-omen.                                       |
| D153.2.    | Transformation: man to owl.                               |
| D661.1.    | Transformation as revenge for repulsing amorous advances. |
| D665.      | Transformation of enemy to be rid of him.                 |
| M411.14.+. | Curse by shaman. (M411.14. Curse by priest.)              |
| Q551.3.2.  | Punishment: transformation into animal.                   |
| T75.2.1.   | Rejected suitor's revenge.                                |
| T131.1.1.  | Brother's consent for sister's marriage needed.           |

## 6. THE BIRTH OF KWÁNYIP<sup>10</sup>

The parents of Kwányip were good people. His father (Háis) was an accomplished *xon*. Háis had a strong adversary in powerful Nákenk, who had a daughter named Hóšne. She was very beautiful. Háis fell in love with the daughter of Nákenk and wished to make her his wife.

These two had met in secret, tasting much of love. One day they were again playing with each other, Háis lying on top of Hóšne. Unbeknownst

<sup>10</sup>See Cojazzi 1914, 9:351-352, for a different version of this narrative. Ed.—Further background information on the family of Kwányip, probably by Gusinde's informant Hótex; p. 581: Because Háis had come out of the north, the people there in the south would have nothing to do with him, never pausing to stop in when they passed his hut. In those days they came in great numbers out of the south. They were arrows then, these men, and moved to the coast, by San Pablo. There they built the first great *klóketen*-hut, which still stands today. That is now Máustas, a mountain range. Here they played for a long time (their *klóketen*), these arrow-men ("hombres-flecha," according to Hótex). Háis did not try to grab hold of them; they flew swiftly over him. But one day Háis succeeded in holding fast to one maiden. These people were always passing by, whole families of them. This maiden was called Sáter. From that moment she had to work in the hut of Háis. Later Sáter was transformed into a shrub (*Ribes magellanicum*). A long time afterward Háis himself was transformed into a steep, high, coastal wall, northerly from Cabo San Pablo. The spouse of Háis was Kášmen, and the people have nothing to tell of her. Anyway, she later transformed into a mountain.

Akelkwóin became the mother of Kwányip. Actually she was the daughter of Háis, his firstborn. And thus Akelkwóin is at the same time sister to and mother of Kwányip, begotten by Háis of his own daughter, for he had been deceived. Before, Akelkwóin had been a tall, well-grown person; she later transformed into a high mountain, which rises northwest of Lago Fagnano, prominent over all those ranges about her.

Aukménk was the elder brother of Kwányip. His sons are the two Sasán, and Kwányip liked both his nephews very much. But his older brother later transformed into a mountain which stands in the vicinity of his sister, Akelkwóin.

The brother of Háis was Sila, and he is uncle to the two Kwányip. His two sons are called Téxnol and Euwan and these two, together with their father, later transformed into the steep coastal cliffs near Cabo San Diego.



to the two Nákenk saw this. He became very angry. Háis had a long penis and therefore Nákenk did not want to give him his daughter.

Nákenk thought it over; he wanted to play a devastating trick on Háis, and in this he succeeded. Háis's own daughter Akelkwóin lay down in the place where Háis had always met Hóšne. When Háis came full of desire he threw himself immediately on the girl, on his own daughter! He did not know it! Akelkwóin became with child. She gave birth to Kwányip. Evil Nákenk had brought that about!

Later Háis discovered that he himself had begotten this child with his own daughter. Terribly enraged, he sought at once to revenge himself on Nákenk. But the latter kept himself well hidden.

The family of Háis originated in the north. There Kwányip fetched tame guanacos for himself. Many ancestors also left the north and came to our country.

*Informant:* Tenenés; p. 584.

### *Summary*

Man is tricked into having intercourse with his own daughter; she gives birth to culture hero in consequence.

### *Motif content*

|             |                                                                                        |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A112.1.1.+. | Culture hero from father-daughter incest. (A112.1.1. God from father-daughter incest.) |
| A511.1.     | Birth of culture hero.                                                                 |
| A512.       | Parentage of culture hero.                                                             |
| F547.3.1.   | Long penis.                                                                            |
| J647.       | Avoiding enemy's revenge.                                                              |
| K1840.      | Deception by substitution.                                                             |
| K2220.      | Treacherous rivals.                                                                    |
| N365.2.     | Unwitting father-daughter incest.                                                      |
| T35.        | Lovers' rendezvous.                                                                    |
| T50.1.2.    | Girl carefully guarded by father.                                                      |
| T75.0.1.    | Suitors ill-treated.                                                                   |
| T97.        | Father opposed to daughter's marriage.                                                 |
| T411.       | Father-daughter incest.                                                                |
| T411.2.+.   | Girl got with child by father. (T411.2. Girl got with child by intoxicated father.)    |



## 7. WHY KWÁNYIP NEVER LACKED GUANACOS

Kwányip was very selfish. He shared nothing of all he possessed with the others; he was very stingy. Up north he had a large herd of tame guanacos. He could reach out to each animal with his bare hand and catch any one of them. It was no trouble at all for him to provide himself with meat. His many guanacos were always together, behaving as though they were in a corral (= within definite bounds). Kwányip gave absolutely no meat to the other people.

When he (first) came into our land he brought his guanacos along. Before that time there were none (tame animals). Kwányip always took this herd with him; his dogs drove the animals before him. The other men saw it: Kwányip had only to stretch out his hand and already he was holding a guanaco. But they themselves had to go out hunting and return exhausted.

Kwányip came to our country on foot from the north. He drove his guanacos before him with the help of his dogs. At that time (of his first arrival) he went as far as Cabo San Pablo. There you can still see the footprints in the stones of the first herd of tame guanacos, which he had brought with him.

Only Kwányip himself and his family ate of those animals. He gave nothing to other people. When all his guanacos had been eaten he returned to the north, to fetch himself another herd of tame guanacos. This he drove before him, coming again into our country. He and his family never lacked for meat, never suffered hunger. To the other people Kwányip distributed nothing.

One of Kwányip's nephews had once taken a guanaco from his uncle's herd and dragged it to his hut. Kwányip saw how he carried the animal off to his hut. Furious, he ran up to Sasán, shouting: "That is my guanaco. You have stolen it from me!" Kwányip took the animal from his nephew and carried it into his own hut. Sasán stood there with empty hands. He still had no meat; he had to go hungry. Not even to his closest relatives did Kwányip give anything and so they, too, had to hunt the wild guanacos for themselves.

Sasán's mother had once asked Kwányip for an arrow for Sasán. But he gave her only a shaft without the stone point. The boy was unable to kill guanacos with it. One day Sasán found a stone point sticking in a piece of meat. He tied it to the shaft that his mother had given him and went hunting. He killed a (wild) guanaco with his arrow. This animal he

brought to the hut, but the selfish Kwányip took it away from him. So even Kwányip's closest relatives sometimes went hungry. He did not want anybody to have anything.<sup>11</sup> He himself was taken care of; he always took his herd of tame guanacos with him. When he had eaten these he went back to the north, there to fetch himself another herd and then to come back here to the south again.

In those days it is true there were guanacos in our country, too, but these were shy and wild. They kept to themselves in the high mountain ranges and were most difficult to hunt down.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 584–586.

### *Summary*

Selfish culture hero keeps herd of tame guanacos for himself and family, gives nothing to people, who have to go hunting for meat.

### *Motif content*

|          |                                                        |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| A524.1.  | Culture hero's extraordinary animals.                  |
| A972.    | Indentations on rocks from prints left by man (beast). |
| A1443.1. | First shepherd.                                        |
| D2197.   | Magic dominance over animals.                          |
| F679.1.  | Remarkable herdsman.                                   |
| S0.      | Cruel relative.                                        |
| W152.    | Stinginess.                                            |

## 8. KWÁNYIP DIVIDES NIGHT FROM DAY<sup>12</sup>

In the old days Kranakhátaix (the older Sun-Man) was still up there in the sky. He is the father of Kran (the younger Sun-Man). The former, however, was much stronger and more powerful than his son. He kept standing there in the sky all the time: it was always very light and hardly ever dark (night).<sup>13</sup> Later his son Kran likewise placed himself in the sky. Then his old father, Kranakhátaix, went away forever.

<sup>11</sup>The frequent repetitions show how repulsive and abhorrent a Selknam finds such great selfishness.

<sup>12</sup>See also narrative 14 of present collection; Bridges 1948:433–434; Cojazzi 1914, 10:8–9.

<sup>13</sup>A time span of about thirty minutes was indicated to me.

The people had never liked it being bright for too long. Men and women could only lie together for a very short time and quickly had to part again when it became light. They were ashamed of being seen that way by others, who liked to watch and laugh.

Kwányip, too, did not like it being dark for only a short time. So at once he let it be dark longer, and then again, longer and longer. And each time the period of light became a little shorter and the period of dark a little longer. At last it was dark for as long as it was light. From then on he always let it be dark for as long a time as the daylight lasted. All the people were very satisfied with this for now man and woman could lie together for a long time; nobody could watch them or laugh at them.

*Informant not named; p. 586.*

### *Summary*

Formerly days were long, nights short, and men and women could only lie together a short time. Because of this, culture hero makes day and night equally long.

### *Motif content*

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| A221.       | Sun-father.                     |
| A225.       | Son of the sun.                 |
| A1172.      | Determination of night and day. |
| A1172.1.    | Regulation of sunshine.         |
| D2146.      | Magic control of day and night. |
| F961.1.     | Extraordinary behavior of sun.  |
| F961.1.3.1. | Two suns shine in sky.          |

## 9. HOW KWÁNYIP TAKES REVENGE ON HIS ADVERSARY<sup>14</sup>

Ćénuke was always an enemy of Kwányip, whom he envied and sought to harm. Ćénuke lived in the south; Kwányip came from the north. The rocky coast of Onkonh harbored many nesting cormorants and Kwányip often went there to catch these birds. One day Ćénuke lay there in wait

<sup>14</sup>See also Bridges 1948:434.

for Kwányip. He had already driven together a large number of cormorants, so that a great urge should come over Kwányip to go bird-hunting. Čénuke also made those birds very tame, that they might be easy to catch. Then he hid behind a rock.

Kwányip went there again, and immediately climbed a steep cliff. While he was climbing, Čénuke at first let small pebbles roll down from above, then stones, then larger rocks. These fell on Kwányip. When finally big boulders came tumbling down it was frightful for Kwányip. Soon the whole cliff began to tremble, swaying back and forth: Kwányip could hold on no longer! Slowly he slid down to where he had built his hut. Masses of gravel and stones continued to roll down, forming a great heap. It grew and grew, threatening to bury his hut.

Amazed at this, Kwányip looked around, and said: "What is going on here? So many stones are rolling down, the entire cliff is tottering. The cormorants are easy to catch; I have already stored a great number of them in my hut and without any trouble. Gravel and rubble now threaten to bury everything, and I myself am in danger!"

More heaps of stone cascaded down and Kwányip became very frightened. He did not want to go after more birds, for he feared that he might be buried along with his hut. New masses of rocks were still rolling down, forcing Kwányip into constant retreat. Finally he said to himself: "Čénuke is the cause of all this; he wants to provoke me!" Kwányip flew into a rage. He raised his fist and yelled at Čénuke: "I shall pay you back for all this; I am going to take my revenge against you!"

And now Kwányip thought it over: He wanted to avenge himself thoroughly. Soon he knew what to do! In the south there was a great swamp where there were always many geese and ducks. This was Čénuke's favored spot where he used to catch birds. Kwányip had observed this, and set out now on the long journey to that region, saying to himself: "I am going to play a nasty trick on Čénuke."

Kwányip had to walk a long time, for the way was far. Finally he came to the region and looked around. He did not like it. He said: "This place looks suspicious to me. One could easily get lost. I wonder if I am going to get out of here again?" Nevertheless, Kwányip stayed.

The same night Čénuke, too, had come back to this place. He was catching birds with a torch. Kwányip spotted him in the darkness of the night. Full of anger he said quietly: "Now I am going to pay you back for what you did to me!" At once Kwányip let it snow and hail heavily. It crackled down in enormous masses and at the same time a high wall of ice



pushed forward. Great fear overcame Čénuke. He gave a furious cry, shouting: "Kwányip has caused this mischief. How happy he is going to be if I perish here in such terrible weather!" At the same time Čénuke was ever more pushed back by the high wall of ice that shoved forward and almost reached the beach. Completely at a loss, he looked toward the west, crying loudly.

In utter desperation Čénuke now started to move his arms and his entire body the way birds do when they fly. Meanwhile his family had gathered there, and all of them made the same movements together. Čénuke had tried long and hard, saying: "I shall certainly succeed! Then I shall rise like a bird!" Looking up and toward the west, he continued to practice.

Meanwhile he had already been pushed far out into the sea. He had to swim and this exhausted him. Finally he was able to fly and, lifting himself out of the water, he flew eastward, followed by his family. This is how Kwányip took ample revenge upon Čénuke.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 586-588.

### *Summary*

Čénuke nearly buries Kwányip under heaps of rock. In revenge the latter traps Čénuke between moving glacier and ocean. He escapes with his family by flapping arms like a bird and flying away.

### *Motif content*

|            |                                               |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| B771.      | Wild animal miraculously tamed.               |
| D2091.16.  | Enemy magically enclosed within walls.        |
| D2143.4.   | Hail produced by magic.                       |
| D2143.6.3. | Snow produced by magic.                       |
| D2144.5.   | Ice controlled by magic.                      |
| D2152.2.   | Magician able to cast mountains upon enemies. |
| D2165.1.   | Escape by flying through the air.             |
| D2197.     | Magic dominance over animals.                 |
| F1021.3.   | Man learns to fly.                            |
| K700.      | Capture by deception.                         |
| K730.      | Victim trapped.                               |
| K926.      | Victim pushed into water.                     |
| K2220.     | Treacherous rivals.                           |
| W195.      | Envy.                                         |



## 10. HOW KWÁNYIP LETS THE DEAD ARISE NO MORE

At the very same time that Čénuke lived there lived also Kwányip, his elder brother, and their sister Akelkwóin. One day his elder brother, Aukménk, acted as though he wished to die. So Kwányip, the younger brother, took his brother's fur coat, wrapped him in it, put him on the ground, and covered him up. And so he lay there, absolutely without moving.

A few days later Aukménk began to stir a little. He began to come alive. The younger brother noticed this, but displeased that his elder brother should arise again, he quickly ran to where he was lying. Kwányip gathered his entire power as *xon*, straining at his labors: his brother was not to rise and come alive!<sup>15</sup> And so the elder Kwányip woke no more. He remained lying there on the ground, never to rise again! Thus he remained dead until this day. Since that time, nobody can wake again and rise from his resting place in the earth; each person now remains forever dead.

Later, Čénuke found out everything the younger Kwányip had done and yelled at him: "*Ále máxten ni ma!* Are you out of your mind! What have you done? Why did you not let your brother rise again? You lazy man! Why did you not take care of your brother? You rogue! Why did you not help your brother? Had he only come to me I would have washed him. Then he would have lived on, happy and youthful. Oh woe! What have you done?" Čénuke lamented, sad and despairing: "Oh, woe! Now no man will rise again from the sleep (of age)." Full of anger, Čénuke soon afterward left this earth, going up to the heavens followed by his family.

Soon the other people found out about this. In deep bitterness they turned on Kwányip, murmuring among themselves: "How wonderful it used to be! When people grew old and weak they lay down; they arose again from a short sleep; they were youthful and lived on once more. Now Kwányip has changed all this; no one may rise again!"

<sup>15</sup>In February 1922, Čikiól elaborated on this as follows: "When Kwányip came down from the north he was displeased that the deceased here did not remain lying in the ground. Here, he who had grown old and tired lay down to a profound sleep. After three or four days he arose again, young and healthy. But when his elder brother had lain down to sleep, Kwányip sat down very close to him. He now sang the whole day. He was a powerful shaman. Now Kwányip's brother was no longer able to get up as the other people had before. Since that time nobody leaves his grave any more; he remains dead."

And thus was death introduced here among our people. He who now lies down, old and weak, rises no more, but is put into the ground whence he never comes back again.

The younger Kwányip was much cleverer and more influential than his elder brother. He had great power. This is what the younger Kwányip did to his elder brother: the latter could not rise again (from the sleep of age). Since the older Kwányip could not wake from his sleep he remained in the earth forever. He was dead. In mourning the younger Kwányip now painted himself red all over. This paint he wears to this day. He is that red star up there in the sky.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 588–589.

### *Summary*

Kwányip, envious of clever elder brother, will not let brother arise after rejuvenating sleep. Brother dies, thus introducing death among men.

### *Motif content*

|           |                                                                    |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A515.1.   | Culture heroes brothers.                                           |
| A525.     | Good and bad culture heroes.                                       |
| A761.     | Ascent to stars. People or animals ascend to sky and become stars. |
| A770.     | Origin of particular stars.                                        |
| A1335.    | Origin of death.                                                   |
| D293.     | Transformation: man to star.                                       |
| D2061.    | Magic murder.                                                      |
| F10.      | Journey to upper world.                                            |
| K2211.    | Treacherous brother.                                               |
| M341.     | Death prophesied.                                                  |
| P251.5.3. | Hostile brothers.                                                  |
| P251.5.4. | Two brothers as contrasts.                                         |
| P681.     | Mourning customs.                                                  |
| S73.1.    | Fratricide.                                                        |

## 11. KWÁNYIP AND HIS FAMILY LEAVE THIS WORLD

Cénuke was the relentless antagonist of the two Kwányip and their sister. A powerful and dangerous *xon*, he hurt and provoked the two brothers and their sister whenever he could. He was especially mean to the

younger Kwányip since the latter had failed to let his own elder brother arise from the sleep (of old age); Čénuke had never been able to wash this one.

Since then, Čénuke sought to harm Akelkwóin as well. He mustered all his strength: she soon felt very weak. She died. And thus she, too, rose from her deep sleep no more. Kwányip was beside himself with sorrow, crying over his sister and his elder brother. Again he painted himself red all over, gathered his whole family around him, and went with them up to the sky. There he still stands as a star, all red, his relatives right next to him.

*Informant:* Tenenés; p. 591.

### *Motif content*

|           |                                                                    |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A515.1.   | Culture heroes brothers.                                           |
| A761.     | Ascent to stars. People or animals ascend to sky and become stars. |
| D293.     | Transformation: man to star.                                       |
| D2061.    | Magic murder.                                                      |
| K2211.    | Treacherous brother.                                               |
| K2220.    | Treacherous rivals.                                                |
| P251.5.3. | Hostile brothers.                                                  |
| P681.     | Mourning customs.                                                  |
| S73.1.    | Fratricide.                                                        |

## Čáskels

### 12. ČÁSKELS<sup>16</sup> KEEPS THE TWO SASÁN AS PRISONERS AND IS KILLED BY KWÁNYIP

One day Čáskels went on the hunt again. Soon he came across the two nephews of Kwányip, called Sasán. He thought, "I'll take these two with

<sup>16</sup>See also Cojazzi 1914, 9:352; 10:5-7. Ed.—Background information on Čáskels from Gusinde's informants Keisetówb, Hálemink, and Páren; pp. 593-595:

1. *His home.*—In the old days the dangerous Čáskels lived at the same time as Kwányip. The latter lived on the shores of the Río MacLelan. There stands his great hut (a lengthy ravine), still

me; they shall work in my hut!" Since those two boys were all alone, Čáskels grabbed one with each hand and tied them to his waist string. Thus he dragged Kwányip's nephews away with him to where his hut was, and there Čáskels kept the two Sasán.

It was a terrible sight. Filth surrounded the hut of Čáskels. Here the giant had dragged the bodies of the people he had hunted down and there he had dismembered them. Bones and pieces of flesh, intestines, and excrement were strewn all around. A dreadful sight.

called today *Čáskels ke káurwi*. It lies within the Estancia Vicuña. Right now one can see many bones lying all around this place, bones that came from the many people devoured by this demon.

Here in this place Čáskels went to hunt, a hunt for humans only, however. These he killed and devoured. So Čáskels stayed more in the west, although he is reckoned as being of the people of the south.

2. *The giant man-eater.*—Čáskels was a wicked man, which is why he was so dangerous to other people. He nourished himself not on the flesh of guanacos but devoured human flesh. He hunted the other people and whomever he caught, he always killed.

No one was safe near him. Whoever passed by was seized. He was very big and strong, truly a giant. All the people had run from his vicinity in fear, away to Cabo Policarpo there to stay hidden. Here they thought themselves safe and protected, for the hut of Čáskels lay far away. He who stayed in his vicinity had always to keep himself concealed in a hiding place. But this could not go on forever: the people were starving because they themselves could not go out hunting. Čáskels was a strong giant. His slingshot carried so far that when he threw stones with it, he could reach the people even at a great distance. All had to stay hidden from him and could not move about freely.

3. *Čáskels kills women and children.*—Besides this Čáskels was an evil fellow. In lust he murdered women, cutting off the skin from the pubic area. He was especially happy when this piece was thick with hair. He sewed such pieces together onto his *kóel*, which he always wore on his forehead. He looked so horrible, this frightful man hunter.

On catching sight of a pregnant woman he would follow her with particular lust. He was beside himself with satisfaction when he had hunted for and killed such a woman, one far advanced in pregnancy. He would drag the corpse to his hut, lay the whole body to roast upon the fire with the child left intact inside her womb. Such a roast tasted best to him.

When Čáskels chanced to catch a nursing infant he would set it up on his head, sticking it there behind his big *kóel*. In this way he could set several babies on his head behind the *kóel* and carry them thus to his hut. He was a mighty giant. Larger children were bound with a strong knotted string and hung around his hips. All these he then carried to his big hut and there he roasted them upon the fire.

4. *The dogs of Čáskels.*—Čáskels possessed many powerful dogs, which he had specially trained. They were on the run almost constantly. First of all the dogs would chase after the people until they wearied. And so the dogs would come closer until finally they reached their human prey, which, exhausted from running, was torn asunder and killed instantly. Either the dog would devour the poor wretch on the spot or else it would drag him back to the hut of Čáskels.

5. *How Čáskels clothed himself.*—Čáskels remained an ever present danger to the people. He was possessed of monstrous strength; it was horrible when he whirled his slingshot. There he was with the most wicked habit of murdering people and eating their flesh. But first he skinned them and sewed pieces together to serve as a mantle. He sewed together the pubic hair of the women and this served as his *kóel*. Thus clothed he ran about; whoever saw him hid in fear and trembling, so awful was his appearance.



It was here where the two Sasán were forced to stay. Čáskels made them work hard. Whenever he dragged back a corpse the two brothers had to take out and clean the intestines. Meanwhile he sat by the fire and fried himself big chunks of flesh. All this was very disgusting to the two Sasán. Since they themselves were very hungry they ate the intestines. That was all the monster would give them.

The work was very repulsive. All day long the boys were busy cleaning intestines, covered all over with dirt from this filthy occupation. They would have liked to run away, but Čáskels guarded them closely. It looked like a vast butchering site, everything smeared with blood and excrement from the many human bodies Čáskels had brought there and eaten.

Besides this, the two Sasán had to fetch much wood. When Čáskels was away they had to keep the big fire going. Kwányip himself knew well what had befallen his two nephews. He knew that they had to perform such dirty work in the man-eater's hut. Kwányip pondered how he might kill the dangerous cannibal.

For a long time Kwányip held an infinite anger against that monster before whom all people trembled and fearfully sought to hide. Kwányip also saw how badly his two nephews fared with Čáskels. He determined to kill this monster. But the latter was enormously strong, and very dangerous.

One day Kwányip sneaked again to Čáskels's hut. The latter was in just then, sitting by the fire. Kwányip saw how his two nephews had gotten their hands very dirty, and how they were soiled all over with blood and excrement. All day long they had to clean out the intestines of murdered people. Kwányip secretly gave the two Sasán a sign, saying: "The next time Čáskels leaves the hut run away quickly, over there!" Kwányip pointed out a hiding place. Quickly and quietly he left. Čáskels had not noticed anything. But Kwányip went now to the place he had shown his nephews and waited for them there.

Soon Čáskels left his hut to hunt people once again. Now the time had come and the two boys quickly ran to reach the hiding place their uncle had pointed out to them.

Later when Čáskels returned to his hut and called the two Sasán, they were no longer to be found. Furiously he jumped up and looked about him. He searched for their footprints, angrily saying to himself: "The two have gotten away from me!" He followed their tracks and soon came close to the place where Kwányip was hiding.

With the help of Kwányip, the two boys had crossed a river. That is,



he had quickly brought the two riverbanks close to each other, the river becoming so narrow that each boy could cross it with but a single step. As soon as the Sasán had reached the other side the river suddenly widened again to its former size.

Following the tracks of the two Sasán, Čáskels soon came to the bank of that river. At once he stepped into the water and waded across the deep riverbed, thus reaching the other side. Here he sought to climb up on land again. But Kwányip caused the bank to become soaked with water and become very muddy. Whole chunks of earth broke loose as soon as Čáskels set foot upon it. He tried to hold on with his hands but he slid down. Thus he stumbled around in the mud, sinking deeper and deeper. With hands and feet he tried to get out of the soft, muddy soil. But again and again new tufts of grass broke off from the bank. The stumbling and grasping made him very tired.

Then Kwányip suddenly caused severe cold; ice formed and the ground became hard. Also the bank became rapidly solid and firm. And so Čáskels was finally able to step out of the water, and with an effort pulled himself upon the bank.

He stretched out there completely exhausted, barely able to gasp: "I feel very bad!" After some time Čáskels groaned pitiably, crying as loudly as he could: "Oh, woe is me! If only someone would help me!" He lay there on the riverbank, his face pressed firmly against the ground.

Kwányip had been watching all this from his nearby hiding place. He came out and walked up to Čáskels. The latter groaned deeply and said to Kwányip: "I feel very bad. If only someone would help me." Kwányip answered: "Very well, I'll help you! Where does it hurt?" Čáskels replied: "Oh misery, my back aches all over!" Speaking thus he ran his hand over his back and moaned. Then Kwányip said: "All right, stay like that." Čáskels was lying stretched out on the ground, face down. Kwányip added: "I'll take off my sandals now and put my foot there very softly. That will make the pain soon go away."<sup>17</sup> Čáskels replied, "Yes, put your foot on my back. But press very gently, I am suffering terrible pains!" As he said this he groaned again very loudly.

Suddenly Kwányip, with his right foot, stamped as hard as he could on the middle of Čáskels's back. He broke his spine with a single blow! The dangerous Čáskels screamed terribly and groaned loudly. Then he collapsed, and was dead!

<sup>17</sup>By putting the foot on the back a light massage was intended, which the Selknam usually performs with the hands rather than with the feet; but delicately and carefully, and thus with great success.

As Čáskels emitted the terrible scream the two Sasán came out from the hiding place where Kwányip had ordered them to stay. The boys drew near and each fitted a pointed stone in his sling. Each of the Sasán took aim at one of Čáskels's eyes, and both stones hit their mark. The entire inside of each eye squirted out.

These squirts fell into the water and stayed upon the surface. One can see them in the lagoons even today, those greenish-gray spots. Those are the splashes from the broken eyes of the dying Čáskels. Finally a small animal crawled from the eye socket, buzzing loudly. "Pašáterrčein" (horsefly), the people call it. It likes to sit on rotting meat and excrement.

Čáskels was left lying there. He turned into a big stone. You can still see him in Čácis,<sup>18</sup> the outline of his body clearly recognizable.<sup>19</sup> The two Sasán now stayed with their uncle Kwányip.

*Informants:* Keitetówh, Hálemink, and Páren; pp. 595, 597–599.

### *Summary*

Čáskels kidnaps Kwányip's nephews, keeping them in his filthy hut and making them prepare his cannibalistic meals. Nephews escape, aided by Kwányip, who puts magic obstacles in the way of pursuing ogre. Under pretense of giving Čáskels massage, Kwányip breaks his back. Nephews shoot stones into ogre's eyes which spurt out, creating present-day spots on lagoons. Ogre turns into rock.

### *Motif content*

|             |                                                                      |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A531.       | Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.                           |
| A901.       | Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero.      |
| A910.       | Origin of water features—general.                                    |
| A974.       | Rocks from transformation of people to stone.                        |
| A1416.      | Country ridded of ogres and made peaceful.                           |
| A2031.      | Creation of fly.                                                     |
| A2240.      | Animal characteristics: obtaining another's qualities.               |
| D231.       | Transformation: man to stone.                                        |
| D1524.5. +. | Rivers crossed by magic. (D1524.5. River crossed by means of charm.) |
| D2092.      | Man caused to sink into mud.                                         |

<sup>18</sup>A narrowly confined area near the Río Grande and by the border of the Estancia Primera Argentina.

<sup>19</sup>What is referred to is the long mountain ridge whose crest line (also in my opinion) very clearly resembles the outline of a huge person in the prone position.

|               |                                                                     |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D2144.1.      | Cold produced by magic.                                             |
| D2144.5.      | Ice controlled by magic.                                            |
| D2151.2.      | Magic control of rivers.                                            |
| D2151.2.6.    | River magically widened.                                            |
| D2151.2.6. +. | River magically narrowed. (D2151.2.6. River magically widened.)     |
| D2163.6.      | Obstructions magically produced before enemy.                       |
| D2165.3.      | Magic used to prevent pursuit.                                      |
| F661.5.4.     | Skillful marksman shoots both eyes of an ogre.                      |
| G312.         | Cannibal ogre.                                                      |
| G462.         | Person as servant in ogre's house.                                  |
| G501. +.      | Ogre outwitted by trick. (G501. Stupid ogre.)                       |
| G510.         | Ogre killed, maimed, or captured.                                   |
| G511.         | Ogre blinded.                                                       |
| G551.         | Rescue from ogre by relative.                                       |
| G551.3.1.     | Rescue of children from giant (ogre) by hero (skillful companions). |
| G691.         | Bodies of victims in front of ogre's house.                         |
| H1397.        | Quest for enemies.                                                  |
| H1397.2.      | Quest for enemy's children.                                         |
| K515.         | Escape by hiding.                                                   |
| K800.         | Killing or maiming by deception.                                    |
| R10.3.        | Children abducted.                                                  |
| R11.          | Abduction by monster (ogre).                                        |
| S116.3.       | Murder by breaking back.                                            |
| S183.         | Frightful meal.                                                     |

### 13. ČÁSKELS'S FIRESTONE

Čáskels had an excellent flint from which he struck sparks with the greatest of ease. He had fetched the stone from the mountain range near Caleta Irigoyen. The range is called Čáskels even today.

One day Kwányip crawled up very close to Čáskels's hut when the giant happened to be asleep. Kwányip grabbed the other's flint. He held it with his fingers and put it (for a brief touch) cautiously to Čáskels's genitals. Thereupon the stone lost its sparking power, and Kwányip quickly stole away.

Some time later, Čáskels went into his hut to strike a new light. He had been absent for a long time and the fire had gone out. He began striking his flint, but it did not spark. He ran out into the forest to look for dry wood. Then he struck his flint again, but still no spark sprang forth.

Once more he went into the forest to look for completely dry, soft wood. And again he struck with his stone. But all the striking was in vain; there were no sparks. Indignant, he sat there; he was without fire in the hut.

Kwányip caused Čáskels's flint to stop sparking. He wanted to kill the cannibal. Kwányip also stopped Čáskels from going to the region by Caleta Irigoyen to get himself a new flint. Kwányip's power was great. In this he had succeeded: Čáskels was no longer able to light a fire.

*Informants:* Keitetówh, Hálemink, and Páren; pp. 596–597.

### *Summary*

Kwányip renders Čáskels's extraordinary flint powerless by placing it on sleeping ogre's genitals.

### *Motif content*

|              |                                                                                                   |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D998.        | Magic private parts—human.                                                                        |
| D1175.2.     | Magic fire-steel (flint, strike-a-light).                                                         |
| D2089. +.    | Touch of male genitals renders flint useless. (D2089. Magic used against property—miscellaneous.) |
| D2089.10. +. | Flint' magically made not to function. (D2089.10. Fire drills magically made not to function.)    |
| G100.        | Giant ogre.                                                                                       |
| G110.        | Possessions of giant ogres.                                                                       |
| K331. +.     | Goods destroyed while owner sleeps. (K331. Goods stolen while owner sleeps.)                      |
| K1410.       | Dupe's goods destroyed.                                                                           |
| K2220.       | Treacherous rivals.                                                                               |

## Sun and Moon

### 14. THE OLD SUN-MAN AND THE YOUNG SUN-MAN<sup>20</sup>

In the beginning of time there lived the old Sun-Man. He was powerful and mighty, and stayed up there in the sky almost all the time. It was

<sup>20</sup>See also narrative 8.



dark (night) only for a short while; otherwise that bright sun kept shining incessantly. Thus it was very bright.

The name of the old Sun-Man was *Kranakhátaix*. He is the father of *Kran*, the sun that is in the sky today. At that time *Kran* was still living on earth as a good hunter, and his father, old *Kranakhátaix*, still stood in the sky.

When *Kwányip* came here he found this situation not to his liking. Darkness lasted too short. So he made the long daylight shorter and the short night longer. Since then darkness lasts as long as daylight, for the young Sun-Man, *Kran*, is far weaker than his father, old *Kranakhátaix*. This is why *Kwányip* was able to lengthen the darkness and shorten the daylight; now the two are alike.<sup>21</sup>

While the fierce battle was being fought in the *klóketen*-hut, *Kran* ascended to the sky, in pursuit of *Kra*, his wife. Both are still up there. But what has become of old *Kranakhátaix* nobody knows. When *Kran* went up to the sky the old Sun-Man went away. And after *Kran* had left our country *Kwányip* himself climbed up to heaven, taking his entire family along.

*Kran*, whom we see today, is husband to *Kra*, the moon-woman. Her half-brother is *Akáinik*, the rainbow, a relative of *Kehačónh*, South. Thus the moon and the rainbow stem from South's large family.

*Informant:* Keitetówh; p. 600.

### Summary

In primeval world days are long, nights short, because older and stronger sun-man is in sky, younger and weaker sun-man on earth. When older sun-man goes away and younger sun-man goes up to sky, culture hero makes day and night equally long.

### Motif content

|           |                                 |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| A221.     | Sun-father.                     |
| A225.     | Son of the sun.                 |
| A566.2.   | Culture hero ascends to heaven. |
| A711.     | Sun as man who left earth.      |
| A736.1.   | Sun and moon as man and woman.  |
| A736.1.4. | Sun and moon married.           |

<sup>21</sup>The story assumes that at this intervention by *Kwányip* the old Sun-Man had already gone away and his son was already in the sky.



- A791.+                Rainbow as sun's brother-in-law. (A791. Origin of the Rainbow.)
- A1172.                Determination of night and day.
- A1172.1.             Regulation of sunshine.
- D2146.                Magic control of day and night.
- F961.1.                Extraordinary behavior of sun.

## 15. SUN AND MOON<sup>22</sup> BECOME ENEMIES

Kran and Kra lived with the *hówenh* (ancestors). They were husband and wife, living here in our country. These were the days when the women entertained themselves alone in the big *klóketen*-hut.

Moon-Woman was leader and ruler of the women. The men had to stay in the dwelling huts with the children.

But Sun was a clever *xon*. He discovered that there were only women in the Big Hut and all alone (without the alleged spirits). They had deceived the men. Then the men fell upon those women. There was a fierce battle from which only a few women escaped. Moon-Woman was also a powerful *xon*. The men dared not kill her. But Sun, her husband, gave her several hard blows. Each time he struck her there was a terrible crash

<sup>22</sup>See also Cojazzi 1914, 10:7-8. Ed.—*Commentaries on the moon by Gusinde's informants Šaipóten and Hálemink*, pp. 601-604: Moon-Woman hates us men so much. No one is safe from her; she will secretly kill one of us and eat him up. And that's how many of us have perished, for she is a mighty *xon*, and she has lost none of her strength since she's been standing there in the sky. When her rage against us men waxes, she turns a red color all over, and then she devours human beings, especially children. That red color which one sees on her comes from the blood of men she has destroyed.

Moon-Woman's hatred stems from the time of that great battle in the *klóketen*-hut; such is her anger that she eats men, whom she has always hated. That is why we are so furious with this woman. Seeking vengeance on his spouse, Sun follows her, but never reaches her, for she is a sly and mighty *xon*. (Informant: Šaipóten, pp. 601-602.)

At the time of this mighty struggle the Sun-Man beat his wife with a fiery brand. She was badly burned and carries the scars to this day. The Sun-Man wanted it that way: that his deceitful wife would stay thus (marked) forever. (Informant: Hálemink, p. 602.)

At times Moon-Woman makes herself small and yet smaller still. She does this to deceive the people down here, for she is a wicked woman. We are supposed to believe that Moon-Woman is old and weak, that she is sick and near death! And so in the meantime the people grow less watchful, and the children do not stay in the hut but run about freely. Then that dangerous woman takes advantage of such carelessness: she catches a child and drags it off up there where she eats it up. (Informant: Hálemink, p. 602.)

Children ought not stare at the moon with a steady gaze, least of all at the full moon. To fix the eyes unblinkingly on the moon makes one lose one's senses and fall over dead. Such is the wicked influence of the moon-woman. In anger she repeatedly covers her face with her blackened (by charcoal) hands. (Informant: Hálemink, pp. 603-604.)

that made the whole earth tremble. Finally, Sun stopped beating his wife. But one can still see the scars in Moon-Woman's face. Kra quickly ran up to the sky, Kran rushing after her. He has pursued his wife ever since, but to this day he has not yet been able to catch up with her.

*Informant:* Šaipóten; p. 601.

*Motif content*

|               |                                                                                                       |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A711.         | Sun as man who left earth.                                                                            |
| A711.+.       | Moon as woman who left earth. (A711. Sun as man who left earth.)                                      |
| A735.+.       | Pursuit of moon by sun. (A735. Pursuit of sun by moon.)                                               |
| A736.1.       | Sun and moon as man and woman.                                                                        |
| A736.1.4.     | Sun and moon married.                                                                                 |
| A736.1.4.1.+. | Sun and moon quarrel. (A736.1.4.1. Sun and moon quarrel when sun eats up all their children but two.) |
| A751.5.       | Man in the moon from scratches or paint.                                                              |
| A751.8.       | Woman in the moon.                                                                                    |
| A753.+.       | Moon as primeval leader of women. (A753. Moon as a person.)                                           |
| A753.3.1.     | Moon deceives sun.                                                                                    |
| A1372.9.      | Why women are subservient to men.                                                                     |
| D1711.3.      | Sun as magician.                                                                                      |
| F565.1.       | Amazons. Women warriors.                                                                              |
| F565.3.       | Parliament of women.                                                                                  |
| F961.1.       | Extraordinary behavior of sun.                                                                        |
| K1700.        | Deception through bluffing.                                                                           |
| N440.         | Valuable secrets learned.                                                                             |
| T148.         | Matriarchy.                                                                                           |

## OTHER MYTHS AND LEGENDS

### The Selknam Habitat

#### 16. THE BATTLE OF SOUTH AGAINST NORTH

South had long intended going to the north, and constantly sought an opportunity to do so. Kteit, North, was very strong and powerful. Several other strong men had attempted to approach North, yet none had succeeded. They did come a good stretch of the way, but when still far away from reaching North, each had to turn back again. The men then always said: "To approach North is impossible. He is much too powerful and too strong. He places obstacles in the path no one can overcome!"

Kehačónh, South, knew all this very well. When told of North he replied very firmly: "I am determined to go all the way to the north! I will devote my entire strength to this end. I must succeed!" You see, North had a beautiful daughter with whom South had fallen deeply in love. This, however, he tried to hide. He wanted the girl to become his wife; he favored her immensely.

Actually Šínu, Southeast, had been the first lover of North's daughter. Several times he himself had gone as a suitor to get the maiden. But when North realized the former's real intention he rose with all his might, placing such great obstacles in the way that Southeast was unable to move ahead. Once more Šínu summoned all his strength. But this time he and his men barely reached one of the earlier campsites. The tremendous exertion had caused all men to lose their good spirits. They had to rest for quite some time, so exhausted were they! Finally they turned back, Šínu and all his people.

On returning to their homeland they told Kehačónh of their difficult journey, saying: "It is impossible to get close to North!" This provoked South even more, and now he himself wanted to go to fetch North's beautiful daughter for his wife. He answered Southeast: "It is not true

what you say, that nobody can reach the place where North lives with his daughter Waukelnáma. I shall prove it to you! Soon my people and I will depart for that place."

South was very clever: he would not let it be known how deeply he loved that beautiful girl. Yet he was determined to bring her back as his wife. Secretly rejoicing in the failure of the others, he pretended to undertake the journey merely out of a spirit of competition, and to prove himself superior. With harsh words he sought to discourage Šínu from courting the girl again, until finally Šínu abandoned his desire for the maiden altogether.

Shortly thereafter, Kehačónh gathered his best men around him and started on his way. All had to make a tremendous effort but marched on bravely. Then fatigue set in, followed shortly by exhaustion. The men were unable to take one further step. Also, their meat supply had almost been depleted by then; only little was left. Their sandals were worn out completely and the men were walking barefoot, their beautiful fur mantles shabby and tattered.<sup>1</sup> Further advance was impossible, so they turned back.

After a long time the men reached their homeland again. All of them were greatly distressed, because their journey had failed. They had been able to advance only for a short distance. So now they sat down, rested, and ate a good deal.

Some time later they prepared for another expedition. South said to his men: "We must reach North at any cost!" His purpose was to win Kteit's beautiful daughter and to bring her home as his wife. He also planned to participate in the big festivals that were celebrated in the north, and wanted to measure himself in the contest against Kteit's men who were generally considered nimble and very strong. But he particularly wished to win the lovely daughter of North. So he selected many excellent men to accompany him, for he was consumed with the desire to bring Waukelnáma home as his wife.

These people now moved out on their second journey. All had rested for a long time, and were well prepared. They talked among themselves: "On this march we'll pull ourselves together! This time we must reach North, cost what it may!" Since all were completely rested and better prepared, they advanced more rapidly than ever. Making a strenuous effort and exerting themselves, they pushed forward, dragging themselves along with considerable difficulty.

<sup>1</sup>This was generally considered a sign of abject poverty and the worst misery.



Finally they drew close to the homeland of Kteit where cold no longer prevailed. The weather was extremely pleasant and the sun shone soft and warm.<sup>2</sup> Once more the men pulled their strength together, and soon reached the place where North's people had pitched camp. They rejoiced when they caught sight of the large encampment, and were full of satisfaction. South said: "Now we are here!" "Yes," replied his people. "Now we are here!" Their joy was boundless after the troublesome journey.

They talked at length about the obstacles that North had laid in their path. But these they had happily surmounted, and each and every soul was wholly satisfied.

When North had learned that South and his people were approaching, he immediately loosed against them as much wind and storm, fog and rain as was in his power, trying thereby to force their retreat. But now that they had succeeded despite his efforts, North's people greeted the men from the south, and before long the talk turned to the games. South's people were still resting; soon the contest would begin. Kehačónh said to the people: "Now really exert yourselves! We must show that we are stronger than the people of the north. We have to carry off the victory!" To which they all answered: "Yes, we will make an effort! We must have victory!"

Now the two groups of men drew closer. Both sides chose their best fighters. Each stared at the other group and picked for himself an opponent, the one he would bring down.<sup>3</sup> South said to North's men: "We are ready!" North's people replied: "We are also ready!"

The contest began.<sup>4</sup> South first sent out a few weaker men. Later stronger and more able men were brought in as contestants. Finally the strongest men appeared. South watched everything, saying to himself: "First I will wait and see how the wrestling turns out. Then I myself shall intervene personally to take part in the contest!" Kehačónh was feared as a mighty *xon*.

From the outset, the people of the north showed themselves to be much more skillful and deft. They got far ahead, carrying off victory after victory. South observing this became sad. Time after time he had to

<sup>2</sup>Meant here are the regions far up in the north. "Far away up there!" say the men, pointing toward the north, i.e., on the other side of the Strait of Magellan.

<sup>3</sup>Since the fighting is always individual, each man picks out that opponent against whom he considers himself capable. He also lets himself be led by the judgment of his fellowmen, since only a good fighter dares to take on a dreaded opponent and a less skillful man competes with one of similar ability.

<sup>4</sup>Wrestling matches solely between individual pairs of men were held.



watch his men being overcome! Then Akáinik, one of his best men, was overpowered;<sup>5</sup> even Tašá, who was so famous in his homeland, was wrestled down.

Since so many of South's group had already been rendered unfit to fight, Kehačónh himself finally had to intervene in the wrestling. He seized each one of his northern opponents with all his strength. So strong and so supple was he that he wrestled down one man after the other. Then South seized North. The former was the better fighter. With a tremendous effort South threw North beyond the knife that lay on the field.<sup>6</sup> Thus Kteit proved inferior to Kehačónh! South rejoiced immensely over his victory; all his men, too, shouted loudly with joy!

Now South was supposed to participate in the *klóketen*-festival of the people of the North. But he was constantly wondering how he could acquire Kteit's daughter! She was kept safely in a hut. South immediately settled on a plan: With utmost strength he would lift up and carry away the whole hut together with the maiden and all her things inside!

So he actually did approach the hut, shook it with all his strength, lifted it, and carried it away, maiden and all.

South's plan had proved successful. He quickly called his people and together they started the journey homeward. Only one man, who had been badly wounded in the contest, remained behind.

Kteit was beside himself with rage. He had been vanquished in the contest and, worse still, Kehačónh had abducted his daughter. Deeply troubled, he sought thorough revenge and determined to rush after South. As quickly as possible he, too, gathered his men to march in the direction from which South had come. But the latter meanwhile had hurried on before him, rightly assuming that North would take revenge as soon as he could.

After a short time South came to a wide river and immediately prepared to cross over with his people. Succeeding in this as well, he said to his companions: "Kteit will attempt to take revenge on us; we must be on guard!" And in truth North and his men were hastening after them.

<sup>5</sup>To this story Tenenésik added a supplement: "In that wrestling match Akáinik (Rainbow), who was so used to fighting, suffered heavy injuries. His opponent had boldly grabbed him and pressed him down terribly. Since then he walks as bent over as we see him today." Exactly the same motif is contained in the story about the rainbow which I heard in 1920 from the Yamana.

<sup>6</sup>To mark off the boundary line a knife had been put on the ground. Other objects might also be chosen. For a man to be pushed far over this line was considered a loss for him and a victory for his opponent.

North wanted to take South's people by surprise, for he knew very well how strong and battle seasoned they were.

South had been correct in surmising that North would attempt an attack. Therefore he, Kehačónh, suddenly dispatched terrible weather, winds, and heavy rain against Kteit, to discourage the people of the north: they should abandon their plan and return to their homeland! But North was not to be deterred. He kept his stand against all wind and weather, and pressed with his men relentlessly closer to his adversary.

Again South let loose a violent storm that raged even worse than the first one; Kehačónh was a shaman of great powers. But just as before, North remained unswerving in the face of this, firmly resisting the terrible weather. He continued his advance, desirous only of rumbling over and crushing South so that his revenge might be complete.

Eventually South saw himself forced to slow his march. His people were getting tired and weak. Moreover, he had entered difficult terrain. So he told his men: "Here we have reached a bad place." They had just begun to climb a steep mountain. North at once sent heavy rain upon them and halfway up the mountain they could climb no higher. The ground became extremely slippery; they were constantly sliding downward. Some of South's companions slid so far that they rolled into the crowd of Northpeople, who had meanwhile caught up with them. Those Southpeople soon pulled themselves up again and climbed back up the mountain. But as soon as they were halfway up they slipped and slid down again. A few of South's men had indeed reached the top. But many others stayed behind at the foot of the mountain.

The Northpeople fared even worse. When they sought to climb the mountain, exerting enormous effort, they more often than not fell down again. They hurt themselves badly and were too weak to stand on their feet.<sup>7</sup> Again and again those who remained made new attempts, and each time many a man was left lying on the ground.

Finally North said to himself: "I am losing all my men in this place!" The strain was too much for his companions. Also South failed to make headway with his people. And so the two opponents decided to call a halt there at the foot of this mountain, so that their people might rest. All were very hungry.

<sup>7</sup>For since the weather in their homeland was much drier, they lacked the necessary practice to be able to cross swampy, soaking wet ground or this slippery mountain in the damp south.

Meanwhile South had sent a runner to the hut of his father, old Táremkelaš. The messenger was to report all that had befallen his son on his journey to the north. But the old South was a powerful *xon* himself. He had known for some time how hard those people had to struggle; he knew that many had become weak and disabled; and he knew that only a few men had managed to scramble up the steep mountain with great difficulty. He also knew that North had closed upon them.

Kehačónh had sent word to his father: "Prepare everything well! Equip yourself well! Contrive the worst weather you can: under no circumstances is North to reach our huts!" But old Táremkelaš had foreseen all this long before; he was well prepared.

There on the steep mountain South went hunting with his people. North, too, went off with his companions. All were quite weakened from hunger and completely exhausted. South himself stayed with his people, who argued which of the two groups had the best hunters and which would kill the most animals. Then Kehačónh's people prepared a trick. From two fur covers they made a thick roll that looked like a guanaco. This they put at the edge of the forest, unnoticed. Soon North's people discovered it, and started to shoot. South's men immediately stepped out from their hiding place, laughing loudly at their opponents! From that time on the Southpeople never stopped teasing the people of the North.

A while later Táremkelaš, old South, sent a storm he had been preparing for some time. He let fall an enormous mass of snow, and the bitterest cold set in. North's people were completely at a loss and felt absolutely miserable. Never before had they been confronted with such terrible weather! They realized now that there could no longer be any thought of continuing. Saddened and deeply distressed, North decided to turn about at once and take the homeward path. Further advance impossible, he sadly turned his steps toward home.<sup>8</sup>

Even today Xóše is still occasionally sent out by the powerful South to bring North's people into difficulty. He deceives and teases them wickedly. Xóše has a large group of South's strong men against whom North's people cannot prevail.

Thus it was made easier for Kehačónh to reach his homeland. He finally arrived, and lived there with that beautiful daughter of old Kteit. Her name is Waukelnáma; she became his wife. But his father-in-law,

<sup>8</sup>These people from the warm region of the north were just not able to stand the immoderate cold of the terrible south.



old North, even today is brooding revenge, for he can never forget that South abducted his lovely daughter. Sometimes he still attempts to reach South's homeland. But thus far he has not succeeded; South has enormous power and a host of strong men at his disposal.

Šínu, Southeast, had been the first to try to woo Waukelnáma, Kteit's beautiful daughter. Now he has forever lost his hope for the girl. Even today Šínu lives in strict seclusion in his homeland together with his father, old Kiakčá, his only wife, the sister of West, and his daughter, beautiful Knáneka. Earlier, Kteit, North, had courted Knáneka on several occasions. But since Kehačónh, South, had succeeded in abducting North's daughter, North lives in a perpetual feud with South. Therefore old Kteit only occasionally remembers beautiful Knáneka, Šínu's daughter.<sup>9</sup>

*Informant:* Inxiól; pp. 606–612.

### *Summary*

North guards beautiful daughter against attempts by suitors (Southeast and South) to reach his country. Former gives up, but South and his men succeed after initial failure and strenuous effort. In subsequent wrestling contest between the opposing forces, South wins. He abducts North's daughter and flees, putting magic obstacles (storms) in way of pursuing North. Slippery mountain creates difficulties for both pursuer and pursued. Finally North is forced to return, defeated by violent storm sent out by South's father. South marries abducted girl.

### *Motif content*

A1127.1.1.+ .      South wind tempers fury of north wind. (A1127.1.1. North wind tempers fury of south wind.)

<sup>9</sup>The south wind, like the southern region on the whole, is generally mentioned as Šínu. Only in this myth do we meet the rigorous separation of two mythological persons who personify the southeast as well as the southwest. In the rest of the sections of this chapter, if Šínu was always rendered in the sense of "South," I follow herein the usual phraseology of the Selknam themselves. In their everyday manner of speech, they equate the southeast with the southwest, probably because the southeast wind rarely blows. Accordingly, they really speak only of the powerful Šínu whose personality and qualities are depicted in the form of Kehačónh in our myth. The constant battle of the winds, the sharp contrast in weather between north and south has here been beautifully appraised. The anthropomorphosis of the natural events runs through the whole story. Very characteristic is also the insertion of a singular joke. Such joking, in the service of one group's jealousy of another, is always appreciated by the Selknam.

- A1128. Regulation of winds.  
 D1810. Magic knowledge.  
 D2091. Magic attack against enemy.  
 D2141.2. Storm raised to defeat enemy.  
 D2142.0.1. Magician (witch) controls winds.  
 D2142.1. Wind produced by magic.  
 D2143.1. Rain produced by magic.  
 D2143.6. Magic control of snow.  
 D2144.1. Cold produced by magic.  
 F145.1.+. Mountain between North and South is extremely slippery. (F145.1. Glass mountain at borders of otherworld. Mountain is extremely slippery.)  
 F150.2.3. Entrance to otherworld guarded by north and south winds.  
 F151.1. Perilous path to otherworld.  
 F963. Extraordinary behavior of wind.  
 H217.1. Decision of victory by single combat between army leaders.  
 H217.2. Decision by single combat or holmgang of who is to marry girl.  
 H241. Worn-out shoes as proof of long journey.  
 H331.2. Suitor contest: tournament.  
 H1225. Quest for a strong adversary.  
 H1256. Journey to otherworld to obtain wife.  
 H1592. Hunting contest.  
 K1200. Deception into humiliating position.  
 K1371. Bride-stealing.  
 K2218.2. Treacherous father-in-law.  
 K2350. Military strategy.  
 P201. Inherent enmity between members of a family.  
 R10.1. Princess (maiden) abducted.  
 R18. Abduction by rejected suitor.  
 R236.+. Fugitives aided by magic weather. (R236. Pursuers aided by magic weather phenomenon.)  
 T50.1. Girl carefully guarded from suitors.  
 T50.1.2. Girl carefully guarded by father.  
 T75.0.1. Suitors ill-treated.  
 T97. Father opposed to daughter's marriage.  
 T104. Foreign king wages war to enforce demand for princess in marriage.  
 T110.+. Marriage between winds. (T110. Unusual marriage.)  
 W212. Eagerness for combat.  
 Z115. Wind personified.



## 17. HOW TÁIYIN CAME TO THE AID OF THE PEOPLE

In the old days there lived in Laswáix<sup>10</sup> a powerful woman by the name of Táita.<sup>11</sup> She was very influential and controlled the whole area. Unfortunately she had a very nasty disposition and was extremely selfish, giving nobody any water to drink. The people of the area had gone without water for a long time and were very thirsty. That mean woman, however, had covered all lagoons and wells, pools and lakes with furs. Nobody should have access to the water. Many people had already come here,<sup>12</sup> but none of them ever got to the water; that woman kept a very sharp lookout. She killed everybody who dared come close. She owned a very large knife made of solid white stone. It was impossible for anybody to set foot on her land. The people were not even allowed to gather marine animals and mussels on the beach.

Since the entire population had gone without water and food for a long time, hardly anyone could hold himself erect. Children were dying rapidly in large numbers. Then finally the old men came together to determine what could be done. Among them was Kaux,<sup>13</sup> a wise, influential old man, who had a very clever and able grandson. The old man remembered him and decided to send for him at once. He said: "We have to kill this woman! Otherwise what is to become of us? We have to kill this woman, or all of us will perish! She gives us no water to drink and food is very scarce!" The other men listened and agreed.

Kaux immediately sent a young man to Táiyin, his grandson, with this message: "Come here quickly!" Čéura<sup>14</sup> at once readied himself to get Táiyin, and at nightfall he departed. He dared walk only during the night lest evil Táita observe him.

When the man reached Táiyin's homeland he told the latter: "Kaux informs you thus: 'Come quickly!' " Táiyin got ready immediately and

<sup>10</sup>Region in the southern part of the department Bahía Thetis, in the Haus-group's proper territory.

<sup>11</sup>Yitaita is the name of an evil spirit mentioned at the initiation ceremonies of the Yamana to frighten those who are going to be tested.

<sup>12</sup>That is, near this woman's territory. The story assumes that water was lacking in all other parts of the Isla Grande.

<sup>13</sup>The great owl, *Bubo magellanicus*.

<sup>14</sup>The "tordo negro," *Curaeus aterrimus*, of the family of the Icteridae or Troupiale.

went with Céura. When the two arrived, the people hid Táiyin lest that evil woman notice him. He was a small man.

Táiyin stayed awake the first night thinking of how he might kill the powerful woman. He spent the whole night sleepless in the hut of his grandfather, Kaux, conversing with him all the time. In the morning Kaux said to his grandson: "All of us here are going to perish from thirst. You must help us!"

Táiyin at once jumped up from his bed and stepped from the hut to see the many people tormented by hunger and thirst. Recognizing him, they rejoiced and whispered softly to one another: "Táiyin, Táiyin, Táiyin!" They drew near the better to see him, but very cautiously, lest that woman discover him. Later Kaux said to Táiyin: "Go now alone to kill Táita. I cannot bear to watch!"<sup>15</sup> Táiyin immediately left his grandfather's hut and went to another man, Kárkai.<sup>16</sup> The two men thought about how they might kill the evil woman. Then they sneaked away to where Táita lived.

Táiyin was very skilled in handling the slingshot. He was very strong—when he flung a stone it always struck with a loud bang. The two had crept closer and closer, and now they waited. But the evil woman did not show herself. The two men were standing close enough, waiting. When Táita finally looked out of her hut, Táiyin hurled a large stone at her. It hit very well; it knocked off her head! The blood spurted high up and in all directions! Finally, the spiteful woman was dead.

All the people came running up, anxious to draw water since they were so thirsty. But all the lagoons, pools, and lakes had blood in them. Táita's blood had splashed everywhere, and such water they did not want to drink! But how were they to purify the lakes and rivers and clean them of the blood? The people looked to Táiyin, expecting help from him. He, however, scooped out the dirty water and threw it far northward to where today the Great Island ends.<sup>17</sup> There the water is like blood even now.<sup>18</sup>

Kaux had been watching all this. Therefore he quickly shouted to Táiyin: "My dear grandson, you must not splash my home with the dirty

<sup>15</sup>Since they were related to each other he did not want to be present at her murder, but stayed in his hut.

<sup>16</sup>The large vulture, "caráncho," *Polyborus tharus*.

<sup>17</sup>What is meant is the northern edge of the Isla Grande, i.e., the southern shore of the Strait of Magellan.

<sup>18</sup>On the northern edge of the Great Island there are a few vast salty lakes and many smaller pools that contain dark and undrinkable, thus brackish, water.

water from this place!" Kaux lived in Náxašal,<sup>19</sup> and Táiyin obeyed his order. Even today one finds very good, clean water in that area, where he had not squirted any polluted water.

Soon Táiyin stopped splashing the unclean water. Instead he now grabbed stones, and with his sling hurled them in all directions. Where the stones landed there appeared large cracks in the ground which filled up with water immediately. In doing this Táiyin refused to accept advice from anybody; he just threw the stones wherever it pleased him. One large rock he hurled to the north, and immediately there was a long crack that separated Isla Grande from the land behind it.<sup>20</sup>

Next he threw a stone southward and at once the big channel (Beagle) was formed. When he threw another stone eastward, the islands there separated.<sup>21</sup> And the stones that he aimed westward likewise tore away many islands. A piece of land detached itself from each spot to which Táiyin had thrown a rock with his sling.

Soon the homeland of the Selknam had been cut off so far from the surrounding land that it formed but one huge island. Thinking it over, Kaux considered this to be more than enough. He told Táiyin, his grandson: "Now that is enough! Don't throw any more rocks or we will lose everything!" So Táiyin stopped hurling rocks with his sling, for the people now had plenty of pure water.

Next Táiyin sprinkled the clean water in all directions. Where it fell, new springs and lagoons, streams and lakes were formed; and so one encounters water in all regions today. Táiyin drank at once, for he is always and everywhere the first to drink the water. He must also be the first to eat of everything; and only then do the other people take their turn. He is a great shaman to this very day.<sup>22</sup> After this, all the other people also drank and gathered everything they could find in the water.<sup>23</sup> They were very happy and contented.

Táiyin gave his grandfather many more instructions. The latter was to fulfill all that Táiyin had ordered, above all to distribute the land. Order

<sup>19</sup>The region by Cabo San Pablo, at the southeastern shore of the Great Island.

<sup>20</sup>I.e., separated from the mainland, through the formation of the Strait of Magellan.

<sup>21</sup>The Staten Islands which in clear air can be plainly seen with the naked eye from the southeastern point of the Great Island.

<sup>22</sup>These words allude to this bird's real or supposed habit of being the first to eat of the ripening fruits early in the morning. Thus the right to the newborn things in nature belongs to him. Possibly his way of sucking nectar from flowers inspired this popular belief.

<sup>23</sup>From then on they had unrestricted freedom to look for food in the water.



should prevail that the people be content, so that all might live well. He said: "My grandfather, you arrange everything well! Divide up all the land, for I won't be coming back here any more. I shall not interfere again in the business of these people!" Kaux at once dispatched a couple of men to hunt guanacos and bring them back. All ate and were content. They thanked Táiyin from the heart. Then he returned to the north again, for that was really his homeland.<sup>24</sup>

Táiyin was a wise man. He lived a life of order, was skilled in all kinds of work, and was an excellent hunter. Besides that, he instructed other men in these tasks, teaching them well. When he had killed Táita with his sling, he took the evil woman's bow and arrows and showed them to the people, for until that moment they had not known of such weapons. Without Táita's permission nobody had been allowed to work or to undertake anything; lacking weapons nobody could kill animals. Only she herself went hunting in those days, and to all the others she gave nothing but a very small part of her catch. Therefore, the people had had only very little to eat so long as Táita herself distributed the meat. The people also suffered great thirst because she had allowed them but a few drops of water. Sometimes she made Kaux, who was a relative, give little pieces of meat to the people.

Meanwhile, Táiyin had departed for his home in the north, no more to return. From that time on no bird with that name has ever been seen on the Great Island.<sup>25</sup> But, since Táiyin had showed the people Táita's bow and arrow,<sup>26</sup> the men copied these weapons and went hunting with them. They are in use even today.

Kaux had sat down together with the other men. They talked among themselves: "Now we want to consider making such weapons for ourselves, too." They pondered long, saying: "Every man shall make such weapons for himself!" They immediately got busy; each making a bow and arrows for himself. Then they went hunting and successfully killed guanacos in this manner.

<sup>24</sup>On the real mainland, north of the Strait of Magellan, which he himself had just formed.

<sup>25</sup>The people had no precise idea of the appearance of this very small bird. Considering its characteristics and comparing this myth with the Yamana myth "*Cilawáia-wátuwa*," only the Chilean hummingbird (*Eustephanus galleritus*) can be meant. It is rarely seen in Tierra del Fuego.

<sup>26</sup>He showed them how to handle these weapons which, on the basis of this myth, had not previously been used by men. Whether they did not know about them at all or were not allowed to make them is not evident from the story itself.

*Informant:* Tóin; pp. 613–616.

*Summary*

Powerful woman terrorizes country, controls water supply during drought so that people die of thirst. In despair they send for bird helper who kills evil woman. Blood spurts out and contaminates waterways, some of which are purified by Táiyin. With stones from sling latter creates island, lakes, lagoons, and channels. Before leaving he instructs people about the distribution of the land and in usage of bow and arrows. (Origin of weapons.)

*Motif content*

|              |                                                                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A522.2.      | Bird as culture hero.                                                             |
| A526.2.      | Culture hero as mighty hunter.                                                    |
| A526.7.      | Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill.                     |
| A531.        | Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.                                        |
| A541.        | Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.                                             |
| A560.        | Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.                                             |
| A901.        | Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero.                   |
| A920.1.      | Origin of lakes.                                                                  |
| A920.2.      | Origin of sea channels.                                                           |
| A925.2.      | Origin of sea's color.                                                            |
| A930.1.      | Creator of rivers.                                                                |
| A934.2.      | Rivers formed where certain stones are placed.                                    |
| A955.6. +.   | Islands from stones cast by hero. (A955.6. Islands from stones cast by giantess.) |
| A955.11.     | Islands originally form continent, later separated.                               |
| A1111.       | Impounded water.                                                                  |
| A1458.       | Origin of hunting.                                                                |
| A1459.1.1.   | Origin of bows and arrows.                                                        |
| B450.        | Helpful birds.                                                                    |
| D474.2.      | Transformation: water becomes bloody.                                             |
| D1486.1.     | Magic stone makes rivers and lakes.                                               |
| D2151.2.3.1. | Evil spirit holds back water.                                                     |
| F661.        | Skillful marksman.                                                                |
| F838.        | Extraordinary knife.                                                              |
| G260.        | Evil deeds of witches.                                                            |
| G464. +.     | Ogre tyrannizes over land. (G464. Ogre tyrannizes over fairyland.)                |
| G512.1.2.    | Ogre decapitated.                                                                 |



|           |                                                                                                          |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| G512.8.2. | Ogre killed by striking with stones.                                                                     |
| G530.     | Ogre's relative aids hero.                                                                               |
| G551.     | Rescue from ogre by relative.                                                                            |
| K2350.    | Military strategy.                                                                                       |
| L311.     | Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter.                                                               |
| M207.     | Land grants (bargains).                                                                                  |
| N838.     | Hero (culture hero) as helper.                                                                           |
| P426.1.1. | First of animals and fruits belong to priest.                                                            |
| Q276.     | Stinginess punished.                                                                                     |
| S132.     | Murder by starvation.                                                                                    |
| W152.     | Stinginess.                                                                                              |
| W155.5.+. | Permission refused to drink from water supply. (W155.5.<br>Permission refused to drink from water tank.) |

## 18. HOW THE WOODPECKER KILLS THE SELFISH WOMAN

Was<sup>27</sup> was Kákač's<sup>28</sup> grandson; both lived near Cabo María. One day Kákač said to his grandson: "Today you have to paint my whole head red!" The woodpecker had decided to kill that powerful and selfish woman there on the beach. She always had a lot of meat from sea lions and penguins, but to other people she gave only very little. She kept everything for herself,<sup>29</sup> and that had greatly annoyed the woodpecker as well.<sup>30</sup> He left for the place where the selfish woman lived. He went all alone. "I will see if I can kill that selfish woman!" he said to himself.

As Kákač came close he saw the woman sitting on the ground busy with something. The woodpecker did not want to show himself, so he dug a furrow in the ground, along which he advanced by creeping on his knees. Thus he crawled as far as Cabo Peñas. Very cautiously he came

<sup>27</sup>The large fox, *Canis magellanicus*, of Tierra del Fuego, the only kind of fox living on the Isla Grande.

<sup>28</sup>The large woodpecker, *Ipocrantor magellanicus*. Both sexes have black feathers; the male's head and neck are crimson. It is seen frequently.

<sup>29</sup>Doubtless Táita is meant, the principal person in the preceding story, popular in the south. The present variant is better known in the northern part of the Great Island from where the storyteller comes. Not until I asked did Hórex pronounce Táita's name, which he had not mentioned while telling this story.

<sup>30</sup>Before going off to battle, the men sometimes rubbed their heads with dry red soil, but more often their entire bodies.

nearer to her. Now he was close enough. Suddenly grabbing the woman by the feet, he knocked her over, and quickly shoved her into the water. But the powerful woman suddenly reached for him, seized him by the tongue, pulled it out, and drew it far down. She had almost grabbed him by the neck! Since that time the woodpecker has remained rather stupid and awkward.<sup>31</sup> Even today his tongue is still very long and bent outward.

Then Kákač went home again carrying two big birds.<sup>32</sup> When the fox saw him coming he was pleased, jumped up, and said: "Here comes my grandfather with two birds. Now we will eat well!" Immediately he called Kósitos,<sup>33</sup> his sister, and said to her: "Come quickly, my sister! Look what grandfather is bringing us! I see him carrying two birds in his hand." Both were very happy.

Soon the grandfather entered the hut. The fox said to him: "Where did you go to get these birds? Why did you go alone this time?" To this he (woodpecker) answered, still trembling with fear: "I was in great danger; I barely saved myself! Now I have finally killed that selfish woman. She was very strong. Nevertheless, I saved myself. Until now nobody could go near her. It was I who finally finished her off!"

All the people in the camp quickly came to his hut and Kákač told them everything. They were very content and happy over this. Woodpecker said to them: "Get ready now; tomorrow we'll go to that place!" Kósitos then cried: "I want to come, too, so as to eat my fill! There must be something for me too! But if you don't want to give me anything I'll stay home!" The others said: "We'll give you enough, just come with us!" To this the mouse replied: "But you have to give me the piece I want!" She wanted the belly parts because these contain much fat.

Next morning the people went to the beach. A good relative said to the mouse: "Come closer now and choose a piece for yourself!" But an older man had already dismembered the animals and allotted everybody certain pieces of meat.<sup>34</sup> For the mouse he had picked just any piece. When she saw it she was displeased and put on an angry face. The other people noticed this and offered her another good part. But the mouse did not like this either and said: "My children don't eat such pieces; they would like

<sup>31</sup>This the Indians base on the woodpecker's incessant pecking with his beak and on the simultaneous, constant, and sudden movements of his head.

<sup>32</sup>Not even after my specific question was I told in what manner he had acquired the birds.

<sup>33</sup>A small rodent, belonging to the Muridae, of which there are many kinds.

<sup>34</sup>It was an established custom that larger animals, especially a stranded whale, were dismembered by certain men.

to have the belly part!" The mouse whined and begged for so long, constantly interrupting, that the people finally gave her what she wanted.

The man who had attended to the distribution remained very serious, not saying a word. When he reached for the stomach parts the mouse whined even louder, begging: "My little children are very cold. They're freezing. I don't want anything except these stomach parts!" So the man gave her these pieces, and finally she was content. The other people said: "Yes, to you the belly part tastes best!" Since that time the mouse always picks out these parts when she eats.

Then all the people pitched camp there on the beach and ate. That selfish woman had accumulated large quantities of meat, stacking up all sorts of sea and land animals. To the others she had given only very small pieces, so that the people had always been very hungry. But because Kákač had killed the selfish woman, the people could distribute the whole supply among themselves. It lasted a long time.<sup>35</sup>

*Informant:* Hótex; pp. 617–618.

#### *Summary*

Stingy woman controls people's food supply, starving them. Woodpecker kills her, but in struggle she pulls his tongue. (Origin of woodpecker's long tongue.) Meat is distributed among people; mouse asks for and gets stomach parts. Since then this is mouse's favorite food.

#### *Motif content*

- |          |                                                               |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| A522.2.  | Bird as culture hero.                                         |
| A526.7.  | Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill. |
| A531.    | Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.                    |
| A547.    | Culture hero dispenses food and hospitality.                  |
| A2213.4. | Animal characteristics changed by stretching.                 |
| A2321.3. | Origin of woodpecker's crest.                                 |

<sup>35</sup>This story mainly purports to explain the depression in the land between Cabo María and Cabo Peñas and, more remotely, the body build of the woodpecker and the habits of the mouse.

Táita is also characterized as *čánem*. At the distribution of the land she had been given possession of the twenty-first district, that is, the area on both sides of Cabo Peñas. She is supposed to be the first female *xon*, and possessed terrible power. With the strength of her eyes she was able to kill a person far away or to attract him irresistibly, "as one inhales air while breathing." Only Kaux managed to stop her; he let his grandson come to kill this dangerous woman. The terrible evil, which a shaman sends against some person to kill him quickly, is called *čánem*. Thus Táita is probably the prototype of a *čánem*, which suitably can be paraphrased as the personification of a shaman's power to kill.

|              |                                                                                          |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2344. +.    | Origin and nature of woodpecker's tongue. (A2344. Origin and nature of animal's tongue.) |
| A2411.2.4.1. | Color of woodpecker.                                                                     |
| A2435.3.7.   | Food of mouse.                                                                           |
| A2537. +.    | Why woodpecker is stupid. (A2537. Why animal is stupid.)                                 |
| B461.1.      | Helpful woodpecker.                                                                      |
| G464. +.     | Ogre tyrannizes over land. (G464. Ogre tyrannizes over fairyland.)                       |
| G512.        | Ogre killed.                                                                             |
| G551.        | Rescue from ogre by relative.                                                            |
| L121.        | Stupid hero.                                                                             |
| L311.        | Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter.                                               |
| N838.        | Hero (culture hero) as helper.                                                           |
| Q276.        | Stinginess punished.                                                                     |
| Q467.        | Punishment by drowning.                                                                  |
| S131.        | Murder by drowning.                                                                      |
| W152.        | Stinginess.                                                                              |

## 19. HOW THE LAND WAS DISTRIBUTED

After the dangerous Táita had been killed each man had his weapons with which he hunted and slew guanacos. Kaux now said to the people: "I shall give each family a particular piece of land that shall belong to them (as their property). Each family must stay within its region, and only there may the men (who belong) hunt and the women gather!"<sup>36</sup>

When our country (the Isla Grande) was divided every family owned its piece of land. Nobody was allowed to go into other areas.<sup>37</sup> Kaux said: "He who crosses the boundary line is to be killed! No one shall hunt or gather on other people's property!" Kaux himself remained with his family on his own piece of land. He left the other people undisturbed.

That evil Táita never wanted the men to have anything, yet she herself had a hand in everything. The others had to submit to her moods; therefore she was killed. The people wished no repetition of what had

<sup>36</sup>To take for one's own every usable object or to hunt some animal or other was allowed the individual only within that area belonging to his family or kindred, from whom he himself was descended.

<sup>37</sup>Consequently express permission was necessary to visit other areas. On certain occasions these barriers of the family property were generally suspended.



happened before; they did not want to be wholly dependent upon one person; they did not want to be under a sole command. Only Kaux did they obey until he had arranged everything and distributed all the land.

Since then everyone (every kin group) is independent in his own territory. Kaux said: "In the future it must not be as before when Táita lived! When one single person commands everybody, then it happens the way it was before. We would kill such a one, as it happened to that dangerous Táita!" Therefore there is nobody among us Selknam who commands all the other people. Everyone (every kinsman) is free in his (family) territory.

Thus did Kaux assign a piece of land to each family group. In distributing the whole Great Island he began with the people from the south:

1. *Sáuwes*: The broad strip of land that surrounds Bahía Aguirre on all three sides. It was given to *Sáuweskáishk*. He later also died here in the south.
2. *Yáiuwa*: This is the name of the stretch of coast from Cabo San Diego to Cabo Buen Suceso; it extends only a short distance into the interior to a line between Caleta Thetis and Bahía Valentín. *Asčix* was given this piece. He was a brave, able man, and particularly strong in battle. He was killed in the first great war. At that time he alone had had to cope with many men, all of whom were against him. Therefore he finally had to yield. On a rock by Cabo San Diego one still sees the impression in the stone where *Asčix* sank down on both knees.
3. *Omákaš*: This borders on the previously mentioned territory. *Kóriken* (the spectacled ibis, *Theristicus melanopis*) got it.
4. *Šáko*: This elongated stretch of land from Caleta Policarpo to Bahía Valentín was assigned to *Káper* (the large albatross, *Diomedea exulans*).<sup>38</sup>
5. *Mášakš*: The share that *Oixála* got is on the beach by Caleta Policarpo. When he died he turned into a mountain ridge by the aforementioned Caleta. There one still sees the many bones of whales that he had caused to beach there. Precisely because of this Kaux had assigned him this territory, since he had to pull many

<sup>38</sup>The high cliffs of this bay, somewhat unprotected, are furiously lashed by waves from the south-east; stormbirds from the high seas therefore come somewhat closer to the steep shore during violent storms.

whales onto the beach. He handled the sling with exceptional strength.

6. *Málkač*: This region is much more vast than the preceding one. It was given to Tamkešáiston, who now lives in the sea.
7. *Lásēmš*: This territory is very large. Keyáišk (the cormorant, *Phalacrocorax atriceps*) got it.<sup>39</sup>
8. *Teiš*: This territory is small but has a good beach. Ksámenk (the larger dolphin) had to be content with it.
9. *Káuкеčēn*: This stretch of land is very narrow and small. Póta (the large seagull) got it. After all, she needed but a limited area for she was a widow with two small sons, very pretty children. Since the family numbered so few, this small place was enough for her; it had sufficient coastline. Póta herself was unbearable and very powerful. Nobody dared to approach her hut, for she wanted to be alone. The other people always brought her something to eat;<sup>40</sup> but they only laid the pieces of meat for her on the beach. Then the widow herself came, picked up the meat, and carried it to her hut.
10. *Kal*: This extremely large territory was allotted to Čénuke, who, after all, was a close relative of Kaux. His property begins at the northeast coast and includes the whole southern shore of Lago Fagnano. Čénuke was a powerful shaman whose power extended far and wide. Once he had tried to rule over all the other people, for his family was very numerous, but they resisted him successfully. Later, Čénuke ascended to the clouds. He is that star which comes out very late. He always appears with his two wives, he himself standing between them.
11. *Lólek*: From Cabo San Pablo this narrow stretch of land extends into the interior, along the Río Larrazabal and the Río Ladrillero. This was sufficient for Kax (the bald buzzard, *Buteo poliosomus*). He used to be a clever *xon*.
12. *Šáremšos*: This territory is very small; it is located by the Río Ewan. Here there were several lagoons where wild geese flocked together. One of these lagoons was particularly rich in fish.

<sup>39</sup>Very many of these birds nest in the high sandstone walls on both shores of this territory, especially near Caleta Irigoyen.

<sup>40</sup>The other people in her neighborhood were obliged to assist her, precisely because she, as a widow alone in the world, was allowed to claim support from others.

Anakláuin (the falcon, *Circus cinereus*) was allotted this small piece of land. He had excellent traps, like those the people use even today; they were very suitable and had numerous snares.<sup>41</sup> As a relative of Čénuke he was given land near the latter.

13. *Héučenb*: This territory was very small and was allotted to Ootáčix. He needed only enough land to be able to catch foxes, for which he had very peculiar traps. Each of these was like a net hung about with mussel shells. Whenever a fox was caught in it, it jingled (like a bell). He ran there at once and seized the fox. Therefore Ootáčix never slept during the night. In his territory there was also a lagoon with many fish, on which he lived. Since Ootáčix was also a close relative of Čénuke he got his piece of land adjoining the latter's property.
  14. *Táne*: This piece of land was likewise very small, but close to Čénuke's territory. Čénuke was a relative of Káuyotkin (a small bird) to whom this land was allotted. Here there was a lagoon, and on its shores were good, white stones. From these Káuyotkin made excellent arrowheads, with which he easily hunted down many guanacos.
  15. *Awa*: This territory was very large; today it is owned by the Bridges brothers. It was given to Kótkolen (the swan, *Cygnus melanocoryphus*).
  16. *Nákenk*: This piece of land was also very large. It was allotted to Soikáten (the squid, *Loligo subulata*).
  17. *Šaipóot*: This region, which is today owned by the Bridges brothers, is located on both sides of the Río del Fuego. It was assigned to Tálamsős. He was very brave but died in the first war.
  18. *Hámenk*: This large territory lies west of the Río Candelaria. It was given to Ktátu (ground owl, *Speotyto cunicularia*). He was the best and most famous *xon* that one has ever seen here. Later he turned into a bird and today he builds his nest in the ground.
  19. *Atpei*: This territory borders on Kámi (Lago Fagnano). It was allotted to Kemánta (the small dolphin).
  20. *Yéwux*: This large region is located by the northwestern shore of Kámi. It was given to Elankáiyink (the biggest whale, *Balaenoptera*), a relative of Kaux.
  21. *Hósi*: This piece of land was located on both sides of Cabo Peñas. It was given to the dangerous Čánem.
- Consequently all the family groups in the south were provided for.

<sup>41</sup>By this is meant the long, generally used snare for birds.

Each had received its piece of land. Now Kaux commenced assignment to the people of the northerly region of their territories as permanent family property.

22. *Kášen*: This territory was located on the northern bank of the Río Grande, bordering the ocean. It was given to Šémkol, a famous shaman.
23. *Wái*: This region was assigned to Nóstén. He was an ancestor of Catalina Alamšarke, who was originally from the northern group.
24. *Elk*: This region near Bahía San Sebastián fell to Elkotélen. He was a little man with a very long penis.
25. *Kóšer*: This region extended as far as the Strait of Magellan and also included the northeastern corner of the Isla Grande. Wašár got it as his property.
26. *Honhpáxten*: This region extended from Bahía Lomas far into the interior of the Isla. It was allotted to Kekáitel.
27. *Orukwántke*: This stretch of land was given to a woman called Košpáše.
28. *Šóškes*: That is the whole peninsula before Primera Angostura, bordered by the Río Side and the Río Oscar. This big piece was given over to Kaukmiélek.
29. *Yáyi*: This region borders the previous one on the west. Aterxápen became its owner.
30. *Kolyámen*: This is the name of the peninsula that is located in front of Segunda Angostura. Tápswen got it.
31. *Háiyuwel*: There are many lakes in this territory. It was assigned to Anien, since his family liked to gather fish.
32. *Karkámen*: This piece of land is on both sides of Cabo Boquerón. Alexušl got it. (Breaking up this name into *ále* = "head" and *xušl* = "grass" gives "strawhead".)
33. *Koréšken*: This district borders on the interior northern shore of Bahía Inútil. It was acquired by Kéuwas.
34. *Hámhmam*: Within these borders there are a few lagoons. Here Kauwéri with his family took possession.
35. *Kawáiyen*: This is a small area and belonged to Hóntes who was much appreciated everywhere as a clever *xon*.
36. *Káaktar*: This piece of land extends along the shore of Bahía Inútil. It was given over to Taštáper.
37. *Káuxšel*: The area comprises the southwestern corner by Bahía Inútil. It is very large and extends eastward as far as the mountain range. Here Pári was the owner.
38. *Káuwes*: This district was in the interior, at the foot of the moun-



rains which rise more to the south. Here there are several lakes. It was given over to Čáškelp.

39. *Héur*: This piece of land is also located in the interior of the Isla Grande. It is small, but sufficient for Nóšper and his family.

Henceforth, all people possessed their particular territory, and here each family was at home. Kaux then went to the territory of his relatives, to Náxašal near Cabo San Pablo, and left the other people to themselves. That is why there is no single man among the Selknam who governs and commands all the other people. Thus it has always been among them and that way it is good.<sup>42</sup>

*Informant not named*; pp. 619–623.

### *Summary*

After death of evil tyrant the land is distributed among family groups, each group to be sovereign within its own area, as safeguard against future tyranny.

### *Motif content*

|           |                                                                    |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A185.     | Deity cares for favorite individuals.                              |
| A530.     | Culture hero establishes law and order.                            |
| A761.     | Ascent to stars. People or animals ascend to sky and become stars. |
| A962.1.   | Mountain from part of deity's (hero's) body.                       |
| A972.5.4. | Indentations on rocks from weapons, knees, and elbows.             |
| A1582.+.  | Origin of lack of government. (A1582. Origin of government.)       |
| A1587.2.  | Tabus instituted by culture hero.                                  |
| A1620.    | Distribution of tribes.                                            |
| A2433.1.  | Establishment of animal haunt.                                     |
| A2433.4.  | Haunts of birds.                                                   |
| D152.3.   | Transformation: man to vulture.                                    |
| D153.2.   | Transformation: man to owl.                                        |
| D291.     | Transformation: man to mountain.                                   |
| D293.     | Transformation: man to star.                                       |
| F547.3.1. | Long penis.                                                        |
| F610.3.   | Warrior of special strength.                                       |
| F679.5.   | Skillful hunter.                                                   |
| F887.+.   | Extraordinary traps. (F887. Extraordinary implements.)             |

<sup>42</sup>With the help of several men I mapped the districts in the south. For the northern half of the Isla Grande old Catalina Alamsárke determined the boundaries. This precise territorial division remained valid until very recently.

|         |                              |
|---------|------------------------------|
| J355.1. | The widow's meal.            |
| J643.   | Care against future tyranny. |
| M207.   | Land grants (bargains).      |
| Q276.   | Stinginess punished.         |
| W152.   | Stinginess.                  |

## 20. THE STORY OF THE DOLPHINS

Once a woman walked along the beach gathering fish. Keen of hearing, she was listening with half an ear when she perceived a dull noise, which sounded as though the earth were rumbling. It was still far off in the distance, but kept coming closer. She listened some more; the noise grew nearer. Her parents and relatives noticed nothing. Therefore she quickly ran to her parents' hut and said: "I heard a dull rumbling there on the beach! It is still far off in the distance, but it keeps coming closer. What can it be?" Her parents replied: "We haven't heard anything. What can it be?" Immediately all ran to the beach. Here they heard the dull noise, too, as though the earth was rumbling far out there, and the waves were roaring very loudly. They said: "Very bad weather is on its way!"

That is how it always is. When very bad weather approaches, one can first hear a dull, heavy rolling far in the distance and feel the earth trembling. And so those people said: "Now bad weather will come and much snow will fall!" All prepared themselves. Such bad weather always comes from the east (or the southeast).

As the dull noise drew ever closer all the people became very frightened. The woman of good hearing said to her kinfolk: "We have to protect and save ourselves from the storm!" To which her relatives replied: "Yes, we have to leave this country quickly. It is best to go into the sea!"

But Kemánta,<sup>43</sup> the husband of that woman, could not swim, and said: "You may go into the water, but I'm going to crawl up on that rock. When the storm is over I will return to the territory of my family." Anxiously his wife replied: "That is impossible, you have to come with the rest of us!" But he told her: "Just leave me, there is nothing else to be done. Later I shall look for my family. I can't follow you, after all!" Then

<sup>43</sup>He and his relatives are now all dolphins.

his wife urged him even more, saying: "But come with us! We can't leave you here alone! In that other world (of the water) it is nice too. Come now!" Immediately his brothers-in-law seized him by the arm and pulled him from the rock. But when he had gotten to the beach and was standing close to the water he again became very frightened. After all, he did not know how to swim.

Once more the people crowded him, again grabbed him by the arm, and started three times to run for the water. At the last moment Kemánta always stopped and forced his way back. Finally his brothers-in-law grabbed him more firmly and pushed him straight into the water. Then they all jumped after him.

Kemánta sank. But they immediately lifted him above the water. Yet he was unable to stay there and sank again, and again the others lifted him. In this way it went on for some time. Each time Kemánta sank, his brothers-in-law, the Ksámenk, immediately lifted him above the surface of the water. They all stayed together. Finally, Kemánta learned how to swim! The whole family rejoiced and swam farther out into the ocean. They did not return to land, but stayed forever in their new home, the sea.

Fear of the snow had driven them into the sea. In fact, powerful Xóše<sup>44</sup> had meanwhile converged on them with all his people. That was the first time this powerful man came to our region. Even today he always announces his arrival with a dull rumbling. Everyone immediately seeks shelter from him; just like that woman with the keen hearing. Her father had been a great shaman, but she herself was very clever and cautious as well.

The families of Ksámenk and Kemánta remained together in the ocean forever. One can often see them; they like it there very much. One also sees how Kemánta lifts himself slightly above the surface of the water and then dives down again; then his brothers-in-law lift him up again. Thus they constantly go up and down when they move through the water, although by now Kemánta knows how to swim a little.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup>Snow is also introduced in other stories as a strong man with a powerful army nobody can resist.

<sup>45</sup>This myth has a distinctly explanatory character. Bad storms come nearly exclusively from the east or southeast and announce their arrival with a loud roar. When heavy rain approaches, the splashing of the big drops from far away gives the impression of a dull murmuring. The same happens when the snowstorm lightly ripples the waves and pushes them ahead of itself. The movements of the dolphins are beautifully rendered in this tale. As is well known, these animals always cut through the water in the company of other dolphins, which is here interpreted as family affection. [Ed.—*In fact, whales, including dolphins, do assist their young by keeping them from sinking, especially while learning to swim.*]

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 623–625.

### *Summary*

Family takes shelter in sea from approaching storm. Man who cannot swim is supported by brothers-in-law who lift him whenever he sinks. (Origin of dolphin's swimming movements.) From then on they all remain in sea.

### *Motif content*

- |               |                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2212.2. +.   | Frightened dolphins take refuge in sea; cause of present habitat. (A2212.2. Frightened animals scatter; cause of present habitat of each.) |
| A2444.2.      | Why dolphins swim up and down.                                                                                                             |
| D127.5.       | Transformation: man to dolphin.                                                                                                            |
| D1812.5.0.15. | Weather signs.                                                                                                                             |
| F641.         | Person of remarkable hearing.                                                                                                              |
| R310. +.      | Refuge from storm in sea. (R310. Refuges.)                                                                                                 |

## The Flood

### 21. A FLOOD MYTH

Once in the old days there came so much water that our whole country was flooded. The water rose higher and higher, eventually even covering the mountains.

The people saw the great water approaching. To save themselves they ran out on the rocks, some turning into sea lions and others into birds. Afterward all the water subsided. That is why the sea lions and the birds today like to sit on rocks and sandbanks.

All this water had come because the shamans of those days had not paid attention soon enough when the water drew near. They should have stopped it and pushed it back.

After a long time the great water sought to rise again to flood our homeland. But this time the great shamans noticed it early enough. They gathered together and united their strength. Against so many powerful *xon* the great water could not prevail. It could rise no further, and so the people and animals continued to live unharmed.



*Informant not named; p. 625.*

### *Summary*

Failure of shamans to take appropriate measures results in universal flood. People flee to the rocks, turning into sea lions and birds. Wise from experience, shamans put down waters next time flood threatens.

### *Motif content*

|          |                                                                             |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A1010.   | Deluge.                                                                     |
| A1018.   | Flood as punishment.                                                        |
| A1020.   | Escape from deluge.                                                         |
| A2433.2. | Various haunts of animals.                                                  |
| D127.+.  | Transformation: man to sea lion. (D127. Transformation: man to sea mammal.) |
| D150.    | Transformation: man to bird.                                                |
| D2140.   | Magic control of the elements.                                              |

## The Ancestors

### 22. CLEVER KAŠKÓYUK

It was at the time of the great war. Kaškóyuk's people were camped near San Policarpo. The men had kindled a large fire, and sat there waiting for the women and children, who were to follow after them.<sup>46</sup>

Very many enemies had ranged themselves against this group, chiefly intent on Kaškóyuk himself. Each time he had managed to come out of the battle safely. Thus far nobody had reached him, for he had excellent weapons. His opponents would have liked to take these away from him, but no one could come close enough.

That day, however, two daring men from the enemy group finally succeeded in stealing his wife, dragged her off with them, and ran far away.

<sup>46</sup>During times of fighting between groups the men used to confront the enemy in closed ranks. Women and children, in their turn, also stayed together but took to hidden paths or waited during the late afternoon in a good hiding place before setting up the common camp on an agreed-upon spot. Thus it is explained that the men's group had to wait for that of the women and children. The opposite was also common in accordance with events at the time.

Soon Kaškóyuk noticed that his wife was missing. His elder brother said to him: "What are we going to do now? The other people are going to laugh at us! It's best to follow the tracks of those men who have dragged off my sister-in-law!" Kaškóyuk answered: "Certainly; I can't leave my wife in the hands of those men. Let's follow their tracks!" The two set out immediately, following quickly on those tracks. Soon they were close to the camp of their opponents, unnoticed by the two men whom they had followed for so long.

On the way Kaškóyuk's wife had steadily lagged a little behind her two captors, pretending not to be able to keep up with them. At first the men pushed her and drove her on to come with them. But she soon fell a little behind once again, increasing the distance between herself and the two men.

When these three people had gotten closer to the camp the cunning woman was very far from the two men, and closer to her husband and her brother-in-law who were following. But Kaškóyuk with his brother did not yet dare to snatch his wife away from those two men; they were quite alone in the midst of so many enemies.

Meanwhile, the woman had reached the camp, closely guarded by the men.<sup>47</sup> The following morning the people broke camp, and marched on. There was a war going on and nobody stayed in the same place. Those two men again took Kaškóyuk's wife between them; thus they marched on. But the woman soon again fell a little bit behind the two men, steadily increasing the distance. Finally the woman followed so very slowly that she was scarcely moving at all.

Thus the three of them had fallen considerably behind the rest, the woman dragging herself on with great effort; but one of the men still stayed close to her. The other had meanwhile hurried after his group as the distance had already grown too wide. A few steps further and the woman stopped. The man, already far ahead of her, also stopped and waited for her to catch up with him. He sat down and kindled a fire. After some time the woman finally arrived and sat down beside him.

The two of them were all alone. The man started to caress the woman, embraced her, and put himself on top of her. She did not stop him for, unnoticed, she had looked back to see her husband quite close. Kaškóyuk secretly gave his wife a sign to cover the man completely with her fur cloak, which she did at once. In the meantime the two brothers had put their arrows to the bow, let fly quickly, and pierced the man right

<sup>47</sup>This they did to prevent the woman from escaping in the darkness of the night.

through. He lay there dead, just as he was embracing the woman. At the same time the woman was slightly hurt; an arrow had pierced her breast a little.<sup>48</sup> Although at first she cried, the wound was not large and only a little blood flowed. She was a fine woman!

It had long been dark. The people from that group wondered: "Why doesn't that man come, he who fell behind with Kaškóyuk's wife? Can anything have happened to him on the way?" The following morning two younger men of the group went back the same way to look for those two. When Kaškóyuk and his brother saw those young men approaching they hid. The men were running fast, very worried, sensing that something bad had happened.

Kaškóyuk and his brother had the following plan: each fixed his eyes upon one man, at whom he wanted to take aim! The two men had now come close; the two brothers let fly their arrows, each one against his man, and in the same instant those two fell to the ground dead.

Then Kaškóyuk went back with his brother to that safe place where his hut stood. His wife also went along. Not until later did the other people find the bodies of those two men, remarking: "Kaškóyuk has killed them!"

He was always very cunning and clever, striking fear in the hearts of his adversaries. Nobody could get at him; each time he escaped them. His wife was beautiful beyond measure. Kaškóyuk had told her earlier: "Should someone manage to kidnap you, then follow him and his people very slowly. Drag yourself after them with difficulty. Always stay far behind the group. I'll come after them and free you! Pay attention to the sign that I'll give you!" This time his wife behaved as her husband had advised, and so was set free by him.

Thus Kaškóyuk had killed many a man among his opponents. He had a particularly strong bow, like white stone, bright and shining. His knife and the rest of his tools were of the same material, the envy of many a man.

The two brothers<sup>49</sup> loved each other very much, and always stuck together. Equally clever and cunning, these two occasionally stood all alone against a host of enemies. Nobody was able to kill them since they were so skillful. When both had grown very old they left this country. They did not die, but nobody knows where they are now.

<sup>48</sup>The arrow had penetrated the man so completely that it protruded on the other side of his body, wounding the woman beneath him.

<sup>49</sup>No one could tell me the name of this brother; it had already been completely forgotten, however surprising this may seem.

*Informant:* Čikiól; pp. 626–628.

*Summary*

During war great warrior's wife is abducted. According to his prior instructions, she deliberately slows down captors so that pursuing husband and brother-in-law can catch up. She diverts captors' attention; they are killed by pursuers. Latter also ambush and kill two scouts from abductors' group.

*Motif content*

|          |                                                                                                                             |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A515.1.  | Culture heroes brothers.                                                                                                    |
| A560.    | Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.                                                                                       |
| A564.    | Remarkable longevity of culture heroes.                                                                                     |
| A570.    | Culture hero still lives.                                                                                                   |
| F601.5.  | Extraordinary companions are brothers (twins, triplets).                                                                    |
| F610.3.  | Warrior of special strength.                                                                                                |
| F830.    | Extraordinary weapons.                                                                                                      |
| F836.    | Extraordinary bow.                                                                                                          |
| H1385.   | Quest for lost persons.                                                                                                     |
| H1385.3. | Quest for vanished wife (mistress).                                                                                         |
| K600.    | Murderer or captor otherwise beguiled.                                                                                      |
| K822.+.  | Woman distracts warrior so that husband may kill him.<br>(K822. Women draw warrior aside so that confederate may kill him.) |
| K2350.   | Military strategy.                                                                                                          |
| M340.5.  | Prediction of danger.                                                                                                       |
| N380.+.  | Wife accidentally shot. (N380. Other unlucky accidents.)                                                                    |
| P557.4.  | Customs concerning single combat.                                                                                           |
| Q213.    | Abduction punished.                                                                                                         |
| R10.     | Abduction.                                                                                                                  |
| R151.1.  | Husband rescues stolen wife.                                                                                                |
| R260.    | Pursuits.                                                                                                                   |
| Z210.    | Brothers as heroes.                                                                                                         |

### 23. KAŠKÓYUK AND SOIKÁTEN BECOME ENEMIES

Kaux lived where also Kaškóyuk had his abode, he being of the same family. Soon after Kaux had gone away Kaškóyuk started a war with the other people. He not only wanted to possess all the land of his family for



himself, but also that of his neighbors, to which end he persuaded Ksámenk and Alekspóot. These three men became the leaders. They gathered other men around them, and attacked the rest of the people. Kaškóyuk became particularly dangerous, conquering all and killing entire families. Thus there was mass murder there in Wákelyam.<sup>50</sup>

After the battle was over the three leaders conferred, then counted the dead. They noticed that one had escaped them, namely Tálamšos, who had fled and was keeping himself hidden.<sup>51</sup> Kaškóyuk wanted to know his whereabouts, and therefore called after him, mocking and ridiculing him in every way. He told himself: "I'll call him and laugh at him! When he hears that he'll answer for sure. Then I'll know his hiding place!"

Kaškóyuk now shouted in all directions: "See how cowardly Tálamšos has run away! What an ugly big belly; he looks like a pregnant woman!" These words displeased Tálamšos very much and annoyed him a good deal. Finally he called to the other one there: "Why are you shouting so loudly? You probably think that you alone are a *hautpán*?"<sup>52</sup> Now Kaškóyuk knew that he was far away, sitting in a tree. He said to himself: "I'll steal off there immediately! But I'll take another man along!" Meanwhile he called to Tálamšos: "You just go on yelling!" In the meantime strong Kaškóyuk was sneaking closer, closer, close enough to kill Tálamšos.

This is how it came about that the ugly and misshapen Soikáten was the only one left of the entire family. The men were talking among themselves: "That one we should let live. After all, he's deformed, and so there will be someone the people can make fun of!" Those men said to themselves: "We've killed all the others, but this cripple can't hurt us, after all!" Therefore they let him live, and each returned to his territory.

Soikáten was very sad, having lost all his relatives. Longing for revenge, he soon started to gather friends around him, raised a strong army, and the following summer came marching to attack Kaškóyuk's friends and relatives. Many were killed. He wanted a thorough revenge! Only after he had killed a large number of his enemies was Soikáten content. He had wreaked full vengeance.

He himself now approached Alekspóot, Kaškóyuk's best friend, a fast

<sup>50</sup>A flat and narrow strip of land north of the Río del Fuego.

<sup>51</sup>He had been allotted the seventeenth district, on both sides of the Río del Fuego. This geographical clue allows one to infer the far-reaching extent of that great war, insofar as mythological data permit.

<sup>52</sup>This word denotes a man with a particularly beautiful and excellent build.

runner nobody could catch. One day there he was on the beach; several women were just looking for fish. Soikáten approached unseen. Alekspóot finally noticed him, immediately jumped up, and ran away. But he cut his feet on some sharp stones, bled much, and could no longer run well. Soikáten came closer and closer to his adversary, shouting after him the while: "So, you laughed at me before and murdered my relatives. Now I'll pay you back!"

Soikáten's companions had stayed behind, for Alekspóot let a very strong light shine around his figure. Therefore nobody was able to approach him, with the exception of Soikáten, who finally caught up with his enemy and killed him on the spot. Then he also killed those women and children who were looking for fish on the beach, for they all belonged to Alekspóot's family. Only the latter's own children had saved themselves in time.

Kaškóyuk himself had fled very early, and none among his adversaries knew his hiding place. Soikáten said: "Too bad that so far he has managed to escape me, but one day I'll catch him!" These words reached Kaškóyuk's ears, and he had the following message sent to Soikáten: "You will never see me again!"

Since that time, no one has ever laid eyes on Kaškóyuk. So he must still be alive, although no one knows where he lives. For a long time Soikáten's people tried everything to find Kaškóyuk. They wanted to kill him, but did not catch him. Yet Soikáten was satisfied; he had taken cruel revenge. For a long time he continued to live in his territory. Later he went into the sea and became the squid.<sup>53</sup> From sheer satisfaction he still kept his whole body painted white long after that fight. And even today he bears these markings.

*Informant:* Tóin; pp. 629–630.

### Summary

Land-hungry warrior (Kaškóyuk) and cohorts start mass killing of people. One of the few survivors is lured out from hiding place by mockery and killed. Only survivor (Soikáten) is spared for being a cripple. Latter raises army and defeats aggressors, kills Kaškóyuk's best friend and friend's family. Kaškóyuk disappears from the area forever; Soikáten becomes a squid.

<sup>53</sup>The squid, *Loligo subulata* Lam, is frequently seen near the coast in that region.

*Motif content*

|             |                                                                                                   |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2411.4. +. | Origin of color of squid. (A2411.4. Origin of color of fish.)                                     |
| D170. +.    | Transformation: man to squid. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.)                                |
| D1840.      | Magic invulnerability.                                                                            |
| F574.3.3.   | Hero luminous.                                                                                    |
| F681.       | Marvelous runner.                                                                                 |
| J582.       | Foolishness of premature coming out of hiding.                                                    |
| J647.       | Avoiding enemy's revenge.                                                                         |
| K515.       | Escape by hiding.                                                                                 |
| K810.       | Fatal deception into trickster's power.                                                           |
| L311.       | Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter.                                                        |
| N385.       | Unintentional injuries bring unfortunate consequences.                                            |
| N397.       | Accidental self-injury.                                                                           |
| P201. +.    | Enmity within family over ownership of land. (P201. Inherent enmity between members of a family.) |
| Q211.11.    | Punishment for wholesale massacre of tribe.                                                       |
| Q305.       | War-making punished.                                                                              |
| Q331.2.     | Vanity punished.                                                                                  |
| Q411.6.     | Death as punishment for murder.                                                                   |
| R311.       | Tree refuge.                                                                                      |
| W151.       | Greed.                                                                                            |
| X100.       | Humor of disability.                                                                              |
| Z356.       | Unique survivor.                                                                                  |

## 24. HOW OOTÁČIX CAUGHT THE FOXES

Ootáčix stemmed from the region near Kámi (Lago Fagnano). He had been given the (thirteenth) district of Héučenh, where he had built the hut in which he lived. He knew a very simple, clever way to catch foxes, by stretching out a large net and hanging *kos* shells<sup>54</sup> on it by thin sinew strings in many places. Almost every day a fox approached, and when it stepped into the net, the shells jingled. As soon as Ootáčix heard this sound he quickly reached for his cudgel, ran there, and slew the fox. He immediately pulled off its pelt, and stretched out the hide in his hut to dry. Consequently he had piled up a large number of furs, for almost every day a fox was caught in that net.

<sup>54</sup>Medium-sized mussels with white, flat, lightly ribbed oval shells (*Macra* sp.?).

In those days when powerful Kaškóyuk came marching from the north prepared for battle against the people of the south, he opened before him a wide path, a broad, free road. Thus he reached the region of Táusen (Río del Fuego). The areas through which he marched with his people became flat and level.<sup>55</sup>

Then he went even farther southward, coming to the region in which his nephew Ootácix was living. He wanted to tease him a little, for he knew that his nephew had set up a large net to catch foxes. He sneaked up to the net and with a stick made the shells sound. Then he quickly hid. As always, Ootácix came running up with his cudgel, looking for the fox. He inspected the net, found nothing, and said angrily: "But how could the fox escape? It has never happened before!" Annoyed, he went back to his hut.

After a while Ootácix heard the shells jingle again. He came running at once with his cudgel, looking for the fox in order to kill it. But again he found nothing, and repeated in anger: "How is it the fox escaped? That has never happened to me!" Sullenly he returned to his hut.

After a short while the shells sounded anew. He immediately grabbed his cudgel and hurried to the net, intent on killing the fox. Again he inspected his large net but found nothing. Now he thought: "Somebody must be teasing me!" Soon after that he called loudly: "Stop teasing me now!"

Only then did he look around more closely to see that Kaškóyuk's people had set up their hut and were camping there. No shred of doubt remained—Kaškóyuk had played these tricks to make a fool of him. Rushing immediately to their camp, he invited all of them to come to his hut. And so many men got up to join him.

The men looked into his large hut and saw the many fox pelts piled up there. Each man received a handsome fox for a coat. The men were many in number, but then Ootácix had a lot of coats. As he now distributed these to all of his uncle's men it turned out that there was exactly one robe for each man. Not a single robe was left, the number of coats being exactly equal to the number of men. The men were very surprised, and marveled at the great skill of Ootácix, who had skinned so many foxes. They said: "Ootácix is a very clever man!" This they also told later in their homeland.

<sup>55</sup>Here a phenomenon is related which returns in the myth of the origin of the *kina* festival among the Yamana; namely, that in all the places where the *kina*-playing women sat down the area immediately became flat and level.



*Informant:* Inxiól; pp. 630–632.

### *Summary*

Hunter catches many foxes with extraordinary net. His uncle, passing by with army, repeatedly tricks nephew into believing foxes are caught in net. Joke is discovered, nephew distributes fox skins among warriors and receives praise for his skill.

### *Motif content*

|          |                                                                 |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| A521.    | Culture hero as dupe or trickster.                              |
| A526.2.  | Culture hero as mighty hunter.                                  |
| A901.    | Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero. |
| F679.5.  | Skillful hunter.                                                |
| F887. +. | Extraordinary net. (F887. Extraordinary implements.)            |
| W11.     | Generosity.                                                     |

## 25. ABOUT THE FIRST WAR

Asčix was the first man to begin warring. It was he who invented war. A very brave man, he himself died in the first battle, however.<sup>56</sup>

In those days there lived a very dangerous and malevolent person, Támhken by name.<sup>57</sup> He was hated by all the people. When the first war broke out many men had designs chiefly upon him. He probably surmised as much, and realizing the danger, he quickly ran away from the place where the men were fighting each other. He stepped into the ocean and hid between the stones, pressing himself against them with all his might to hold on. Nobody was able to discover him.<sup>58</sup> Thus even today he still clings to the many stones by the seashore.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup>He was the owner of the second district. His final fate is briefly told in the myth about the distribution of the land.

<sup>57</sup>A mussel with conical shells (*Fissurella* sp.?).

<sup>58</sup>The explanatory element of this story is that the mussel, owing to its excellent protective coloring, can be differentiated only with great difficulty from the rock to which it clings.

<sup>59</sup>A similar idea underlies the reverence that the Yamana show the so-called *Patrona del mar*—Queen of the sea; it is a mussel that likewise sticks to the rocks and which, they say, pays close attention to all passing canoes.

*Informant:* Čikiól; p. 632.

*Motif content*

|           |                                                                      |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A1341.    | Origin of war among men.                                             |
| A2826. +. | Origin of mussels. (A2826. Origin of shells.)                        |
| D233. +.  | Transformation: man to mussel. (D233. Transformation: man to shell.) |
| K515.     | Escape by hiding.                                                    |
| Q285.     | Cruelty punished.                                                    |
| R316.     | Refuge on rock in sea.                                               |

## 26. THE STORY OF POWERFUL OIXÁLA

Oixála was a powerful man. He lived in the Mášakš territory,<sup>60</sup> was well disposed toward the people, and very strong and influential. Since he was related to Čáskels the latter did not want to kill him. Of course, Čáskels did not appreciate the beneficent behavior of Oixála toward the people, who fled to the Mášakš region where Oixála lived. In his presence they felt safe from evil Čáskels. Oixála had a powerful sling; with a single throw he could split a whale in half.

Since he was well disposed toward the people and because he protected them against evil Čáskels he was beloved by all. All knew that they were safe with him.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 632–633.

*Motif content*

|         |                                                               |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| A526.7. | Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill. |
| D1087.  | Magic sling.                                                  |
| G550.   | Rescue from ogre.                                             |
| R310.   | Refuges.                                                      |

<sup>60</sup>The name of the fifth district, the hilly country side near Bahía Policarpo, on the southeastern shore of the Isla Grande.

## 27. OF HANDSOME ALEKSPÓOT

Alekspóot<sup>61</sup> was an exceptionally handsome man of magnificent appearance. He shone almost like the sun; his skin was rosy-white. There never had been nor would there ever be such a handsome man as he. And so he was able to pick and choose among the girls when looking for a wife. Many courted him and finally he chose Táix,<sup>62</sup> the most beautiful woman of all.

At the time when the men attacked those deceitful women in the *klóketen*-hut, Alekspóot struck down his wife with his own hand. He was furious. Afterward she turned into the sea swallow. On her feathers one can still recognize the magnificent color of her husband's body, for this soft, warm, and shimmering pink was his skin color.<sup>63</sup>

*Informant:* Hálemink; p. 633.

*Motif content*

|              |                                                                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A1917.       | Creation of swallow.                                                        |
| A2411.2.1.4. | Color of swallow.                                                           |
| D151.1.+.    | Transformation: woman to swallow. (D151.1. Transformation: man to swallow.) |
| F527.        | Person of unusual color.                                                    |
| F575.1.      | Remarkably beautiful woman.                                                 |
| F575.2.      | Handsome man.                                                               |
| Q261.2.      | Treacherous wife punished.                                                  |

## 28. HOW ELKOTÉLEN LIVED

Elkotélen belonged to the people of the north. He owned Elk territory near Bahía San Sebastián, and there he lived.

He was a very small man, the size of a boy, but endowed with a long penis. The women were happy over this and liked to talk about it among themselves. Therefore Elkotélen was much sought after. He selected a very beautiful girl for his wife, who loved him dearly.

<sup>61</sup>He is also known as an excellent racer and participated in the great war.

<sup>62</sup>The sea swallow, "gaviotín," *Sterna hirundinacea* and *Sterna macrura*. The same bird also plays an important role in Yamana mythology.

<sup>63</sup>The Selknam greatly admire pale, pink coloring. Of such quality was the skin color of those two consorts, who rivaled each other in extraordinary beauty. So the comparison refers to the coloring of the sea swallow's feathers.

Both lived quite contentedly with each other, for Elkotélen did not run around much. He stayed in the hut most of the time, lying on his sleeping place. Then his wife often and with pleasure lay down beside him.<sup>64</sup>

*Informant:* Hótex; pp. 633.

*Motif content*

F547.3.1.            Long penis.

## 29. THE INVENTIONS OF KOKPÓMEČ

Kokpómeč<sup>65</sup> stemmed from the south. His father was Kehačónh, South himself. Kokpómeč was the first to introduce chanting among the shamans. He was also an imposing man, possessed of good judgment and great experience. He was always particularly lucky on the hunt, bringing home a big catch and distributing much of it to the other people. He himself seemed quite content. Excellent dogs helped him each time on the hunt, and thus he always succeeded in stalking deer.

Kokpómeč was also a *kexáalčen*,<sup>66</sup> knowing well how to make all kinds of tools and weapons. All his experiments were successful. Thus he invented a host of new things and instructed the people in their use. For many men he made bows and arrows. Kokpómeč, however, held himself aloof from the rest of the men. After all, he needed nobody, and was a burden to no one.<sup>67</sup> He always worked for the very best result. The other people were aware of Kokpómeč's superiority, and treasured him for it.

He was also the first in the *klóketen*-hut at Máustus; the first to make the arrangements there.<sup>68</sup> He sang beautifully, and since he sang so much there was always nice weather. Now the men could make merry and play

<sup>64</sup>This tale is concerned with the erotic. It points out that the man always stayed in his hut where it was possible for his wife to come to him at any time. I heard repeatedly that this drive is very strong in individual Indian women. Of the hero of this tale nothing more is known.

<sup>65</sup>The wild goose, "caiquén de pecho colorado," *Chloëphaga poliocephala*, which is common there.

<sup>66</sup>This word means "skilled craftsman" or "master" in making tools or weapons.

<sup>67</sup>This quite independent position—an ability to help himself in every situation and in all events, in all exigencies and in necessary work, and thus never to demand the support of others—was considered perfection and worth striving for by every Selknam.

<sup>68</sup>This expression only means that he belonged to the seven original founders of the first secret ceremony of the men.



a lot in the big *klóketen*-hut.<sup>69</sup> He had long pondered the events that should take place in the hut, and the other men accepted his suggestions. Thus even today they sing and work and play in the Big Hut in the manner and fashion instituted by Kokpómeč.

Kokpómeč was also the first *xon* to devote himself to song, an art the other shamans subsequently learned from him. Once Kokpómeč was chanting, trying to see if he could kill a big whale and get it to beach. He thought very hard and tried so long<sup>70</sup> until repeated singing brought success. Kokpómeč was beside himself with joy. So full of satisfaction was he over the success of his chant that he ran himself through and through with many arrows. He did not die but was transformed into a bird, so happy was he with the power of his singing!

At the same time as Kokpómeč there also lived two other *kexáalčēn*, Klátue<sup>71</sup> from the west and Keyáisk<sup>72</sup> from the north. They, too, knew how to make particularly beautiful weapons and tools wherewith they greatly outshone all other men.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 633–635.

### Summary

Culture hero is excellent hunter. Teaches men about tools and weapons, gives them important ceremonial, and initiates singing among shamans. Finally becomes bird.

### Motif content

|           |                                                                      |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A512.+.   | Culture hero as son of the South. (A512. Parentage of culture hero.) |
| A524.1.1. | Culture hero has marvelous dogs.                                     |
| A541.     | Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.                                |
| A545.     | Culture hero establishes customs.                                    |
| A1540.    | Origin of religious ceremonials.                                     |
| A1543.    | Origin of religious songs (chants).                                  |
| D161.2.   | Transformation: man to goose.                                        |

<sup>69</sup>Through his excellent singing in which many spirit demonstrations were possible he created favorable weather conditions, which of course was greatly appreciated by those men.

<sup>70</sup>In these words there is an allusion to the constantly increasing ability to put himself easily into a state of self-induced trance, which ability every shaman must acquire. To be able to make a whale strand on the beach is considered the masterpiece of the shaman among the Selknam as well as among the Yamana.

<sup>71</sup>The male guanaco.

<sup>72</sup>The cormorant, also called black cormorant, "lile negro," *Phalacrocorax atriceps*.

|               |                                                                          |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D523.         | Transformation through song.                                             |
| D1444.4.      | Magic song to catch animals.                                             |
| D1840.        | Magic invulnerability.                                                   |
| D2143.1.2. +. | Good weather produced by singing. (D2143.1.2. Rain produced by singing.) |
| F660. +.      | Skillful craftsman. (F660. Remarkable skill.)                            |
| F679.5.       | Skillful hunter.                                                         |
| F688.         | Man with marvelous voice.                                                |
| S160.1.       | Self-mutilation.                                                         |
| W11.          | Generosity.                                                              |

### 30. A WOMAN DEVOURS HER SMALL BROTHER-IN-LAW

In the old days there lived a man in his hut together with his younger brother, who was still small. His wife was very stupid and extremely clumsy.

One day this man went out hunting with the other men, staying away for several days. When the woman was alone in the hut and her little brother-in-law was asleep, she tiptoed up to him, and killed him with a thick cudgel.<sup>73</sup> Being so little, he died immediately. Then the woman sat down and cut several pieces of flesh from the body of her little dead brother-in-law. These she put on the fire to roast, and then ate of them, but so the other people could not see her. The rest of the pieces she hid underneath her sleeping mat.

When her husband returned and did not find his brother in the hut, he asked at once: "Where is my brother?" His wife answered: "Your brother went hunting birds with his sling!" And so her husband waited for his brother.

A long time passed, the little one did not appear, and finally fear entered the man's heart. He thought: "Misfortune has befallen that child." Once more he questioned his wife about the little one, and she replied: "Your brother will probably come soon. Maybe he went far away!" And when the man asked his wife again, her reply each time was the same.

Several days went by. One morning the man was looking for his *cēisa*,<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup>At this point some of the people present remembered, during the ensuing discussion, a woman, who many years ago had let her child drown on purpose while crossing a stream.

<sup>74</sup>An ordinary pumice stone used to smoothe the shaft of an arrow.

and asked his wife: "Where is my *čéisa*?" She answered: "It has to be here in this hut! Just look a bit harder, then you're sure to find it!" So the man searched a bit more closely. He lifted his wife's bed somewhat in order to look under it, and there he saw, to his horror, a piece of his dead brother's body. Only one small leg was left.

Terrible fury flared up inside him. At once he seized his bow. His wife was standing slightly outside the hut, stacking wood which she had just collected and brought there. The man aimed at her and let fly the arrow. The woman collapsed on the spot and was dead.

So that woman had actually eaten the flesh of her little brother-in-law. But she was crazy and not really in her right mind, and so her husband killed her straightaway.

*Informant:* Hálemink; pp. 635–636.

#### *Summary*

Woman kills and eats brother-in-law. Husband eventually finds remains of body, kills wife in his rage.

#### *Motif content*

|           |                                    |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| G30.      | Person becomes cannibal.           |
| G70.      | Occasional cannibalism—deliberate. |
| J1701.    | Stupid wife.                       |
| N610.     | Accidental discovery of crime.     |
| Q211.0.2. | Enormity of kin murder.            |
| Q215.     | Cannibalism punished.              |
| S55.      | Cruel sister-in-law.               |
| S139.2.   | Slain person dismembered.          |
| S183.     | Frightful meal.                    |

### 31. HOW KWÁIYUS TOOK REVENGE<sup>75</sup>

Kwáiyus lived among the Selknam a long time ago.<sup>76</sup> He was an old man and a much famed *xon*. His long, white beard looked very strange, and his face was so thickly covered with hair that only the eyes looked out unobstructed. His beard was very thick. Above all, he was a good person,

<sup>75</sup>See also Bridges 1948: 438–439; Cojazzi 1914, 10:13–14.

<sup>76</sup>During the discussion that followed Tenenés added: "That shaman has not been dead long. He died as many years ago as five men and five more men have fingers." This calculation would give exactly one hundred years.

always ready to help another. He took pains to advise the other people: "I'm old now, but I shall grow older. Should I die a good, easy death,<sup>77</sup> things will go well for you all. Otherwise evil and ill fortune will be your fate!" The people heard his words but did not understand their meaning. All treasured him highly, for he helped those in need.

One day some Haus people had killed a *wówen*.<sup>78</sup> No one knew why. This happened in Bahía Moat. The Yamana were angered at this murder and plotted revenge.

A long time thereafter old Kwáiyus came by chance to their region. He was out hunting with but a few people, all members of his family. Various Yamana men had noticed him, crept close, and attacked these people, killing them all. Thus the Yamana men took their revenge. Earlier, one of their number had been murdered there in the same Bahía Moat, and they thought that these men had taken part in the killing!

Not long after this occurrence a serious illness appeared among the Yamana which attacked nearly all the people and was fatal to many. Soon this evil spread to the Haus and to the Selknam. Very many perished. Our country and the shore of the Beagle Channel became badly depopulated.

That was the revenge of old Kwáiyus, who had been killed by the *wówen*. He himself had sent the great *kwáke*.<sup>79</sup>

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 636–637.

### Summary

Shaman predicts ill fortune for people if his death is violent. He is killed by mistake, and shortly afterward epidemic sweeps country.

### Motif content

|             |                                                                |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| A525.       | Good and bad culture heroes.                                   |
| A1337.0.5.  | Disease as punishment.                                         |
| D2162.      | Magic control of disease.                                      |
| F545.1.     | Remarkable beard.                                              |
| F545.4.+. . | Face covered with hair. (F545.4. Face covered with long moss.) |
| K914.       | Murder from ambush.                                            |
| M301.3.+. . | Shaman as prophet. (M301.3. Druids as prophets.)               |

<sup>77</sup>The expression "good death" means to die from old age, without the malevolent action of a hostile shaman.

<sup>78</sup>Among the Selknam this is the commonly used designation for "Yamana man."

<sup>79</sup>In this case "*kwáke*" means an epidemic which up to then had never been there.



|       |                                          |
|-------|------------------------------------------|
| M306. | Enigmatical prophecy.                    |
| M391. | Fulfillment of prophecy.                 |
| N340. | Hasty killing or condemnation (mistake). |
| Q211. | Murder punished.                         |
| Q411. | Death as punishment.                     |

## 32. THE REVENGE OF KWÁIYUS<sup>80</sup>

Kwáiyus lived three generations ago. He was a relative of mine; my grandfather knew him.<sup>81</sup> Kwáiyus was a small man. He had a full long beard, and his whole face was so thickly covered with hair that only his eyes remained free. He lived in the south and during his lifetime nobody died from *kwáke*,<sup>82</sup> for he was a powerful *xon* and helped all people. At that time people died only because they were very old.<sup>83</sup> To be sure, others were murdered, or died in war, or through the *čánem*<sup>84</sup> of a *xon*; but nobody died from sickness. For Kwáiyus was a good man, helper of all people.

He himself, now grown to old age, turned his thoughts to death. It was his wish to become transformed into a mountain range, and he repeatedly told his people: "If I die a good death I'll turn into a mountain range. Then things will continue to go well for all people here; no evil will befall them!" But nobody understood the meaning of his words.

Some time later, while roaming with several of his people through the region near the Beagle Channel, they were unexpectedly attacked by many Yamana people. He himself was wounded, and the enemies cut off his head.

Soon after this a great sickness appeared. Large numbers of people were attacked by *kwáke*, and nearly all of them died. Foxes came across Kwáiyus's body, ate of it, and died immediately. It was as though they had eaten pure *kwáke*.<sup>85</sup>

Soon Kwáiyus's bones and teeth, which had been chewed off and

<sup>80</sup>See also Bridges 1948: 438-439.

<sup>81</sup>Thus more or less in accordance with the earlier date.

<sup>82</sup>According to the beliefs of the Selknam this essence of disease is inflicted on a person through a shaman and causes the physical suffering.

<sup>83</sup>What is meant is the purely natural death from age and wasting away.

<sup>84</sup>This means the especially strong irresistible power of a shaman.

<sup>85</sup>So rapid and sure was the effect of that evil essence of sickness.

dragged away by the foxes, started to move of themselves and to chase certain individuals among those people there. In so doing they talked as if Kwáiyus himself were speaking, and when they reached one or the other person he sickened from *kwáke* at once and died soon thereafter.

Many Yamana perished on that occasion. Then the *kwáke* spread to the Haus, continued on to the Selknam, and swept along the east coast of Isla Grande as far as the northeastern edge. From there it went westward and across the beach of Bahía Inútil. The *kwáke* attacked people everywhere. Many, many died.

Kwáiyus himself had sent the *kwáke*, the first *kwáke* to come to Isla Grande. Previously there had been nothing like that; its first appearance followed upon the death of that powerful *xon*.

In the old days nobody died of illness in his youth. Everyone reached so advanced an age that he could scarcely walk about. Each time the camp was moved, the old ones dragged themselves along, bent over and stooping. Once an old person lay down he died within a few days, completely exhausted and drained of strength. In those days people died only in their advanced years (from old age).

But since then and to this very day, the *kwáke* has stayed in Selknam land. Kwáiyus had sent it here for the first time. Therefore people sicken even today. The *xon* have learned how to seize the *kwáke*. They send it to this or that person, causing much harm.

This is how Kwáiyus took revenge, and his people remembered the distinct words of his earlier threats.<sup>86</sup>

*Informant:* Tóin; pp. 637–638.

### Summary

At first there is no sickness in the world. Shaman then predicts that if his death is "good," things will go well for his people. But he is killed by enemies; epidemic follows as his revenge. Ever since, people are prey to sickness, usually attributable to malevolent shamans.

<sup>86</sup>Tonelli has tried an etymological relationship between *kwáke* and Kwáiyus which does not satisfy me. This story has chosen for its subject the origin of illness. Here, in my opinion, old ideas of the ways of the shaman have combined with the appearance of an epidemic that manifested itself for the first time. The germs of the disease were brought there by European ships, possibly the *Adventure* or the *Beagle*, or by another boat. Coming from the Yamana the evil spread via the Haus to the northern Selknam. If *kwáke* here is interpreted as a particularly devastating epidemic, this story can be well explained in its details and can be shown to refer to an actual event, but consequently loses its strictly mythical character. To avoid ambiguities I did not include this story in the following group which describes the deeds of shamans.

*Motif content*

|             |                                                                |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| A525.       | Good and bad culture heroes.                                   |
| A564.       | Remarkable longevity of culture heroes.                        |
| A1101.1. +. | Golden age: originally no disease. (A1101.1. Golden age.)      |
| A1337.      | Origin of disease.                                             |
| A1337.0.5.  | Disease as punishment.                                         |
| D1007.      | Magic bone (human).                                            |
| D1009.2.1.  | Magic dead man's tooth.                                        |
| D1610.      | Magic speaking objects.                                        |
| D2064.3.    | Sickness transferred to animal.                                |
| D2162.      | Magic control of disease.                                      |
| E780.       | Vital bodily members.                                          |
| F545.1.     | Remarkable beard.                                              |
| F545.4. +.  | Face covered with hair. (F545.4. Face covered with long moss.) |
| F571.       | Extremely old person.                                          |
| K914.       | Murder from ambush.                                            |
| M301.3. +.  | Shaman as prophet. (M301.3. Druids as prophets.)               |
| M306.       | Enigmatical prophecy.                                          |
| M391.       | Fulfillment of prophecy.                                       |
| Q211.       | Murder punished.                                               |
| Q551.6.     | Magic sickness as punishment.                                  |
| S133.       | Murder by beheading.                                           |

## The Deeds of Shamans

### 33. THE REVENGE OF ELANKÁIYINK

Old Elankáiyink<sup>87</sup> was a powerful *xon*. His son was already grown, having reached the age when a boy can marry. His name was Śíspi. Far away from his homeland he had found a girl whom he loved very dearly and wanted for his wife. The girl loved him too and wished to take him for her husband. He had made the long journey to be with his beloved, and stayed there for a very long time. The parents did not want to give him their daughter; that is why he spent so much time there.

<sup>87</sup>The largest whale, "cachalote," *Balaenoptera*. This man was the owner of the twentieth district and thus belonged to the southern group.

The young people understood each other well. They had made an agreement.<sup>88</sup> They loved each other and wanted to get married. The old people became aware of this and guarded their daughter very strictly. They had simply made up their minds not to give the girl away. The boy saw his beloved almost every day. He tried in every way to meet her alone in order to caress her, but the parents were much too vigilant.

Šišpi had already whiled away many months in that remote region, forever awaiting an opportunity, yet never succeeding in meeting his beloved alone and play with her. His long wait had thus far been fruitless and finally he became very sad. Great sorrow weighed upon him. He had followed his beloved everywhere; but never could he be alone with the girl, the way young lovers wish to be.<sup>89</sup> The boy had already been waiting a very long time, and all hopes that the parents might finally give him their daughter faded away. One day, therefore, he left and turned toward his homeland.

He had very far to go, and on the way the long wait and the obstinacy of those two old people preyed constantly on his mind. He grew more and more vexed, his thoughts turning to plans for revenge. When he stepped into his father's hut he told the old man: "Now I'm finally back again!" Old Elankáiyink was very surprised when his son Šišpi arrived so unexpectedly. Then he started to cry on seeing his son in such a miserable, ragged condition—his fur robe quite shabby, his sandals worn out, and bitter disappointment written on his face.<sup>90</sup> He made a pitiful impression.

Only after several days had passed did Šišpi tell his old father of the sorrows that had befallen him: how those people refused to give him the girl he loved; that the girl had wanted him for her husband; that after a long wait he finally had to return to his homeland. His old father listened to everything. Finally he, too, became very angry and said in fury: "I shall take revenge on those people. They shall feel what a powerful shaman I am!" Soon afterward he started to chant, and then during the same night he dreamed. The next morning he called the son to his side to tell him earnestly: "I have to take a thorough revenge on those people. I'll go myself to where their hut is!"

<sup>88</sup>In this a middleman helped, since as a consequence of the vigilance of the parents the two young people were unable to come near each other.

<sup>89</sup>That is, he had gone with them to all those places which the parents of the girl had sought out in their repeated change of campsite.

<sup>90</sup>For it was the ambition of parents always to send their children to other people with especially beautifully worked fur robes, and well fed, in order to make a favorable impression and maintain a good reputation everywhere.



Soon a huge whale arrived, with whom old Elankáiyink went north.<sup>91</sup> The whale hurried directly to the beach where those people had their hut. Very soon the inhabitants sighted the whale, and many came at once with their knives. All the people were extremely happy to come upon such a large store of meat once again.

As the people stood around the whale, discussing the big animal with much animation, they noticed that the whale was motionless and quite dead. Now large pieces of blubber were cut out. Šišpi's beloved and her parents ate as well. All tasted the delicious roast. Others carried off big pieces to keep them fresh in the marshy water. Everybody was very contented, and ate ceaselessly.

One of the men, however, had refrained from eating of the blubber, for he had been busy cutting pieces for the others. Finally he cut himself a small piece to see how it tasted. As he began to cut this small piece in half it grew bigger and bigger under his very hand, and his surprise was great. Other people, too, saw this and were very astonished. Then the man ate the blubber and found it very tasty.

All the people spent the day near the whale, eating continually, seeming never to satisfy their hunger. It was already afternoon, when a man asked for yet another piece of blubber. The distributor gave him a piece. But instead of putting it gently into his hand he threw it at him. This piece of blubber made a skipping movement and jumped into the eye of the man. It hit his head so hard that the man dropped dead. Suddenly all the other pieces started to move and jump about, bumping against the people with tremendous force and dealing them hard blows. The people fell and soon afterward they died. When the people were all lying upon the ground, including Šišpi's beloved and her parents, all the pieces of blubber returned to the whale. The huge animal put itself completely together again, dragged itself down into the sea, and swam immediately back to old Elankáiyink.

The latter now woke up, and said quietly to his son: "The people over there are now all dead. I have thoroughly revenged both you and me!" Šišpi was somewhat surprised at this, but he believed the words of his father. He answered the old man: "Yes, my father, you are really a powerful shaman."

<sup>91</sup>This expression means that all the ability and force of the shaman turned into a whale, and his power, embodied in this animal, immediately set off toward the north. While this animal moved in this or that direction the shaman himself was lying motionless on his bed, as though absent in spirit and in a trance. Everybody around him had to keep silent and dared not disturb him in his strenuous mental concentration.

Several days passed. Soon Šíspi was drawn again to that region where his beloved used to live. It seemed impossible that she was dead. Therefore after a few days he took to the road again, in the same direction from which he had come only recently. He had not talked to his father, however.

He had not gone very far when he happened to look around, and suddenly saw the shadow (*mán*) of his beloved on the road behind him.<sup>92</sup> It drew rapidly closer. He became very frightened for, after all, his father had told him that the girl had died. Immediately he lit a big fire and put on many branches with fresh, thick foliage. Much dense smoke arose. He sat back a little, so as to let the smoke hide him completely should the shadow of his beloved pass by. Soon the shadow was very close, and finally it, too, sat down by the fire. Šíspi at once seized his weapons, intending to shoot an arrow. But the shadow noticed, gripped its stick more firmly, and struck Šíspi such a hard blow that he became seriously wounded. Completely exhausted, he lay there for a long time. His knee especially hurt very much; he was unable to get up. When the pain had eased somewhat he finally stood up, looked around fearfully, but saw the shadow no longer. He turned back that very same night, and hurried straight to his father's hut.

The night was very dark. Soon he drew close to the Río Grande.<sup>93</sup> Here he happened to meet a young man, who was taking advantage of the darkness of the night to hunt birds. He had lit his torch, and Šíspi saw its gleam from a distance. The man had gone hunting to supply his mother with meat. When he saw Šíspi there so completely unexpectedly he asked: "Where are you coming from on this dark night?" Šíspi answered: "I'm from the south. I've been wandering for a long time and am feeling very tired. I'm seriously wounded. I'm hardly able to walk for my knee hurts all the time: I have a large wound there!" At once the young man asked: "What happened to you then?" Šíspi answered him: "Things didn't go the way I wanted! Therefore I'm hurrying back to my father's hut." To this the other said: "All right! Then I'll give you two wild geese for your journey. But I advise you: don't stay here! Go on at once; my mother mustn't discover you!" This he said as a warning, for his mother was a *čánem*—with the power of her eyes she could kill anyone she wished. Thereupon Šíspi began to feel very uneasy. He quickly snatched the two wild geese, and ran on.

<sup>92</sup>My storyteller here used this expression in the sense of "shadow image." Thus he indicated that the figure merely became visible, but was not an appearance of the soul.

<sup>93</sup>And that was coming from the north, flowing southward.

When he had gotten close to Cabo Peñas he saw a small *ktátu*<sup>94</sup> sitting on the ground. Šíšpi was talking to himself, but in the Haus language: "I really feel like eating fresh bird meat now!" He quickly put an arrow to his bow and let fly. But the shot missed. At once he put a second arrow to his bow since the bird had remained sitting there. At this shot some of the *ktátu*'s feathers flew about: this time he had shot better. As he now wanted to put the third arrow to his bow the *ktátu* called to him in the Haus language: "Please don't kill me! You already have two wild geese, don't you? And they are completely fresh! Besides, we're both Haus people. Just come a bit closer to me!" Then the two approached each other, and the *ktátu* said: "I see a large wound below your knee. Sit down now, I'm going to cure you!" Šíšpi sat down and the *ktátu* began to sing. He was a powerful *xon* and so cured the wound below Šíšpi's knee. Next morning Šíšpi continued on his way, and soon arrived at his father's hut.

Thus old Elankáiyink took a thorough revenge because those people there had treated his son very badly. They had refused to give him the girl, although both loved each other so very much.<sup>95</sup>

*Informant:* Tóin; pp. 639–642.

### Summary

Son of great shaman is rejected by parents of beloved. In revenge, shaman travels there in magic whale, which is found and eaten by people. Cut-out pieces of meat begin to move, kill people, including beloved of shaman's son, then reassemble into whale form which returns to home of shaman.

Returning to country of beloved, suitor is pursued and wounded by her ghost, is saved from ogre by strange helper, and has wound cured by bird-shaman.

### Motif content

|         |                                  |
|---------|----------------------------------|
| B175.+. | Magic whale. (B175. Magic fish.) |
| B191.6. | Bird as magician.                |
| B211.3. | Speaking bird.                   |
| B461.2. | Helpful owl.                     |

<sup>94</sup>The small, dark ground owl, *Speotyto cunicularia*.

<sup>95</sup>This story harshly judges the unjustified meddling of parents in their children's marriage plans and choice of lover. Greater space is given the description of the professional work and customary manner of operation of a shaman.

- B511.5. Bird heals man.  
D646.1.+ Transformation to whale to be caught. (D646.1. Transformation to fish to be caught.)  
D651.1.1.+ Transformation of shaman's spirit to whale which kills enemy. (D651.1.1. Transformation of magic object to animal which kills enemy.)  
D683. Transformation by magician.  
D1331.2. Magic object blinds.  
D1503.1. Magic song heals wound.  
D1777. Magic results from power of thought.  
D2061. Magic murder.  
D2061.2.1. Death-giving glance.  
D2161.2. Magic cure of wound.  
E31. Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble and revive.  
E32. Resuscitated eaten animal.  
E210. Dead lover's malevolent return.  
E234.3. Return from dead to avenge death (murder).  
E421.4. Ghosts as shadow.  
E439.+ Smoke and weapons protection against revenant. (E439. Other protection against revenants.)  
E542.1.4.+ Ghost strikes man on knee. (E542.1.4. Ghost strikes man on face.)  
E725. Soul leaves one body and enters another.  
E780. Vital bodily members.  
F983.+ Extraordinary growth of animal parts. (F983. Extraordinary growth of animal.)  
G211.7.1.+ Shaman in form of whale. (G211.7.1. Witch in form of whale.)  
G530.2. Help from ogre's daughter (or son).  
H241. Worn-out shoes as proof of long journey.  
K1210. Humiliated or baffled lovers.  
N800.+ Stranger as helper. (N800. Helpers.)  
P233.6.+ Father avenges son. (P233.6. Son avenges father.)  
Q411. Death as punishment.  
S10. Cruel parents.  
T35. Lovers' rendezvous.  
T50.1. Girl carefully guarded from suitors.  
T50.1.2. Girl carefully guarded by father.  
T75.0.1. Suitors ill-treated.  
T75.2.1. Rejected suitors' revenge.  
T97. Father opposed to daughter's marriage.  
T131.1.2. Father's consent to son's (daughter's) marriage necessary.



## 34. HOW HAČÁMŠES TOOK REVENGE

Hačámšes had found a girl whom he came to love very much and wished to take for his wife. The girl was attached to him and they got along very well. They managed to meet sometimes to tease each other, as lovers do. The girl lived far away. Her father did not wish her to marry that fellow. But the latter was always running after his beloved, making every effort to win her. Yet all was in vain. The girl's father remained opposed. Without hope and quite desperate, Hačámšes finally returned to his home. All expectation of marrying his beloved had vanished.

Halfway home he once looked back, and noticed that he was followed by a woman. She was possibly only a *mán* (shadow image) of a woman. He remembered that old Hašekláun, the father of his beloved, was a powerful shaman. Perhaps he had sent that woman after him.<sup>96</sup>

Then Hačámšes built up a good fire on the spot and squatted down, intending to wait to see if the *mán* would come closer. He had purposely sat down in the smoke so that he would not be immediately discovered, although he himself could observe everything. The woman soon came after him to that spot and stood very close to the fire. Shortly afterward she squatted down to urinate, and Hačámšes said to himself: "This woman is sure to kill me! Who can it be?" The *mán* was carrying a large harpoon in its hand.<sup>97</sup> Quickly the man seized his weapons and shot off a few arrows. The woman, fatally wounded, immediately threw the harpoon after Hačámšes. He was hurt in the leg, but instantly ran away as fast as he could. The woman he left lying there.

He ran in the direction of his home, and after some time he saw the light of a torch. Here was a man catching wild geese.<sup>98</sup> The man came closer and addressed him, asking: "Where do you come from?" Hačámšes answered: "I come from my beloved. But her father doesn't want to give me his daughter. Therefore I'm going back to my homeland again!" Surprised, the man asked: "But why do you wander about at night?" He replied: "Because that old man has a grudge against me!"

Since he was very hungry the man gave him two wild geese. Then he invited him to sit by the fire in his hut nearby. The mother of this man was a *čánem*. She was very dangerous and possessed great power—eating

<sup>96</sup>Probably the power of the shaman was embodied in this shadow figure in order to kill the boy. No one clarified this properly.

<sup>97</sup>The mention of this weapon which was used among the Haus assigns our myth at least in the main to the southern regions.

<sup>98</sup>"Caiques," *Chloëphaga*, which are very often hunted by night.

anyone who came near her. The old woman was lying stretched out on her bed. Her son therefore placed Hačámšes in his shadow to hide him from her. He gave his mother a wild goose so that she would have something to eat. The two men sat down by the fire, placed meat to fry in the glowing coals, and ate. Then the man led his guest out again quite unnoticed. Outside he gave him two more wild geese and let him continue. Hačámšes showed that he was content and set off toward his home; he still had a long way before him.

He had already been walking for a long time when he met a small *ktátu*.<sup>99</sup> This bird was so tame that Hačámšes marveled. It was already late at night. He said to himself: "What kind of bird can that be? It is so tame! I'm going to shoot it; it will make a good roast!" He let an arrow fly, but missed. As he was about to release a second arrow the *ktátu* visibly took on human form in full view and said to the man: "Don't kill me; I'm a Selknam and your friend!" The man was speechless with amazement. *Ktátu* asked him: "What are you doing here?" Hačámšes replied: "I come from my beloved. On the way I fell and hurt myself. I'm hurt in the leg; that's why I have to limp!" Then the other said: "Come a bit closer and show me your wounded leg; I'm going to cure you!" Hačámšes immediately showed him his wounded leg. Then *Ktátu* took a piece of his own skin and healed the other's wound with it. He was a skillful shaman! Shortly before, when he had smelled that man's wound, he had transformed himself into a human being again. Hačámšes now thanked him much for curing him so quickly, and continued on his way.<sup>100</sup>

After a long journey he finally came to his homeland, arriving very ragged indeed. His fur robe had become quite shabby, his sandals worn out; he was dirty all over and looked completely starved and impoverished. His mother began to cry when she saw her son in such a state. He said only: "My parents, above all give me something to eat. I'm very hungry!" Soon after this he asked: "I was told that a whale was thrown up on the beach. Is that so?" "It's wrong what they told you. There's nothing here!" said his father, who was a powerful shaman. Soon, however, they brought their son the meat of birds and fish, of sea lion and guanaco. Now he could eat his fill and rest comfortably.

Then he told his father exactly what had happened to him. Old

<sup>99</sup>The small dark ground owl, "peguén," *Speotyto cunicularia*.

<sup>100</sup>For the sake of completeness this was added: This shaman lived on the northern shore of Lago Fagano, in the eighteenth district. He used to heal all wounds by placing a piece of his own skin on the sick spot; thereupon it was suddenly cured. For this reason he used to be, and still is today, appreciated by all people.

Elankáiyink grew very angry when he heard all this, and thought of revenge. He sat down at once to reflect and brood. Then he chanted in a whining voice and (thereby) called forth his *wáiyuwen*. He wanted to cause a whale to be stranded for his son and for his neighbors. And in fact, with his great power he actually killed a whale during the night, which washed up onto the coast the next morning. Soon the people saw the mighty animal lying there on the sand. They were very happy over the enormous quantity of meat and blubber, for now they had enough to eat for a long time to come.

But old Elankáiyink wanted to carry out his revenge. From this stranded whale he made another which was somewhat smaller. In this he put a strong *kwáke* and let this whale swim off with it. He wanted the whale to go very close to old Hašekláun's camp on the beach in order to wreak vengeance on the latter for not giving his daughter to Hačámšes.

Thus the whale swam off with the *kwáke* and already the first day it went up on the beach near the Río Grande. Early next morning a woman came down and saw the whale. She immediately ran back to the other people to bring them the tidings, at which all rejoiced greatly. They quickly ran to the coast, knife in hand. There they stood around the whale, each desirous of cutting a large piece of blubber for himself. But when the whale noticed how the people pushed in on it with their knives it started to move violently and, in so doing, also chanted a little. Soon it dragged itself into the water and set off again, chanting, for it had noticed that among all these people stubborn Hašekláun and his family were not to be found. The whale did not want to harm the other people, and therefore continued on its way. The people looked after it with long faces.

A good distance from this spot the whale once more turned toward the shore, this time near San Sebastián. As it lay thus on the beach the people from that area soon arrived, already making ready their knives and talking joyfully of the lucky find. The whale, however, could not spot the enemies of old Elankáiyink among these people either, and therefore it started to move out again, sliding into the sea. The people stood on the beach completely baffled. Wholly disappointed, they looked after the whale as it swam away.

It now swam still farther up toward the north, again to let itself be washed up on the beach by the waves, there to remain without moving. The people from the neighborhood came running, and this time stubborn Hašekláun and his family were among them. Soon the people began to cut out good pieces from the blubber, and ate of it with pleasure, as did



also the beloved of Hačámšes. They ate much and spent the days in constant merrymaking. But soon the *kwáke* made itself felt.

At that time a man arrived there with his companion. He was a clever *xon* from a far away region. He noticed at once that there was a strong *kwáke* in the whale's blubber and meat. When the people offered him a good piece of roast, he carefully examined it twice over.<sup>101</sup> This shaman ate none of it: rather, he prepared immediately to continue his journey. Surprised, the people asked: "You two men want to leave so soon?" To this they replied: "We'll come back here again shortly."<sup>102</sup>

Both left. But the companion of this *xon* had eaten a little of the whale. Therefore the shaman asked him: "Did you eat of that whale there?" He answered: "Yes, I ate a big piece! But why didn't you eat anything?" To this the shaman replied: "That whale's meat has a strong *kwáke*. That's why I didn't want to eat anything. And if I don't help you quickly, you will die!" At once the shaman started to chant, thus purifying his companion's stomach. The latter vomited all the blubber and meat together with the *kwáke*, so that he did not have to die. Now they continued their travels together.

On the very first day those people had put big pieces of meat in the water of the swamp nearby to keep them for later. After a certain time a man went to take out such a piece, for he wanted to try the taste. He showed the piece to his neighbor and said: "Now the blubber ought to be good!" Then he put the piece on the fire, let it fry, and found it excellent. Therefore he said to his neighbor: "The blubber is just perfect now!"<sup>103</sup> The latter begged him: "Give me a piece! I want a taste." To which the other replied: "Here, have a piece!" and threw it to him. In the meantime, however, the *kwáke* in those pieces of blubber had grown even stronger, and soon it showed its devastating effect. The other man was unable to catch the piece of fat that the first one had thrown him. It hit him straight in the eye and had the effect of a "boleadora" ("bolas"); his eye burst open with a loud pop and came out. And in the stomachs of the other people the pieces of blubber began to burst and bubble, and many a man had his stomach ripped open. All the people who had eaten there died the same day; likewise old Hašekláun and his family.

But the whale was not dead. Suddenly all the pieces and parts the

<sup>101</sup>Here is meant the supernatural vision and perception of the shaman.

<sup>102</sup>They were obliged so to pretend in order not to offend all those people by refusing the proffered hospitality.

<sup>103</sup>Both the Selknam and the Yamana maintain that this "pickling" improves the taste of the fat considerably.



people had eaten or put into the bog-water gathered together again. Each piece placed itself in its proper position, and soon the whole body of the whale was restored, as complete as before. This big animal then devoured old Hašekláun, his wife, and his pretty daughter, the beloved of Hačámšes. Then the whale let itself slide slowly down the beach and swam out into the sea.

The whale returned quickly to old Elankáiyink and his camp. When the latter saw the whale he went to the beach. Soon the whale came close and immediately began to vomit. It vomited up the three people: old Hašekláun, his wife, and his pretty daughter. When Hačámšes saw his beloved lying dead on the beach he did not know what to say, yet he rejoiced that revenge had been taken on that stubborn old man and his wife. Hačámšes said to his father: "My father, you did well. You have taken revenge for us; you are a great *xon*!"

So that was the punishment for the stubborn behavior of old Hašekláun and his wife. They should have given their daughter to Hačámšes, for the boy and girl loved each other very much. After all, one had been able to watch at times how those two met and caressed each other. Only at night were they not able to meet since the old man guarded his daughter very closely. That is why a well-deserved punishment befell those parents.<sup>104</sup>

But old Hašekláun had acted more basely than anyone. It was so miserable of him because he and Hačámšes were very close friends; for the latter's brother had married Hašekláun's other daughter, that is, the sister of the beloved. Accordingly, the well-deserved punishment could not fail to occur.<sup>105</sup>

*Informant:* Teneněsk; pp. 642–647.

### *Summary*

Rejected suitor returning home is pursued by ghost sent by father of beloved. He kills her but is wounded in struggle. Continuing, he is saved from ogre by ogre's son, then meets bird-shaman who cures his wound.

To avenge son's humiliation his shaman father sends disease-carrying whale to girl's village, where it is eaten. Pieces of meat then begin to move: they kill people, and reassemble into whale which swallows girl and parents, then regurgitates dead victims upon arrival at shaman's home.

<sup>104</sup>The hard, sanguine character of the Selknam is very well characterized in that the revenge was extended to the girl, who actually was innocent.

<sup>105</sup>This myth essentially agrees with the preceding one.

*Motif content*

|                |                                                                                    |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B16.2.+.       | Devastating whale. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)                              |
| B175.+.        | Magic whale. (B175. Magic fish.)                                                   |
| B184.3.2.3.+.  | Skin of magic bird heals wound. (B184.3.2.3. Skin of magic pig heals wound.)       |
| B191.6.        | Bird as magician.                                                                  |
| B211.3.        | Speaking bird.                                                                     |
| B214.1.+.      | Singing whale. (B214.1. Singing animal.)                                           |
| B461.2.        | Helpful owl.                                                                       |
| B511.5.        | Bird heals man.                                                                    |
| D153.2.        | Transformation: man to owl.                                                        |
| D350.+.        | Transformation: owl to man. (D350. Transformation: bird to person.)                |
| D564.          | Transformation by smelling.                                                        |
| D630.          | Transformation and disenchantment at will.                                         |
| D683.          | Transformation by magician.                                                        |
| D1331.2.       | Magic object blinds.                                                               |
| D1503.1.       | Magic song heals wound.                                                            |
| D1781.+.       | Shaman calls his spirit by singing. (D1781. Magic results from singing.)           |
| D1810.0.2.     | Magic knowledge of magician.                                                       |
| D2060.         | Death or bodily injury by magic.                                                   |
| D2061.         | Magic murder.                                                                      |
| D2064.         | Magic sickness.                                                                    |
| D2064.3.       | Sickness transferred to animal.                                                    |
| D2161.2.       | Magic cure of wound.                                                               |
| D2161.4.+.     | Cure by grafting own skin onto wound. (D2161.4. Methods of magic cure.)            |
| D2178.4.2.     | Noxious animals produced by magic.                                                 |
| E31.           | Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble and revive.                                   |
| E32.           | Resuscitated eaten animal.                                                         |
| E421.4.        | Ghosts as shadow.                                                                  |
| E780.          | Vital bodily members.                                                              |
| F389.3.+.      | Ghost wounded by mortal. (F389.3. Fairy wounded by mortal.)                        |
| F402.1.+.      | Spirit urinates. (F402.1. Deeds of evil spirits.)                                  |
| F402.1.10.     | Spirit pursues person.                                                             |
| F402.1.11.3.+. | Evil spirit harpoons man. (F402.1.11.3. Evil spirit harpoons sleepers.)            |
| F402.1.12.     | Spirit fights against person.                                                      |
| F405.+.        | Smoke and arrows as protection against spirit. (F405. Means of combating spirits.) |
| F493.0.1.      | Pestilence in animal form.                                                         |

|           |                                                            |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| F914.     | Person swallowed and disgorged.                            |
| G11.3.    | Cannibal witch.                                            |
| G530.2.   | Help from ogre's daughter (or son).                        |
| H241.     | Worn-out shoes as proof of long journey.                   |
| J1495.    | Person runs from actual or supposed ghost.                 |
| K922.     | Artificial whale made as strategem.                        |
| N800.+.   | Stranger as helper. (N800. Helpers.)                       |
| P233.6.+. | Father avenges son. (P233.6. Son avenges father.)          |
| Q411.     | Death as punishment.                                       |
| Q551.6.   | Magic sickness as punishment.                              |
| S11.      | Cruel father.                                              |
| T35.      | Lovers' rendezvous.                                        |
| T50.1.    | Girl carefully guarded from suitors.                       |
| T50.1.2.  | Girl carefully guarded by father.                          |
| T75.0.1.  | Suitors ill-treated.                                       |
| T75.2.1.  | Rejected suitors' revenge.                                 |
| T97.      | Father opposed to daughter's marriage.                     |
| T131.1.2. | Father's consent to son's (daughter's) marriage necessary. |

### 35. HOW ONKOLXÓN REFUTED HIS ADVERSARY

Onkolxón was a powerful shaman. People far and wide talked of his ability. He lived in the Río Grande region. But out of envy another shaman here in the south made fun of him. That one told his people: "Onkolxón is not as great a shaman as is said. He has no power and actually can do nothing; he only deceives the people!"<sup>106</sup>

These words came to the ears of Onkolxón. Therefore he told his people: "I have an adversary in the south! I have heard how my enemy there speaks of me with much contempt. All right, I will take revenge. I shall show him what I can do!"

He passed the time deep in thought and dreamed a lot.<sup>107</sup> One day he called together the people of his district and said to them: "I shall make a journey to the south. I can no longer abide the scorn and sneers of that *xon*!" The others agreed with him completely. They, too, felt hurt that their *xon* had been so belittled and declared themselves ready to break camp, wishing to go with him. All saw how indignant he was. The

<sup>106</sup>That kind of petty jealousy, demeaning the reputation of another, was the order of the day among the shamans.

<sup>107</sup>That is, he considered and plotted his plan of revenge in his dreams, as was customary.

people made the long journey gladly; for them it was likewise a matter of restoring the honor of their *xon*. They were on the road to the south for many days.

On their way they went by one of those lagoons where whales were still living. Onkolxón killed all those with the power of his eye. He wanted thoroughly to prove his ability to the people. They also passed that lagoon where even today there lives a powerful whale, a whale more powerful even than Onkolxón himself. That's why the latter did not dare to do the animal any harm. They all made a wide detour around this lagoon, for he was afraid the whale might split the ground, thus making a large river through which he would have been able to escape into the sea. Therefore he left the whale alone in the lagoon, where it remains to this very day.<sup>108</sup>

Slowly those people journeyed onward. On the way they prepared themselves well for the contest with that shaman.<sup>109</sup> Old Onkolxón had killed many animals with a specific purpose in mind. Thus they came to the Río Irigoyen. Meanwhile his opponent was also on the march, accompanied likewise by his people. They had gotten as far as the Río Lainez. Consequently the two groups were standing very close to each other. The shaman from the south now sent his *wáiyuwen* against Onkolxón to explore how he could hurt his adversary. He really believed that he could prevail over Onkolxón, for he had a very low opinion of the latter's power.

Cunning Onkolxón had marked all this; as a clever shaman he was well on his guard.<sup>110</sup> Outraged at the action of his adversary, he could not control his anger. The two were still separated from each other by a two days' journey; and this pained him deeply. But the people who were accompanying the two shamans set up their camps at their respective locations, there to await further development.

When the *wáiyuwen* of the *xon* from the south came close enough Onkolxón seized it in anger and destroyed it.<sup>111</sup> He was powerful enough and had summoned all his strength; in but a few moments his opponent's *wáiyuwen* was dead. Such a *wáiyuwen* is like the shaman's *káspi*. When it is killed he himself must also die soon; nothing can save him.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup>People believe even now that this whale still lives on.

<sup>109</sup>This preparation consisted of each shaman testing the strength of the adversary with his particular power of vision, through the help of the *wáiyuwen*.

<sup>110</sup>He had already observed all his opponent's efforts from far away.

<sup>111</sup>Of course, this happens only in their dreams.

<sup>112</sup>Even the mightiest shaman can no longer stave off death when the actual soul or the life principle of a shaman, called *wáiyuwen* and *káspi*, "has been strangled" by another member of this vocation.



The two shamans now came closer and closer to each other. The one from the south remained as yet unaware of the fact that his *wáiyuwen* had already been strangled, and continued hurling arrows at old Onkolxón's *wáiyuwen*. All these arrows had no effect, lacking even the force to reach that powerful adversary, much less hurt him.

The other people had stayed in their camp. After some time Onkolxón returned to them. The people watched him very closely, and noted his calm behavior. Since he now appeared so even-tempered, his people said, "Our *xon* has overcome his opponent!"

Meanwhile the other shaman had also returned to his camp.<sup>113</sup> When his people saw him they became very frightened, suspecting the worst. He himself said not a word. He was disturbed and went into his hut. Exhausted, he sat down by the fire. He had nearly collapsed; his strength forsook him. In a faint voice he called to his wife: "Prepare my bed quickly. I feel that shaman there has done me serious harm!" And so it was; he felt increasingly worse and weaker. Several people had already come to his hut. They were full of fear, and sensing their shaman near death they loudly began to weep. Thereupon all the people in the camp came together in the *xon*'s hut.

Similar things were happening in the other camp. Old Onkolxón, too, had lain down. He behaved as though exhausted and pretended to be seriously ill. But this was only sham to fool his people. He wanted to make them believe that the shaman from the other group had harmed him.

Shortly thereafter the shaman in the south died. Onkolxón saw this, and rose from his bed at once, cheerful and full of life. His people rejoiced, realizing now that Onkolxón had won the contest. They were very proud of this man, their shaman. Without waiting for the news from the other group the people from the north returned to their homeland. But those other people there in the south cried very much, having learned how far short of Onkolxón's power their shaman had fallen. They said: "Powerful Onkolxón has taken revenge. He killed our own *xon*, for great was his anger at the latter's contemptible insults."

*Informant:* Inxiól; pp. 647–649.

### Summary

Onkolxón, a powerful shaman, journeys to rival's country for contest of strength, on the way repeatedly demonstrating his magic power. In struggle

<sup>113</sup>This denotes the custom of shamans to seek out the solitude of a distant place, so as not to be distracted by their surroundings from their inner concentration.

between his spirit and rival's, latter is strangled. Rival slowly begins to die, Onkolxón pretends similar weakness; rival dies and Onkolxón proclaims his own victory.

*Motif Content*

|            |                                                                                 |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B175.+.    | Magic whale. (B175. Magic fish.)                                                |
| D615.1.+.  | Contest between magicians. (D615.1. Transformation contest between magicians.)  |
| D1719.1.   | Contest in magic.                                                               |
| D1741.7.+. | Shaman causes loss of magic power. (D1741.7. Saint causes loss of magic power.) |
| D1745.     | Magic power rendered ineffective.                                               |
| D2061.2.1. | Death-giving glance.                                                            |
| F1068.2.2. | Fight in dream with real result.                                                |
| H217.      | Decision made by contest.                                                       |
| H1223.1.   | Quest to recover one's honor through feats.                                     |
| H1225.     | Quest for a strong adversary.                                                   |
| J640.      | Avoidance of others' power.                                                     |
| K66.       | Dream contests.                                                                 |
| K956.      | Murder by destroying external soul.                                             |
| K1818.6.   | Deception by pretended faint.                                                   |
| K2110.     | Slanders.                                                                       |
| Q288.      | Punishment for mockery.                                                         |
| Q302.      | Envy punished.                                                                  |
| Q411.      | Death as punishment.                                                            |
| S113.      | Murder by strangling.                                                           |
| W195.      | Envy.                                                                           |

## The Guanaco

### 36. THE GUANACO-MAN AND HIS DAUGHTERS

Once there was an old guanaco-man who lived during the time of the ancestors.<sup>114</sup> When he had become a widower he fell in love with his two daughters. He particularly liked his older daughter, with whom he wanted to sleep. He did not know how he might accomplish this,

<sup>114</sup>The explanation that followed added: "That man was one of the ancestors then living; later he transformed into a guanaco."

however; after all, he was her father! But after thinking it over for a long time he said to his two daughters: "I am going to die soon. Just see how old I am already! So let me lie here, and cover up my body; but let my head stick out!" His daughters wept bitterly. Their father comforted them and said: "Nearby here lives another man who desires you. He wishes to marry you and that is fine with me. That way you won't be alone. Don't be afraid!"

Then their father died. But he was only pretending to be dead. His daughters cried much and let him lie there. They covered his body with his robe but left his head free. Then those two girls immediately painted themselves.<sup>115</sup> Even today one still sees the black line that they carry on their chests. They also made motions with their arms,<sup>116</sup> crying loudly at the same time.

Then they left that place. After some time a guanaco came toward them. It was their father, but the girls did not recognize him. The guanaco made a sound: "Rsr, rsr, rsr." The two girls answered at once: "Srr, srr, srr." They came closer to one another and caressed each other. It pleased the guanaco-man very much to have relations with each of the two girls. All of them were now guanacos. Since that time fathers have relations with their own daughters, for they stay together for a long time in the same herd.

*Informant:* Hálemink; p. 650.

### *Summary*

Guanaco-man shams death, then returns as stranger to daughters and marries them.

### *Motif content*

- |            |                                                                         |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2411.1.+. | Origin of color of guanaco. (A2411.1. Origin of color of mammals.)      |
| A2496.+.   | Sexual intercourse of guanacos. (A2496. Sexual intercourse of animals.) |

<sup>115</sup>They put on the customary mourning paint.

<sup>116</sup>The arms are bent at the elbow joint, the upper arm remaining horizontal on a level with the shoulder, the forearm rising vertically, and the hand making a fist. In short, with regular movements on both sides the fists beat repeatedly against the shoulders while the upper arms keep their horizontal position. At a death ceremony this sign of mourning is used. Our story refers to similar movements which the guanacos make with their front feet while standing on their hind legs.

- D110.+                      Transformation: man to guanaco. (D110. Transformation:  
man to wild beast [mammal].)
- K1325.                      Seduction by feigned death.
- P681.                       Mourning customs.
- T411.                       Father-daughter incest.
- T411.1.2.                  Father feigning death returns in disguise and seduces  
daughter.

### 37. WHY THE GUANACO-MAN LIVES WITH HIS DAUGHTERS

In the old days there lived a man. Later, his wife died and so he became a widower. He had two daughters who were very beautiful. No sooner had his wife died than he fell in love with his two daughters. He fell very much in love with the older girl whom he liked better than the younger one. He did not show how much he was in love with his own daughters, but the older one began to suspect something.

His wish now was to live with his daughters always as though they were his wives. He puzzled over how he might accomplish this, for he would have to deceive his daughters. One day he said to his two daughters: "I feel very bad. I'm so weak that I'm going to die soon. Oh, to have to leave you, it hurts me so!" Then the girls became sad and said: "Oh, that you have to die! What will become of us once we are alone?" To this their father replied: "Yes, I'm going to die. But you have to look for a husband. You're old enough; you can marry." The girls cried bitterly.

After a while their father said: "I know a man who looks exactly like me. He is of the same build as I am. Now I shall die, so bury me here in this place. Wrap my body in my robe, but in such a way that my head remains uncovered and my face can look upward. Thus I want you to leave me lying here!" The two girls wept again. Their father said: "When that man who resembles me so completely wants to marry you, simply agree; I have nothing against it!" Then his two daughters cried again even more so than before.

After some time this man died, but he was only pretending. His daughters thought that he was really dead, however, and cried loudly and bitterly. They immediately took their father's big fur robe and wrapped it around the corpse. They laid him down as he had ordered, his head left uncovered and his face looking upward. Mourning and weeping they left the spot where their dead father lay.



The two girls wanted to go to another region, and so they went to the place where their relatives lived. When they had already traveled part of the way their father stood up and quickly followed his two daughters, making a wide circle through the forest. He ran quickly and overtook the girls. So now he came toward them from up ahead, since he had made a long detour. He was just very much in love with his two daughters, that is why he had run so fast. The girls had gone slowly and had cried much on the way. When they saw the man coming toward them the younger of the two said: "That must be our father!" The older girl answered: "No, it's impossible; after all, our father is dead!" Then she added: "Don't you remember what our father said? 'I know a man who looks exactly like me; he is shaped just like myself.' Our father said that!" But the younger one replied: "As far as I can see this man is our father!"

Meanwhile this guanaco-man had come closer. He asked the girls: "Why are you crying so much?" They said: "Oh, our father has just died, and we are now all alone." To this he answered: "Well, if you're alone I'll take you along. You can come and live with me!" He sat down right then and there and talked with the girls, yet not revealing his identity. But since he was much in love with the two girls he soon began caressing them. The two liked this very much, and afterwards they all slept together. All three transformed into guanacos.

At that time one guanaco was already living here, the first and only one on the Great Island. Now these three also became guanacos. Nowadays, therefore, one can see how the younger guanacos stay with their father and mate with him.<sup>117</sup>

*Informant:* Keitetówh; pp. 651–652.

### *Summary*

Guanaco-man in love with own daughters shams death, after advising daughters to marry man looking just like himself. They leave, he follows and, pretending to be stranger, marries them. (Why young female guanacos live with their father.)

### *Motif content*

A2496.+                      Sexual intercourse of guanacos. (A2496. Sexual intercourse of animals.)

<sup>117</sup>This story is a variant of the preceding one and mainly refers to the love play of the male leader of the herd with the younger female animals.

|           |                                                                                     |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D110.+.   | Transformation: man to guanaco. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast [mammal].) |
| J154.     | Wise words of dying father.                                                         |
| K1325.    | Seduction by feigned death.                                                         |
| T411.     | Father-daughter incest.                                                             |
| T411.1.2. | Father feigning death returns in disguise and seduces daughter.                     |

### 38. HOW ŠAKANUŠÓYIN HUNTED GUANACOS

At that time (in the time of the ancestors) lived Šakanušóyin. His mother was a tame *maršá*,<sup>118</sup> for his father had united with her and begotten this son. Both parents were still living. The boy, however, was an excellent runner and could even outrun guanacos. Therefore it fell to him to provide the people with meat. But he cried every time he was sent out to kill a guanaco. In fact he told the people: "I always feel sad when I kill a guanaco, for, after all, my mother is a guanaca!" That availed him nothing with the people, however, and he had to go out hunting.

Talilšušóyin also lived among those people. He was a vain man and envious of Šakanušóyin, with whom he competed in running. Each loved to outdo the other in the hunt for guanacos. But since Talilšušóyin had much trouble in overtaking his opponent he planned right from the beginning to catch the hindmost animal in the guanaco herd. Once Šakanušóyin told him: "It's always easy to catch the last animal. You should grab the very first animal in the herd! If you're such a good runner, why do you take only the animal that is farthest back?" Thus did he press Talilšušóyin.

One day when they were on the hunt again they came upon a herd of guanacos. They ran toward the herd and Šakanušóyin soon reached the animal up front. He looked back. Talilšušóyin called to him: "I can't follow you further. I'm very tired!" He was actually completely exhausted. Šakanušóyin replied not a word, but secretly he rejoiced. So these two sat down together and rested. Only after some time did their companions

<sup>118</sup>Guanaca is the adult female animal of the species *Lama buanachus*.

join them. They poured some urine into the mouth of each one of the two to make their weariness go away quickly.<sup>119</sup>

Soon afterward they went after the guanacos again and caught a few more animals. Šakanušóyin remained agile and vigorous, showing no weariness. But Talilšušóyin was soon unable to follow and fell prostrate to the ground. Therefore his companion remained behind with him, for actually they had already provided themselves with a large quantity of meat. Finally Talilšušóyin said: "I can't follow you for I tire so quickly. It's true that I said earlier that you're a slower runner than I am, but I was wrong. You run better than I do!" Šakanušóyin replied: "It's true what you say! Well, I just run the way I can!" At that moment the open jealousy between the two came to an end.

Meanwhile the number of guanacos had decreased so much in the course of those days that only one single guanaca was left. The people felt a great lack of meat, therefore they pressed Šakanušóyin insistently. They told him: "You must hunt down that guanaca for us!" But he answered: "I can't do that for this *maršá* is my mother!" And he did not go hunting. Yet all the people insisted, and so he cried a good deal.

The situation grew worse. Finally his father told him: "Now you have to hunt down the guanaca and bring the people meat! If not, you yourself are going to be killed! Look, nobody has anything to eat!" Šakanušóyin cried again. Finally he went out. He ran after that guanaca and killed it. That was his own mother. Soon afterward he himself died.

As long as Šakanušóyin lived, the men did not have to go hunting, bow and arrow in hand, for he caught the guanacos by outrunning them. Now, however, the situation had changed for all of them. His relatives, especially the *keyáışk*,<sup>120</sup> were very sad over his death. Even today they are still all black with grief over the loss of the runner who belonged to their family. Now the men had no other choice but to make bows and arrows for themselves. They practiced handling these and went hunting. Later the *keyáışk* also taught their dogs how to track down the guanacos and drive them toward the hunters.<sup>121</sup> All this they later showed the other people as well. Since then dogs help a lot with the difficult

<sup>119</sup>This strange remedy has never been used by the people themselves in the manner described; only in this story is it mentioned once. After the account the men expressed their surprise. However, human urine is not particularly repulsive to them. Thus I have myself observed that in the *klóketen-hut* some men occasionally urinated into their hands to wash off their body paint; actually they were only too lazy to have some water brought from the well.

<sup>120</sup>Black cormorant, "lile negro," *Phalacrocorax atriceps*.

<sup>121</sup>The story passes over every explanation of the origin and of the later appearance of guanacos on the Great Island.

hunting. But the people have not forgotten Šakanušóyin to this very day.<sup>122</sup>

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 652–654.

### *Summary*

Excellent runner has guanaco mother, but is forced by people to hunt guanacos, whom he catches by outrunning them. Number of guanacos decreases until only his mother is left; he is forced to kill her. After his own death men have to go out hunting for themselves.

### *Motif content*

|              |                                                                                                                |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A1346.2.     | Man must labor for a living; at first everything too easy.                                                     |
| A1520.       | Origin of hunting and fishing customs.                                                                         |
| A2411.2.5.1. | Color of cormorant.                                                                                            |
| B600.+.      | Marriage of man to guanaco. (B600. Marriage of man to animal.)                                                 |
| B631.        | Human offspring from marriage to animal.                                                                       |
| B631.0.1.+.  | Son kills animal mother. (B631.0.1. Son warns animal mother.)                                                  |
| D1335.2.+.   | Urine as magic strength-giving drink. (D1335.2. Magic strength-giving drink.)                                  |
| F681.3.1.+.  | Contest between two swift runners. (F681.3.1. Contest between runner swift as thought and one swift as sight.) |
| F681.6.      | Marvelous runner catches wild game on the run.                                                                 |
| K11.         | Race won by deception.                                                                                         |
| Q211.0.2.    | Enormity of kin murder.                                                                                        |
| S21.         | Cruel son.                                                                                                     |
| W195.        | Envy.                                                                                                          |

## 39. THE GUANACA FROM THE NORTH

In the old days Winenkáiš came down from the north,<sup>123</sup> bringing with him a tame guanaca that lived with him in his hut. She was called

<sup>122</sup>In this story there is also the very rare motif of a sexual union between man and animal.

During a community death ceremony I heard for the first time some fragments of this myth. The people are reluctant to repeat it, in order, as they themselves say, not to be reminded of their dead.

<sup>123</sup>The mainland, Patagonia proper. This expression is repeated also in other stories and is wholly explicit.



Ahám and was of much help to him on the hunt. Whenever the men went out hunting they used to take this guanaca along to those places where they expected to find a herd of animals. Such places were recognized by the many tracks. Then the men would hide behind the shrubs and send off Ahám, who ran at once to the spot where she smelled a herd of animals. Being a guanaca, she neighed loudly.

Soon the other animals came up and played with her, and thus they stayed together for awhile. But in the course of this play with the herd, Ahám sought imperceptibly to drive the whole group closer and closer to the men hidden in the shrubs. It was a rather slow process, however, since all the animals played with the guanaca for a while. Finally the herd came very near the hunters, and when the animals were within shooting range the men loosed their arrows on them. Some animals fell down dead; others ran away in terror.

The tame guanaca would again gather together all those scattered animals and drive them in the same manner toward the men, very slowly. Again they were able to shoot various animals. In this fashion the men always made a very good catch.

But Ahám herself was very cautious and cunning. When she had driven the herd of wild guanacos within shooting range she always kept herself way up front, maintaining a certain distance from the other animals so that the men were well able to distinguish her. Thus she herself was never shot.

The men found it very easy to bring home a good catch every time. But what has become of Ahám no one knows. Nobody has killed her, at any rate.<sup>124</sup>

*Informant:* Hótex; pp. 654–655.

### *Summary*

Tame guanaca helps men in hunting by acting as decoy.

### *Motif content*

- |          |                                                            |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| B443. +. | Helpful guanaco. (B443. Helpful wild beasts—ungulata.)     |
| B570. +. | Tame guanaco helps men on hunt. (B570. Animals serve men.) |

<sup>124</sup>The keynote in this story is the longing for the good old days, in which hunting was so easy and success always so great. In view of the difficulties in hunting which exist today many a man wishes for that guanaca again.

- K750. Capture by decoy.  
 Z235. Hero with extraordinary animal companions.

#### 40. HOW THE GUANACO GOT ITS COLOR

In the time of the ancestors lived Kóre.<sup>125</sup> He was a handsome man. Maršá, a lusty young guanaca, fell in love with him. She constantly desired to lie down with him. Kóre was happy to let her have her way, for he, too, liked to roll around with her. Later, he turned into a mountain. But even today the guanacos still like to roll around on the ground, from which they have their (yellowish-brown) color.<sup>126</sup>

*Informant:* Šaipóten; p. 655.

##### *Motif content*

- A2411.1.+ . Origin of color of guanaco. (A2411.1. Origin of color of mammals.)  
 A2470.+ . Why guanaco rolls on the ground. (A2470. Animal's habitual bodily movements.)  
 D291. Transformation: man to mountain.  
 F575.2. Handsome man.  
 Z110.+ . Earth (sand) personified. (Z110. Personifications.)

#### 41. WHY XÓOLČE DID NOT TURN INTO A GUANACO

Xóolče<sup>127</sup> has a call (a neigh) like the guanaco. He was a small man and in the old days desired to become a guanaco. But the men did not allow this, saying one to another: "That wouldn't do us much good, for

<sup>125</sup>Even the reddish, yellowish-brown earth, which turns vermilion through a heating process and is used for painting as a finely ground powder, is here personified.

<sup>126</sup>The animals' custom of rolling in fine sand or loose dusty soil attracts one's attention. For, at a certain distance, one suddenly sees a thick cloud of dust rising when several guanacos, one after the other, throw themselves down on the ground and then emerge from this cloud again.

<sup>127</sup>The Magellanic thrush, "zorzal," *Turdus magellanicus*, appears there in dense swarms and fills the air with loud cries.

Xóolče is very small!" A small animal like this does not have much meat. It would have been of little use to the people, and not worth the trouble to hunt Xóolče.

Therefore that small man transformed himself into a bird. The other people were quite content with this, to be sure.<sup>128</sup>

*Informant:* Čikiól; p. 655.

*Motif content*

- |            |                                                                     |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2426.2.+. | Cry of thrush. (A2426.2. Cries of birds.)                           |
| D150.+.    | Transformation: man to thrush. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.) |
| D521.      | Transformation through wish.                                        |

## 42. THE FOX AND THE GUANACO

Was, the fox, and Yóhwen, the guanaco, were very good friends, often meeting to talk together at length.

Now the fox had many cubs. One day he was not home and the guanaco came up to his hut and looked inside. The cubs were startled on suddenly seeing the big guanaco, and became very frightened. The guanaco continued on its way.

When the old fox returned to its hut the cubs were still trembling with terror, but they calmed themselves and told their father everything.

Later, the guanaco once again approached the hut of the fox, who had been watching carefully. Suddenly it gave the guanaco a bad fright. The guanaco was highly annoyed, taking note at that moment of the strong smell of the fox. It went away never to return to the hut of the fox.

Since that time the guanaco does not let itself be seen near the fox. He knows the latter's pungent odor and avoids him everywhere.

Thus those two, who used to be good friends, are enemies today, deliberately avoiding each other.<sup>129</sup>

*Informant:* Páren; pp. 655–656.

*Motif content*

- |          |                                                                         |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A1662.   | Peculiar smell of body.                                                 |
| A2490.+. | Why fox and guanaco avoid each other. (A2490. Other habits of animals.) |

<sup>128</sup>The wish not to make the already difficult hunt even more troublesome is the origin of this lovely little story. In this it resembles narrative 39.

- A2493.+      Friendship of fox and guanaco. (A2493. Friendships between the animals.)
- A2494.+      Why fox and guanaco are enemies. (A2494. Why certain animals are enemies.)

### 43. THE FOX COUNSELS THE GUANACO

In earlier times, the guanaco used to join the people quite often. He was very curious and wanted to watch what everyone was working on. Every man found this a most desirable state of affairs, for when meat was needed, he would suddenly kill the guanaco standing there beside him. The rest of the guanacos grieved to find one of their number missing; they knew not where or how it had disappeared so suddenly.

At that time fox and guanaco were still good friends. The fox was cunning and artful. He had watched exactly how the people secretly killed a guanaco and then ate it. So he told the guanaco: "Do you know what became of the others in your family?" The guanaco answered: "I do not. All my searching was in vain!" Then the fox continued: "I'm going to tell you. The people here are killing all your friends and relatives. Be on your guard and don't go to their huts!" Then the guanaco became sad and ran far away from the huts of the people. Since then it shyly avoids human beings altogether.<sup>130</sup>

*Informant:* Kuánen; p. 656.

#### *Motif content*

- A2493.+      Friendship of fox and guanaco. (A2493. Friendships between the animals.)
- J17.          Animal learns through experience to fear men.
- J1050.        Attention to warnings.

<sup>129</sup>The characterization of the contrast of the large frame, long neck, and big eyes of the guanaco with the small, timid cubs of the fox is excellent and true to life. One might have called this picture, so rich in contrasts, "Disturbed Animal Idyl" if it were depicted in color. One sees what artistic tendencies sporadically break through, even so, in the seemingly harsh, sober temperament of the Selknam.

<sup>130</sup>See also *Bridges* 1948:440. It was the fox who opened the eyes of the harmless guanaco to the selfish behavior of human beings, whom it had so innocently approached.



## Animal Myths with a Fundamental Idea

### 44. THE STORY OF THE GREAT ALBATROSS

Once upon a time old Káper<sup>131</sup> fell ill. He had only a little meat left in his hut, but this did not last long, and he and his family were soon starving. He had two wives, the first of whom had given him a son, already big, it is true, but not yet able to hunt alone.

Old Káper considered his situation. Then it occurred to him to send his second wife to her family to get meat and to inform her people how all of them had gone hungry for so long. Finally he said to this woman: "I have thought it over. It will be good if you go to your family! Tell your relatives that we have nothing to eat here, for I have been ill for a long time. Then come back again and bring some meat for us!" The woman said: "All right, I'll go to my family. I'll tell them everything, so that they learn how we are faring." She started on her journey at once for she had to travel far.

She came to her brothers, who were astonished that their sister had made the trip all alone.<sup>132</sup> She immediately told them: "You don't know what's happening to us. My husband has been sick now for some time and can't go hunting; all of us are suffering great hunger. He sent me here to tell you this. Now give me something to eat, both for him and for me!" Just as quickly her brothers replied: "How did that happen? But first, you must take what we have in our hut. Here is guanaco meat and fowl; help yourself and eat!" She, however, looked around and said: "I would rather take the *páxal*,<sup>133</sup> I like them very much!" There were many of them in the hut, for her brothers also relished these beetles.

<sup>131</sup>Great albatross, *Diomedea exulans*, viz. *Diomedea melanophrys*. The Indians make no noticeable differentiation between these two species.

<sup>132</sup>It is not customary for a woman to undertake a long journey alone without any companions.

<sup>133</sup>The big brass beetle, *Carabus auratus*, which gives off a penetrating, extremely unpleasant odor. In the eastern dialect of the Yamana this beetle has almost the same name; among them a story is told which is very similar to this narrative.

After some time the woman said: "Now I must return to my husband!" Her brothers filled a large sack with *páxal* for her. The woman said: "That is kind of you; it's enough!" The brothers asked: "But why don't you also take some guanaco meat along and a few birds?" She replied: "This large sack full of *páxal* is enough. More I won't take!" Actually she intended to take these beetles just for herself and give her husband none; that is why she declined the meat. She set off on the way homeward.

Upon reaching her hut she entered very cautiously and hid her bag with the *páxal* secretly between the poles,<sup>134</sup> where no one else could see them. Her husband was lying sick on his bed, hunger having made him even weaker. When he caught sight of his wife after his long wait he asked her: "What did you bring?" She answered: "I brought nothing; my brothers don't have anything, either!" To this he said: "But why didn't you come back sooner, if your brothers likewise had nothing to eat?" She answered with a lie: "The way there is long and very difficult. I found big swamps everywhere and had to make long detours. This took time." The old man became very annoyed and said to himself: "So she didn't bring anything, but still stayed away for so long!" This he only murmured in a low voice; he was very disappointed and angry. His hunger was enormous.

His wife had hung the leather bag with all the *páxal* in such a way that nobody could discover it. Now and then she stuck her hand into it, pulled out a few beetles, and put them furtively into her mouth. The husband sometimes heard how she stealthily cracked something between her teeth, but he did not know what it was. He also saw how she frequently reached for the bag and pulled out something, without saying a word. His curiosity grew.

One day his second wife had gone to a distant place to fetch wood. Knowing that his wife could not observe him, he reached out for that bag and brought it down. He looked inside, and great was his surprise when he found it to be still half full of *páxal*. They were crawling around helter-skelter, looking at him. Suddenly disgust overcame him and he quickly threw the whole bag of beetles into the fire! There was a frightful stink.

His wife did not return with the firewood until late. When she went to reach for her bag again she did not find it any more, and thought to herself: "Someone must have taken away my bag!" She immediately suspected her husband but said not a word. Her husband did not talk

<sup>134</sup>What is meant is the small sticks and poles of which the hut is constructed. Between these one can easily insert and hide smaller objects.

about it, either. His selfish wife had been unmasked at last and punished, but he was very annoyed.

Since these people were still without food the other wife now thought of visiting her folks to tell them her troubles, for there she would certainly be able to get help. She said to her husband: "I'd like to visit my family to get meat; what would you say if I got ready to leave?" He said: "It would be good if you went to your relatives. Don't behave like the other woman; instead bring back something for me, too!" She readied herself immediately, because the way was long. She also took her son, for the journey was dangerous. So as to be protected, she asked her husband to accompany her with his power. He was a clever *xon*. Old Káper also gave his son special power.

The two, mother and son, left the following morning. Since the woman was very fond of her husband she wanted to get back soon. She turned northward, to the home of her family. When she entered the hut of her relatives, who were happy to see her again, she spoke at once: "I have come because my family suffers from great hunger." And she added: "Why haven't any of you come to pay us a visit of late? After all, that's your duty! Look, that's why we've been going hungry for so long! My husband lies there sick and my son is still too young to hunt. But now, quickly give us something to eat!" Thereupon the woman's relatives hastened to reply: "You may take what you want; eat what you like; everything here is at your disposal!" Now the two were finally able to eat their fill once again, and they were happy to do so.

They only stayed for a couple of days. The woman was eager to return soon in order to bring her husband something to eat. Her relatives gave her half a whale to take along. But since she could not drag this large amount of meat alone, her brother accompanied her, and helped her to send it off.<sup>135</sup> Thus they departed, mother and son.

On the way this man took pleasure in teasing and joking with his little nephew, whom he knew to possess the power of a great shaman. So he said: "I'd like to see if you can climb up on this whale meat!" The small boy tried immediately and climbed up without difficulty, although the animal's body was very slippery. They continued walking. Later his uncle said: "Now I'd like to see whether you can wade through this river!" So his little nephew stepped into the water and reached the other bank despite the strong current. Teasing him this way the uncle tried to test

<sup>135</sup>The meaning of these words is that only a small piece of blubber was carried by the woman's brother, whereas the rest of the large bulk was transported on the sea and brought along simultaneously near them, through the magic power transmitted to the boy from his father.

his nephew's magic power. Actually he only wanted to make sport of him.

Eventually they came near their hut. The woman urged her brother: "Now be on your guard and put a stop to the teasing, for my husband is a powerful *xon*!" Disregarding this, however, he did not refrain from his taunts until the hut came into sight; they were quite close already.

Suddenly the man lost all his courage. He refused to take one step further, put the meat upon the ground, and said: "Now, my sister, I have carried the meat far enough; I'll leave it for you right here. I'm returning to my homeland at once!" And indeed he put the meat down, quickly said goodbye, and hurried back to his home. His sister surmised that he feared her husband, for the latter was a mighty *xon*.

Mother and son now entered their hut. The man lay by the fire warming himself; he was wholly without strength and exhausted from hunger. Of the meat she had brought the wife immediately put a generous piece upon the fire. When it was cooked she woke up the old man, who had slept for a long time. The man was happy to see his son again. He was a diligent shaman and having had a big dream, he said to his wife: "Something must have happened to the boy! What took place with his uncle on the way?" The woman was amazed for she had not told the old man anything yet. She answered: "Nothing happened! The two of them were only teasing and joking with each other. My brother accompanied us here as far as the hut." The old man asked: "But why didn't he come in?" She replied: "He didn't want to!" Actually it was the woman herself who had not wanted her brother to enter the hut, precisely because her husband was such a dangerous *xon*. The old man said: "But why is it that my brother-in-law didn't want to come in here! Is he angry with me perhaps?"

Then he stood up and rubbed his whole body with grease. Soon he felt somewhat better, and ate of the roast, which tasted very good to him! Then he went with his wife to the place where they had laid down the big piece of meat. They wanted to bring it home. The other wife, however, had stayed behind in the hut.

Now where Káper lived the road was very bad. Therefore the woman had been forced to leave the meat, since she herself was unable to drag along this heavy mass. Her brother had not had the courage to go as far as the hut, out of fear of the old man.

When the three of them, the old man, his good wife, and his son, reached the place where the half of the whale was lying, they remained there for a while, thinking. And in so doing they turned into birds, old



Káper, his wife, Hahápel,<sup>136</sup> and their only son. They went out to the sea, taking with them the half of the whale that earlier had been brought there upon the sea.

Thus the three people did not return to the hut any more. They left Kárke,<sup>137</sup> that other woman, all alone. She had behaved very badly toward her husband.

Even today one can still see Kárke almost always alone. This bird does not associate with others. She is the sister of Kóriken.<sup>138</sup> Kárke was a good seamstress. She knew how to make beautiful fur robes and to sew bags. But she behaved miserably toward her husband and therefore was abandoned by him. To this very day one can still see the awl, *ma*,<sup>139</sup> Kárke always carries with her.<sup>140</sup>

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 657–661.

### Summary

Starving shaman sends second wife to her family for food; she only brings back bag of beetles for herself. Seeing her eating secretly, husband discovers beetles and throws them into fire.

Other wife and small son go to her family, return home accompanied by her brother and bringing half a whale. On the way brother tests magic power of small boy. Before arrival brother turns back, fearing shaman. Shaman, small boy, and his mother turn into birds and fly away together, carrying whale. Selfish co-wife also becomes bird, but thenceforth she is always alone.

### Motif content

- A2230.+. Why plover is always alone: punishment for selfishness toward husband. (A2230. Animal characteristics as punishment.)
- A2260.+. Plover transformed from seamstress still carries awl in form of spur on wings. (A2260. Animal characteristics from transformation.)
- D150. Transformation: man to bird.

<sup>136</sup>The black albatross, *Phoebastria fuliginosa*, a sea bird that is only very rarely seen from the coast.

<sup>137</sup>"Queltehue," *Belonopterus chilensis*, the Chilean plover of wide distribution.

<sup>138</sup>The spectacled ibis, "bandurria," *Theristicus melanopis*.

<sup>139</sup>The small, powerful spur, white and about eight millimeters long, which this bird carries clearly visible on its wings and uses to defend itself. It moves the spur forward by jerks exactly as a woman moves her awl when sewing.

<sup>140</sup>A Yamana story recorded by me discusses the same object.

|            |                                                                                                                  |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D1384.+.   | Shaman's spirit protects wife on journey. (D1384. Magic object protects from discomfort or accident on journey.) |
| D1717.     | Magic power of children.                                                                                         |
| D1721.     | Magic power from magician.                                                                                       |
| D1810.0.2. | Magic knowledge of magician.                                                                                     |
| D1810.8.   | Magic knowledge from dream.                                                                                      |
| D2125.     | Magic journey over water.                                                                                        |
| D2136.10.  | Objects magically sent to certain place.                                                                         |
| F662.0.1.  | Woman skillful in sewing.                                                                                        |
| H500.      | Test of cleverness or ability.                                                                                   |
| J640.      | Avoidance of others' power.                                                                                      |
| K2060.     | Detection of hypocrisy.                                                                                          |
| K2065.1.   | Woman and sick husband.                                                                                          |
| K2222.     | Treacherous co-wife (concubine).                                                                                 |
| N820.+.    | Helpful relatives-in-law. (N820. Human helpers.)                                                                 |
| Q261.2.    | Treacherous wife punished.                                                                                       |
| Q276.      | Stinginess punished.                                                                                             |
| Q285.      | Cruelty punished.                                                                                                |
| S20.2.+.   | Wife hides food from starving husband. (S20.2. Child hides food from starving parents.)                          |
| S60.       | Cruel spouse.                                                                                                    |
| T145.0.1.  | Polygyny.                                                                                                        |
| T263.      | The hypocritical wife.                                                                                           |
| W11.       | Generosity.                                                                                                      |
| W152.      | Stinginess.                                                                                                      |

#### 45. THE STORY OF EMIENPÓOT

Once there were two old people, a man and a woman, who lived alone in their hut. They were quite advanced in age, so much so that they could hardly drag themselves about. Nevertheless one day they had yet another son. This happened here in the south, by Bahía Buen Suceso, where there was very fine, white sand on the beach.

This child was extremely beautiful, as rosy as the sun<sup>141</sup> and white all over. Those two old people were overjoyed to have a son. All three continued living in their hut there in that place.

The child, however, grew very rapidly. He suckled his mother's breast for two days only. Then he ran around all by himself without the support

<sup>141</sup>By this is meant a pink, ruddy skin, which is considered particularly beautiful among the Selknam and which therefore is much admired.

of his mother. Soon he knew how to keep himself busy. So that his child might play the father made him a neat little spear, just a small, pointed stick, which his son could throw at flies and mosquitoes. The little boy took his small fur robe and spread it out on the ground. Then he threw his small spear at every fly and mosquito that flew past. The flies hit by the spear fell on the small fur robe. All day the boy played in this manner. Without ever missing, he steadily accumulated a small heap of dead flies and mosquitoes. The father was very happy over this.

In these few days Emienpóot had already grown much bigger. Soon his father made him a longer spear, which the boy took to the beach. There he watched the sea lions and said to himself: "I'll try to see whether I am already able to kill so large an animal!" He stayed there completely motionless. When he saw how a sea lion came dragging itself up over the beach, he hid. After the animal had crawled close enough he threw his spear, which entered the animal's body partway and stuck there. But the sea lion went off with it and disappeared into the ocean. Indignant, the little boy said: "One can't kill the sea lion like that!"

Downcast the boy went back to the hut to tell his father: "I threw my spear against the sea lion. Although it went into the body it didn't kill that big animal. What am I going to do now?" His father grew thoughtful, when he heard that his son was already attempting to hunt sea lions! He cheered him up: "Tomorrow we'll see what can be done!"

Inside the hut Emienpóot rapidly grew smaller and smaller; he became an infant again,<sup>142</sup> and took his mother's breast. Meanwhile his father kept thinking. The next morning the child quickly grew as big again as he had been the previous day. He helped his old father to get up from the bed; the latter was already very frail.

Father and son left the hut. They looked for a piece of whale's rib on the beach. From this the old man made a spearhead, long and thick. On one side he worked a sharp barb.<sup>143</sup> Then he placed this point on a long, sturdy shaft. The lower part of the point had a broad notch on both sides. Around this he wound the beginning of a long lasso; the leftover longer part was coiled into small loops. The large harpoon was now finished. The two had worked on it all day long.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup>Thus his physical size very rapidly returned to that of a baby.

<sup>143</sup>Thus originated the single-barbed point that the Yamana and the Halakwulup use when hunting large sea lions. To be able to employ it successfully the hunters are limited exclusively to using the canoe.

<sup>144</sup>The making of the large harpoon which is described here is supposed to have taken place for the first time, as though it had not been invented until then. At any rate, this is clearly stated in a Yamana myth which essentially coincides with the above story.

They returned to their hut. The boy became the size of a suckling infant again and took his mother's breast. The following day he quickly grew as large as on the previous day, even a bit larger. He at once took the new weapon and went to the beach where he saw several sea lions. Creeping close, he threw his harpoon. He scored a hit each time he threw his weapon. With the rope he pulled in the wounded animal and clubbed it to death.<sup>145</sup> That day the boy killed several of those big sea animals.

Emienpóot did not return to his parents' hut until it got dark. He told his father: "I left several sea lions there on the beach, all of which I killed today. I only brought back a single small piece of meat!" So saying, he showed them a small sea lion.<sup>146</sup> His mother was particularly happy. Then the boy rapidly grew smaller and smaller until he became an infant again at his mother's breast.

The next morning the little one arose early. Soon he turned into a boy, as tall as the day before, and even a bit taller. He took his harpoon and hurried to the beach. When he returned to the hut he was dragging a big sea lion. He repeated this on the following days. By now the small boy always brought much meat to the hut and the two old people had plenty to eat.

Several days later the couple's other children happened to come by the hut to look after their old parents. They knew nothing of their brother who had been born in the meantime. When they walked in through the entrance of the hut Emienpóot had again become as small as an infant. His mother had wrapped him in his short little fur cover and hidden him under her bed.

The sons of the two old people had always shown their parents much respect and real love. When they saw the big sea lion lying there and the rest of the meat that was hanging in various places in the hut, their hearts were at ease, for they realized that their parents were not in need of meat.

The old father showed his joy, for he now saw all his children around him once again. The old mother was even happier. One of the sons asked his father: "How is it you were able to hunt that big sea lion and drag him here!"<sup>147</sup> The father did not reply, and only later did he ask his son: "Do

<sup>145</sup>That this myth originated with the neighbors to the south is indicated by the circumstance that neither the Selknam nor the Haus people used the big harpoon, precisely because they lack any means of transportation.

<sup>146</sup>To be able to increase his parents' surprise later, the boy had only spoken to them of "one single small piece of meat."

<sup>147</sup>The animal was not dismembered; thus it had to have been brought there whole, which in itself meant a heavy load and which assumed considerable strength in the one who was able to drag it to the hut.



you like the meat?"<sup>148</sup> The mother had fried a piece of meat for each of her sons, which they ate with great appetite.

Meanwhile, the wife of the man who had questioned his father was looking around the hut more closely. To her surprise she discovered the tiny feet of a baby sticking out from a fur cover on the bed of her mother-in-law. In a low voice she asked her husband: "What can that be over there?" The man became curious and asked his parents, pointing to those little feet: "What is that over there? Aren't those the pretty pink feet of a child?" The parents remained silent, pretending not to have heard the question. And so those two became increasingly curious, talking softly to each other. Finally the son addressed his parents in a somewhat louder voice: "But whose pretty red feet are those?" He pointed and had risen already, about to go over there and lift the cover. Now his old mother became angry and sought to stop him. But he was quicker and had already pushed the cover aside. Then he saw the little one lying there. In his astonishment he could only say: "Oh, what a wonderfully pretty little brother! How ugly am I in comparison to him!" At once all the others (present) became attentive. The women especially were beside themselves with surprise and crowded close, extremely curious to see him. They, too, were delighted with their dear little brother-in-law. The old mother did not know what to say to all of them. Finally the father straightened himself somewhat and coughed slightly, saying: "That little one here killed the big sea lion!" At this they marveled, but did not understand what was said.

The sisters-in-law could not see enough of the pretty child. All day long they played with him, and how foolishly they fought to hug and carry him. None of the women would let go of the boy or hand him to another woman; each one of them liked him so much. The brothers also talked much of the child, saying: "That must be our brother! But how was he able to get such a large sea lion? What's our father really saying?" Thus did they talk among themselves.

Darkness had already fallen one day, when the sisters-in-law were still playing with the boy. They did not tire of holding him on their laps and hugging him. Finally they all stretched out on their beds; it was already late into the night.

Very early in the morning little Emienpóot quickly grew again as big

<sup>148</sup>The son understood very well these words which avoided his question, and out of due respect he did not continue to insist on a precise answer from his father.

as the day before, and even a bit bigger. The oldest brother came near to play with him. When he lifted the cover he was surprised and frightened. He said: "How big my brother has suddenly become today!"

All the others woke up and, marveling, rose from their beds. The sisters-in-law were speechless when they saw the handsome figure of their youngest brother-in-law. The boy invited his brothers to accompany him to the beach where they might recover all the meat from the sea lions he had hunted the day before. The men went to the beach and brought back several big sea lions to their old parents' hut. Now all were provided with meat for a long time.

Many days later the brothers went to the beach again, to hunt sea lions. The skill and cleverness of their youngest brother amazed them. He hit every animal at which he threw his harpoon. Thus he killed several sea lions. The other brothers talked among themselves: "Our youngest brother is very clever and strong; he is always lucky!" At night they returned to their father's hut, bringing much meat with them.

The sisters-in-law could not wait for their return. All day they had been looking for their youngest brother-in-law, longing for him. Now they threw themselves all at once at Emienpóot, hugging and fondling him immoderately. Several days later, the sons and their families left the hut of their parents and went back to their territory.

Emienpóot pondered anew. He wanted to catch the big birds hovering far out over the sea. He said to his father: "If only I had a canoe to go after those big birds!" The old man answered: "Certainly, we'll build a canoe!" Then the boy went into the forest. He peeled off a few pieces of bark and brought them to the hut. Father and son made the first canoe.<sup>149</sup>

Emienpóot immediately wanted to try it. He dragged it down to the beach and pushed it into the water. He sat inside and went far out to sea. From the canoe he easily reached the big sea birds with his spear, even the powerful *kái*.<sup>150</sup> In the evening he always brought a good number of birds to his parents' hut; he had hunted them from his canoe.

Hitherto Emienpóot had trained himself to stay close to the shore. His parents could watch him easily from their hut. Repeatedly his mother urged him: "Don't risk going out to the open sea!" Each time he replied: "Nothing can happen to me, I won't die! Near the shore there are no big

<sup>149</sup>Thus these two are considered as the inventors and first builders of the canoe which had never been used by the Selknam or the Haus. This circumstance suggests that this story belongs among the neighboring Yamana.

<sup>150</sup>The great petrel, *Ossifraga gigantea*, one of the most powerful birds of the high seas.

birds; I have to go farther out!" Nevertheless his mother warned him constantly: "Be careful! Pay attention to the wind!" He always answered: "I won't die, but I'll be on my guard!"

One day Emienpóot again was far out on the open sea, sitting in his little canoe. Suddenly a strong gust of wind came up and took him away. The same evening Emienpóot did not return to his parents' hut. They were looking for him now, barely able still to spy him out there on the sea, for he was already far, far away. He never came back again.

Those two old people soon died from grief and suffering. The years went by and the brothers of Emienpóot also died. But Emienpóot himself knew, that time when the strong gust of wind took him away, that he would not be overcome. That is why he had sought to appease the fear of his parents earlier.

Years later he actually did return. He landed in Bahía Aguirre, and brought his wife, Alental.<sup>151</sup> As he stepped ashore he asked the people there: "Do you know my family?" They looked at him in amazement and answered: "We don't know anybody of your family!" This put Emienpóot in a very sad mood. But from that time on he stayed in this region where he lived together with those people.

He had grown into a well-developed man of particularly handsome features; moreover, he had an excellent, pink, skin color. All this, however, soon awakened the envy of a malevolent *xon*, who emitted a *kwáke* that killed Emienpóot. Since his wife now found herself all alone in that region and among strange people she turned into an *álental*. Those people talked for a long time about the well-graced Emienpóot and his incomparably beautiful wife.<sup>152</sup>

*Informant:* Tóin; pp. 661–666.

### Summary

Beautiful boy is born to old couple. He is marvelous hunter and can change size at will. During visit of adult sons and their wives he is hidden, but is subsequently discovered. Brothers marvel at his hunting skill; their wives are strongly attracted by his handsome looks. After their departure he and father build first canoe, in which he is blown out to sea while hunting. He returns years later after parents have died of grief.

<sup>151</sup>The small seagull, *Larus glaucodes* or *Larus Belcheri*, "gaviotín." None of the listeners could give any more information about this woman.

<sup>152</sup>In its first part this story coincides almost exactly with a Yamana myth which I recorded in February 1920 near the Beagle Channel.

*Motif content*

|             |                                                                              |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A513.2.     | Culture hero arrives (and departs) in boat.                                  |
| A527.1.     | Culture hero precocious.                                                     |
| A1445.1.    | Origin of boat-building.                                                     |
| A1459.1. +. | Origin of harpoon. (A1459.1. Acquisition of weapons.)                        |
| D154.4. +.  | Transformation: woman to seagull. (D154.4. Transformation: man to gull.)     |
| D631.1.     | Person changes size at will.                                                 |
| D1810.      | Magic knowledge.                                                             |
| D2061.      | Magic murder.                                                                |
| D2064.      | Magic sickness.                                                              |
| F527.       | Person of unusual color.                                                     |
| F575.1.     | Remarkably beautiful woman.                                                  |
| F575.2.     | Handsome man.                                                                |
| F575.3.     | Remarkably beautiful child.                                                  |
| F661.       | Skillful marksman.                                                           |
| F679.5.     | Skillful hunter.                                                             |
| F1041.1.3.  | Death from sorrow or chagrin.                                                |
| J652.       | Inattention to warnings.                                                     |
| K818.4. +.  | Deception by hiding child. (K818.4. Deception by hiding weapons.)            |
| N440. +.    | Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)                            |
| P264. +.    | Beautiful child immoderately loved by sisters-in-law. (P264. Sister-in-law.) |
| Q65.        | Filial duty rewarded.                                                        |
| T538.       | Unusual conception in old age.                                               |
| T615.       | Supernatural growth.                                                         |
| W195.       | Envy.                                                                        |

## 46. HOW A SEA LION FELL IN LOVE WITH A GIRL

In the early days, Ahewáuwen<sup>153</sup> was a man. He lived in the south, and had fallen very much in love with a girl. The girl, however, had no interest in him at all. The sea lion had followed her for a long time without success.

<sup>153</sup>This name is used for every male animal from the Otariidae family, which is represented there by a few species. The difference in size between males and females in these species is very obvious and quite significant.



One day several women went to the beach again to gather fish. The girl was among them, and the sea lion was watching. He had already gone into the water earlier and, swimming in a wide arc unnoticed by the women, he now arrived at the spot where the girl was. She had moved away a little from the others.

Here Ahewáuwen waited. The girl was holding a stick in the water from which hung a string with a piece of meat at the end. When the girl threw out the fishing gorge<sup>154</sup> again the sea lion came quickly forward. He pulled lightly at the line, and bit off the meat without letting himself be seen. The girl had to tie another piece of meat to the line.

The sea lion came forward again, pulled at the string, and bit off the bait without showing himself. Once more the girl tied a piece of meat to the string and threw out the line. This time, again, the sea lion came forward, pulled at the string, and bit off the bait; but he did not show himself. The girl lifted the tackle, and again the meat was bitten off. She said: "How can that be?"

She tied a new piece of meat to her line. The sea lion acted the same as before. The girl said: "That is very strange!" Now she tied a larger piece of meat to her tackle. This the sea lion bit off, too.

The girl was standing at some distance from the other women. As she was cutting an even larger piece of meat the sea lion dashed out of the water, seized the girl, and dragged her into the salty tide. The girl could scream but once, a cry the other women did not hear, so quickly did she disappear.

The sea lion took the girl away with him. He carried her so that she would not drown, for she had never learned to swim. The sea lion sped away with the girl. It was as if she were sitting in a canoe.

This happened in Yáíuwa<sup>155</sup> where the sea lion abducted the girl. He fled with her to the region near Bahía Buen Suceso, a completely uninhabited area.<sup>156</sup> It had already grown dark. The sea lion carried the girl to this very beach, and stayed to rest there for a few days. The sea lion mostly lay on a big, flat stone to sun himself. The girl looked for *ǵástel*<sup>157</sup> on the rocky beach, to appease her hunger.

Over in Yáíuwa, the women soon noticed the sudden disappearance of the girl. They returned to the camp to inform the other people. At once the brothers went out to look for their sister. They looked everywhere,

<sup>154</sup>By this is meant the fishing tackle of the Yamana, which possibly also may have been used in a few instances by the Haus people.

<sup>155</sup>A strip of land near Cabo San Diego, on the extreme southeastern tip.

<sup>156</sup>The Haus people only rarely visited the beach there.

<sup>157</sup>Very common brown algae, which were eaten sporadically by the Haus people.

and searched for a long time until finally they came to Bahía Buen Suceso. From a hill the brothers spied the sea lion lying on a rock and there they discovered their sister as well. She in turn soon noticed her brothers, and gave them a sign to come closer. This, however, she did only to deceive them, and when the brothers came toward her, she woke up the sea lion. The two had already fallen in love; the sea lion especially was very much in love with the girl.

When the brothers had come very close, the girl sat on the back of the sea lion. He carried her quickly out into the water and both hurried away far out to sea. Here the sea lion swam in a wide circle. The two did not return to the coast for a long time. They went ashore at places where the cliffs were very steep, accessible to no one else. There one finds the big cave of Kakemói,<sup>158</sup> into which only a sea lion can crawl, and here they stayed. They are there even today. They lived together and brought many children into the world. The girl later turned into a sea lioness and bore many children. That is why today one finds so many sea lions near that cave.

But the girl's brothers were unable to follow her. They wept long for their sister. At first she did not like the sea lion at all, so that he had to drag her away with him. But later they grew to love each other, and the girl stayed with the sea lion ever after.<sup>159</sup>

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 666–668.

### *Summary*

Rejected sea lion suitor abducts beloved, carries her across water to his home. She falls in love with him and helps him evade her pursuing brothers. She turns into female sea lion and thenceforth remains with him.

### *Motif content*

- |          |                                                                                          |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2582.+. | Why sea lions are plentiful in certain area. (A2582. Why certain animals are plentiful.) |
| B551.+.  | Sea lion carries girl across water. (B551. Animal carries man across water.)             |
| B600.+.  | Marriage of woman to sea lion. (B600. Marriage of person to animal.)                     |
| B630.    | Offspring of marriage to animal.                                                         |

<sup>158</sup>This wide hollow in a rock on the shore of Bahía Buen Suceso is accessible only from the sea and is constantly washed by the waves.

<sup>159</sup>This story, more than any other, goes around among the Haus people. The Yamana also tell it with slight variations.

|         |                                                                                            |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D127.+. | Transformation: man to sea lion. (D127. Transformation: man to sea mammal.)                |
| K700.   | Capture by deception.                                                                      |
| R13.    | Abduction by animal.                                                                       |
| R18.    | Abduction by rejected suitor.                                                              |
| R70.+.  | Girl falls in love with abductor, deceives would-be rescuers. (R70. Behavior of captives.) |
| R156.+. | Brothers attempt to rescue sister. (R156. Brother rescues sister.)                         |
| R220.   | Flights.                                                                                   |
| R315.   | Cave as refuge.                                                                            |
| T75.    | Man scorned by his beloved.                                                                |

#### 47. THE SEA LION AND HIS WIFE

Old Ahewáuwen was the father of young Ahewáuwen. The latter came into the world as a sea lion.<sup>160</sup>

Long ago there lived a girl who was extremely beautiful. She often went to the beach to gather fish. She was not married as yet and lived with her brothers. In the same region<sup>161</sup> there lived old Ahewáuwen, a powerful sea lion. He liked the young girl very much and fell in love with her. He often turned up at a particular place.

Soon the girl, too, became fond of the sea lion. She liked him very much, and fell in love with him. And so the girl went daily to the beach, there to find the sea lion waiting for her each time. Here the two sat down close together, played together, and caressed each other, the sea lion and the girl. Young people in love usually do such things when they are alone. Therefore the girl used to come alone to this spot on the beach, she never brought any other woman along.

The sea lion had a big net which he set up every day. When the girl came he always had a large number of big fish on hand. These he arranged for the girl, so that the two had a lot of time to sit together and caress each other. They liked to play with each other. Not until sunset was near did the girl pick up the fish, and hurry back to the hut, while the sea lion went out into the sea. Then, as agreed, they would meet again early the

<sup>160</sup>It is clearly stated that from the relationship of the sea lion with a girl a child resulted, which itself later became a sea lion.

<sup>161</sup>In the southeastern corner of the Isla Grande, around Cabo San Diego.

following morning at the same place. They spent this day exactly like the one before. Thus the love between them increased more and more.

Her brothers were very pleased, for every day their sister brought home lots of fish. She was allowed to go to the beach early each day. They often asked her: "But how do you manage to catch so many big fish?" She replied: "I'm lucky every day, that's why I find so many and such big fish!" Her brothers contented themselves with this, and henceforth let their sister go to the beach every day at dawn. She would not return until night, arriving each time with a heavy load of fish. Then her brothers would say: "How lucky our sister is!" They distributed some of the fish to the other people, who rejoiced greatly.

The girl had now been meeting the sea lion at early morning hours for a very long time. They had fallen deeper and deeper in love with each other, so that eventually the maiden became pregnant by him. Gradually the brothers noticed what must have happened to their sister. They talked among themselves: "Our sister has given herself to a man!" They waited a little longer, but when it became increasingly more apparent that their sister was pregnant they asked: "Who is your husband?" The sister looked a bit embarrassed and answered: "I don't have a husband as yet!" But the brothers recognized her condition plainly and, flattering her, they asked their sister in a very friendly way: "Come on, tell us. Who is our brother-in-law?" But she answered: "I still don't have a husband!" The girl did not want to reveal anything.

After some more time had passed she was far advanced in pregnancy. The brothers conferred with one another again, talking among themselves: "With what man can our sister have lain? We'll try to press her a bit now; she must tell us!" Flattering her, they asked their sister again: "Come on, name the man with whom you have lain! Who is really our brother-in-law?" The girl only answered very indignantly: "I have no husband!"

From then on the brothers watched their sister very closely, but they failed to notice anything peculiar. Occasionally the girl also went to the beach with other women, but here she knew how to keep herself apart in a very cunning and inconspicuous way. She always managed to meet the sea lion. As usual the two caressed each other without anybody seeing them. They had agreed on a particular signal; thus they kept meeting at the appointed place where none of the other women could observe them.

The brothers pressed their sister again, coaxing her: "Come on now, name the man you have!" Then her brothers spoke out plainly: "You are carrying a child. It has to be from your husband!" The girl answered



angrily: "But I don't have a husband! Stop asking me about it constantly!"

The girl was now very close to giving birth. Once more her brothers urged their sister, saying: "Why won't you name your husband to us? You must keep him hidden someplace!" She answered: "Where could I keep a man hidden?" Then her brothers taunted her: "So how come you're pregnant?" From then on the girl spoke not a word more to her brothers.

Two days later the girl went again to the beach very early in the morning. On leaving the hut she said to her brothers as usual: "I'm going out to gather fish!" They answered her: "You may go!" It had already grown dark that day, but the girl had still not returned, and her brothers asked one another: "Where is our sister?" Also the following day the girl stayed away. Her brothers did not know what had happened. They feared some misfortune.

Then one morning one of the brothers went to the beach. The tide was very high just then. Suddenly he noticed a big sea lion, lying on the sand, sunning itself. Next to it sat a woman, holding a child in her arms. Carefully the man crept forward. Then he recognized his sister! She held a newborn child in her arms. Only she could have given life to him. She is the baby's mother, the man thought. The sea lion played with the child, and sometimes also caressed the mother. The brother saw all this and said to himself: "Now I know my brother-in-law! That sea lion made my sister pregnant!" The man at once hurried back to his hut to report to his brothers. They became very pensive. Now they knew why their sister had stayed away so long! She wanted to give birth down where the sea lion lived. So he was her husband.

A few days later the girl entered her brothers' hut, bearing a child in her arms. Her brothers addressed her: "Are you bringing a child? Is he maybe yours? So then you did have relations with a man after all! Tell us finally who is our brother-in-law?" At this the sister became very embarrassed and remained silent. Her brothers kept pressing her: "Now you can't deny it any longer; you must have had intercourse with a man! Who is he?" Finally she answered: "I'm very much ashamed; I can't say it!" Never before had the brothers been quite as inquisitive, pressing their sister even harder: "Do tell us who your husband is! We badly want to see him; by all means bring him to our hut!" Finally the girl said with great shame: "My husband is the sea lion!" Her brothers spoke not another word; they were as though struck dumb. Of course they had known all this, and were just holding back their rage.

Several days went by. Then the brothers instructed their sister sternly: "Bring that sea lion to our hut!" But she answered: "That cannot be! My husband is very much afraid of you!" To this her brothers replied: "If you

refuse to bring your husband to our hut we shall kill him on the beach out there! We know that he lives between Téxnol and Šíla!" The girl was surprised at this, and wept with pity: "Oh, my poor husband!"

The brothers earnestly beseeched their sister, then later threatened her: "Go to the beach and entice him to come out of the water. We'll follow you unnoticed. When the sea lion is holding you in his arms, caressing you, we'll kill him." The girl was now completely at a loss, crying bitterly. Her brothers threatened her more and more. Finally the girl put the child on her back, and with a very heavy heart went to the beach. The brothers followed her carefully and hid nearby. Standing at the water's edge the girl enticed her husband to come out of the sea. He came very quickly and soon the two lay in each other's arms again, caressing each other. When the sea lion was holding the girl in a tight embrace her brothers dashed forward and struck down the powerful animal all at once.

The mother began to cry bitterly, the baby sitting on her back. When it saw how those men killed its father, it gave a loud scream, quickly jumped out from its mother's fur robe, and hurried into the water. The mother ran after her child but could not reach it any more. Full of grief she sat down on the beach, weeping bitterly. In a single instant she had lost both husband and child: her husband had been killed, her child had run away! From the sea she could hear the child lament its father's horrible death.

The brothers immediately seized their knives and cut the big sea lion to pieces. The woman had to watch her husband being thoroughly dismembered. Approaching the scene she took the sea lion's sexual organs into her hands and said to her brothers: "Give me these parts!" Her brothers cut them off for her, but of the sea lion's meat the woman ate nothing.

That woman mourned long over the death of her husband, the sea lion. For many days her child came to the beach where the sea lion had been dismembered, also to mourn the loss of its father. Meanwhile the child, too, turned into a sea lion and from then on continued to live between those tall rocks called Téxnol and Šíla, by Cabo San Diego, far down south of the Great Island.

*Informant:* Čikiól; pp. 668-671.

### *Summary*

Sea lion and girl fall in love, have secret meetings. She gets pregnant, but resists brothers' persistent inquiries as to lover's identity. Upon discovering sister with sea lion and newborn child, they force her to divert sea lion's attention while

they kill him. Child escapes into ocean and becomes sea lion. Brothers dismember murdered sea lion, giving his sexual organs to his wife.

*Motif content*

|              |                                                                                                                  |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2433.3. +.  | Haunts of sea lion. (A2433.3. Haunts of various animals—mammals.)                                                |
| B600. +.     | Marriage of woman to sea lion. (B600. Marriage of person to animal.)                                             |
| B610.1.      | Girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives.                                                                   |
| B621. +.     | Sea lion as suitor. (B261. Beast as suitor.)                                                                     |
| B631.        | Human offspring from marriage to animal.                                                                         |
| D127. +.     | Transformation: man to sea lion. (D127. Transformation: man to sea mammal.)                                      |
| F575.1.      | Remarkably beautiful woman.                                                                                      |
| F1041.21. +. | Son runs into sea after seeing father killed. (F1041.21. Reactions to excessive grief.)                          |
| K787. +.     | Woman sent to rendezvous with lover who is killed. (K787. Maiden sent to rendezvous with lover who is captured.) |
| K800.        | Killing or maiming by deception.                                                                                 |
| K2211.1.     | Treacherous brother-in-law.                                                                                      |
| N440. +.     | Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)                                                                |
| Q253.1.      | Bestiality punished.                                                                                             |
| S0.          | Cruel relative.                                                                                                  |
| S73.1.2. +.  | Brothers kill and eat sea lion brother-in-law. (S73.1.2. Brother kills and eats brother.)                        |
| S139.2. +.   | Slain sea lion brother-in-law dismembered. (S139.2. Slain person dismembered.)                                   |
| S185.        | Cruelty to pregnant woman.                                                                                       |
| T35. +.      | Deception in order to meet lover. (T35. Lovers' rendezvous.)                                                     |
| T41.3.       | Lovers' signal.                                                                                                  |
| T210.1.      | Faithful wife.                                                                                                   |
| T211.4. +.   | Husband's sexual organs kept after his death. (T211.4. Spouse's corpse kept after death.)                        |
| T475.        | Unknown (clandestine) paramour.                                                                                  |

#### 48. THE CONTEST BETWEEN LOUSE AND LIZARD

In the old days there lived Apen (Louse) and Kélpel (Lizard).<sup>162</sup> The two often fought each other.

<sup>162</sup>The three types of lizard that actually occur on Isla Grande are only rarely seen by people since their number is very limited.

One day they entered a contest to see who was the stronger. While struggling Louse attempted to leap on top of Lizard's head. She would win the contest if she succeeded in jumping up on Lizard's head. Each time Louse sought to jump, however, the lizard defended herself and ducked away.<sup>163</sup> She knew how to dodge quickly and successfully until, at last, she grew tired.

So when Louse made a very quick jump, she landed on top of Lizard's head, and stayed there, never to come down again. She had won the contest. Subsequently Louse also got on other people's heads and since then nobody can get rid of her.<sup>164</sup>

*Informant:* Inxiól; p. 672.

*Motif content*

- |          |                                                                            |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2253.   | Animal characteristics from jumping contest.                               |
| A2494.+. | Enmity between louse and lizard. (A2494. Why certain animals are enemies.) |
| B266.+.  | Louse and lizard fight. (B266. Animals fight.)                             |

## 49. THE STORY OF KÓKAT

In the region of Šeis there lived a man by the name of Kókat. He was a *hautpán*. Another man, who occasionally went there, thought Kókat was a woman.

Therefore he approached the latter caressing and playing with him as though he were a woman. The two fell in love and lived together from then on. Both were excellent marksmen.

From this time on Kókat acted like a pregnant woman and, in fact, after a long time he bore a son. A little later Kókat turned into a bird.<sup>165</sup>

*Informant:* Lóyux; p. 672.

<sup>163</sup>Female gender of protagonists according to German usage.

<sup>164</sup>The Indians are mercilessly plagued by lice and cannot defend themselves. Therefore they are no longer particularly sensitive to them.

<sup>165</sup>I could not identify this type of bird more closely since it is very timid.



*Motif content*

|          |                                                          |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| D150.    | Transformation: man to bird.                             |
| F661.    | Skillful marksman.                                       |
| T463.    | Homosexual love (male).                                  |
| T549. +. | Man gives birth. (T549. Miraculous birth—miscellaneous.) |
| T578.    | Pregnant man.                                            |

## 50. WHY THE GREEN FINCH KEEPS ITSELF HIDDEN

Tóses<sup>166</sup> had once ambushed and killed a Yamana man. Soon those people found out about it, and thought of killing Tóses. He hid among dense shrubs and low bushes so that no one could reach him.

Even today he still lives in thickets and underbrush where nobody can catch him. All the Yamana people were very angry with him. Although they lay in wait for a long time they could not get hold of him. The man Tóses had killed was very clever and beloved by all.

*Informant:* Páren; pp. 672–673.

*Motif content*

|             |                                                                         |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2433.4. +. | Why green finch hides in shrubs and bushes. (A2433.4. Haunts of birds.) |
| B16.3.      | Devastating birds.                                                      |
| P310.2. +.  | Attempt to avenge friend. (P310.2. Friends avenge each other.)          |

## 51. HOW THE WOOD OWL KILLED HIS SISTER-IN-LAW

One day Kaxs<sup>167</sup> sat once again in front of his hut, working on arrowheads and fixing them on shafts. Since his brother, Kaux,<sup>168</sup> had gone hunting, his sister-in-law, Kaux's wife, came out and stood by him. At

<sup>166</sup>The widely distributed green finch, *Phrygilus gayi*, of the Fringillidae family.

<sup>167</sup>The small wood owl, *Glaucidium nanum*. This bird is frequently seen in the open country as well as in the forest.

<sup>168</sup>The large eagle owl of Tierra del Fuego, *Bubo magellanicus*.

first she just watched him for a while, then she talked to taunt him a little. He, however, continued working. She said: "What beautiful arrowheads you can make! You're a good craftsman. How I would laugh if a point would break under your hands. I'd like to see your face if suddenly I were to put my foot on all these arrows! Should I perhaps stomp on all these arrowheads and break them?" Thus the woman talked, greatly annoying her brother-in-law.

After a while the man finished his work. Not until then did he answer his sister-in-law, saying: "What are you talking about! These arrows seem to be worthless to you. Very well then, let's test them to see whether they'll stick in your skin!" These words frightened the woman. Therefore she answered him: "I was only joking. I was only talking to myself a little!" But Kaux was terribly upset and excited. He immediately seized his bow and shot an arrow at his sister-in-law. She fell instantly dead to the ground. His fury and indignation were great; he wanted revenge. So it was during the old days that sometimes a sister-in-law angered and taunted her brother-in-law.<sup>169</sup>

Kaux was still on the hunt. Meanwhile Kauxs began to think about what he had just done: "What's going to become of me now; I have killed my brother's wife! What a horrible man I am! I killed my sister-in-law because of a trifle! What shall I do, now that this has happened? I have to save myself or my brother will take terrible revenge on me!" Shaking his head again he said: "How sorry I feel for my poor sister-in-law!" He stepped out of his hut saying: "What am I to do!" Then he thought it over and said: "I'll do it this way: I'm going to hide in a hollow tree!" But soon he added: "That won't work; for my brother will find me easily! It's better to climb to the top of the tree where the leaves grow thick and where he can't see me!"

He quickly packed all his belongings and ran into the forest. Here he picked a tree with a dense crown, climbed up, and covered himself so thoroughly with many lichens<sup>170</sup> that nobody could discover him from below. He had a very good view from up there and could see anyone who approached. He kept completely quiet.

After some time Kaux came home again, dragging a big guanaco, which he threw down in front of the hut. He entered and saw his wife lying dead on her bed. So great was his shock that he was unable to speak.

<sup>169</sup>In the explanation that followed it was emphasized that such an occurrence was very rare. Through this story, reserve between brother and sister-in-law is urged, to prevent illicit loveplay; this was mentioned to me explicitly as the moral of this story.

<sup>170</sup>*Usnea barbata* develops on several trees in luxurious abundance.

After a long time he shouted loudly: "Who has killed my wife?" On hearing his cry several men came together, for very many people lived there, and told him: "Your own brother did that!" To this Kaux answered in full rage: "I'll look for him and kill him; I shall revenge myself on him! I'll shoot so many arrows into his body that he can't get up any more!" Kaux was a good hunter, and asked the people: "Where did the killer go!" They answered: "We saw him run north!" They examined the ground and soon made out his footprints, which Kaux now followed.

From the tree Kaux saw his brother coming closer and closer. Soon Kaux stood by the big tree and walked around it. He looked up but could not see Kaxs, for the latter was well covered by many tree lichens. Out of fear and anxiety Kaux's eyes had already turned green, for he constantly had to look through the thick masses of green lichens to watch his brother below. Although Kaux continued his search for a long time, he could not discover Kaxs. So he returned to his hut. On the way home he said to himself: "Kaxs is still going to fall into my hands some day!"

Kaxs, however, was very sly and cautious, remaining for a long time in his hiding place of lichens. He sat there for so long that he eventually turned into a bird. Since that time he has always kept himself well hidden under the thick lichens so that Kaux cannot find him. To this day Kaux has not forgotten that Kaxs killed his wife. He is still looking for him so as to take his revenge. Therefore, when Kaux appears in a region, Kaxs soon leaves.<sup>171</sup>

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 673–674.

### *Summary*

Man constantly taunted by sister-in-law loses patience, kills her. Fearing brother's revenge he escapes, taking refuge in treetop. Brother searches in vain for him. Eventually they become owls, and even today one is still looking for the other, so that they are never seen together.

### *Motif content*

- |             |                                                                         |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2332.5.+.  | Why owl has green eyes. (A2332.5. Color of animal's eyes.)              |
| A2433.4.1.  | Why owl lives where he does.                                            |
| A2494.13.+. | Why white owl and eagle owl are enemies. (A2494.13. Enmities of birds.) |
| D153.2.     | Transformation: man to owl.                                             |
| F677.       | Skillful tracker.                                                       |

<sup>171</sup>The intolerance of the owl, which permits no other member of its family into its own private hunting ground, is interpreted by this story as an enmity that is never settled.

|            |                                                                                            |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| K515.      | Escape by hiding.                                                                          |
| N334.      | Accidental fatal ending of game or joke.                                                   |
| N340.      | Hasty killing or condemnation (mistake).                                                   |
| Q288.      | Punishment for mockery.                                                                    |
| Q411.3. +. | Death of sister-in-law as punishment. (Q411.3. Death of father [son, etc.] as punishment.) |
| R220.      | Flights.                                                                                   |
| R260.      | Pursuits.                                                                                  |
| R311.      | Tree refuge.                                                                               |
| W185.1.    | Man demonstrates his violence of temper.                                                   |

## 52. VULTURE AND CORMORANT HAVE A WRESTLING MATCH<sup>172</sup>

Kwáičin<sup>173</sup> was a powerful shaman stemming from the cold south. So cold is his homeland that all water there remains forever frozen. He himself often had the marrow freeze in his very bones. Kwáičin was extremely talkative, forever engaging in verbal battles. But he was also a much feared wrestler, endowed with extraordinary strength.

Once when it grew very cold again in his homeland Kwáičin came to our country. Immediately the desire to fight someone came over him. Keyáışk<sup>174</sup> set himself as his opponent. Although much smaller than Kwáičin, he was considered the best fighter here. They went up to each other and took hold. Kwáičin bore up forcefully against his opponent's chest, encircled his hips, and bent Keyáışk's upper body so far back that his spine broke. Since then, cormorants have a curiously stiff bearing. But with one hand Keyáışk had managed to seize his opponent by the throat, pulling it so that it became very long and all the blood disappeared from the veins. With the other hand he tugged furiously at the other's hair and pulled out a thick tuft. Since then Kwáičin has a bald, wrinkled head.

Nobody won this wrestling match. But Kwáičin was very angry. Previously he had boasted loudly how he would wrestle down any opponent. Ashamed and bitter, he changed his name; now he is called Kárkai. He still has a great influence on the weather. Whenever he feels like it he calls heavy snow and an icy wind from the south, his homeland. They come at once, for he is a powerful *xon*.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>172</sup>See also Bridges 1948:435-436; Cojazzi 1914, 10:10.

<sup>173</sup>The great vulture, "carancho," *Polyborus tharus*.

<sup>174</sup>The cormorant, *Phalacrocorax atriceps*.

<sup>175</sup>Lucas Bridges, Barclay, and Cojazzi give the same story more or less in full.



*Informant:* Lóyux; p. 675.

### *Summary*

Vulture-shaman and cormorant are great wrestlers, have wrestling contest from which present-day physical characteristics result. Contest turns out even; vulture is ashamed and changes name.

### *Motif content*

|            |                                                                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2250.     | Animal characteristics: result of contest.                                            |
| A2320.+.   | Why vulture has bald, wrinkled head. (A2320. Origin of animal characteristics: head.) |
| A2351.4.+. | Origin of vulture's long neck. (A2351.4. Origin of animal's long neck.)               |
| A2440.+.   | Why cormorants have stiff bearing. (A2440. Animal characteristics: carriage.)         |
| B191.6.    | Bird as magician.                                                                     |
| B266.+.    | Vulture and cormorant fight. (B266. Animals fight.)                                   |
| D2142.1.   | Wind produced by magic.                                                               |
| D2143.6.3. | Snow produced by magic.                                                               |
| F617.      | Mighty wrestler.                                                                      |
| F704.      | Land of cold and mist.                                                                |
| H1562.9.   | Test of strength: wrestling.                                                          |
| K1831.0.1. | Disguise by changing name.                                                            |
| Q306.      | Quarrelsomeness punished.                                                             |
| W141.      | Talkativeness.                                                                        |
| W212.      | Eagerness for combat.                                                                 |

## 53. HOW FINCH AND STARLING WRESTLED WITH EACH OTHER<sup>176</sup>

Čeip<sup>177</sup> and Šiika<sup>178</sup> were two strong men, constantly quarreling. One day they again came close to each other, immediately took to violence, and started to wrestle. In their mutual rage they seized each other firmly. With his left hand Šiika grabbed Čeip by the throat; with the right hand he pulled out a tuft of his hair. The result was a white spot on Čeip's

<sup>176</sup>See also Bridges 1948:436; Cojazzi 1914, 10:12.

<sup>177</sup>The finch, "chingol," *Zonotrichia canicapilla*, from the family of the Fringillidae.

<sup>178</sup>Starling, "loica," *Leistes superciliaries*, from the family of Icteridae or Troupiale.

throat, and, sticking up on the back of his head, a bump with a tuft of feathers.

Čeip was somewhat smaller than his opponent. From below he gave him a strong cuff on the nose so that much blood gushed forth. The bleeding never stopped. Even today one can still see the big red spot on the breast of this bird.<sup>179</sup>

*Informant:* Páren; pp. 675–676.

*Motif content*

|            |                                                                             |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A2250.     | Animal characteristics: result of contest.                                  |
| A2321.+.   | Origin of finch's crest. (A2321. Origin of bird crests.)                    |
| A2353.+.   | Why starling has red breast. (A2353. Origin and nature of animal's breast.) |
| A2412.2.+. | Why finch has white spot on neck. (A2412.2. Markings on birds.)             |
| B265.      | Animals continually rend each other.                                        |
| B266.+.    | Finch and starling fight. (B266. Animals fight.)                            |
| F610.      | Remarkably strong man.                                                      |
| H1562.9.   | Test of strength: wrestling.                                                |
| W188.      | Contentiousness.                                                            |
| W212.      | Eagerness for combat.                                                       |

## The Yóši Spirits

### 54. HOW A MAN WRESTLES WITH THE YÓŠI

Once in Táusen (a region by the Río del Fuego) a man was looking for birds in the dark of night. He had only a glowing piece of bark with which to light his way. While going along his way he was suddenly seized by a yóši. The man gave a terrible shriek, and then saw that many

<sup>179</sup>Cf. Lucas Bridges, Borgatello, and Cojazzi. This story, similar to the preceding one in structure and type, seeks to explain the striking plumage of the two birds.

other *yóši* became frightened by his scream and ran away. He fought with all his strength. Now the *yóši* stopped, waited a while, and came back; they likewise began to roar. The man made desperate efforts, however, defending himself valiantly. He was very strong. Meanwhile the other spirits had come quite close again. But just then the man managed to break loose from the *yóši*.

He ran for all he was worth; he was a very fast runner. All the *yóši* bolted after him, roaring all the while, but none managed to catch the man. They chased him for a long time. Not until the man had gotten close to his hut did the *yóši* give up. They followed him no further on account of the many men that were sitting there.

Completely exhausted the man entered his hut. His family saw how tired and frightened he was. First he rested a little and then told what had happened to him. The other men came to his hut. He told them how he had wrestled with the *yóši* and how the spirits had pursued him all the way home. The next day he died. This happened at the lagoon of the Río del Fuego where that man had been looking for birds at night. There are always many *yóši* there. In the old days there were even more of them than today.

*Informant:* Šaipóten; pp. 702–703.

### *Summary*

A night hunter is seized by one of a group of *yóši* (wood spirits). In terror he shrieks and sees the other *yóši* flee, only to return roaring loudly to pursue him all the way home. Safe from the *yóši* he relates his adventure; the next day he dies.

### *Motif content*

|            |                                                     |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| F402.1.2.  | Spirit blocks person's road.                        |
| F402.1.10. | Spirit pursues person.                              |
| F402.1.11. | Spirit causes death.                                |
| F402.1.12. | Spirit fights against person.                       |
| F402.6.    | Dwelling of demons.                                 |
| F405.      | Means of combating spirits.                         |
| F418.1.    | Spirits answer war cry.                             |
| F610.      | Remarkably strong man.                              |
| F615.0.1.  | Death of strong man.                                |
| F681.      | Marvelous runner.                                   |
| R219.+.    | Escape from spirits. (R219. Escapes—miscellaneous.) |

## 55. A MAN RECOGNIZES HIS BROTHER IN THE DEAD YÓŠI

One evening a man was sitting alone in his hut, wrapped in his cloak. Huddled up and already half asleep he crouched by the fire. He was just about to lie down to sleep when a *yóši* approached the hut. The man saw the spirit cautiously sneak closer, move up to the door, and squat down on the floor. The *yóši* moved his hands in the (usual) way: his arms were stretched out, palms outward, thumbs touching, his hands describing exactly the same small circles. He kept on making these movements in order to put the man into a deep sleep.

Then the man very slowly and cautiously slipped out of his cloak, but in such a way that the cloak remained as though he were still sitting under it. He freed himself from his cloak very gently and then crawled under the wall of the hut out into the open. Although he was already outside, the *yóši* had not noticed anything and continued moving his hands to make the man fall asleep. The latter saw all this from outside.

Cautiously the man reached for his weapons and let fly an arrow at the *yóši*. The latter was fatally wounded and screamed loudly, roaring like a sea lion. Quickly he left the hut and ran into the forest. Here he hid behind a tree. As he peeked out from behind it the man flung a heavy rock at him with his sling. The *yóši* was hit again, ran a short distance, and sank dead to the ground.

The man went back to his hut and lay down. He did not fall asleep until late. But in the morning curiosity overcame him. Finally he rose and went in the direction from which he had come the previous evening. Fear overcame him as he reached the spot where the *yóši* was lying. He was dead alright, but peering at him more closely the man recognized the face of his brother, who had died just a few days earlier! Now the man wept bitterly. Later he buried the *yóši* there on the spot, went back to the camp, and put on mourning. Then he related all that had happened to the other people, and they also mourned.

*Informant:* Čikiól; pp. 703–704.

### Summary

Huddled in his mantle by the fire a man half asleep sees a *yóši* approach. Quickly he leaves his hut to observe the spirit making peculiar hypnotic (sleep-inducing) motions with his hands in the direction of the mantle he has left



behind. He kills the *yōshi* and returns by daylight to recognize on him the face of his recently deceased brother.

*Motif content*

|          |                                                                                |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D42.2.   | Spirit takes shape of man.                                                     |
| D683.6.  | Transformation by evil spirits.                                                |
| D1962.+. | Hypnotic gestures induce magic sleep. (D1962. Means of inducing magic sleep.)  |
| E226.    | Dead brother's return.                                                         |
| E430.    | Defense against ghosts and the dead.                                           |
| E432.    | Ghost deceived.                                                                |
| E461.    | Fight of revenant with living person.                                          |
| E462.+.  | Revenant killed by living person. (E462. Revenant over-awed by living person.) |
| F405.    | Means of combating spirits.                                                    |
| G310.    | Ogres with characteristic methods.                                             |
| K500.    | Escape from death or danger by deception.                                      |
| K525.5.  | Man leaves mantle so that only mantle is hit.                                  |
| R219.+.  | Escape from spirits. (R219. Escapes—miscellaneous.)                            |

## 56. HOW A WOMAN DEFENDS HERSELF AGAINST THE *YŌSHI*

Once a woman was sitting all alone in her hut. It was late already and the night was pitch dark. Then she let the fire grow smaller and lay down on her bed. She had not completely closed her eyes when she saw a *yōshi* approach her hut, moving closer very quietly. Cautiously he sat down by the fire, warming himself a bit, for he thought the woman had fallen asleep. She was lying on her back. Now the *yōshi* stretched out his arms and moved his hands in circles to make the woman fall into a deep sleep. While doing this he moved very close to her and crouched down by her feet. This gave him a lascivious pleasure.

Suddenly the *yōshi* seized the woman's feet and pushed them apart so that her open legs were bent at the knees. As he was about to turn to the fire to take some hot ashes—these he wanted to put on the woman's genitals so as to make her dry (barren?) forever—she suddenly straightened her legs and gave the *yōshi* a hard kick. He fell backward into the fire, burnt his whole back, and ran screaming out of the hut. He did not look back.

The next morning the woman told the other people what had happened to her. The following day she died.

*Informant:* Luis Páren; p. 704.

### *Summary*

A woman resting by her fire is attacked by a *yóši*. She kicks him into the fire, relates her story in the morning, and dies the following day.

### *Motif content*

|             |                                                                               |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D1962.+.    | Hypnotic gestures induce magic sleep. (D1962. Means of inducing magic sleep.) |
| F402.1.5.+. | Demon attempts to cause barrenness. (F402.1.5. Demon causes disease.)         |
| F402.1.11.  | Spirit causes death.                                                          |
| F402.1.15.  | Demon suitors of girl.                                                        |
| F405.       | Means of combating spirits.                                                   |
| F405.12.    | Demons flee from fire.                                                        |
| G310.       | Ogres with characteristic methods.                                            |
| K925.       | Victim pushed into fire.                                                      |
| K1868.      | Deception by pretending sleep.                                                |
| R219.+.     | Escape from spirits. (R219. Escapes—miscellaneous.)                           |
| T591.       | Barrenness or impotence induced by magic.                                     |

## The Klóketen Myth

### 57. THE ORIGIN OF THE WOMEN'S KLÓKETEN<sup>180</sup>

In ancient times there were already many *bówenh* here in our country. In those days sun and moon, stars and winds, mountains and rivers walked the earth as human beings, exactly as we do today. But at that time the women held sway everywhere, both inside and outside the hut. They told the men what to do, just as, nowadays, men assign women their tasks. In those days the men were submissive to and held in obedi-

<sup>180</sup>See also Bridges 1948:412, 435; Bórmida 1956:215-216.

ence by the womenfolk. The latter ordered them to do domestic chores and the men did them. The men were obliged to stay at home and take care of everything the women told them to: they had to maintain the fire, cook the meat, stretch the skins, and look after the small children. If there was anything to discuss, the women got together privately, leaving their men behind in the huts. Men were not allowed to sit in the circle of the women when they were considering or discussing things. Only women made decisions and gave orders. Men had to do what they were told. They were completely dependent upon the women.

But as the men were strong and numerous, the smartest among the women feared that some day they might rebel and refuse to obey. So they sat down together to ponder and consider how they might keep the men subjected; they did not want them to rebel and to disobey. The cleverest of all the women was Kra (Moon), the wife of Kran (Sun). She was a powerful *xon* and had the strongest influence over the women, who all feared her greatly, not daring to oppose her. The women continued to think and ponder the question for a long time.

Finally the women initiated this secret meeting, very much like the one men have today. A good distance away from the dwelling huts the women erected a very large hut with room enough for all of them. Here they could gather together in the afternoon. Some women remained day and night inside the Big Hut, and the grown-up girls, too, hardly ever returned to the camp. All women, however, stayed in the hut from the afternoon hours until late at night.<sup>181</sup> No man was allowed to approach the Big Hut. Only women gathered there, and they kept a sharp lookout. The men had to keep to the camp.

Each of the women painted her body all over with special designs, one day this way, the next day another way. Over her head the woman put a painted mask of bark so that her face was completely covered. Nobody could recognize her. Thus disguised the women emerged from the Big Hut, either singly or in pairs or else in a long line, now jumping, now skipping. As they came into sight near the Big Hut, the women called to the men and children to come out from their huts and watch them from afar.

Some women had made their husbands believe that those beings descend from the sky or emerge from the earth and that they come to join the assembly of women in the Big Hut. They told them that these beings treat both men and women quite arbitrarily and capriciously, that they

<sup>181</sup>For with dusk the spirits begin to manifest themselves.

are very powerful, and that one is defenseless against them. Over and over again it was said: Xálpen wants in particular to know how the men are behaving. Šóorte, too, likes to inspect and to severely punish those who act against the women's instructions or who display insubordination. Besides these two, Mátan, Košménk, Tánu, Kátaix, Ketérnen, and all the others also appeared. Actually, however, all of them were only the women themselves! They painted their bodies and put bark masks over their heads, one day this woman, the next day that one, all taking turns. This is how the men were deceived. With all this, the cunning women had the evil intent of terrorizing and intimidating the men, so as to keep them subordinate forever.

The most influential of all the women was Kra, who commanded the rest of the women. She also instructed them as to what tasks they should assign to which man. Every woman gave her husband the chores that Moon-Woman had mentioned, and the men took care of them all. The women spent almost the entire year in the Big Hut. During the day this or that woman would return to the camp, where she would stay for a short while to order her husband to new tasks. She would also eat the roasted meat that he had prepared for her, for she was always very hungry. Sometimes she slept with her husband. But as a rule the women slept together in the Big Hut and seldom came to pass a night in camp. Each woman demanded that a large supply of meat be stored in her dwelling hut. She would tell her husband: "Xálpen in the Big Hut needs plenty of meat, and she needs it often!" Therefore the men were always on the hunt, bringing home large catches. The entire meat went to the women so as not to provoke the dangerous Xálpen further.

Once the women had gathered again on a nice, spacious, grassy spot to celebrate the *klóketen* in their big conical hut. The men were far away in the camp, taking care of the small children and doing all the chores. Whenever a *šoorte* went through the camp they wrapped themselves in their cloaks. They were always treated harshly by it, and sometimes they were badly beaten.

Kran, the Sun-Man, was an excellent hunter and a good runner, who usually caught a lot of game on his trips. He was nearly always out hunting. Every day he brought home much meat which he distributed among the other huts. Almost every day girls came to the camp from the Big Hut and said to the men: "Xálpen sends us; she wants meat!" Then the men had to surrender all they had, and the girls kept carrying much meat to the Big Hut.

One day the Sun-Man was stalking game again out there among the



rocks. Being a good hunter he had soon killed a large guanaco. He loaded the animal onto his shoulders and started walking toward the camp. Exhausted by the difficult terrain and the heavy burden he angrily threw it on the ground and sat down behind a bush to rest a while. Without knowing it he had happened close by the *klóketen*-hut and was sitting only a short distance away from a lagoon. Soon he noticed two grown-up girls by the shore, bathing. They were talking merrily and laughing a lot. Cautiously Kran sneaked up close to hear what they were saying. They were painted like *ketérnen* that sometimes showed themselves near the Big Hut. To their great amusement, the girls were practicing tripping forward and backward with very short steps while holding themselves stiffly erect, just as Moon-Woman had taught them. "We've almost got it. How surprised the men are going to be!" they said, tittering the while. It was so funny that the men believed that *ketérnen* actually existed. They delighted in the cunning of the women and the constant anxiety of the men. Thus they kept on playing for quite a while.

Incensed beyond measure, Kran now stepped from his hiding place yelling at the girls: "You false women! So that is how you've been deceiving the men! Now I know everything!" Startled and afraid, the girls immediately jumped into the water, where they stayed below the surface for a long time. Sun-Man angrily picked up his guanaco and continued on his way. The girls heard him shouting at them: "Take my advice and stay hidden there, lest something bad should befall you!" They turned into *kóoklol*,<sup>182</sup> and have kept themselves well hidden ever since. Side by side and in pairs, they frequent inaccessible places where there are many small eddies. If anyone approaches they quickly duck below the surface.

(On another occasion Tenenés said: There by the lagoon Kran met two girls who were practicing how to take short steps and keep the body very stiff, just as *ketérnen* does. When he had stolen closer he recognized the girls: They were Kra's daughters!<sup>183</sup> That is why he had advised them to stay in this lagoon. They hid here, otherwise something bad would have happened to them. The girls dived into the water and remained near the lagoon. Later they turned into *kóoklol*.<sup>184</sup>)

Very slowly Kran walked on, wanting to let his anger subside before he reached the camp. Nobody was to notice his ire. Walking on thoughtfully he pondered what to do next.

<sup>182</sup>A very shy type of diving bird, only seen by happenstance.

<sup>183</sup>Thus these girls were Sun-Man's own daughters. Another variation states this quite unequivocally.

<sup>184</sup>See n. 182.

(Another evening Tenenésik expressly mentioned those who had saved themselves in the big revolution: After Kran had surprised the two *kóoklól* he picked up the meat again and started out for the camp. Walking along he came upon another woman. She was practicing jumping sideways, wearing the mast and paint of a *mátan*. At the sight of this his rage knew no bounds, and he quickened his steps toward the camp. Sun-Man was now visible to the woman. Terrified, she hid in the bushes never to return again to the Big Hut. When the big revolution came the woman there by the lagoon was out of danger and saved herself by turning into a swan.)

When the Sun-Man arrived at the camp he acted indifferently toward all men and women. Nobody could guess what a dreadful secret he had just uncovered. Later he cautiously visited the men one by one in their huts and informed them individually about the duplicity of the women. They all found out how dreadfully the women had deceived them. All the men now learned the true facts: In the Big Hut there are only women. They paint their entire bodies and put a *tólon* on their heads so that no one can recognize them! When the men heard all this they were beside themselves with rage, but they, too, concealed their anger. Kran had given them strict orders not to show the least emotion.

(Here I insert a fairly lengthy excerpt from Hálemink's tale: One day Kran had again gone out hunting. He always had to bring home a rich bag, for girls were constantly being sent from the Big Hut to fetch the meat. These girls would go from one hut to the other, saying to the men: "Xálpén wants a lot of meat again! If you don't give it to us she'll be terribly angry, and then we'll really be in trouble!" Out of pity for the women the men would hand them all the meat, and the girls would carry it off to the Big Hut.

On that day Kran had killed a guanaco high up on a rock. It was a large animal, a male. He cut it in half and loaded a big piece onto his shoulders. He was very far from the camp and started climbing down the mountain. During his descent he met another guanaco and straightaway shot off an arrow which hit the mark. The animal did not fall to the ground, however; it was only slightly wounded. But blood flowed, and Kran could easily recognize its tracks. He followed the fleeing animal as fast as he could, and ran and ran until suddenly he stood before a lagoon. This was very near the *klóketen*-hut! Now the Sun-Man paused. All at once he noticed two grown-up girls bathing there, washing the colors off their bodies, for they were painted like *ketérnen*.

Cautiously Kran stole closer. He heard the girls talking, making fun of how frightened the men were when the women emerged from the Big

Hut. With their entire bodies painted and masks over their heads no one could recognize them! While the girls were washing they chatted happily. Kran tiptoed closer and closer. Not until he was standing almost next to them did they discover him. In their fright the two girls at once jumped into the lagoon and ducked below the surface. They were two *kóoklol*. They stayed below the water for a long time. Sun shouted after them: "Now I know it all! Oh, how the women have deceived all of us men!" He remained standing there for a while, thinking, and then raised his finger threateningly toward the lagoon: "I advise you two to stay here and not to go back to the Big Hut! Something very bad is going to happen now!" Those two girls stayed near the lagoon and turned into *kóoklol*. One of them came from the north, the other from the south.<sup>185</sup> They remained hidden there, and even today they still live concealed in creeks and lagoons.

Kran said to himself: "So those women have deceived all of us men!" Turning aside a little he no longer saw the bloody trail of the guanaco that he had been following. He had left it when he had seen those two young women bathing and had lost all inclination to continue hunting. He had already carried a big piece of meat this far. He picked it up again and went straight back to the camp. Here he did not reveal anything to the women of all that had just happened to him.)

Now the men had a secret discussion. They wanted to find out everything about their womenfolk's activities in the Big Hut. Sun, who was very clever, told the men: "We'll send several nimble people over to dash through the Big Hut and return again. They'll tell us what's going on there. But they mustn't let themselves be caught by those women!" The men agreed to this.

First little *Káxken*<sup>186</sup> was sent. He bent down, pressing against the grassy ground, and thus he stole close, unseen. The women always kept a sharp lookout! Then he turned into the Big Hut on one side, ran along the inside wall, and hurried out on the other side again. Although he brushed against the *tólon* so that two of them fell down,<sup>187</sup> none of the women discovered him. *Káxken* returned to the camp to tell the men: "I only saw our wives and girls! They were crouching on the ground near the

<sup>185</sup>This particular piece of information was unknown to other men, as I found out later.

<sup>186</sup>This small bird is generally called "porotero." It has a long beak, feathers the color of earth, and lives in the high grass.

<sup>187</sup>Each mask is handled with great care. When not in use it is placed against the inside wall of the hut behind the owner's seat. Its falling over means bad luck for the owner and a great disturbance of the spirit world.



inside wall, and behind each one stood the *tólon*. Apart from that there was nobody there in the Big Hut!" After a short while the men encouraged little Tornéčeren.<sup>188</sup> He was a venturesome man, indeed, and ran quickly through the Big Hut without being noticed by anyone. He came back and told the men: "There really are only women and girls there. Each one has a mask standing behind her!" Now Čáčun<sup>189</sup> was sent off, a sprightly, daring fellow. Slowly he stole forward, and then even faster than the other two he dashed through the hut behind the women's backs, brushing against the inside wall. No one noticed him. He ran back to the camp at once and reported to the men: "I saw neither Šoórte nor Mátan nor Xálpen there in the Big Hut. There are only women sitting there!" Now all the men knew that they were being deceived by the women! They wanted to attack the Big Hut immediately and kill all the women. Šat<sup>190</sup> was to sneak up close and give the men a whistle-signal at the most opportune moment. Everything was agreed upon, and Šat cautiously sneaked out of the camp toward the Big Hut.

Now Támтан, Kran's daughter, unexpectedly arrived at the camp accompanied by two other women. They went to her father and said: "Xálpen needs a lot of meat; give us what you brought back!"<sup>191</sup> Then Kran in great agitation grabbed the animal he had just brought home, threw it down furiously before his daughter's feet and shouted: "Go ahead. Take this meat; it's all I found today! Take it to your mother and the other women; after all, it is they alone who eat and enjoy it! It will be plenty for all the women there in the Big Hut!"

Támтан took the meat. Her father's behavior and words had completely bewildered her. With the other women she dragged the meat to the Big Hut. Near the entrance she sounded her usual "t t t t t t t t" to announce her arrival.<sup>192</sup> Still pale with fear she gave the meat to Kra, her mother. All the women stared inquiringly at the girl. She said: "When my father saw me he threw this guanaco at my feet and shouted at me in great agitation: 'Go ahead and take this meat; it's all I found today! Take it to your mother and the other women; after all, it is they alone

<sup>188</sup>This brownish-gray little bird runs very fast over the grassy ground.

<sup>189</sup>This nimble, bright yellow little bird is found only in open meadows.

<sup>190</sup>The shrill whistle of the oyster-catcher (*Haematopus*), which is referred to here, is heard on all shores of the Great Island.

<sup>191</sup>The story assumes that the return of the sun-man had been observed, proof of the women's sharp vigilance over the men.

<sup>192</sup>This little bird likes to stay near small eddies in creeks, has greenish feathers, and is about the size of the wren. Its "t t t t t t t" is heard continuously. The Indians made this sound by sucking in the air, while lightly touching the roots of the upper incisors with the tip of the tongue.



who eat and enjoy it! It is plenty for all the women there in the Big Hut!' That's what my father told me very angrily." (Later Tenenésik emphasized: The enraged Sun-Man threw the guanaco at his daughter's feet and told her: "Take this meat to your mother!" Even his own wife and daughter had deceived him!) At the sound of such words a terrible fear came over all the women and girls. The wiser women trembled with alarm and fright, realizing that their treacherous doings had been uncovered by the men. They said to themselves: "Kran must have discovered something, or how else could he use such words!" Confusion reigned. They had to act quickly, to find out what was going on, and to prevent greater evil. They discussed it at length. Finally Moon-Woman had the last word: "We have to make another Xálpen te wákenen immediately!" was her stern command.

The women made ready. Since Moon-Woman herself was a very powerful *xon*, she went first. She had let herself be painted particularly beautifully, and was accompanied by four other women. She wanted to see for herself what the men would say and how they would react to her coming. Having arrived at the camp these women went from hut to hut and received from the men all the meat that happened to be available just then. They saw nothing out of the ordinary. And yet: one older man whispered to himself in an audible voice: "Is this meat really supposed to be for Xálpen?" Another remarked: "We don't know but that the women end up eating this meat themselves!" Other similar comments reached the ears of the women. Moon-Woman and her attendants returned to the Big Hut. There could be no doubt! The men had seen through the deception; they must have found out something! Nobody had ever permitted himself such talk.

But now the women wanted further information as to how much of their deception had become known to the men. Kra ordered: "A *šoorte* is to go through the camp at once! It must carefully observe the men, listen closely to what they say and whether they are planning anything. Fast action is important!"

A woman readied herself by painting her entire body and placing a *tólon* over her head. Meanwhile other women went to the camp where they mixed with the men: "Soon a *šoorte* will be coming again!" Every man ran into his hut to hide his face in his fur cloak. The women had spread out well, so that each one of them was able to observe one particular man closely as *Soorte* crossed the camp. This time, however—and such had never been the case before—all the women had to listen to many a suspicious comment from the men. One said: "Who knows if that's really a *šoorte*?" Another was heard to say: "How do we know that the women

aren't deceiving us?" Yet another: "Maybe the women are just playing games with us!" And another: "It appears that the women want only to frighten us!" And one shouted loudly: "Perhaps one of our women has painted herself, and we believe that she's a *šoórtel*!" All this the women now had to listen to. They were greatly dismayed, and gathered helplessly in the Big Hut again, as *Šoórtel* disappeared.

But among the men there grew a strange restlessness which did not go unnoticed by the women. Moon-Woman shouted toward the camp: "Keep quiet; *Xálpen* is very angry and incensed!" But these words did not quiet the men. Completely at a loss, Moon-Woman now admitted to the women: "We are in serious trouble! Let's make one more attempt to frighten the men; let's quickly act *Xálpen ke xat*!" The women immediately formed two lines and filed out of the Big Hut, one line on the right side of the entrance, the other on the left side. Meanwhile *Kra* took her position in front of the hut. In a loud voice she bid the men come closer, for now *Xálpen* was going to call one woman after the other into the hut to devour them. This was supposed to terrify the men.

Meanwhile, however, every man had provided himself with a thick cudgel. As Moon-Woman urged the men in the camp—"Come a bit closer and you'll find out how furious *Xálpen* is! All your women are going to be devoured!"—the men began a massive assault. They stormed ahead and ran forward much farther than they were supposed to. *Kra* told them to stop, shouting: "Not too close, men; stay away from the hut!" At this moment *Šat*, who had been hiding right next to the hut, gave a whistle. The men understood this signal and at once pushed forward impatiently. In desperation Moon-Woman shouted: "Not so close, men, or *Xálpen* will jump out!" Meanwhile the rest of the women in the hut had to watch all this. In their despair they beseeched Moon-Woman: "The men are very close already; can't you shout louder? Oh, where shall we go now?" But the crowd of men was pushing *Kra* back toward the Big Hut. Finally they reached the entrance and poured in, shoving Moon-Woman before them.

Now *Kran* roared at the top of his voice: "Strike down the women!" And the men swung their cudgels, throwing themselves violently into the throng of women. Each man throttled the first woman he could get his hands on, and in but the shortest time all the women and girls were lying on the ground, dead and covered with blood. ("It happened sometimes that a man suddenly found himself opposite his own wife or his daughter. If possible he would leave it to another man to kill them, but some also struck down their own kin, so great was the fury of the men!")

But the Sun-Man drew a burning torch from the fire and attacked his

powerful wife. As the first blow struck her the entire sky trembled, and at the second and third blow it became even more threatening. Therefore Sun stopped beating his wife, out of fear that the heavens might come down. Thus, Kra got away from the Big Hut and escaped forthwith to the sky.

(Tenenésik also related this part more briefly: "The furious men stormed into the Big Hut from both sides. First everybody attacked Moon-Woman, the leader of the women. She was pushed into the fire simultaneously by all the men and sank to the ground. Her face was badly burned. Even today the scars and the black spots are clearly recognizable on her face. As Kra fell the earth thundered and the heavens trembled. The men dared not strike her dead. She rose quickly and escaped to the sky.")

Kran followed Kra, his wife, immediately; but to this day he has yet to catch up with her. The burned spots and the black scars from that time are still visible on her face. At times she appears red all over, namely, whenever she becomes angry again with the men. But the men's hatred against that treacherous woman remains unabated even today.

(One wonderfully clear, moonlit winter night I once accompanied old Tenenésik from the *klóketen*-hut back to the camp. We walked very slowly, talking about the spirit visions. He was not in the best of moods, for shortly before he had repeated the last part of the myth of origin. Suddenly he halted. After a short pause he quietly said to me: Just look at that miserable, cunning woman up there! She had frightened the men so often in bygone times. But one day her own husband discovered her great deceit. He struck her with a burning brand, hitting her in the face. The black spots and burn scars that you can still see on her are the result of those blows! Kran was a brave hunter. He always had to bring home guanacos. The women in those days cheated him out of all the meat. One day the Sun-Man overheard his two daughters talking about all the things the women did in the Big Hut. He listened. Now he knew all that was going on there among the women! Then he furiously threw the meat on the ground and said: "Go ahead and take this meat back to the Big Hut. After all, there are only women there who eat it!" Later Kran told the rest of the men what he had learned. There was a violent battle. All the women were killed, and only the little girls in the camp were left alive. The heavens above nearly caved in when it happened. That woman was very powerful; she had managed everything and commanded the rest of the women. She immediately escaped to the sky. Even today that one up



there<sup>193</sup> is man's worst enemy, and Kran, her husband, is still pursuing her! And in his passionate rage Tenenésik shook his fist at the bright, shining moon. His hatred was deep.)

Panting with rage the men now tore down the Big Hut, scattered the fire, and leveled the whole place to the ground. In the meantime others had gone to the camp, and here they killed all the grown-up girls, who already understood what had happened. The only ones left alive were the small children, who were to maintain the Selknam people. Years later, when these children had grown into women, the men themselves had their *klóketen*-ceremony for the first time, while the women watched. But they did not know how the men had come into possession of those secret games.

Now there was a revolutionary change. Most of the women turned into animals, and one can still tell from their colors what designs<sup>194</sup> they had been wearing at the time when the men were so completely deceived by all the women. ("Only a few women were left alive, such as the large female whale. She was too huge, hence unable to participate in the gathering of the women." Tenenésik also mentioned that Kóhmen, the Swan-Woman, escaped the slaughter, for that day she was playing the role of a *mátan*. "That woman was surprised by Kran; she suspected danger and went into hiding. She did not return to the Big Hut and so saved herself. Since then she has remained a swan.")

Not until much later did the two *kóoklól* come to the surface again. Because they had stayed so long under water they were saved from the slaughter. Now they are little birds who continue to live in very out-of-the-way places, where the waters eddy.

That is the story of the women's great deception in the old days. Since that general revolution (*na máten* = the wholesale killing of the women) only men may gather here in the Big Hut. When the young boys have learned to keep a secret they enter here and become *klóketen*. I've now told you all this. Now you know: Šoórte, Xálpen, Mátan, and the rest are all enacted by the men. But take care not to reveal this to the women. The last of our men must take this secret with him to the grave! A woman must never know that we men perform here in this Big Hut, paint our-

<sup>193</sup>It is worth noting that Moon-Woman's personal name was not pronounced; everyone is afraid of her.

<sup>194</sup>This refers to the many colored fur or feathers of the numerous animals in the Tierra del Fuego region.



selves, put on masks, and emerge to show ourselves to those in the camp. So guard this secret carefully!

*Informants:* Tenenés, Hálemink; pp. 859–869.

### *Summary*

Originally the Selknam women hold their men in subjection. Living apart in the Big Hut they don masks, paint themselves, and thus unrecognizable dance forth as powerful spirits to terrorize the men in camp who are burdened with all the domestic chores. Led by Kra, Moon-Woman, the women maintain the deception that these spirits hold both men and women under constant threat of death until Kran (Sun-Man), her husband, discovers several women (among them his daughters) practicing spirit postures. He transforms them into birds. To ascertain the extent of the deception Kran sends three (bird) men swiftly through the Big Hut, one after the other. "The women paint themselves and don masks—there are no spirits!" Suspecting imminent exposure, Kra orders her women to enact three "spirit" demonstrations, the last of which, on a signal from a fourth (bird) man, is met with violence on the part of the men. They fall upon the masked women and girls, even striking down their own wives and daughters. Kra beats his wife with a burning brand and pursues her through the carnage to the heavens above. Today we still see the moon woman, her face marked with scars from the burning brand, followed by Kra, her husband the sun, who is never able to catch her.

Only the small children are left alive (to maintain the Selknam people). Most of the women transform into animals—one can tell from their markings what designs they wore at the time of the great deception.

### *Motif content*

- |               |                                                                                                       |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A711.         | Sun as man who left earth.                                                                            |
| A735.+.       | Pursuit of moon by sun. (A735. Pursuit of sun by moon.)                                               |
| A736.1.       | Sun and moon as man and woman.                                                                        |
| A736.1.4.     | Sun and moon married.                                                                                 |
| A736.1.4.1.+. | Sun and moon quarrel. (A736.1.4.1. Sun and moon quarrel when sun eats up all their children but two.) |
| A736.5.       | Children of the sun.                                                                                  |
| A736.9.+.     | Moon cursed by sun. (A736.9. Sun cursed by moon.)                                                     |
| A738.+.       | Sun is excellent hunter and fast runner. (A738. Attributes of sun.)                                   |
| A738.2.2.     | Sun endowed with wisdom and passion.                                                                  |
| A739.2.+.     | War with the moon. (A739.2. War with the sun.)                                                        |
| A747.         | Person transformed to moon.                                                                           |
| A751.8.       | Woman in the moon.                                                                                    |

- A751.11.+ . Marks on moon's face are burns. (A751.11. Other marks on the moon.)
- A753.+ . Moon as primeval leader of women. (A753. Moon as a person.)
- A753.+ . Moon as great shaman. (A753. Moon as a person.)
- A753.3.1. Moon deceives sun.
- A753.3.4. Moon endowed with wisdom and passion.
- A759.+ . Why moon is sometimes red: angry with men. (A759. Condition and nature of the moon—miscellaneous.)
- A770.+ . Stars are transformed Selknam ancestors. (A770. Origin of particular stars.)
- A930.+ . Rivers are transformed Selknam ancestors. (A930. Origin of streams.)
- A960.+ . Mountains are transformed Selknam ancestors. (A960. Creation of mountains [hills].)
- A1120.+ . Winds are transformed Selknam ancestors. (A1120. Establishment of present order: winds.)
- A1372.9. Why women are subservient to men.
- A1472. Beginning of division of labor.
- A1530.+ . Origin of secret society. (A1530. Origin of social ceremonies.)
- A2261. Animal characteristics from transformation of animal.
- A2433.4. Haunts of birds.
- A2490.+ . Why diving birds live in couples. (A2490. Other habits of animals.)
- A2534. Why animal is timorous.
- C420. Tabu: uttering secrets.
- C422. Tabu: revealing identity of certain person.
- D100.+ . Transformation: women to animals. (D100. Transformation: man to animal.)
- D150.+ . Transformation: woman to bird. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.)
- D161.1.+ . Transformation: woman to swan. (D161.1. Transformation: man to swan.)
- D642.2. Transformation to escape death.
- D651.5. Transformation to spy enemy's camp.
- F565.3. Parliament of women.
- F565.3.+ . Parliament of women overthrown. (F565.3. Parliament of women.)
- F566.2. Land where women live separate from men.
- F679.5. Skillful hunter.
- F681. Marvelous runner.
- F790.+ . Sky trembles when sun beats moon. (F790. Extraordinary sky and weather phenomena.)

|                       |                                                                                            |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F873.0.1.             | Battle rage.                                                                               |
| F1084.                | Furious battle.                                                                            |
| H79.3.                | Recognition by voice.                                                                      |
| H580.                 | Enigmatic statements.                                                                      |
| J421.                 | Subordination of weak to strong.                                                           |
| J421.+.               | Subordination of strong to weak by deception. (J421. Subordination of weak to strong.)     |
| J425.                 | Weak fear company of strong.                                                               |
| J613.                 | Wise fear of the weak for the strong.                                                      |
| J623.                 | Prevention of hostility by inspiring fear in enemy.                                        |
| J624.                 | Uniting against a common enemy.                                                            |
| J643.                 | Care against future tyranny.                                                               |
| J647.                 | Avoiding enemy's revenge.                                                                  |
| J701.                 | Provision for the future.                                                                  |
| J1050.                | Attention to warnings.                                                                     |
| J1681. <sup>195</sup> | Cleverness in dealing with the enemy.                                                      |
| K330.+.               | Men tricked into giving up their food. (K330. Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.) |
| K515.                 | Escape by hiding.                                                                          |
| K1200.                | Deception into humiliating position.                                                       |
| K1821.2.              | Disguise by painting body.                                                                 |
| K1821.3.              | Disguise by veiling face.                                                                  |
| K1828.                | Disguise as deity (or spirit).                                                             |
| K2060.                | Detection of hypocrisy.                                                                    |
| K2213.                | Treacherous wife.                                                                          |
| K2214.1.              | Treacherous daughter.                                                                      |
| K2320.                | Deception by frightening.                                                                  |
| K2350.+.              | Signal for attack given by whistle. (K2350. Military strategy.)                            |
| K2350.+.              | Fast runner sent through enemy's camp to gather information. (K2350. Military strategy.)   |
| L300.+.               | Triumph of the oppressed. (L300. Triumph of the weak.)                                     |
| L400.                 | Pride brought low.                                                                         |
| L430.                 | Arrogance repaid.                                                                          |
| N440.                 | Valuable secrets learned.                                                                  |
| N455.                 | Overheard (human) conversation.                                                            |
| N650.                 | Life saved by accident.                                                                    |
| P555.                 | Defeat in battle.                                                                          |
| Q261.2.               | Treacherous wife punished.                                                                 |
| Q325.                 | Disobedience punished.                                                                     |
| Q411.4.               | Death as punishment for treachery.                                                         |

<sup>195</sup>See *Tompson* 1955-1958:4, p. 493.

|            |                                                                                        |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Q411.12.+. | Maidens slain in revenge. (Q411.12. Maidens slain in revenge for deaths of young men.) |
| Q458.0.4.  | Flogging as punishment for imposture.                                                  |
| R227.2.+.  | Flight from husband. (R227.2. Flight from hated husband.)                              |
| R317.+.    | Lagoon as refuge. (R317. Well [spring] as refuge.)                                     |
| R323.      | Refuge in upper world.                                                                 |
| R324.1.    | Escape from battle by flying in air.                                                   |
| T148.      | Matriarchy.                                                                            |
| W11.       | Generosity.                                                                            |
| X550.      | Jokes on secret societies.                                                             |

## 58. THE ORIGIN OF THE MEN'S KLÓKETEN<sup>196</sup>

Once in ancient times the men killed all the women in one sweep, in punishment of their great deception of the men. Afterward there was a meeting of the ablest and most influential men down there in the east (actually in the southeastern part of the Isla Grande). They gathered there in Máustas,<sup>197</sup> and each man brought a long log, obviously from the region where he lived and from which he had come. It was their wish to build a huge hut.

Strong men gathered together. Among them were Ketáixtem (the male whale), even Taśé<sup>198</sup> (the male sperm whale, or "cachalote"), the biggest of all men;<sup>199</sup> Ksámenk (the largest type of dolphin) also came at the same time as well as his smaller brother-in-law, Kemánta (small dolphin). Then Kóori (the male of the largest type of sea lion) appeared, and with him Kepéyik (the male, large "lobo de dos pelos"). The big Káper (albatross) and Káil (petrel) arrived at the same time. Also present were Kwar (the large gray eagle), Kax (buzzard), Léwe (sparrow hawk), Kárkai (bright-colored vulture), and Eskai (black vulture). In addition came the wise Kaux (eagle owl), Ktátu (ground owl), Šánkowh (dark

<sup>196</sup>See also Bridges 1948:413 ff.

<sup>197</sup>This mountainous block lies on the border of the Estancia Blanca, namely south of Caleta Policarpo, on the Mitre peninsula proper.

<sup>198</sup>After death these men were usually known by other names, probably in observance of the custom never to pronounce the name of a dead person. This was repeated also with other ancestors.

<sup>199</sup>This reference is probably intended to emphasize the tremendous size of the men's hut, which was now being erected for the first time.



owl), and Kaxs (the small wood owl). The clever Kokpómeč (many colored wild goose) and Hárux (grayish-white wild goose) also appeared, with Kóriken (spectacled ibis) and Čap (small tree creeper). The well-known runners, that is, Káxken, Tornéčeren, Čácun, and Šat, did not remain absent either. Finally Kran (Sun-Man) appeared, and all the other men from every region of our homeland. But those mentioned here were the cleverest and most influential people, and they had also acted against the deceitful women with the strongest passion.

They had all gathered in Máustas, and here they prepared their *klóketen*-ceremony for the first time. That was the first celebration, and ever since it has belonged exclusively to the men. The men there in Máustas went hunting, and brought back much meat. They pondered long how to arrange everything. Everybody had brought a big log, but Wačúš, Šáte, Yóičik, Šénu, Tálen, Keyáisk, and Pawús had dragged huge logs here from their homes. These (seven) were very powerful men, and they were the first to set up their tall, strong posts. Wačúš began; then Pawús put up his post, and finally Šénu. When these first three enormous logs were standing firmly Šáte raised his post, and then Tálen, after him Keyáisk, and finally Yóičik.<sup>200</sup> Now the first (seven) main posts were raised. Each of these (seven) men stood near the post that he had just raised. Later they adopted the roles of the seven principal *šoórté*, for they were tall, handsome men.

Next the rest of the men, in turn, brought forward additional posts and closed the spaces between one main post and the other. Each worked in the space that represented his home territory, and here each man was assigned his place.<sup>201</sup> All those posts were of stone, just as we use tree trunks now. This first hut was built the same way (conical) as it is done today. It was a tremendous construction.

All the men now sat down in the hut, each in his own place, which order had to be observed faithfully. Now they considered how to arrange the ceremony. The (seven) men who had put up the main posts were particularly clever. Kápešan, too, was a wise man, who led and directed the first *klóketen*-ceremony there in Máustas. Later he turned into a mountain

<sup>200</sup>To this day the sequence mentioned here in raising the seven main posts is strictly preserved on the raising of a new *klóketen*-hut.

<sup>201</sup>This means that the sections of the structure were organized according to cardinal points. Thus, for instance, those men who had come from the south worked on that part of the hut which faced in that direction, and so on. Therefore the men sit under those posts which most closely correspond to their home: the northerners sit in the section facing north, the other people in their own respective sections of the hut.

ridge which now stands far away down south.<sup>202</sup> Then the men came to an agreement, and established the order for everything in the Big Hut in the manner that we have kept to this day: what everybody has to do, where his seat is, where the candidates shall sit, and so on.<sup>203</sup>

The most suitable men were chosen to dress up (as spirits) and step forth from the Big Hut. Those (seven), who had brought the largest posts, played (the part of) *šoóрте*, for they were tall and well built. There were also other (subordinate) *šoóрте*. Kaux was a clever man. He had a large supply of white clay, and knew how to paint very well. He always painted those (seven) men who stepped forth as *šoóрте*. He also painted Ktátu who always turned out particularly well, and yet he let himself be seen every time as a subordinate *šoóрте*. Ktátu was an outstanding *hautpán*, and that was why he played his part so well.

The men stayed in that huge structure in Máustas until they all died. One can still see the remains of that mighty *klóketen*-hut, the tremendous posts and beams. One recognizes these steep cliffs here as the posts of stone, towering high, arranged to form a hut. It was a tremendous structure.<sup>204</sup>

Those first *klóketen*-participants were very able men who were wonderful to look at when stepping forth as *šoóрте*, as *mátan*, or as *ketérnen*. All of them died there in the region of Máustas. Then their successors had to erect a new *klóketen*-hut in another spot. They, however, were only able to use tree trunks, as we use them to this day. As those ancestors there in Máustas had planned and structured this celebration, so have our men enacted it ever since.

Whoever sleeps in the Máustas mountains sees in his dreams how the *klóketen* was enacted in those days for the first time, and how those men planned and arranged everything. That mountain range brings good luck! Whoever thinks of it and calls: "Máustas, Máustas!" will find many sea lions or a whale on the beach. For those mountains used to be a big *klóketen*-hut. All the men, who played here at that time, turned into mountains, rocks, and hills, and have remained there since. Whoever falls asleep there sees in his dreams everything that has happened in those mountains, including the men who played there at that time.

<sup>202</sup>Near Bahía Aguirre, in the Monte Campana range.

<sup>203</sup>Here at the first meeting, then, the present procedure was finally established, in every detail and its many particulars.

<sup>204</sup>The entire mountain, especially the soaring cliffs standing close together like pillars of stone, appears in the minds of the Selknam as a huge, conical hut. Several individual cliffs are recognizably shaped like pillars.

*Informant:* Tenenés; pp. 871–873.

*Summary*

Following the punishment of the women, the men come from far and wide to prepare the first *klóketen*-ceremony. The seven most powerful men bring seven logs of stone, setting each in sequence to form the seven main parts of the huge *klóketen*-hut, thus designating seven areas in the hut to represent the respective homelands of the men. These seven men later become the seven original *soóрте*. Each of the other men then brings forth the post he has carried from his homeland to close in the spaces of the first (conical) *klóketen*-hut. The procedures for the ceremony are defined, roles assigned, and the *klóketen* is enacted for the first time just as it is today. All those men who first gathered in Máustas later transform into mountains, rocks, and hills, and one may still recognize the hut's original posts of stone in those steep cliffs we see there today.

*Motif content*

|              |                                                                                                              |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A965.        | Origin of mountain chain.                                                                                    |
| A968.        | Origin of cliffs.                                                                                            |
| A1530.+.     | Origin of secret society. (A1530. Origin of social ceremonies.)                                              |
| A1539.1.+.   | Origin of seating arrangements in ceremonial house. (A1539.1. Origin of seating arrangements in royal hall.) |
| B235.        | Secrets discussed in animal meeting.                                                                         |
| C65.         | Tabu: changing ritual.                                                                                       |
| D291.        | Transformation: man to mountain.                                                                             |
| D932.        | Magic mountain.                                                                                              |
| D1273.       | Magic formula (charm).                                                                                       |
| D1812.3.3.+. | Past revealed in dream. (D1812.3.3. Future revealed in dream.)                                               |
| F610.        | Remarkably strong man.                                                                                       |
| F612.3.      | Hero leaves home with giant equipment.                                                                       |
| F614.1.+.    | Strong man drives giant log into ground. (F614.1. Strong man drives anvil into ground.)                      |
| F624.        | Mighty lifter.                                                                                               |
| F771.        | Extraordinary castle (house, palace).                                                                        |
| F771.1.+.    | House of unusual material. (F771.1. Castle of unusual material.)                                             |
| J1110.       | Clever persons.                                                                                              |
| K1821.2.     | Disguise by painting body.                                                                                   |
| K1828.       | Disguise as deity (or spirit).                                                                               |
| Q261.2.      | Treacherous wife punished.                                                                                   |
| Q411.4.      | Death as punishment for treachery.                                                                           |



59. THE SPREAD OF THE KLÓKETEN<sup>205</sup>

Those two lumps of earth also had another son, by the name of Kórior.<sup>206</sup> Taukóyin took care of him. She regarded the little boy as her child and nourished him. Thus she became like a mother to him. Taukóyin was from the north, the first woman to come from the north here to the south. Her father's name was Háluwil, and he lived far away up north. Taukóyin had come here to the south, to the Koléyik<sup>207</sup> region, and here she married. Kórior also spent the early years of his life here among the people of this region.

No sooner had Kórior come into the world than he started to grow very quickly. He suckled his mother's breast but a few days, soon learned to walk, and continued to grow. He was already big enough to play with other children, then he quickly grew even bigger, and stopped associating with children. Kórior had already become a strong boy; therefore he entered the men's Big Hut<sup>208</sup> as a *klóketen* and participated in everything. The men remained there for a long time. When they finally separated, Kórior considered moving to the north, for the home of his adopted mother was there. Her father was still alive, and since he was his grandfather Kórior wanted to visit him.

Kórior had some very nice, white clay, and this he took along to give his grandfather.<sup>209</sup> He set out upon his way. It was a long journey. Having arrived in the north he met his grandfather, who was happy to see him. Kórior stayed with him for a long time. He gave his grandfather the white clay that he had brought, and old Háluwil was very pleased with it. He was a very skillful man, and soon had worked the clay so that it looked as white as fresh snow. Kórior saw it and was happy. That clay has actually kept its dazzling white color shiny bright to this day.

After some time Kórior forsook old Háluwil's hut. He left his grandfather and continued wandering, ever further to the north. He wanted to find out whether the people in the extreme north built a Big Hut for the *klóketen*-celebration. Kórior was the first southerner to visit the people in the north and wished to enter their Big Hut as a *klóketen*. So he came to a

<sup>205</sup>See also Bridges 1948:444-445 to compare the second part of narrative 59; Cojazzi 1914, 10:9-10.

<sup>206</sup>See the relevant story, so rich in detail: narrative 1, *How the ancestors came to be*.

<sup>207</sup>A narrow strip of land on the southern shore of the Mitre peninsula.

<sup>208</sup>This refers to the first secret ceremony in Máustas.

<sup>209</sup>On visits one would sometimes bring a particularly dear, close relative something of value from one's own homeland, usually a beautifully worked object.



region where a large number of men had come together for this celebration. Here he met another youth, who also happened to be a *klóketen*, and befriended him. His name was Kámšot. Both now rehearsed everything well.

Kórior said to him: "Now I'll show you what happens to the *klóketen* in my home in the south: Imitate everything I show you!" Then he acted out everything in front of Kámšot. "Next (seven) main posts are put up and then more logs are placed until the hut is enclosed; after that the lower half of the hut is covered with flat mudcakes, and finally much grass is spread inside to lie upon."<sup>210</sup> After this he told him everything that happens, from morning to night, from one day to the other. For the benefit of that other *klóketen* he listed all the practices and games for one month and for the following month; he enumerated for him the tasks of the men and of the candidates. Then he told him how some men paint themselves and put a *tólon* over their heads, what such men then are called, and how they move. He described everything that real *klóketen* do and how they have to conduct themselves.

The other *klóketen* now learned all of this and soon grew vain in his knowledge. Finally Kámšot became very proud; he sought to raise himself above Kórior and to outdo him. Kórior had just shown the other all that takes place in the Big Hut of the men in the south, and Kámšot had learned everything. Both of them were constantly practicing; they competed with each other for a very long time. Then Kórior noticed how the other was behaving more and more arrogantly. One day when Kórior entered the Big Hut Kámšot offered him a *kóčel*. Kórior said: "I have my own *kóčel*! Among us southerners, too, every *klóketen*-candidate wears a *kóčel*! I don't need one from you!"<sup>211</sup> Now some tests of strength were arranged. Kórior invited the other *klóketen* to walk a long distance with him, and Kámšot agreed. Both walked rapidly for a very long time, but Kámšot finally grew tired and fell behind. Kórior held out still longer and won the game. Next they discussed a running contest. After Kórior had made himself smaller, the other accepted the test. Both ran a long distance but Kámšot finally fell behind so that Kórior won the contest. Later the two arranged a singing contest. When they sang Kórior was far better than Kámšot, and thus Kórior won again.

<sup>210</sup>Later I was told: This part of the myth means that the *klóketen* from the south described the complete construction of the hut in great detail to his friend in the north.

<sup>211</sup>This ornament for the forehead is given the candidates as a mark of their manhood. With this offer Kámšot wanted to express his superiority over Kórior. By accepting the *kóčel* the latter would have brought himself into a position of dependence upon Kámšot, and therefore he declined.

The other *klóketen* was always the loser, but in spite of this he wanted to be in command of Kórior. Kámšot had learned much from the *klóketen* of the south, yet he tried in every way to outdo him. He was not successful. Finally Kórior said to Kámšot: "I, too, belong here in the north, for it is my mother's homeland!"<sup>212</sup> Kórior had seen a lot and learned many things here in the north; he was very clever and diligent. Now he knew exactly how the *klóketen*-hut is arranged in the north, how the northern men play, what stories they tell, and how the *klóketen* behave.<sup>213</sup>

Kórior had already spent a long time in the north. Now he decided to return to the south, and urged Kámšot to accompany him. The latter acted as though he did not really want to,<sup>214</sup> but when Kórior insisted he finally agreed. The two then left for the south. Soon a long-lasting darkness descended and a dense fog lay over the earth. They could hardly see, and advanced very slowly. The *klóketen* from the north had a sister. She noticed how long the darkness lasted, and stepped in front of the hut to sing. While she was singing it grew lighter and lighter. The day was now much longer. During the day the girl sang a few more times so that the light would not dim. And indeed, not until late in the evening did darkness and a dense fog set in again. Now everybody rested. But very early in the morning the girl began to sing again. The light quickly came up and held the whole day.<sup>215</sup> Thus the two *klóketen* were able to cover great distances, for it stayed light a long time.

On the way the two boys arranged more tests. The *klóketen* from the north was very envious; Kórior had always triumphed over him and that really hurt his pride. Soon the two were standing before a high mountain, and immediately decided to climb it. Kórior climbed easily and advanced visibly, whereas Kámšot was left struggling far behind. When Kórior was halfway up, he let a number of logs and boulders roll down.<sup>216</sup> It

<sup>212</sup>A visitor in a strange district must not unduly emphasize the excellence of his homeland or his kin, when his inconsiderate host boasts of the superiority of his own person or area. When Kámšot now praises his home and his closest neighbors, then Kórior also shares in these merits, with good reason, since his mother is precisely from this region. This circumstance he now wanted to let his antagonist know.

<sup>213</sup>The myth assumes that the ceremonies here in the north were conducted with certain peculiarities and according to particular rules. Indeed, I could distinguish variations between the northern group and the southern.

<sup>214</sup>As he was very conceited he wanted to make himself important, therefore he allowed himself to be urged and persuaded.

<sup>215</sup>Here we recall the song of the women long before the crack of dawn and at different times of the day during the entire duration of these ceremonies.

<sup>216</sup>This popular motif of the blocking of an antagonist is found in the myth: *The battle of the South against the North*.

was impossible now for Kámšot to climb to the top; again he had been defeated by Kórior despite all his determined exertions. Kámšot tried to hide his bad temper, but he was angered at always being the loser. He soon began considering how to avenge himself.

At last the two boys had reached the south. There they found all the men and the *klóketen*-candidates gathered in a Big Hut. Immediately, Kámšot wanted to enter the Big Hut, but Kórior stopped him, saying: "If you enter you'll die!" So Kámšot remained outside the Big Hut and stayed in the camp with the women and children.<sup>217</sup> Kórior did this in order to let the *klóketen* feel his superiority even more, for Kámšot's envy hurt him.

Time passed, and still more time. Only then did Kórior allow the *klóketen* from the north to enter the Big Hut. He told Kámšot: "Walk exactly where I show you! You must hold strictly to this path every time you enter or leave. Also, always sit where I'm going to show you; that's your seat forever. Be careful: if you take another path or sit in another place you'll soon die!" The *klóketen* from the north followed all this very carefully;<sup>218</sup> he must have feared that Kórior would play a trick on him. Since then every man in the Big Hut adheres to this rule; each walks only on the path assigned to him; each takes the seat that is his; each sits under the main post that represents his homeland.

Kámšot had already passed much time here in the south. One day he told the people: "In my home up north there are forests far and wide. As long as it is warm the leaves of the trees remain green; later the leaves turn red. Afterward when it snows the leaves fall to the ground; as soon as the snow goes away new leaves start to bud again." When the people of this region heard his words they laughed aloud and said among themselves: "Kámšot is lying to us; it can't be the way he says!" Kámšot was very upset that the people had said: Kámšot is a liar! So he went back to his homeland.

Kámšot had learned a lot in the south. He had seen how the *klóketen*-ceremonies are held among these people, how day and night are divided, and what the activities of the men and the candidates were. He had also learned many other things. Meanwhile a long time passed since Kámšot's return to his homeland. He still remembered how the southerners

<sup>217</sup>Being excluded from taking part in the fellowship of the men in the Big Hut and remaining in the camp must have been perceived as a great disgrace by the boy from the north. This was precisely what his antagonist intended.

<sup>218</sup>It has already been demonstrated repeatedly that all the men strictly observe the rules for seating and the path for fear of serious consequences.



had ridiculed him and that they had called him a liar. This annoyed him very much, and finally he turned into a bird. From then on he was called Kárper.<sup>219</sup>

After a long time he once more went back to the south, where until then the leaves in the forests had always remained green. He sat on a branch. In his feathers he wore the bright green leaves of the warm (summer) season, but in front, on his breast, there were the red leaves of the beginning cold season (the fall).<sup>220</sup> For a long time he remained sitting on the branch, until the leaves of the trees here in the south likewise turned red, and eventually fell.<sup>221</sup> The people had been watching all this: they saw Kárper sitting on a branch, wearing the green leaves of summer and the red leaves of the (beginning) winter. Until this day he shrieks loudly at the people: "Now do you believe what I told you before?" And since that time the leaves turn red in the autumn and fall when the snow comes; and as soon as the snow is gone new leaves start sprouting which remain light green all through the summer.

Just as the people of the south arranged their *klóketen*-celebration, so was it established in the remaining parts of our country. Accordingly it was really Kórior who had taken this ceremony of the men from the south to the north, where it continued to spread. Kórior lived long after that. When he had grown old he turned into a mountain. (Since then his name is Šáruk.<sup>222</sup>)

Ever since the *klóketen* of the north competed with the *klóketen* of the south there has been constant rivalry between the two groups of men. This is why inside the Big Hut the paths of the men are strictly prescribed. (The leader draws a line on the ground with his feet from the middle of the entrance, dividing the room into a northern and southern half.) These paths lead to each of the main posts. Each participant is assigned a special place according to the region whence he comes. This (the distribution of seats) corresponds to the place of origin of each of these (seven) main posts. He who does not keep to this path but crosses

<sup>219</sup>This is the green parrot, *Microsittace ferrugineus*, the only Tierra del Fuego representative of the order Psittaci. With the change of his mode of living his name was also changed, as in the case of his opponent.

<sup>220</sup>The explanatory element is obvious: this parrot has bright green feathers of a color similar to the summer leaves of the beeches there; in addition it has on its breast a rather large, wine-red spot the color of the dead autumn leaves of the deciduous *Nothofagus antarctica*.

<sup>221</sup>The trees, until then evergreen, became deciduous, thereby marking the difference between summer and winter in the forests.

<sup>222</sup>This name I take from the same myth which Šaipóten had already told me as an independent story three years earlier.



over to the other side will soon die. Each party watches closely that every man stays with his group. Thus each must keep to his own path and seat. Kórior had threatened Kámšot with a speedy death should he have changed his prescribed path or place.

The tension of jealousy between northerners and southerners has not been relaxed to this day. Both groups watch each other closely whenever they join for a common celebration in the Big Hut. Each group thinks of the competition between Kórior the southerner and Kámšot the northerner, so that the rivalry between the two groups never comes to an end.

*Informant:* Tenenék; pp. 874–879.

### *Summary*

Kórior, a *klóketen* from the south, goes north on a visit. He comes upon Kámšot, a *klóketen* of the northern group, and instructs him in the ceremonies as they are practiced in the south. Kámšot absorbs this knowledge, develops an overweening pride, and seeks in vain to surpass Kórior in various contests. Finally both travel south, where the instruction of Kámšot is completed in Kórior's own *klóketen*-hut, particular attention being paid on where to walk and where to sit. Kámšot tells the people of the south of the seasonal change in the foliage in his northern homeland. Not believing him they insult him for a liar and he returns to the north to transform into a green parrot wearing the bright green leaves of summer on his back and the red of the autumn foliage on his breast. Finally he returns to the south bringing to the evergreens a seasonal change in their coloration.

Since that time the northern and southern *klóketen* groups have been in constant rivalry.

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| A511.4.1. | Miraculous growth of culture hero.                                                      |
| A512. .   | Parentage of culture hero.                                                              |
| A512.1.+. | Culture hero's grandfather. (A512.1. Culture hero's grandmother.)                       |
| A515.     | Pair of culture heroes.                                                                 |
| A524.+.   | Culture hero has extraordinary clay. (A524. Extraordinary possessions of culture hero.) |
| A526.7.   | Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill.                           |
| A527.1.   | Culture hero precocious.                                                                |

|            |                                                                                                                    |
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| A527.3.1.  | Culture hero can transform self.                                                                                   |
| A545.      | Culture hero establishes customs.                                                                                  |
| A564.      | Remarkable longevity of culture heroes.                                                                            |
| A581.      | Culture hero (divinity) returns.                                                                                   |
| A901.      | Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero.                                                    |
| A1150.     | Determination of seasons.                                                                                          |
| A1341.+.   | Origin of rivalry between subtribes. (A1341. Origin of war among men.)                                             |
| A1530.     | Origin of social ceremonials.                                                                                      |
| A1539.1.+. | Origin of seating arrangements in ceremonial house. (A1539.1. Origin of seating arrangements in royal hall.)       |
| B172.      | Magic bird.                                                                                                        |
| C65.       | Tabu: changing ritual.                                                                                             |
| C700.+.    | Tabu: deviating from path. (C700. Miscellaneous tabus.)                                                            |
| D55.2.     | Person becomes magically smaller.                                                                                  |
| D157.      | Transformation: man to parrot.                                                                                     |
| D291.      | Transformation: man to mountain.                                                                                   |
| D935.      | Magic earth (soil).                                                                                                |
| D1275.     | Magic song.                                                                                                        |
| D2146.     | Magic control of day and night.                                                                                    |
| D2146.1.1. | Day magically lengthened.                                                                                          |
| F660.      | Remarkable skill.                                                                                                  |
| F684.1.    | Marvelous climber.                                                                                                 |
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| H1594.     | Foot-racing contest.                                                                                               |
| J150.+.    | Knowledge acquired through distant travel. (J150. Other means of acquiring wisdom [knowledge].)                    |
| J1050.     | Attention to warnings.                                                                                             |
| K15.       | Climbing match won by deception.                                                                                   |
| K914.2.+.  | Rocks hurled down hill delay antagonist climbing below. (K914.2. Rock hurled down hill slays enemy passing below.) |
| L400.      | Pride brought low.                                                                                                 |
| P272.      | Foster mother.                                                                                                     |
| Q288.      | Punishment for mockery.                                                                                            |
| Q330.      | Overweening punished.                                                                                              |
| T545.      | Birth from ground.                                                                                                 |
| T670.      | Adoption of children.                                                                                              |
| W154.      | Ingratitude.                                                                                                       |
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## THE MOTIF INDICES





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e. Topographical features of the earth A901. – A974.

- A901. *Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero.* (12); (17); (24); (59).  
 A910. *Origin of water features—general.* (12).  
 A920.1. *Origin of lakes.* (17).  
 A920.2. *Origin of sea channels.* (17).  
 A925.2. *Origin of sea's color.* (17).  
 A930.+ *Rivers are transformed Selknam ancestors.* (A930. *Origin of streams.*) (57).  
 A930.1. *Creator of rivers.* (17).  
 A934.2. *Rivers formed where certain stones are placed.* (17).  
 A955.6.+ *Islands from stones cast by hero.* (A955.6. *Islands from stones cast by giantess.*) (17).  
 A955.11. *Islands originally form continent, later separated.* (17).  
 A960. *Creation of mountains (hills).* (2).  
 A960.+ *Mountains are transformed Selknam ancestors.* (A960. *Creation of mountains [hills].*) (57).  
 A962.1. *Mountain from part of deity's (hero's) body.* (19).  
 A965. *Origin of mountain chain.* (58).  
 A968. *Origin of cliffs.* (58).  
 A972. *Indentations on rocks from prints left by man (beast).* (7).  
 A972.5.4. *Indentations on rocks from weapons, knees, and elbows.* (19).  
 A974. *Rocks from transformation of people to stone.* (12).

f. World calamities A1010. – A1020.

- A1010. *Deluge.* (21).  
 A1018. *Flood as punishment.* (21).  
 A1020. *Escape from deluge.* (21).

g. Establishment of natural order A1100. – A1172.1.

- A1100. *Establishment of natural order.* (3).  
 A1101.1.+ *Golden age: originally no disease.* (A1101.1. *Golden age.*) (32).

- A1111. *Impounded water.* (17).  
 A1120. *Establishment of present order: winds.* (2).  
 A1120.+ *Winds are transformed Selknam ancestors.*  
 (A1120. *Establishment of present order:*  
*winds.*) (57).  
 A1127.1.1.+ *South wind tempers fury of north wind.*  
 (A1127.1.1. *North wind tempers fury of*  
*south wind.*) (16).  
 A1128. *Regulation of winds.* (2); (16).  
 A1150. *Determination of seasons.* (59).  
 A1172. *Determination of night and day.* (8); (14).  
 A1172.1. *Regulation of sunshine.* (8); (14).

h. Creation and ordering of human life A1210. — A1662.

- A1210. *Creation of man by creator.* (1).  
 A1221. *Mankind from unusual primeval mating.* (1).  
 A1241. *Man made from clay (earth).* (1).  
 A1335. *Origin of death.* (2); (4); (10).  
 A1337. *Origin of disease.* (32).  
 A1337.0.5. *Disease as punishment.* (31); (32).  
 A1341. *Origin of war among men.* (25).  
 A1341.+ *Origin of rivalry between subtribes.* (A1341.  
*Origin of war among men.*) (59).  
 A1346.2. *Man must labor for a living; at first everything*  
*too easy.* (38).  
 A1352. *Origin of sexual intercourse.* (1).  
 A1372.9. *Why women are subservient to men.* (15);  
 (57).  
 A1416. *Country ridded of ogres and made peaceful.*  
 (12).  
 A1443.1. *First shepherd.* (7).  
 A1445.1. *Origin of boat-building.* (45).  
 A1458. *Origin of hunting.* (17).  
 A1459.1.+ *Origin of harpoon.* (A1459.1. *Acquisition of*  
*weapons.*) (45).  
 A1459.1.1. *Origin of bows and arrows.* (17).  
 A1472. *Beginning of division of labor.* (57).  
 A1520. *Origin of hunting and fishing customs.* (38).  
 A1530. *Origin of social ceremonials.* (59).  
 A1530.+ *Origin of secret society.* (A1530. *Origin of*  
*social ceremonials.*) (57); (58).  
 A1539.1.+ *Origin of seating arrangements in ceremonial*  
*house.* (A1539.1. *Origin of seating arrange-*  
*ments in royal hall.*) (58); (59).

- A1540. *Origin of religious ceremonials.* (29).
- A1543. *Origin of religious songs (chants).* (29).
- A1582.+ *Origin of lack of government.* (A1582. *Origin of government.*) (19).
- A1587.2. *Tabus instituted by culture hero.* (19).
- A1610. *Origin of various tribes.* (1).
- A1614.6. *Origin of light and dark skin color.* (1).
- A1620. *Distribution of tribes.* (1); (3); (19).
- A1662. *Peculiar smell of body.* (42).

i. Creation of animal life A1710. – A2170.+.

- A1710. *Creation of animals through transformation.* (2).
- A1715. *Animals from transformed man.* (2).
- A1732. *Creation of animal to take revenge.* (5).
- A1895. *Creation of bat.* (5).
- A1917. *Creation of swallow.* (27).
- A1958. *Creation of owl.* (2).
- A1970.+ *Creation of albatross.* (A1970. *Creation of miscellaneous birds.*) (2).
- A1983. *Creation of duck.* (2).
- A2031. *Creation of fly.* (12).
- A2135. *Origin of whale.* (2).
- A2170.+ *Origin of squid.* (A2170. *Origin of miscellaneous animal forms.*) (2).

j. Animal characteristics A2212.2.+ – A2582.+.

- A2212.2.+ *Frightened dolphins take refuge in sea; cause of present habitat.* (A2212.2. *Frightened animals scatter; cause of present habitat of each.*) (20).
- A2213.4. *Animal characteristics changed by stretching.* (18).
- A2230.+ *Why plover is always alone: punishment for selfishness toward husband.* (A2230. *Animal characteristics as punishment.*) (44).
- A2240. *Animal characteristics: obtaining another's qualities.* (12).
- A2250. *Animal characteristics: result of contest.* (52); (53).
- A2253. *Animal characteristics from jumping contest.* (48).



- A2260.+ *Plover transformed from seamstress still carries awl in form of spur on wings. (A2260. Animal characteristics from transformation.) (44).*
- A2261. *Animal characteristics from transformation of animal. (57).*
- A2317.8. *Why bat is bald. (5).*
- A2320.+ *Why vulture has bald, wrinkled head. (A2320. Origin of animal characteristics: head.) (52).*
- A2321.+ *Origin of finch's crest. (A2321. Origin of bird crests.) (53).*
- A2321.3. *Origin of woodpecker's crest. (18).*
- A2332.5.+ *Why owl has green eyes. (A2332.5. Color of animal's eyes.) (51).*
- A2344.+ *Origin and nature of woodpecker's tongue. (A2344. Origin and nature of animal's tongue.) (18).*
- A2351.4.+ *Origin of vulture's long neck. (A2351.4. Origin of animal's long neck.) (52).*
- A2353.+ *Why starling has red breast. (A2353. Origin and nature of animal's breast.) (53).*
- A2411.1.+ *Origin of color of guanaco. (A2411.1. Origin of color of mammals.) (36); (40).*
- A2411.2.1.4. *Color of swallow. (27).*
- A2411.2.4.1. *Color of woodpecker. (18).*
- A2411.2.5.1. *Color of cormorant. (38).*
- A2411.4.+ *Origin of color of squid. (A2411.4. Origin of color of fish.) (23).*
- A2412.2.+ *Why finch has white spot on neck. (A2412.2. Markings on birds.) (53).*
- A2426.2.+ *Cry of thrush. (A2426.2. Cries of birds.) (41).*
- A2433.1. *Establishment of animal haunt. (19).*
- A2433.2. *Various haunts of animals. (21).*
- A2433.3.+ *Haunts of sea lion. (A2433.3. Haunts of various animals—mammals.) (47).*
- A2433.4. *Haunts of birds. (19); (57).*
- A2433.4.+ *Why green finch hides in shrubs and bushes. (A2433.4. Haunts of birds.) (50).*
- A2433.4.1. *Why owl lives where he does. (5); (51).*
- A2435.3.7. *Food of mouse. (18).*
- A2435.4.9. *Food of owl. (5).*
- A2440.+ *Why cormorants have stiff bearing. (A2440. Animal characteristics: carriage.) (52).*

- A2444.2. *Why dolphins swim up and down.* (20).
- A2470.+ *Why the guanaco rolls on the ground.* (A2470. *Animal's habitual bodily movements.*) (40).
- A2490.+ *Why fox and guanaco avoid each other.* (A2490. *Other habits of animals.*) (42).
- A2490.+ *Why diving birds live in couples.* (A2490. *Other habits of animals.*) (57).
- A2491.1. *Why bat flies by night.* (5).
- A2491.2. *Why owl avoids daylight.* (5).
- A2493.+ *Friendship of fox and guanaco.* (A2493. *Friendships between the animals.*) (42); (43).
- A2494.+ *Why fox and guanaco are enemies.* (A2494. *Why certain animals are enemies.*) (42).
- A2494.+ *Enmity between louse and lizard.* (A2494. *Why certain animals are enemies.*) (48).
- A2494.13.+ *Why white owl and eagle owl are enemies.* (A2494.13. *Enmities of birds.*) (51).
- A2496.+ *Sexual intercourse of guanacos.* (A2496. *Sexual intercourse of animals.*) (36); (37).
- A2534. *Why animal is timorous.* (57).
- A2537.+ *Why woodpecker is stupid.* (A2537. *Why animal is stupid.*) (18).
- A2582.+ *Why sea lions are plentiful in certain area.* (A2582. *Why certain animals are plentiful.*) (46).

k. Miscellaneous explanations A2826.+.

- A2826.+ *Origin of mussels.* (A2826. *Origin of shells.*) (25).

B. ANIMALS

a. Mythical animals B16.2.+ — B16.3.

- B16.2.+ *Devastating whale.* (B16.2. *Devastating wild animals.*) (34).
- B16.3. *Devastating birds.* (50).

b. Magic animals B147.1.2. — B191.6.

- B147.1.2. *Beasts of ill-omen.* (5).
- B172. *Magic bird.* (59).

- B175.+                    *Magic whale.* (B175. *Magic fish.*) (33); (34); (35).  
 B184.3.2.3.+           *Skin of magic bird heals wound.* (B184.3.2.3. *Skin of magic pig heals wounds.*) (34).  
 B191.6.                   *Bird as magician.* (33); (34); (52).

c. Animals with human traits B211.3. — B266.+.

- B211.3.                   *Speaking bird.* (33); (34).  
 B214.1.+                *Singing whale.* (B214.1. *Singing animal.*) (34).  
 B235.                    *Secrets discussed in animal meeting.* (58).  
 B265.                    *Animals continually rend each other.* (53).  
 B266.+                  *Louse and lizard fight.* (B266. *Animals fight.*) (48).  
 B266.+                  *Vulture and cormorant fight.* (B266. *Animals fight.*) (52).  
 B266.+                  *Finch and starling fight.* (B266. *Animals fight.*) (53).

d. Friendly animals B443.+ — B570.+.

- B443.+                   *Helpful guanaco.* (B443. *Helpful wild beasts—ungulata.*) (39).  
 B450.                    *Helpful birds.* (17).  
 B461.1.                 *Helpful woodpecker.* (18).  
 B461.2.                 *Helpful owl.* (33); (34).  
 B511.5.                 *Bird heals man.* (33); (34).  
 B551.+                  *Sea lion carries girl across water.* (B551. *Animal carries man across water.*) (46).  
 B570.+                  *Tame guanaco helps men on hunt.* (B570. *Animals serve men.*) (39).

e. Marriage of person to animal B600.+ — B631.0.1.+.

- B600.+                   *Marriage of man to guanaco.* (B600. *Marriage of person to animal.*) (38).  
 B600.+                   *Marriage of woman to sea lion.* (B600. *Marriage of person to animal.*) (46); (47).  
 B610.1.                 *Girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives.* (47).  
 B621.+                   *Sea lion as suitor.* (B621. *Beast as suitor.*) (47).

- B630.                      *Offspring of marriage to animal.* (46).  
 B631.                      *Human offspring from marriage to animal.*  
                                  (38); (47).  
 B631.0.1.+              *Son kills animal mother.* (B631.0.1. *Son*  
                                  *warns animal mother.*) (38).

f. Fanciful traits of animals B771.

- B771.                      *Wild animal miraculously tamed.* (9).

C. TABU

a. Tabu connected with supernatural beings C65.

- C65.                      *Tabu: changing ritual.* (58); (59).

b. Speaking tabu C420. — C422.

- C420.                      *Tabu: uttering secrets.* (57).  
 C422.                      *Tabu: revealing identity of certain person.*  
                                  (57).

c. Miscellaneous tabus C700.+.

- C700.+                      *Tabu: deviating from path.* (C700. *Miscel-*  
                                  *laneous tabus.*) (59).

D. MAGIC

a. Transformation D42.2. — D683.6.

- D42.2.                      *Spirit takes shape of man.* (55).  
 D55.2.                      *Person becomes magically smaller.* (59).  
 D100.+                      *Transformation: women to animals.* (D100.  
                                  *Transformation: man to animal.*) (57).  
 D110.+                      *Transformation: man to guanaco.* (D110.  
                                  *Transformation: man to wild beast*  
                                  *[mammal].*) (36); (37).  
 D127.+                      *Transformation: man to sea lion.* (D127.  
                                  *Transformation: man to sea mammal.*) (21);  
                                  (46); (47).



- D127.3. Transformation: man to whale. (2).  
 D127.5. Transformation: man to dolphin. (20).  
 D150. Transformation: man to bird. (2); (21); (44); (49).  
 D150.+. Transformation: man to thrush. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.) (41).  
 D150.+. Transformation: woman to bird. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.) (57).  
 D151.1.+. Transformation: woman to swallow. (D151.1. Transformation: man to swallow.) (27).  
 D152.3. Transformation: man to vulture. (2); (19).  
 D153.2. Transformation: man to owl. (2); (5); (19); (34); (51).  
 D154.4.+. Transformation: woman to seagull. (D154.4. Transformation: man to gull.) (45).  
 D157. Transformation: man to parrot. (59).  
 D161.1.+. Transformation: woman to swan. (D161.1. Transformation: man to swan.) (57).  
 D161.2. Transformation: man to goose. (29).  
 D161.3. Transformation: man to duck. (2).  
 D169.+. Transformation: man to albatross. (D169. Transformation: man to bird—miscellaneous.) (2).  
 D170.+. Transformation: man to sea animal. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.) (2).  
 D170.+. Transformation: man to squid. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.) (2); (23).  
 D231. Transformation: man to stone. (2); (12).  
 D233.+. Transformation: man to mussel. (D233. Transformation: man to shell.) (25).  
 D270.+. Transformation: man to cloud. (D270. Transformation: man to object—miscellaneous.) (2).  
 D281.1. Transformation: man to wind. (2).  
 D291. Transformation: man to mountain. (2); (19); (40); (58); (59).  
 D293. Transformation: man to star. (2); (4); (10); (11); (19).  
 D350.+. Transformation: owl to man. (D350. Transformation: bird to person.) (34).  
 D474.2. Transformation: water becomes bloody. (17).  
 D521. Transformation through wish. (41).  
 D523. Transformation through song. (29).

- D564. *Transformation by smelling.* (34).  
 D615.1.+ *Contest between magicians.* (D615.1. *Transformation contest between magicians.*) (35).  
 D630. *Transformation and disenchantment at will.* (34).  
 D631.1. *Person changes size at will.* (45).  
 D642.2. *Transformation to escape death.* (57).  
 D646.1.+ *Transformation to whale to be caught.* (D646.1. *Transformation to fish to be caught.*) (33).  
 D651.1.1.+ *Transformation of shaman's spirit to whale which kills enemy.* (D651.1.1. *Transformation of magic object to animal which kills enemy.*) (33).  
 D651.5. *Transformation to spy enemy's camp.* (57).  
 D661.1. *Transformation as revenge for repulsing amorous advances.* (5).  
 D665. *Transformation of enemy to be rid of him.* (5).  
 D683. *Transformation by magician.* (33); (34).  
 D683.6. *Transformation by evil spirits.* (55).

b. Magic objects D932. – D1610.

- D932. *Magic mountain.* (58).  
 D935. *Magic earth (soil).* (59).  
 D998. *Magic private parts—human.* (13).  
 D1007. *Magic bone (human).* (32).  
 D1009.2.1. *Magic dead man's tooth.* (32).  
 D1087. *Magic sling.* (26).  
 D1175.2. *Magic fire-steel (flint, strike-a-light).* (13).  
 D1273. *Magic formula (charm).* (58).  
 D1275. *Magic song.* (59).  
 D1331.2. *Magic object blinds.* (33); (34).  
 D1335.2.+ *Urine as magic strength-giving drink.* (D1335.2. *Magic strength-giving drink.*) (38).  
 D1384.+ *Shaman's spirit protects wife on journey.* (D1384. *Magic object protects from discomfort or accident on journey.*) (44).  
 D1444.4. *Magic song to catch animals.* (29).  
 D1486.1. *Magic stone makes rivers and lakes.* (17).  
 D1503.1. *Magic song heals wound.* (33); (34).

- D1524.5.+      *Rivers crossed by magic.* (D1524.5. *River crossed by means of charm.*) (12).  
 D1610.      *Magic speaking objects.* (32).

c. Magic powers and manifestations D1711.3. – D2197.

- D1711.3.      *Sun as magician.* (15).  
 D1717.      *Magic power of children.* (44).  
 D1719.1.      *Contest in magic.* (35).  
 D1721.      *Magic power from magician.* (44).  
 D1741.7.+      *Shaman causes loss of magic power.*  
                     (D1741.7. *Saint causes loss of magic power.*)  
                     (35).  
 D1745.      *Magic power rendered ineffective.* (35).  
 D1777.      *Magic results from power of thought.* (33).  
 D1781.+      *Shaman calls his spirit by singing.* (D1781.  
                     *Magic results from singing.*) (34).  
 D1810.      *Magic knowledge.* (16); (45).  
 D1810.0.2.      *Magic knowledge of magician.* (34); (44).  
 D1810.8.      *Magic knowledge from dream.* (44).  
 D1812.3.3.+      *Past revealed in dream.* (D1812.3.3. *Future*  
                     *revealed in dream.*) (58).  
 D1812.5.0.15.      *Weather signs.* (20).  
 D1840.      *Magic invulnerability.* (23); (29).  
 D1882.      *Rejuvenation by supernatural person.* (2); (4).  
 D1887.      *Rejuvenation by bathing.* (2); (4).  
 D1889.+      *Rejuvenation by sleep.* (D1889. *Miscellaneous*  
                     *means of rejuvenation.*) (2); (4).  
 D1960.4.      *Deathlike sleep.* (2).  
 D1962.+      *Hypnotic gestures induce magic sleep.*  
                     (D1962. *Means of inducing magic sleep.*) (55);  
                     (56).  
 D2060.      *Death or bodily injury by magic.* (34).  
 D2061.      *Magic murder.* (2); (10); (11); (33); (34); (45).  
 D2061.2.1.      *Death-giving glance.* (33); (35).  
 D2064.      *Magic sickness.* (34); (45).  
 D2064.3.      *Sickness transferred to animal.* (32); (34).  
 D2071.2.      *Person kills with Evil Eye.* (4).  
 D2089.+      *Touch of male genitals renders flint useless.*  
                     (D2089. *Magic used against property–*  
                     *miscellaneous.*) (13).  
 D2089.10.+      *Flint magically made not to function.*  
                     (D2089.10. *Fire drills magically made not to*  
                     *function.*) (13).

- D2091. *Magic attack against enemy.* (16).  
 D2091.16. *Enemy magically enclosed within walls.* (9).  
 D2092. *Man caused to sink into mud.* (12).  
 D2125. *Magic journey over water.*(44).  
 D2136.10. *Objects magically sent to certain place.*(44).  
 D2140. *Magic control of the elements.* (21).  
 D2141.2. *Storm raised to defeat enemy.* (16).  
 D2142.0.1. *Magician (witch) controls winds.* (16).  
 D2142.1. *Wind produced by magic.* (16); (52).  
 D2143.1. *Rain produced by magic.* (16).  
 D2143.1.2.+ *Good weather produced by singing.*  
 (D2143.1.2. *Rain produced by singing.*) (29).  
 D2143.4. *Hail produced by magic.* (9).  
 D2143.6. *Magic control of snow.* (16).  
 D2143.6.3. *Snow produced by magic.* (9); (52).  
 D2144.1. *Cold produced by magic.* (12); (16).  
 D2144.5. *Ice controlled by magic.* (9); (12).  
 D2146. *Magic control of day and night.* (8); (14);  
 (59).  
 D2146.1.1. *Day magically lengthened.* (59).  
 D2151.2. *Magic control of rivers.* (12).  
 D2151.2.3.1. *Evil spirit holds back water.* (17).  
 D2151.2.6. *River magically widened.* (12).  
 D2151.2.6.+ *River magically narrowed.* (D2151.2.6. *River*  
*magically widened.*) (12).  
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*enemies.* (9).  
 D2161.2. *Magic cure of wound.* (33); (34).  
 D2161.4.+ *Cure by grafting own skin onto wound.*  
 (D2161.4. *Methods of magic cure.*) (34).  
 D2162. *Magic control of disease.* (31); (32).  
 D2163.6. *Obstructions magically produced before*  
*enemy.* (12).  
 D2165.1. *Escape by flying through the air.* (9).  
 D2165.3. *Magic used to prevent pursuit.* (12).  
 D2178.4.2. *Noxious animals produced by magic.* (34).  
 D2197. *Magic dominance over animals.* (7); (9).

## E. THE DEAD

### a. Resuscitation E31. – E181.

- E31. *Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble and*  
*revive.* (33); (34).



- E32. *Resuscitated eaten animal.* (33); (34).  
 E151. *Repeated resuscitation.* (2).  
 E181. *Means of resuscitation learned.* (2).

b. Ghosts and other revenants E210. – E542.1.4.+.

- E210. *Dead lover's malevolent return.* (33).  
 E226. *Dead brother's return.* (55).  
 E234.3. *Return from dead to avenge death (murder).* (33).  
 E421.4. *Ghosts as shadow.* (33); (34).  
 E430. *Defense against ghosts and the dead.* (55).  
 E432. *Ghost deceived.* (55).  
 E439.+ *Smoke and weapons protection against revenant.* (E439. *Other protection against revenants.*) (33).  
 E461. *Fight of revenant with living person.* (55).  
 E462.+ *Revenant killed by living person.* (E462. *Revenant overawed by living person.*) (55).  
 E542.1.4.+ *Ghost strikes man on knee.* (E542.1.4. *Ghost strikes man on face.*) (33).

c. The Soul E725. – E780.

- E725. *Soul leaves one body and enters another.* (33).  
 E780. *Vital bodily members.* (32); (33); (34).

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a. Otherworld journeys F10. – F151.1.

- F10. *Journey to upper world.* (2); (4); (10).  
 F145.1.+ *Mountain between North and South is extremely slippery.* (F145.1. *Glass mountain at borders of otherworld. Mountain is extremely slippery.*) (16).  
 F150.2.3. *Entrance to otherworld guarded by north and south winds.* (16).  
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b. Marvelous creatures F389.3.+ – F688.

- F389.3.+ *Ghost wounded by mortal.* (F389.3. *Fairy wounded by mortal.*) (34).

- F402.1.+      *Spirit urinates.* (F402.1. *Deeds of evil spirits.*) (34).
- F402.1.2.      *Spirit blocks person's road.* (54).
- F402.1.5.+      *Demon attempts to cause barrenness.* (F402.1.5. *Demon causes disease.*) (56).
- F402.1.10.      *Spirit pursues person.* (34); (54).
- F402.1.11.      *Spirit causes death.* (54); (56).
- F402.1.11.3.+      *Evil spirit harpoons man.* (F402.1.11.3. *Evil spirit harpoons sleepers.*) (34).
- F402.1.12.      *Spirit fights against person.* (34); (54).
- F402.1.15.      *Demon suitors of girl.* (56).
- F402.6.      *Dwelling of demons.* (54).
- F405.      *Means of combating spirits.* (54); (55); (56).
- F405.+      *Smoke and arrows as protection against spirit.* (F405. *Means of combating spirits.*) (34).
- F405.12.      *Demons flee from fire.* (56).
- F418.1.      *Spirits answer war cry.* (54).
- F493.0.1.      *Pestilence in animal form.* (34).
- F527.      *Person of unusual color.* (27); (45).
- F545.1.      *Remarkable beard.* (31); (32).
- F545.4.+      *Face covered with hair.* (F545.4. *Face covered with long moss.*) (31); (32).
- F547.      *Remarkable sexual organs.* (1).
- F547.3.      *Extraordinary penis.* (1).
- F547.3.1.      *Long penis.* (6); (19); (28).
- F547.5.      *Extraordinary vagina.* (1).
- F565.1.      *Amazons. Women warriors.* (15).
- F565.3.      *Parliament of women.* (15); (57).
- F565.3.+      *Parliament of women overthrown.* (F565.3. *Parliament of women.*) (57).
- F566.2.      *Land where women live separate from men.* (57).
- F571.      *Extremely old person.* (32).
- F574.3.3.      *Hero luminous.* (23).
- F575.1.      *Remarkably beautiful woman.* (27); (45); (47).
- F575.2.      *Handsome man.* (27); (40); (45).
- F575.3.      *Remarkably beautiful child.* (45).
- F592.      *Man's ferocious glance kills (causes swooning).* (4).
- F601.5.      *Extraordinary companions are brothers (twins, triplets).* (22).
- F610.      *Remarkably strong man.* (53); (54); (58).
- F610.3.      *Warrior of special strength.* (19); (22).
- F612.3.      *Hero leaves home with giant equipment.* (58).

- F614.1.+ *Strong man drives giant log into ground.*  
(F614.1. *Strong man drives anvil into ground.*) (58).
- F615.0.1. *Death of strong man.* (54).
- F617. *Mighty wrestler.* (52).
- F624. *Mighty lifter.* (58).
- F641. *Person of remarkable hearing.* (20).
- F660. *Remarkable skill.* (59).
- F660.+ *Skillful craftsman.* (F660. *Remarkable skill.*) (29).
- F661. *Skillful marksman.* (17); (45); (49).
- F661.5.4. *Skillful marksman shoots both eyes of an ogre.* (12).
- F662.0.1. *Woman skillful in sewing.* (44).
- F677. *Skillful tracker.* (51).
- F679.1. *Remarkable herdsman.* (7).
- F679.5. *Skillful hunter.* (19); (24); (29); (45); (57).
- F681. *Marvelous runner.* (23); (54); (57).
- F681.3.1.+ *Contest between two swift runners.*  
(F681.3.1. *Contest between runner swift as thought and one swift as sight.*) (38).
- F681.6. *Marvelous runner catches wild game on the run.* (38).
- F684.1. *Marvelous climber.* (59).
- F688. *Man with marvelous voice.* (29).

c. Extraordinary places and things F704. — F887.+.

- F704. *Land of cold and mist.* (52).
- F771. *Extraordinary castle (house, palace).* (58).
- F771.1.+ *House of unusual material.* (F771.1. *Castle of unusual material.*) (58).
- F790.+ *Sky trembles when sun beats moon.* (F790. *Extraordinary sky and weather phenomena.*) (57).
- F830. *Extraordinary weapons.* (22).
- F836. *Extraordinary bow.* (22).
- F838. *Extraordinary knife.* (17).
- F873.0.1. *Battle rage.* (57).
- F887.+ *Extraordinary net.* (F887. *Extraordinary implements.*) (24).
- F887.+ *Extraordinary traps.* (F887. *Extraordinary implements.*) (19).

d. Extraordinary occurrences F914. – F1084.

|             |                                                                                                              |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F914.       | <i>Person swallowed and disgorged.</i> (34).                                                                 |
| F961.1.     | <i>Extraordinary behavior of sun.</i> (8); (14); (15).                                                       |
| F961.1.3.1. | <i>Two suns shine in sky.</i> (8).                                                                           |
| F963.       | <i>Extraordinary behavior of wind.</i> (16).                                                                 |
| F983.+.     | <i>Extraordinary growth of animal parts.</i> (F983. <i>Extraordinary growth of animal.</i> ) (33).           |
| F1021.3.    | <i>Man learns to fly.</i> (9).                                                                               |
| F1041.1.3.  | <i>Death from sorrow or chagrin.</i> (45).                                                                   |
| F1041.21.+. | <i>Son runs into sea after seeing father killed.</i> (F1041.21. <i>Reactions to excessive grief.</i> ) (47). |
| F1068.2.2.  | <i>Fight in dream with real result.</i> (35).                                                                |
| F1084.      | <i>Furious battle.</i> (57).                                                                                 |

G. OGRES

a. Kinds of ogres G11.3. – G312.

|             |                                                                                   |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| G11.3.      | <i>Cannibal witch.</i> (34).                                                      |
| G30.        | <i>Person becomes cannibal.</i> (30).                                             |
| G70.        | <i>Occasional cannibalism—deliberate.</i> (30).                                   |
| G100.       | <i>Giant ogre.</i> (13).                                                          |
| G110.       | <i>Possessions of giant ogres.</i> (13).                                          |
| G211.7.1.+. | <i>Shaman in form of whale.</i> (G211.7.1. <i>Witch in form of whale.</i> ) (33). |
| G260.       | <i>Evil deeds of witches.</i> (17).                                               |
| G310.       | <i>Ogres with characteristic methods.</i> (55); (56).                             |
| G312.       | <i>Cannibal ogre.</i> (12).                                                       |

b. Falling into ogre's power G462. – G464.+.

|         |                                                                                                    |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| G462.   | <i>Person as servant in ogre's house.</i> (12).                                                    |
| G464.+. | <i>Ogre tyrannizes over land.</i> (G464. <i>Ogre tyrannizes over fairyland.</i> ) (4); (17); (18). |

c. Ogre defeated G501.+.

|         |                                                                    |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| G501.+. | <i>Ogre outwitted by trick.</i> (G501. <i>Stupid ogre.</i> ) (12). |
| G510.   | <i>Ogre killed, maimed, or captured.</i> (12).                     |
| G511.   | <i>Ogre blinded.</i> (12).                                         |



- G512. *Ogre killed.* (18).
- G512.1.2. *Ogre decapitated.* (17).
- G512.8.2. *Ogre killed by striking with stones.* (17).
- G530. *Ogre's relative aids hero.* (17).
- G530.2. *Help from ogre's daughter (or son).* (33); (34).
- G550. *Rescue from ogre.* (26).
- G551. *Rescue from ogre by relative.* (12); (17); (18).
- G551.3.1. *Rescue of children from giant (ogre) by hero (skillful companions).* (12).

d. Other ogre motifs G691.

- G691. *Bodies of victims in front of ogre's house.* (12).

## H. TESTS

a. Identity tests: recognition H79.3.

- H79.3. *Recognition by voice.* (57).

b. Tests of truth H217. – H241.

- H217. *Decision made by contest.* (35).
- H217.1. *Decision of victory by single combat between army leaders.* (16).
- H217.2. *Decision by single combat or holmgang of who is to marry girl.* (16).
- H241. *Worn-out shoes as proof of long journey.* (16); (33); (34).

c. Marriage tests H331.2.

- H331.2. *Suitor contest: tournament.* (16).

d. Tests of cleverness H500. – H580.

- H500. *Test of cleverness or ability.* (44).
- H503.1. *Song duel. Contest in singing.* (59).
- H580. *Enigmatic statements.* (57).

e. Tests of prowess: tasks H927.

- H927. *Tasks set by deity.* (2); (4).

f. Tests of prowess: quests H1223.1. – H1397.2.

- H1223.1.      *Quest to recover one's honor through feats.*  
                      (35).  
 H1225.        *Quest for a strong adversary.* (16); (35).  
 H1256.        *Journey to otherworld to obtain a wife.* (16).  
 H1385.        *Quest for lost persons.* (22).  
 H1385.3.      *Quest for vanished wife (mistress).* (22).  
 H1397.        *Quest for enemies.* (12).  
 H1397.2.      *Quest for enemy's children.* (12).

g. Other tests H1562.9. — H1594.

- H1562.9. *Test of strength: wrestling.* (52); (53).  
H1592. *Hunting contest.* (16).  
H1594. *Foot-racing contest.* (59).

## J. THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH

a. Acquisition and possession of wisdom (knowledge) J17. – J154.

- J17. *Animal learns through experience to fear men.*  
(43).
- J150.+. *Knowledge acquired through distant travel.*  
(J150. *Other means of acquiring wisdom*  
*[knowledge].*) (59).
- J154. *Wise words of dying father.* (37).

b. Wise and unwise conduct J355.1. — J1050.

- J355.1. *The widow's meal.* (19).  
 J421. *Subordination of weak to strong.* (57).  
 J421.+ *Subordination of strong to weak by deception.* (J421. *Subordination of weak to strong.*) (57).  
 J425. *Weak fear company of strong.* (57).  
 J582. *Foolishness of premature coming out of hiding.* (23).  
 J613. *Wise fear of the weak for the strong.* (57).  
 J623. *Prevention of hostility by inspiring fear in enemy.* (57).  
 J624. *Uniting against a common enemy.* (57).

- J640. *Avoidance of others' power.* (35); (44).  
 J643. *Care against future tyranny.* (19); (57).  
 J647. *Avoiding enemy's revenge.* (6); (23); (57).  
 J652. *Inattention to warnings.* (45).  
 J701. *Provision for the future.* (57).  
 J1050. *Attention to warnings.* (43); (57); (59).

c. Cleverness J1110. — J1681.

- J1110. *Clever persons.* (58).  
 J1495. *Person runs from actual or supposed ghost.*  
 (34).  
 \*J1681. *Cleverness in dealing with the enemy.* (57).

d. Fools (and other unwise persons) J1701.

- J1701. *Stupid wife.* (30).

K. DECEPTIONS

a. Contests won by deception K11. — K66.

- K11. *Race won by deception.* (38).  
 K15. *Climbing match won by deception.* (59).  
 K66. *Dream contests.* (35).

b. Thefts and cheats K330.+ — K331.+.

- K330.+ *Men tricked into giving up their food. (K330. Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.)* (57).  
 K331.+ *Goods destroyed while owner sleeps. (K331. Goods stolen while owner sleeps.)* (13).

c. Escape by deception K500. — K600.

- K500. *Escape from death or danger by deception.* (55).

- K515. *Escape by hiding.* (12); (23); (25); (51); (57).  
 K525.5. *Man leaves mantle so that only mantle is hit.*  
 (55).  
 K600. *Murderer or captor otherwise beguiled.* (22).

d. Capture by deception K700. – K787.+.

- K700. *Capture by deception.* (9); (46).  
 K730. *Victim trapped.* (9).  
 K750. *Capture by decoy.* (39).  
 K787.+ *Woman sent to rendezvous with lover who is killed.* (K787. *Maiden sent to rendezvous with lover who is captured.*) (47).

e. Fatal deception K800. – K956.

- K800. *Killing or maiming by deception.* (4); (12); (47).  
 K810. *Fatal deception into trickster's power.* (23).  
 K818.4.+ *Deception by hiding child.* (K818.4. *Deception by hiding weapons.*) (45).  
 K822.+ *Woman distracts warrior so that husband may kill him.* (K822. *Women draw warrior aside so that confederate may kill him.*) (22).  
 K914. *Murder from ambush.* (31); (32).  
 K914.2.+ *Rocks hurled down hill delay antagonist climbing below.* (K914.2. *Rock hurled down hill slays enemy passing below.*) (59).  
 K922. *Artificial whale made as stratagem.* (34).  
 K925. *Victim pushed into fire.* (56).  
 K926. *Victim pushed into water.* (9).  
 K956. *Murder by destroying external soul.* (35).

f. Deception into humiliating position K1200. – K1210.

- K1200. *Deception into humiliating position.* (16); (57).  
 K1210. *Humiliated or baffled lovers.* (33).

g. Seduction or deceptive marriage K1325. – K1371.

- K1325. *Seduction by feigned death.* (36); (37).  
 K1371. *Bride-stealing.* (16).



## h. Dupe's property destroyed K1410.

K1410. *Dupe's goods destroyed.* (13).

## i. Deception through shams K1700. — K2065.1.

K1700. *Deception through bluffing.* (15).  
 K1818.6. *Deception by pretended faint.* (35).  
 K1821.2. *Disguise by painting body.* (57); (58).  
 K1821.3. *Disguise by veiling face.* (57).  
 K1828. *Disguise as deity (or spirit).* (57); (58).  
 K1831.0.1. *Disguise by changing name.* (52).  
 K1840. *Deception by substitution.* (6).  
 K1868. *Deception by pretending sleep.* (56).  
 K2060. *Detection of hypocrisy.* (44); (57).  
 K2065.1. *Woman and sick husband.* (44).

## j. False accusations K2110.

K2110. *Slanders.* (35).

## k. Villains and traitors K2211. — K2222.

K2211. *Treacherous brother.* (4); (10); (11).  
 K2211.1. *Treacherous brother-in-law.* (47).  
 K2213. *Treacherous wife.* (57).  
 K2214.1. *Treacherous daughter.* (57).  
 K2218.2. *Treacherous father-in-law.* (16).  
 K2220. *Treacherous rivals.* (4); (6); (9); (11); (13).  
 K2222. *Treacherous co-wife (concubine).* (44).

## l. Other deceptions K2320. — K2350.+.

K2320. *Deception by frightening.* (57).  
 K2350. *Military strategy.* (16); (17); (22).  
 K2350.+. *Signal for attack given by whistle.* (K2350. *Military strategy.*) (57).  
 K2350.+. *Fast runners sent through enemy's camp to gather information.* (K2350. *Military strategy.*) (57).

L. REVERSAL OF FORTUNE

- a. Unpromising hero (heroine) L121.

L121. *Stupid hero.* (18).

- b. Triumph of the weak L300.+ — L311.

L300.+ *Triumph of the oppressed.* (L300. *Triumph of the weak.*) (57).

L311. *Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter.* (17); (18); (23).

- c. Pride brought low L400. — L430.

L400. *Pride brought low.* (57); (59).

L430. *Arrogance repaid.* (57).

M. ORDAINING THE FUTURE

- a. Bargains and promises M207.

M207. *Land grants (bargains).* (1); (3); (4); (17); (19).

- b. Prophecies M301.3.+ — M391.

M301.3.+ *Shaman as prophet.* (M301.3. *Druids as prophets.*) (31); (32).

M306. *Enigmatical prophecy.* (31); (32).

M340.5. *Prediction of danger.* (22).

M341. *Death prophesied.* (10).

M391. *Fulfillment of prophecy.* (31); (32).

- c. Curses M411.14.+.

M411.14.+ *Curse by shaman.* (M411.14. *Curse by priest.*) (5).

N. CHANCE AND FATE

- a. Unlucky accidents N334. — N397.

N334. *Accidental fatal ending of game or joke.* (51).

N340. *Hasty killing or condemnation.* (31); (51).

- N365.2.                *Unwitting father-daughter incest.* (6).  
 N380.+                *Wife accidentally shot.* (N380. *Other unlucky accidents.*) (22).  
 N385.                *Unintentional injuries bring unfortunate consequences.* (23).  
 N397.                *Accidental self-injury.* (23).

b. Lucky accidents N440. — N650.

- N440.                *Valuable secrets learned.* (15); (57).  
 N440.+                *Secret learned.* (N440. *Valuable secrets learned.*) (45); (47).  
 N455.                *Overheard (human) conversation.* (57).  
 N610.                *Accidental discovery of crime.* (30).  
 N650.                *Life saved by accident.* (57).

c. Helpers N800.+ — N838.

- N800.+                *Stranger as helper.* (N800. *Helpers.*) (33); (34).  
 N820.+                *Helpful relatives-in-law.* (N820. *Human helpers.*) (44).  
 N838.                *Hero (culture hero) as helper.* (17); (18).

P. SOCIETY

a. Royalty and nobility P12.2.1.+.

- P12.2.1.+                *Tyrannical ruler.* (P12.2.1. *Tyrannical king.*) (4).

b. The family P201. — P272.

- P201.                *Inherent enmity between members of a family.* (16).  
 P201.+                *Enmity within family over ownership of land.* (P201. *Inherent enmity between members of a family.*) (23).  
 P233.6.+                *Father avenges son.* (P233.6. *Son avenges father.*) (33); (34).  
 P251.5.3.                *Hostile brothers.* (10); (11).  
 P251.5.4.                *Two brothers as contrasts.* (10).

- P264.+                      *Beautiful child immoderately loved by sisters-in-law.* (P264. *Sister-in-law.*) (45).  
 P272.                        *Foster mother.* (59).

c. Other social relationships P310.2.+.

- P310.2.+                      *Attempt to avenge friend.* (P310.2. *Friends avenge each other.*) (50).

d. Trades and professions P426.1.1.

- P426.1.1.                      *First of animals and fruits belong to priest.* (17).

e. Government P555. — P557.4.

- P555.                        *Defeat in battle.* (57).  
 P557.4.                      *Customs concerning single combat.* (22).

f. Customs P681.

- P681.                        *Mourning customs.* (10); (11); (36).

Q. REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

a. Deeds rewarded Q65.

- Q65.                        *Filial duty rewarded.* (45).

b. Deeds punished Q211. — Q331.2.

- Q211.                        *Murder punished.* (31); (32).  
 Q211.0.2.                      *Enormity of kin murder.* (30); (38).  
 Q211.11.                      *Punishment for wholesale massacre of tribe.* (23).  
 Q213.                        *Abduction punished.* (22).  
 Q215.                        *Cannibalism punished.* (30).  
 Q253.1.                      *Bestiality punished.* (47).  
 Q261.2.                      *Treacherous wife punished.* (27); (44); (57); (58).  
 Q276.                        *Stinginess punished.* (17); (18); (19); (44).



- Q285. *Cruelty punished.* (25); (44).  
 Q288. *Punishment for mockery.* (35); (51); (59).  
 Q302. *Envy punished.* (35).  
 Q305. *War-making punished.* (23).  
 Q306. *Quarrelsomeness punished.* (52).  
 Q325. *Disobedience punished.* (57).  
 Q330. *Overweening punished.* (59).  
 Q331.2. *Vanity punished.* (23).

c. Kinds of punishment Q411. — Q551.6.

- Q411. *Death as punishment.* (31); (33); (34); (35).  
 Q411.3.+ *Death of sister-in-law as punishment.* (Q411.3. *Death of father [son, etc.] as punishment.*) (51).  
 Q411.4. *Death as punishment for treachery.* (57); (58).  
 Q411.6. *Death as punishment for murder.* (23).  
 Q411.12.+ *Maidens slain in revenge.* (Q411.12. *Maidens slain in revenge for deaths of young men.*) (57).  
 Q458.0.4. *Flogging as punishment for imposture.* (57).  
 Q467. *Punishment by drowning.* (18).  
 Q551.3.2. *Punishment: transformation into animal.* (5).  
 Q551.6. *Magic sickness as punishment.* (32); (34).

R. CAPTIVES AND FUGITIVES

a. Captivity R10. — R70.+.

- R10. *Abduction.* (22).  
 R10.1. *Princess (maiden) abducted.* (16).  
 R10.3. *Children abducted.* (12).  
 R11. *Abduction by monster (ogre).* (12).  
 R13. *Abduction by animal.* (46).  
 R18. *Abduction by rejected suitor.* (16); (46).  
 R70.+ *Girl falls in love with abductor, deceives would-be rescuers.* (R70. *Behavior of captives.*) (46).

b. Rescues R151.1. — R156.+.

- R151.1. *Husband rescues stolen wife.* (22).  
 R156.+ *Brothers attempt to rescue sister.* (R156. *Brother rescues sister.*) (46).

c. Escapes and pursuits R219.+ - R260.

- R219.+                    *Escape from spirits.* (R219. *Escapes—miscellaneous.*) (54); (55); (56).  
 R220.                    *Flights.* (46); (51).  
 R227.2.+                *Flight from husband.* (R227.2. *Flight from hated husband.*) (57).  
 R236.+                    *Fugitives aided by magic weather.* (R236. *Pursuers aided by magic weather phenomenon.*) (16).  
 R260.                    *Pursuits.* (22); (51).

d. Refuges and recapture R310. - R324.1.

- R310.                    *Refuges.* (26).  
 R310.+                    *Refuge from storm in sea.* (R310. *Refuges.*) (20).  
 R311.                    *Tree refuge.* (23); (51).  
 R315.                    *Cave as refuge.* (46).  
 R316.                    *Refuge on rock in sea.* (25).  
 R317.+                    *Lagoon as refuge.* (R317. *Well [spring] as refuge.*) (57).  
 R323.                    *Refuge in upper world.* (57).  
 R324.1.                    *Escape from battle by flying in air.* (57).

S. UNNATURAL CRUELTY

a. Cruel relatives S0. - S73.1.2.+.

- S0.                        *Cruel relative.* (7); (47).  
 S10.                      *Cruel parents.* (33).  
 S11.                      *Cruel father.* (34).  
 S20.2.+                *Wife hides food from starving husband.* (S20.2. *Child hides food from starving parents.*) (44).  
 S21.                      *Cruel son.* (38).  
 S55.                      *Cruel sister-in-law.* (30).  
 S60.                      *Cruel spouse.* (44).  
 S73.1.                    *Fratricide.* (4); (10); (11).  
 S73.1.2.+                *Brothers kill and eat sea lion brother-in-law.* (S73.1.2. *Brother kills and eats brother.*) (47).

## b. Revolting murders or mutilations S113. — S185.

- S113. *Murder by strangling.* (35).  
 S116.3. *Murder by breaking back.* (12).  
 S131. *Murder by drowning.* (18).  
 S132. *Murder by starvation.* (17).  
 S133. *Murder by beheading.* (32).  
 S139.2. *Slain person dismembered.* (30).  
 S139.2.+ *Slain sea lion brother-in-law dismembered.*  
 (S139.2. *Slain person dismembered.*) (47).  
 S160.1. *Self-mutilation.* (29).  
 S183. *Frightful meal.* (12); (30).  
 S185. *Cruelty to pregnant woman.* (47).

## c. Cruel persecutions S400.

- S400. *Cruel persecutions.* (4).

## T. SEX

## a. Love T35. — T97.

- T35. *Lovers' rendezvous.* (6); (33); (34).  
 T35.+ *Deception in order to meet lover.* (T35. *Lovers' rendezvous.*) (47).  
 T41.3. *Lovers' signal.* (47).  
 T50.1. *Girl carefully guarded from suitors.* (16); (33); (34).  
 T50.1.2. *Girl carefully guarded by father.* (6); (16); (33); (34).  
 T75. *Man scorned by his beloved.* (46).  
 T75.0.1. *Suitors ill-treated.* (6); (16); (33); (34).  
 T75.2.1. *Rejected suitors' revenge.* (5); (33); (34).  
 T97. *Father opposed to daughter's marriage.* (6); (16); (33); (34).

## b. Marriage T104. — T148.

- T104. *Foreign king wages war to enforce demand for princess in marriage.* (16).  
 T110.+ *Marriage between winds.* (T110. *Unusual marriage.*) (16).

- T131.1.1. *Brother's consent for sister's marriage needed.* (5).
- T131.1.2. *Father's consent to son's (daughter's) marriage necessary.* (33); (34).
- T145.0.1. *Polygyny.* (44).
- T148. *Matriarchy.* (15); (57).

c. Married life T211.1. – T263.

- T210.1. *Faithful wife.* (47).
- T211.4.+ *Husband's sexual organs kept after his death.* (T211.4. *Spouse's corpse kept after death.*) (47).
- T263. *The hypocritical wife.* (44).

d. Illicit sexual relations T411. – T475.

- T411. *Father-daughter incest.* (6); (36); (37).
- T411.1.2. *Father feigning death returns in disguise and seduces daughter.* (36); (37).
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 DEFEAT in battle P555. (57). — Storm raised to defeat enemy D2141.2. (16).  
 DEFENSE against ghosts and the dead E430. (55).  
 DEITY cares for favorite individuals A185. (19). — Disguise as deity . . . K1828. (57); (58); mountain from part of deity's . . . body A962.1. (19); tasks set by deity H927. (2); (4).  
 DELAY. — Rocks . . . delay . . . K914.2.+ (59).  
 DELIBERATE. — Occasional cannibalism—deliberate G70. (30).  
 DELUGE A1010. (21). — Escape from deluge A1020. (21).  
 DEMAND. — Foreign king wages war to enforce demand . . . T104. (16).  
 DEMON attempts to cause barrenness F402.1.5.+ (56); suitors of girl F402.1.15. (56).  
 DEMONS flee from fire F405.12. (56). — Dwelling of demons F402.6. (54).  
 DEMONSTRATE. — Man demonstrates his violence . . . W185.1. (51).  
 DEPART. — Culture hero arrives (and departs) in boat A513.2. (45).  
 DEPARTURE. — Culture hero's . . . departure A560. (17); (22).  
 DESTROYED. — Dupe's goods destroyed K1410. (13); goods destroyed . . . K331.+ (13).  
 DESTROYING. — Murder by destroying . . . K956. (35).  
 DETECTION of hypocrisy K2060. (44); (57).  
 DETERMINATION of night and day A1172. (8); (14); of seasons A1150. (59).  
 DEVASTATING birds B16.3. (50); whale B16.2.+ (34).  
 DEVIATING. — Tabu: deviating from path C700.+ (59).

- DISABILITY. — Humor of disability X100. (23).
- DISCOVERY. — Accidental discovery . . . N610. (30).
- DISCUSSED. — Secrets discussed . . . B235. (58).
- DISEASE as punishment A1337.0.5. (31); (32). — Golden age: originally no disease A1101.1.+ (32); magic control of disease D2162. (31); (32); origin of disease A1337. (32).
- DISENCHANTMENT. — Transformation and disenchantment at will D630. (34).
- DISGORGED. — Person swallowed and disgorged F914. (34).
- DISGUISE as deity . . . K1828. (57); (58); by changing name K1831.0.1. (52); by painting body K1821.2. (57); (58); by veiling face K1821.3. (57). — Father . . . returns in disguise . . . T411.1.2. (36); (37).
- DISMEMBERED. — Slain person dismembered S139.2. (30); slain sea lion . . . dismembered S139.2.+ (47).
- DISOBEDIENCE punished Q325. (57).
- DISPENSE. — Culture hero dispenses food . . . A547. (18).
- DISTANT. — Knowledge acquired through distant travel J150.+ (59).
- DISTRACT. — Woman distracts warrior . . . K822.+ (22).
- DISTRIBUTION of tribes A1620. (1); (3); (19).
- DIVING BIRDS. — Why diving birds live in couples A2490.+ (57).
- DIVISION. — Beginning of division of labor A1472. (57).
- DOGS. — Culture hero has marvelous dogs A524.1.1. (29).
- DOLPHIN. — Transformation: man to dolphin D127.5. (20).
- DOLPHINS. — Frightened dolphins take refuge in sea . . . A2212.2.+ (20); why dolphins swim up and down A2444.2. (20).
- DOMINANCE. — Magic dominance . . . D2197. (7); (9).
- DREAM contests K66. (35). — Fight in dream . . . F1068.2.2. (35); magic knowledge from dream D1810.8. (44); past revealed . . . D1812.3.3.+ (58).
- DRINK. — Permission refused to drink . . . W155.5.+ (17); urine as magic . . . drink D1335.2.+ (38).
- DRIVE. — Strong man drives . . . F614.1.+ (58).
- DROWNING. — Murder by drowning S131. (18); punishment by drowning Q467. (18).
- DUCK. — Creation of duck A1983. (2); transformation: man to duck D161.3. (2).
- DUEL. — Song duel. . . H503.1. (59).
- DUPE. — Culture hero as dupe . . . A521. (24); dupe's goods destroyed K1410. (13).
- DUTY. — Filial duty . . . Q65. (45).
- DWELLING of demons F402.6. (54).
- DYING. — Wise words of dying father J154. (37).
- EAGERNESS for combat W212. (16); (52); (53).



- EARTH . . . personified Z110.+ (40). — Magic earth . . . D935. (59); man made from clay (earth) A1241. (1); moon as woman who left earth A711.+ (15); sun as man who left earth A711. (14); (15); (57).
- EASY. — Man must labor for a living; at first everything too easy A1346.2. (38).
- EAT. — Brothers kill and eat sea lion . . . S73.1.2.+ (47).
- EATEN. — Resuscitated eaten animal E32. (33); (34).
- ELBOWS. — Indentations on rocks from . . . elbows A972.5.4. (19).
- ELEMENTS. — Magic control of the elements D2140. (21).
- ENCLOSED. — Enemy magically enclosed . . . D2091.16. (9).
- ENDING. — Accidental fatal ending . . . N334. (51).
- ENDOWED. — Moon endowed with wisdom . . . A753.3.4. (57); sun endowed with wisdom . . . A738.2.2. (57).
- ENEMIES. — Magician able to cast down mountains upon enemies D2152.2. (9); quest for enemies H1397. (12); why fox and guanaco are enemies A2494.+ (42); why white owl and eagle owl are enemies A2494.13.+ (51).
- ENEMY magically enclosed . . . D2091.16. (9). — Avoiding enemy's revenge J647. (6); (23); (57); cleverness in dealing with the enemy J1681. (57); fast runners sent through enemy's camp . . . K2350.+ (57); magic attack against enemy D2091. (16); obstructions magically produced before enemy D2163.6. (12); prevention of hostility by inspiring fear in enemy J623. (57); quest for enemy's children H1397.2. (12); storm raised to defeat enemy D2141.2. (16); transformation of enemy . . . D665. (5); transformation to spy enemy's camp D651.5. (57); transformation . . . to whale which kills enemy D651.1.1.+ (33); uniting against a common enemy J624. (57).
- ENFORCE. — Foreign king wages war to enforce demand . . . T104. (16).
- ENIGMATICAL prophecy M306. (31); (32); statements H580. (57).
- ENMITY between louse and lizard A2494.+ (48); within family . . . P201.+ (23). — Inherent enmity . . . P201. (16).
- ENORMITY of kin murder Q211.0.2. (30); (38).
- ENTER. — Soul leaves one body and enters another E725. (33).
- ENTRANCE to otherworld . . . F150.2.3. (16).
- ENVY W195. (9); (35); (38); (45); (59); punished Q302. (35).
- EQUIPMENT. — Hero leaves home with giant equipment F612.3. (58).
- ESCAPE . . . by deception K500. (55); by flying . . . D2165.1. (9); by hiding K515. (12); (23); (25); (51); (57); from battle . . . R324.1. (57); from deluge A1020. (21); from spirits R219.+ (54); (55); (56). — Transformation to escape death D642.2. (57).
- ESTABLISH. — Culture hero establishes customs A545. (29); (59); culture hero establishes law and order A530. (19).

- ESTABLISHMENT of animal haunt A2433.1. (19); of natural order A1100. (3); of present order: winds A1120. (2).
- EVIL deeds of witches G260. (17); spirit harpoons man F402.1.11.3.+. (34); spirit holds back water D2151.2.3.1. (17). — Transformation by evil spirits D683.6. (55).
- EVIL EYE. — Person kills with Evil Eye D2071.2. (4).
- EXCELLENT. — Sun is excellent hunter . . . A738.+. (57).
- EXPERIENCE. — Animal learns through experience . . . J17. (43).
- EXPERIENCES. — Topographical features caused by experiences . . . A901. (12); (17); (24); (59).
- EXTERNAL. — Murder by destroying external soul K956. (35).
- EXTRAORDINARY behavior of sun F961.1. (8); (14); (15); behavior of wind F963. (16); bow F836. (22); companions are brothers F601.5. (22); growth of animal parts F983.+. (33); house F771. (58); knife F838. (17); net F887.+. (24); penis F547.3. (1); traps F887.+. (19); vagina F547.5. (1); weapons F830. (22). — Conception from extraordinary intercourse T517. (1); culture hero has extraordinary clay A524.+. (59); culture hero's extraordinary animals A524.1. (7); hero with extraordinary . . . companions Z235. (39).
- EYE. — Person kills with Evil Eye D2071.2. (4).
- EYES. — Skillful marksman shoots both eyes of an ogre F661.5.4. (12); why owl has green eyes A2332.5.+. (51).
- FACE covered with hair F545.4.+. (31); (32). — Disguise by veiling face K1821.3. (57); marks on moon's face . . . A751.11.+. (57).
- FAINT. — Deception by . . . faint K1818.6. (35).
- FAITHFUL wife T210.1. (47).
- FAMILY. — Enmity within family . . . P201.+. (23); inherent enmity between members of a family P201. (16).
- FAST runners . . . K2350.+. (57). — Sun is . . . fast runner A738.+. (57).
- FATAL deception into trickster's power K810. (23). — Accidental fatal ending . . . N334. (51).
- FATHER avenges son P233.6.+. (33); (34); -daughter incest T411. (6); (36); (37); feigning death . . . T411.1.2. (36); (37); opposed to . . . marriage T97. (6); (16); (33); (34). — Cruel father S11. (34); culture hero from father-daughter incest A112.1.1.+. (6); father's consent . . . necessary T131.1.2. (33); (34); girl got with child by father T411.2.+. (6); girl . . . guarded by father T50.1.2. (6); (16); (33); (34); son runs into sea after seeing father killed F1041.21.+. (47); sun-father A221. (1); (8); (14); unwitting father-daughter incest N365.2. (6); wise words of dying father J154. (37).
- FATHER-IN-LAW. — Treacherous father-in-law K2218.2. (16).
- FAVORITE. — Deity cares for favorite individuals A185. (19).

- FEAR. — Animal learns . . . to fear men J17. (43); prevention of hostility by inspiring fear . . . J623. (57); weak fear . . . strong J425. (57); wise fear . . . J613. (57).
- FEATS. — Culture hero performs remarkable feats . . . A526.7. (17); (18); (26); (59); quest to recover one's honor through feats H1223.1. (35).
- FEATURES. — Origin of water features . . . A910. (12); topographical features caused by . . . primitive hero A901. (12); (17); (24); (59).
- FEIGNED. — Seduction by feigned death K1325. (36); (37).
- FEIGNING. — Father feigning death . . . T411.1.2. (36); (37).
- FEROCIOUS. — Man's ferocious glance kills F592. (4).
- FIGHT in dream . . . F1068.2.2. (35); of revenant . . . E461. (55). — Finch and starling fight B266.+ (53); louse and lizard fight B266.+ (48); spirit fights . . . F402.1.12. (34); (54); vulture and cormorant fight B266.+ (52).
- FIGHTER. — Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter L311. (17); (18). (23).
- FILIAL duty rewarded Q65. (45).
- FINCH and starling fight B266.+ (53). — Origin of finch's crest A2321.+ (53); why finch has white spot on neck A2412.2.+ (53); why green finch hides . . . A2433.4.+ (50).
- FIRE. — Demons flee from fire F405.12. (56); victim pushed into fire K925. (56).
- FIRST of animals . . . P426.1.1. (17); shepherd A1443.1. (7).
- FISHING. — Origin of fishing . . . customs A1520. (38).
- FLEE. — Demons flee from fire F405.12. (56).
- FLIGHT from husband R227.2.+ (57).
- FLIGHTS R220. (46); (51).
- FLINT . . . made not to function D2089.10.+ (13). — Magic flint D1175.2. (13); touch . . . renders flint useless D2089.+ (13).
- FLOGGING as punishment . . . Q458.0.4. (57).
- FLOOD as punishment A1018. (21).
- FLY. — Creation of fly A2031. (12); man learns to fly F1021.3. (9); why bat flies by night A2491.1. (5).
- FLYING. — Escape by flying through the air D2165.1. (9); escape from battle by flying in the air R324.1. (57).
- FOOD of mouse A2435.3.7. (18); of owl A2435.4.9. (5). — Culture hero dispenses food . . . A547. (18); men tricked into giving up their food K330.+ (57); wife hides food . . . S20.2.+ (44).
- FOOLISHNESS of . . . coming out of hiding J582. (23).
- FOOT-RACING contest H1594. (59).
- FOREIGN king wages war . . . T104. (16).
- FORM. — Pestilence in animal form F493.0.1. (34); shaman in form of whale G211.7.1.+ (33).
- FORMULA. — Magic formula . . . D1273. (58).

- FOSTER mother P272. (59).
- FOX. — Friendship of fox and guanaco A2493+. (42); (43); why fox and guanaco are enemies A2494+. (42); why fox and guanaco avoid each other A2490+. (42).
- FRATRICIDE S73.1. (4); (10); (11).
- FRIEND. — Attempt to avenge friend P310.2+. (50).
- FRIENDSHIP of fox and guanaco A2493+. (42); (43).
- FRIGHTENED dolphins take refuge in sea . . . A2212.2+. (20).
- FRIGHTENING. — Deception by frightening K2320. (57).
- FRIGHTFUL meal S183. (12); (30).
- FRUITS. — First of . . . fruits . . . P426.1.1. (17).
- FUGITIVES aided by magic weather R236+. (16).
- FULFILLMENT of prophecy M391. (31); (32).
- FUNCTION. — Flint . . . made not to function D2089.10+. (13).
- FURIOUS battle F1084. (57).
- FURY. — South wind tempers fury . . . A1127.1.1+. (16).
- FUTURE. — Care against future tyranny J643. (19); (57); provision for the future J701. (57).
- GAME. — Accidental fatal ending of game . . . N334. (51); marvelous runner catches wild game . . . F681.6. (38).
- GATHER. — Fast runners sent . . . to gather information K2350+. (57).
- GENEROSITY W11. (24); (29); (44); (57).
- GENITALS. — Touch of male genitals . . . D2089+. (13).
- GESTURES. — Hypnotic gestures . . . D1962+. (55); (56).
- GHOST deceived E432. (55); strikes man . . . E542.1.4+. (33); wounded . . . F389.3+. (34). — Person runs from . . . ghost J1495. (34).
- GHOSTS as shadow E421.4. (33); (34). — Defense against ghosts . . . E430. (55).
- GIANT ogre G100. (13). — Hero leaves home with giant equipment F612.3. (58); possessions of giant ogres G110. (13); strong man drives giant log . . . F614.1+. (58).
- GIRL falls in love with abductor . . . R70+. (46); got with child . . . T411.2+. (6); . . . guarded by father T50.1.2. (6); (16); (33); (34); . . . guarded from suitors T50.1. (16); (33); (34). — Decision . . . of who is to marry girl H217.2. (16); demon suitors of girl F402.1.15. (56); girl's animal lover slain . . . B610.1. (47); sea lion carries girl . . . B551+. (46).
- GIVING UP. — Men tricked into giving up their food K330+. (57).
- GLANCE. — Death-giving glance D2061.2.1. (33); (35); man's ferocious glance kills F592. (4).
- GOD resuscitates man A185.12.1. (2); (4). — Star-god A250. (3).
- GOLDEN AGE: originally no disease A1101.1+. (32).
- GOOD and bad culture heroes A525. (4); (10); (31); (32); weather produced . . . D2143.1.2+. (29).
- GOODS destroyed . . . K331+. (13). — Dupe's goods destroyed K1410. (13).



- GOOSE. — Transformation: man to goose D161.2. (29).
- GOVERNMENT. — Origin of lack of government A1582.+ (19).
- GRAFTING. — Cure by grafting own skin . . . D2161.4.+ (34).
- GRANDFATHER. — Culture hero's grandfather A512.1.+ (59).
- GRANTS. — Land grants . . . M207. (1); (3); (4); (17); (19).
- GREED W151. (23).
- GREEN. — Why green finch hides . . . A2433.4.+ (50); why owl has green eyes A2332.5.+ (51).
- GROUND. — Birth from ground T545. (59); strong man drives giant log into ground F614.1.+ (58); why the guanaco rolls on the ground A2470.+ (40).
- GROWTH. — Extraordinary growth of animal parts F983.+ (33); miraculous growth of culture hero A511.4.1. (59); supernatural growth T615. (1); (45).
- GUANACO. — Friendship of fox and guanaco A2493.+ (42); (43); helpful guanaco B443.+ (39); marriage of man to guanaco B600.+ (38); origin of color of guanaco A2411.1.+ (36); (40); tame guanaco helps men . . . B570.+ (39); transformation: man to guanaco D110.+ (36); (37); why fox and guanaco are enemies A2494.+ (42); why fox and guanaco avoid each other A2490.+ (42); why guanaco rolls on the ground A2470.+ (40).
- GUANACOS. — Sexual intercourse of guanacos A2496.+ (36); (37).
- GUARDED. — Entrance to otherworld guarded . . . F150.2.3. (16); girl . . . guarded by father T50.1.2. (6); (16); (33); (34); girl . . . guarded from suitors T50.1. (16); (33); (34).
- HABITAT. — Frightened dolphins take refuge in sea; cause of present habitat A2212.2.+ (20).
- HAIL produced . . . D2143.4. (9).
- HAIR. — Face covered with hair F545.4.+ (31); (32).
- HANDSOME man F575.2. (27); (40); (45).
- HARPOON. — Evil spirit harpoons man F402.1.11.3.+ (34); origin of harpoon A1459.1.+ (45).
- HASTY killing . . . N340. (31); (51).
- HAUNT. — Establishment of animal haunt A2433.1. (19).
- HAUNTS of birds A2433.4. (19); (57); of sea lion A2433.3.+ (47). — Various haunts of animals A2433.2. (21).
- HEAD. — Why vulture has bald, wrinkled head A2320.+ (52).
- HEAL. — Bird heals man B511.5. (33); (34); magic song heals wound D1503.1. (33). (34); skin of magic bird heals wound B184.3.2.3.+ (34).
- HEARING. — Person of remarkable hearing F641. (20).
- HEAVEN. — Culture hero ascends to heaven A566.2. (3); (14).
- HELP from ogre's daughter . . . G530.2. (33); (34). — Tame guanaco helps men . . . B570.+ (39).

- HELPER. — Hero . . . as helper N838. (17); (38); stranger as helper N800.+. (33); (34).
- HELPERS. — Culture hero has supernatural helpers A528. (2); (4).
- HELPFUL birds B450. (17); guanaco B443.+. (39); owl B461.2. (33); (34); relatives-in-law N820.+. (44); woodpecker B461.1. (18).
- HERDSMAN. — Remarkable herdsman F679.1. (7).
- HERO . . . as helper N838. (17); (18); leaves home . . . F612.3. (58); luminous F574.3.3. (23); with extraordinary . . . companions Z235. (39). — Islands from stones cast by hero A955.6.+. (17); mountain from part of deity's (hero's) body A962.1. (19); ogre's relative aids hero G530. (17); rescue of children . . . by hero G551.3.1. (12); stupid hero L121. (18); topographical features caused by . . . primitive hero A901. (12); (17); (24); (59); weak (small) hero . . . L311. (17); (18); (23).
- HEROES. — Brothers as heroes Z210. (22).
- HIDE. — Why green finch hides . . . A2433.4.+. (50); wife hides food . . . S20.2.+. (44).
- HIDING. — Deception by hiding child K818.4.+. (45); escape by hiding K515. (12); (23); (25); (51); (57); foolishness of . . . coming out of hiding J582. (23).
- HILL. — Rocks hurled down hill . . . K914.2.+. (59).
- HILLS. — Creation of mountains (hills) A960. (2).
- HIT. — Man leaves mantle so that only mantle is hit K525.5. (55).
- HOLD. — Evil spirit holds back water D2151.2.3.1. (17).
- HOLMGANG. — Decision by . . . holmgang of who is to marry girl H217.2. (16).
- HOME. — Hero leaves home . . . F612.3. (58).
- HOMOSEXUAL love (male) T463. (49).
- HONOR. — Quest to recover one's honor . . . H1223.1. (35).
- HOSPITALITY. — Culture hero dispenses . . . hospitality A547. (18).
- HOSTILE brothers P251.5.3. (10); (11).
- HOSTILITY. — Prevention of hostility . . . J623. (57).
- HOUSE of unusual material F771.1.+. (58). — Bodies . . . in front of ogre's house G691. (12); extraordinary house F771. (58); origin of seating . . . in ceremonial house A1539.1.+. (58); (59); person as servant in ogre's house G462. (12).
- HUMAN offspring from marriage to animal B631. (38); (47). — Magic bone (human) D1007. (32); magic private parts—human D998. (13); overheard (human) conversation N455. (57).
- HUMILIATED . . . lovers K1210. (33).
- HUMILIATING. — Deception into humiliating position K1200. (16); (57).
- HUMOR of disability X100. (23).
- HUNT. — Tame guanaco helps men on hunt B570.+. (39).

- HUNTER. — Culture hero as mighty hunter A526.2. (17); (24); skillful hunter F679.5. (19); (24); (29); (45); (57); sun is excellent hunter . . . A738+. (57).
- HUNTING contest H1592. (16). — Origin of hunting A1458. (17); origin of . . . hunting customs A1520. (38).
- HURLED. — Rocks hurled down hill . . . K914.2+. (59).
- HUSBAND rescues . . . R151.1. (22). — Flight from husband R227.2+. (57); husband's sexual organs kept . . . T211.4+. (47); why plover is always alone: punishment for selfishness toward husband A2230+. (44); wife hides food from starving husband S20.2+. (44); woman and sick husband K2065.1. (44); woman distracts warrior so that husband may kill him K822+. (22).
- HYPNOTIC gestures . . . D1962+. (55); (56).
- HYPOCRISY. — Detection of hypocrisy K2060. (44); (57).
- HYPOCRITICAL. — The hypocritical wife T263. (44).
- ICE controlled . . . D2144.5. (9); (12).
- IDENTITY. — Tabu: revealing identity . . . C422. (57).
- ILL-OMEN. — Beasts of ill-omen B147.1.2. (5).
- ILL-TREATED. — Suitors ill-treated T75.0.1. (6); (16); (33); (34).
- IMMODERATELY. — Beautiful child immoderately loved . . . P264+. (45).
- IMPOSTURE. — Flogging . . . for imposture Q458.0.4. (57).
- IMPOTENCE. — Barrenness or impotence induced by magic T591. (56).
- IMPOUNDED water A1111. (17).
- INATTENTION to warnings J652. (45).
- INCEST. — Culture hero from . . . incest A112.1.1+. (6); father-daughter incest T411. (6); (36); (37); unwitting father-daughter incest N365.2. (6).
- INDENTATIONS on rocks from prints . . . A972. (7); on rocks from weapons . . . A972.5.4. (19).
- INDIVIDUALS. — Deity cares for favorite individuals A185. (19).
- INDUCE. — Hypnotic gestures induce magic sleep D1962+. (55); (56).
- INDUCED. — Barrenness . . . induced by magic T591. (56).
- INEFFECTIVE. — Magic power rendered ineffective D1745. (35).
- INFORMATION. — Fast runners sent . . . to gather information K2350+. (57).
- INGRATITUDE W154. (59).
- INHERENT enmity . . . P201. (16).
- INJURIES. — Unintentional injuries . . . N385. (23).
- INJURY. — Accidental self-injury N397. (23); death or bodily injury . . . D2060. (34).
- INSOLENCE W187. (59).
- INSPIRING. — Prevention of hostility by inspiring fear . . . J623. (57).
- INSTITUTED. — Tabus instituted by culture hero A1587.2. (19).

- INTERCOURSE. — Conception from extraordinary intercourse T517. (1); origin of sexual intercourse A1352. (1); sexual intercourse of guanacos A2496+. (36); (37).
- INVULNERABILITY. — Magic invulnerability D1840. (23); (29).
- ISLANDS from stones . . . A955.6+. (17); originally form continent . . . A955.11. (17).
- JOKE. — Accidental fatal ending of . . . joke N334. (51).
- JOKES on secret societies X550. (57).
- JOURNEY . . . to obtain a wife H1256. (16); to upper world F10. (2); (4); (10). — Magic journey over water D2125. (44); shaman's spirit protects wife on journey D1384+. (44); worn-out shoes as proof of long journey H241. (16); (33); (34).
- JUMPING. — Animal characteristics from jumping contest A2253. (48).
- KEPT. — Husband's sexual organs kept . . . T211.4+. (47).
- KILL. — Brothers kill and eat sea lion . . . S73.1.2+. (47); man's ferocious glance kills F592. (4); person kills with Evil Eye D2071.2. (4); son kills animal mother B631.0.1+. (38); transformation . . . to whale which kills enemy D651.1.1+. (33); woman distracts warrior so that husband may kill him K822+. (22).
- KILLED. — Ogre killed G512. (18); ogre killed by striking . . . G512.8.2. (17); ogre killed, maimed, or captured G510. (13); revenant killed . . . E462+. (55); son runs into sea after seeing father killed F1041.21+. (47); woman sent to . . . lover who is killed K787+. (47).
- KILLING . . . by deception K800. (4); (12); (47). — Hasty killing . . . N340. (31); (51).
- KIN. — Enormity of kin murder Q211.0.2. (30); (38).
- KNEE. — Ghost strikes man on knee E542.1.4+. (33).
- KNEES. — Indentations on rocks from weapons, knees . . . A972.5.4. (19).
- KNIFE. — Extraordinary knife F838. (17).
- KNOWLEDGE acquired through distant travel J150+. (59). — Magic knowledge D1810. (16); (45); magic knowledge from dream D1810.8. (44); magic knowledge of magician D1810.0.2. (34); (44).
- LABOR. — Beginning of division of labor A1472. (57); man must labor for a living . . . A1346.2. (38).
- LACK. — Origin of lack of government A1582+. (19).
- LAGOON as refuge R317+. (57).
- LAKES. — Magic stone makes rivers and lakes D1486.1. (17); origin of lakes A920.1. (17).
- LAND grants . . . M207. (1); (3); (4); (17); (19); of cold . . . F704. (52); where women live separate . . . F566.2. (57). — Enmity within family over ownership of land P201+. (23); ogre tyrannizes over land G464+. (4); (17); (18).
- LARGE. — Weak (small) hero overcomes large fighter L311. (17); (18); (23).



- LAW. — Culture hero establishes law and order A530. (19).
- LEADER. — Moon as primeval leader . . . A753+. (15); (57).
- LEADERS. — Decision . . . by single combat between army leaders H217.1. (16).
- LEARN. — Animal learns . . . to fear men J17. (43); man learns to fly F1021.3. (9).
- LEARNED. — Means of resuscitation learned E181. (2); secret learned N440+. (45); (47); valuable secrets learned N440. (15); (57).
- LEAVE. — Hero leaves home . . . F612.3. (58); man leaves mantle . . . K525.5. (55); soul leaves one body . . . E725. (33).
- LEFT. — Moon as woman who left earth A711+. (15); sun as man who left earth A711. (14); (15); (57); indentations . . . left . . . A972. (7).
- LENGTHENED. — Day magically lengthened D2146.1.1. (59).
- LIFE saved by accident N650. (57).
- LIFTER. — Mighty lifter F624. (58).
- LIGHT. — Origin of light and dark skin color A1614.6. (1).
- LIMBS of dead . . . revive E31. (33); (34).
- LIVE. — Culture hero still lives A570. (22); land where women live separate . . . F566.2. (57); why diving birds live in couples A2490+. (57); why owl lives where he does A2433.4.1. (5); (51).
- LIVING. — Fight of revenant with living person E461. (55); man must labor for a living . . . A1346.2. (38); revenant killed by living person E462+. (55).
- LIZARD. — Enmity between louse and lizard A2494+. (48); louse and lizard fight B266+. (48).
- LOG. — Strong man drives giant log . . . F614.1+. (58).
- LONG penis F547.3.1. (6); (19); (28). — Origin of vulture's long neck A2351.4+. (52); worn-out shoes as proof of long journey H241. (16); (33); (34).
- LONGEVITY. — Remarkable longevity . . . A564. (2); (22); (32); (59).
- LOSS. — Shaman causes loss of magic power D1741.7+. (35).
- LOST. — Quest for lost persons H1385. (22).
- LOUSE and lizard fight B266+. (48). — Enmity between louse and lizard A2494+. (48).
- LOVE. — Girl falls in love with abductor . . . R70+. (46); homosexual love (male) T463. (49).
- LOVED. — Beautiful child . . . loved . . . P264+. (45).
- LOVER. — Dead lover's . . . return E210. (33); deception in order to meet lover T35+. (47); girl's animal lover slain . . . B610.1. (47); woman sent to . . . lover . . . K787+. (47).
- LOVERS. — Humiliated or baffled lovers K1210. (33); lovers' rendezvous T35. (6); (33); (34); lovers' signal T41.3. (47).

LOW. — Pride brought low L400. (57); (59).

LUMINOUS. — Hero luminous F574.3.3. (23).

MAGIC attack against enemy D2091. (16); bird B172. (59); bone (human) D1007. (32); control of disease D2162. (31); (32); control of night and day D2146. (8); (14); (59); control of rivers D2151.2. (12); control of snow D2143.6. (16); control of the elements D2140. (21); cure of wound D2161.2. (33); (34); dead man's tooth D1009.2.1. (32); dominance . . . D2197. (7); (9); earth (soil) D935. (59); flint D1175.2. (13); formula . . . D1273. (58); invulnerability D1840. (23); (29); journey over water D2125. (44); knowledge D1810. (16); (45); knowledge from dream D1810.8. (44); knowledge of magician D1810.0.2. (34); (44); mountain D932. (58); murder D2061. (2); (10); (11); (33); (34); (45); object blinds D1331.2. (33); (34); origin of culture hero A511.1.4. (59); power from magician D1721. (44); power of children D1717. (44); power rendered ineffective D1745. (35); private parts—human D998. (13); results from . . . thought D1777. (33); sickness D2064. (34); (45); sickness as punishment Q551.6. (32); (34); sling D1087. (26); song D1275. (59); song heals wound D1503.1. (33); (34); song to catch animals D1444.4. (29); speaking objects D1610. (32); stone makes rivers . . . D1486.1. (17); used to prevent pursuit D2165.3. (12); whale B175+. (33); (34); (35). — Barrenness . . . by magic T591. (56); cold produced by magic D2144.1. (12); (16); contest in magic D1719.1. (35); death or bodily injury by magic D2060. (34); fugitives aided by magic weather R236+. (16); hail produced by magic D2143.4. (9); hypnotic gestures induce magic sleep D1962+. (55); (56); ice controlled by magic D2144.5. (9); (12); noxious animals produced by magic D2178.4.2. (34); rain produced by magic D2143.1. (16); rivers crossed by magic D1524.5+. (12); shaman causes loss of magic power D1741.7+. (35); skin of magic bird . . . B184.3.2.3+. (34); snow produced by magic D2143.6.3. (9); (52); urine as magic . . . drink D1335.2+. (38); wind produced by magic D2142.1. (16); (52).

MAGICALLY. — Day magically lengthened D2146.1.1. (59); enemy magically enclosed . . . D2091.16. (9); flint magically made not to function D2089.10+. (13); objects magically sent to certain place D2136.10. (44); obstructions magically produced . . . D2163.6. (12); person becomes magically smaller D55.2. (59); river magically narrowed D2151.2.6+. (12); river magically widened D2151.2.6. (12).

MAGICIAN able to cast down mountains . . . D2152.2. (9); controls winds D2142.0.1. (16). — Bird as magician B191.6. (33); (34); (52); magic knowledge of magician D1810.0.2. (34); (44); magic power from magician D1721. (44); sun as magician D1711.3. (15); transformation by magician D683. (33); (34).

MAGICIANS. — Contest between magicians D615.1+. (35).

MAIDEN. — Princess (maiden) abducted R10.1. (16).

MAIDENS slain . . . Q411.12+. (57).

MAIMED. — Ogre killed, maimed, or captured G510. (13).

MAIMING. — Killing or maiming by deception K800. (4); (12); (47).

MALE. — Homosexual love (male) T463. (49); touch of male genitals . . . D2089+. (13).

MALEVOLENT. — Dead lover's malevolent return E210. (33).

MAN caused to sink . . . D2092. (12); demonstrates his violence . . . W185.1. (51); gives birth T549+. (49); in the moon from scratches . . . A751.5. (15); learns to fly F1021.3. (9); leaves mantle . . . K525.5. (55); made from clay . . . A1241. (1); must labor for a living . . . A1346.2. (38); scorned by his beloved T75. (46); with marvelous voice F688. (29). — Animals from transformed man A1715. (2); bird heals man B511.5. (33); (34); creation of man by creator A1210. (1); death of strong man F615.0.1. (54); evil spirit harpoons man F402.1.11.3+. (34); ghost strikes man . . . E542.1.4+. (33); god resuscitates man A185.12.1. (2); (4); handsome man F575.2. (27); (40); (45); indentations on rocks . . . by man (beast) A972. (7); magic dead man's tooth D1009.2.1. (32); man's ferocious glance kills F592. (4); marriage of man to guanaco B600+. (38); pregnant man T578. (49); remarkably strong man F610. (53); (54); (58); spirit takes shape of man D42.2. (55); strong man drives . . . F614.1+. (58); sun and moon as man and woman A736.1. (14); (15); (57); sun as man who left earth A711. (14); (15); (57); transformation: man to albatross D169+. (2); transformation: man to bird D150. (2); (21); (44); (49); transformation: man to cloud D270+. (2); transformation: man to dolphin D127.5. (20); transformation: man to duck D161.3. (2); transformation: man to goose D161.2. (29); transformation: man to guanaco D110+. (36); (37); transformation: man to mountain D291. (2); (19); (40); (58); (59); transformation: man to mussel D233+. (25); transformation: man to owl D153.2. (2); (5); (19); (34); (51); transformation: man to parrot D157. (59); transformation: man to sea animal D170+. (2); transformation: man to sea lion D127+. (21); (46); (47); transformation: man to squid D170+. (2); (23); transformation: man to star D293. (2); (4); (10); (11); (19); transformation: man to stone D231. (2); (12); transformation: man to thrush D150+. (41); transformation: man to vulture D152.3. (2); (19); transformation: man to whale D127.3. (2); transformation: man to wind D281.1. (2); transformation: owl to man D350+. (34).

MANKIND from unusual primeval mating A1221. (1).

MANTLE. — Man leaves mantle . . . K525.5. (55).

- MARKS on moon's face . . . A751.11.+ (57).
- MARKSMAN. — Skillful marksman F661. (17); (45); (49); skillful marksman shoots . . . F661.5.4. (12).
- MARRIAGE between winds T110.+ (16); of man to guanaco B600.+ (38); of woman to sea lion B600.+ (46); (47). — Brother's consent for . . . marriage needed T131.1.1. (5); father opposed to daughter's marriage T97. (6); (16); (33); (34); father's consent to . . . marriage necessary T131.1.2. (33); (34); foreign king wages war to enforce demand for . . . marriage T104. (16); human offspring from marriage to animal B631. (38); (47); offspring of marriage to animal B630. (46).
- MARRIED. — Sun and moon married A736.1.4. (14); (15); (57).
- MARRY. — Decision . . . of who is to marry girl H217.2. (16).
- MARVELOUS climber F684.1. (59); runner F681. (23); (54); (57); runner catches . . . F681.6. (38). — Culture hero has marvelous dogs A524.1.1. (29); man with marvelous voice F688. (29).
- MASSACRE. — Punishment for . . . massacre . . . Q211.11. (23).
- MATCH. — Climbing match won . . . K15. (59).
- MATERIAL. — House of unusual material F771.1.+ (58).
- MATING. — Mankind from unusual primeval mating A1221. (1).
- MATRIARCHY T148. (15); (57).
- MEAL. — Frightful meal S183. (12); (30); the widow's meal J355.1. (19).
- MEANS of combating spirits F405. (54); (55); (56); of resuscitation . . . E181. (2).
- MEET. — Deception in order to meet lover T35.+ (47).
- MEETING. — Secrets discussed in . . . meeting B235. (58).
- MEMBERS. — Inherent enmity between members of a family P201. (16).
- MEN tricked . . . K330.+ (57). — Animal learns . . . to fear men J17. (43); land where women live separate from men F566.2. (57); origin of war among men A1341. (25); tame guanaco helps men . . . B570.+ (39); why moon is sometimes red: angry with men A759.+ (57); why women are subservient to men A1372.9. (15); (57).
- METHODS. — Ogres with characteristic methods G310. (55); (56).
- MIGHTY lifter F624. (58); wrestler F617. (52). — Culture hero as mighty hunter A526.2. (17); (24).
- MILITARY strategy K2350. (16); (17); (22).
- MIRACULOUS growth of culture hero A511.4.1. (59).
- MIRACULOUSLY. — Wild animal miraculously tamed B771. (9).
- MIST. — Land of cold and mist F704. (52).
- MISTAKE. — Hasty killing . . . (mistake) N340. (31); (51).
- MISTRESS. — Quest for vanished wife (mistress) H1385.3. (22).
- MOCKERY. — Punishment for mockery Q288. (35); (51); (59).



MONSTER. — Abduction by monster . . . R11. (12).

MONSTERS. — Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters A531. (12); (17); (18).

MOON as great shaman A753.+ (57); as primeval leader . . . A753.+ (15); (57); as woman who left earth A711.+ (15); cursed by sun A736.9.+ (57); deceives sun A753.3.1. (15); (57); endowed with wisdom . . . A753.3.4. (57). — Man in the moon from scratches . . . A751.5. (15); marks on moon's face . . . A751.11.+ (57); person transformed to moon A747. (57); pursuit of moon by sun A735.+ (15); (57); sky trembles when sun beats moon F790.+ (57); sun and moon as man and woman A736.1. (14); (15); (57); sun and moon married A736.1.4. (14); (15); (57); sun and moon quarrel A736.1.4.1.+ (15); (57); war with the moon A739.2.+ (57); why moon is sometimes red: angry . . . A759.+ (57); woman in the moon A751.8. (15); (57).

MORTAL. — Ghost wounded by mortal F389.3.+ (34).

MOTHER. — Foster mother P272. (59); son kills animal mother B631.0.1.+ (38).

MOUNTAIN from part of deity's . . . body A962.1. (19); . . . is extremely slippery F145.1.+ (16). — Magic mountain D932. (58); transformation: man to mountain D291. (2); (19); (40); (58); (59).

MOUNTAIN CHAIN. — Origin of mountain chain A965. (58).

MOUNTAINS are . . . ancestors A960.+ (57). — Creation of mountains (hills) A960. (2); magician able to cast down mountains . . . D2152.2. (9).

MOURNING customs P681. (10); (11); (36).

MOUSE. — Food of mouse A2435.3.7. (18).

MUD. — Man caused to sink into mud D2092. (12).

MURDER by beheading S133. (32); by breaking back S116.3. (12); by destroying . . . K956. (35); by drowning S131. (18); by starvation S132. (17); by strangling S113. (35); from ambush K914. (31); (32); punished Q211. (31); (32). — Death as punishment for murder Q411.6. (23); enormity of kin murder Q211.0.2. (30); (38); magic murder D2061. (2); (10); (11); (33); (34); (45); return from dead to avenge death (murder) E234.3. (33).

MURDERER . . . beguiled K600. (22).

MUSSEL. — Transformation: man to mussel D233.+ (25).

MUSSELS. — Origin of mussels A2826.+ (25).

MUTILATION. — Self-mutilation S160.1. (29).

NAME. — Disguise by changing name K1831.0.1. (52).

NARROWED. — River . . . narrowed D2151.2.6.+ (12).

NATURAL. — Establishment of natural order A1100. (3).

NATURE. — Origin and nature of woodpecker's tongue A2344.+ (18).

NECESSARY. — Father's consent . . . necessary T131.1.2. (33); (34).

NECK. — Origin of vulture's long neck A2351.4.+ (52); why finch has white spot on neck A2412.2.+ (53).

- NEEDED. — Brother's consent . . . needed T131.1.1. (5).
- NET. — Extraordinary net F887.+ (24).
- NIGHT. — Determination of night and day A1172. (8); (14); magic control of night and day D2146. (8); (14); (59); why bat flies by night A2491.1. (5).
- NORTH. — Entrance . . . guarded by north and south winds F150.2.3. (16); mountain between North and South . . . F145.1.+ (16); south wind tempers fury of north wind A1127.1.1.+ (16).
- NOXIOUS animals . . . D2178.4.2. (34).
- NURSING of culture hero A511.2.2. (59).
- OBJECT. — Magic object blinds D1331.2. (33); (34).
- OBJECTS magically sent . . . D2136.10. (44). — Magic speaking objects D1610. (32).
- OBSTRUCTIONS magically produced . . . D2163.6. (12).
- OBTAIN. — Journey . . . to obtain a wife H1256. (16).
- OBTAINING. — Animal characteristics: obtaining another's qualities A2240. (12).
- OCCASIONAL cannibalism . . . G70. (30).
- OFFSPRING of marriage to animal B630. (46). — Human offspring from marriage to animal B631. (38); (47).
- OGRE blinded G511. (12); decapitated G512.1.2. (17); killed G512. (18); killed by striking . . . G512.8.2. (17); killed, maimed, or captured G510. (12); outwitted by trick G501.+ (12); tyrannizes . . . G464.+ (4); (17); (18). — Abduction by monster (ogre) R11. (12); bodies . . . in front of ogre's house G691. (12); cannibal ogre G312. (12); giant ogre G100. (13); help from ogre's daughter . . . G530.2. (33); (34); ogre's relative aids hero G530. (17); person as servant in ogre's house G462. (12); rescue from ogre G550. (26); rescue from ogre by relative G551. (12); (17); (18); rescue of children from ogre . . . G551.3.1. (12); skillful marksman shoots both eyes of an ogre F661.5.4. (12).
- OGRES with characteristic methods G310. (55); (56). — Country ridded of ogres . . . A1416. (12); possessions of giant ogres G110. (13).
- OLD. — Creator rejuvenates self when old A191.+ (2); extremely old persons F571. (32); unusual conception in old age T538. (45).
- OPPOSED. — Father opposed to . . . marriage T97. (6); (16); (33); (34).
- OPPRESSED. — Triumph of the oppressed L300.+ (57).
- ORDER. — Culture hero establishes law and order A530. (19); establishment of natural order A1100. (3); establishment of present order: winds A1120. (2).
- ORGANS. — Husband's sexual organs kept . . . T211.4.+ (47); remarkable sexual organs F547. (1).
- ORIGIN of boat-building A1445.1. (45); of bows and arrows A1459.1.1. (17); of cliffs A968. (58); of color of guanaco A2411.1.+ (36); (40); of color of squid A2411.4.+ (23); of death A1335. (2); (4); (10); of disease

- A1337. (32); of finch's crest A2321+. (53); of fishing . . . customs A1520. (38); of harpoon A1459.1+. (45); of hunting A1458. (17); of lack of government A1582+. (19); of lakes A920.1. (17); of mountain chain A965. (58); of mussels A2826+. (25); of particular stars A770. (10); of religious ceremonials A1540. (29); of religious songs . . . A1543. (29); of rivalry . . . A1341+. (59); of sea channels A920.2. (17); of sea's color A925.2. (17); of seating arrangements . . . A1539.1+. (58); (59); of secret society A1530+. (57); (58); of sexual intercourse A1352. (1); of . . . skin color A1614.6. (1); of social ceremonials A1530. (59); of squid A2170+. (2); of various tribes A1610. (1); of vulture's long neck A2351.4+. (52); of war . . . A1341. (25); of water features . . . A910. (12); of whale A2135. (2); of woodpecker's crest A2321.3. (18); . . . of woodpecker's tongue A2344+. (18). — Magic origin of culture hero A511.1.4. (59).
- ORIGINALLY. — Golden age: originally no disease A1101.1+. (32); islands originally form continent . . . A955.11. (17).
- OTHERWORLD. — Entrance to otherworld . . . F150.2.3. (16); journey to otherworld to obtain a wife H1256. (16); perilous path to otherworld F151.1. (16).
- OUTWITTED. — Ogre outwitted by trick G501+. (12).
- OVERCOME. — Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters A531. (12); (17); (18); weak (small) hero overcomes . . . L311. (17); (18); (23).
- OVERHEARD . . . conversation N455. (57).
- OVERTHROWN. — Parliament of women overthrown F565.3+. (57).
- OVERWEENING punished Q330. (59).
- OWL. — Creation of owl A1958. (2); food of owl A2435.4.9. (5); helpful owl B461.2. (33); (34); transformation: man to owl D153.2. (2); (5); (19); (34); (51); transformation: owl to man D350+. (34); why owl avoids daylight A2491.2. (5); why owl has green eyes A2332.5+. (51); why owl lives where he does A2433.4.1. (5); (51); why white owl and eagle owl are enemies A2494.13+. (51).
- OWNER. — Goods destroyed while owner sleeps K331+. (13).
- OWNERSHIP. — Enmity within family over ownership . . . P201+. (23).
- PAINT. — Man in the moon from . . . paint A751.5. (15).
- PAINTING. — Disguise by painting body K1821.2. (57); (58).
- PAIR of culture heroes A515. (59).
- PARAMOUR. — Unknown . . . paramour T475. (47).
- PARENTAGE of culture hero A512. (6); (59).
- PARENTS. — Cruel parents S10. (33).
- PARLIAMENT of women F565.3. (15); (57); of women overthrown F565.3+. (57).
- PARROT. — Transformation: man to parrot D157. (59).
- PART. — Mountain from part of deity's . . . body A962.1. (19).

- PARTS. — Extraordinary growth of animal parts F983.+ (33).
- PASSION. — Moon endowed with . . . passion A753.3.4. (57); sun endowed with . . . passion A738.2.2. (57).
- PAST revealed . . . D1812.3.3.+ (58).
- PATH. — Perilous path . . . F151.1. (16); tabu: deviating from path C700.+ (59).
- PEACEFUL. — Country ridded of ogres and made peaceful A1416. (12).
- PECULIAR smell of body A1662. (42).
- PENIS. — Extraordinary penis F547.3. (1); long penis F547.3.1. (6); (19); (28).
- PEOPLE. — Ascent to stars. People . . . ascend to sky . . . A761. (4); (10); (11); (19); rocks from transformation of people . . . A974. (12).
- PERFORM. — Culture hero performs remarkable feats . . . A526.7. (17); (18); (26); (59).
- PERILOUS path . . . F151.1. (16).
- PERMISSION refused . . . W155.5.+ (17).
- PERSECUTIONS. — Cruel persecutions S400. (4).
- PERSON as servant in ogre's house G462. (12); becomes cannibal G30. (30); becomes magically smaller D55.2. (59); changes size at will D631.1. (45); kills with Evil Eye D2071.2. (4); of remarkable hearing F641. (20); of unusual color F527. (27); (45); runs from . . . ghost J1495. (34); swallowed . . . F914. (34); transformed to moon A747. (57). — Fight . . . with living person E461. (55); rejuvenation by supernatural person D1882. (2); (4); revenant killed by living person E462.+ (55); slain person dismembered S139.2. (30); spirit blocks person's road F402.1.2. (54); spirit fights against person F402.1.12. (34); (54); spirit pursues person F402.1.10. (34); (54); tabu: revealing identity of certain person C422. (57).
- PERSONIFIED. — Earth (sand) personified Z110.+ (40); wind personified Z115. (16).
- PERSONS. — Clever persons J1110. (58); extremely old persons F571. (32); quest for lost persons H1385. (22).
- PESTILENCE in animal form F493.0.1. (34).
- PLACED. — Rivers formed where certain stones are placed A934.2. (17).
- PLENTIFUL. — Why sea lions are plentiful in certain area A2582.+ (46).
- PLOVER transformed from seamstress . . . A2260.+ (44). — Why plover is always alone . . . A2230.+ (44).
- POLYGyny T145.0.1. (44).
- POSITION. — Deception into humiliating position K1200. (16); (57).
- POSSESSIONS of giant ogres G110. (13).
- POWER. — Avoidance of other's power J640. (35); (44); fatal deception into trickster's power K810. (23); magic power from magician D1721. (44);



- magic power of children D1717. (44); magic power rendered ineffective D1745. (35); magic results from power of thought D1777. (33); shaman causes loss of magic power D1741.7+. (35).
- PRECOCIOUS. — Culture hero precocious A527.1. (45); (59).
- PREDICTION of danger M340.5. (22).
- PREGNANT man T578. (49). — Cruelty to pregnant woman S185. (47).
- PREMATURE. — Foolishness of premature coming out . . . J582. (23).
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- TABU: changing ritual C65. (58); (59); deviating from path C700+. (59); revealing identity . . . C422. (57); uttering secrets C420. (57).
- TABUS instituted by culture hero A1587.2. (19).
- TALKATIVENESS W141. (52).
- TAME guanaco helps men . . . B570+. (39).

- TAMED. — Wild animal . . . tamed B771. (9).
- TASKS set by deity H927. (2); (4).
- TEACH. — Culture hero teaches arts . . . A541. (17); (29).
- TEMPER. — Man demonstrates his . . . temper W185.1. (51); south wind tempers fury . . . A1127.1.1.+ (16).
- TEST of cleverness . . . H500. (44); of strength: wrestling H1562.9. (52); (53).
- THOUGHT. — Magic results from . . . thought D1777. (33).
- THRUSH. — Cry of thrush A2426.2.+ (41). — Transformation: man to thrush D150.+ (41).
- TIMOROUS. — Why animal is timorous A2534. (57).
- TONGUE. — Origin . . . of woodpecker's tongue A2344.+ (18).
- TOOTH. — Magic dead man's tooth D1009.2.1. (32).
- TOPOGRAPHICAL features caused by experiences . . . A901. (12); (17); (24); (59).
- TOUCH of male genitals . . . D2089.+ (13).
- TOURNAMENT. — Suitor contest: tournament H331.2. (16).
- TRACKER. — Skillful tracker F677. (51).
- TRANSFERRED. — Sickness transferred . . . D2064.3. (32); (34).
- TRANSFORM. — Culture hero can transform self A527.3.1. (59).
- TRANSFORMATION as revenge . . . D661.1. (5); . . . at will D630. (34); by evil spirits D683.6. (55); by magician D683. (33); (34); by smelling D564. (34); man to albatross D169.+ (2); man to bird D150. (2); (21); (44); (49); man to cloud D270.+ (2); man to dolphin D127.5. (20); man to duck D161.3. (2); man to goose D161.2. (29); man to guanaco D110.+ (36); (37); man to mountain D291. (2); (19); (40); (58); (59); man to mussel D233.+ (25); man to owl D153.2. (2); (5); (19); (34); (51); man to parrot D157. (59); man to sea animal D170.+ (2); man to sea lion D127.+ (21); (46); (47); man to squid D170.+ (2); (23); man to star D293. (2); (4); (10); (11); (19); man to stone D231. (2); (12); man to thrush D150.+ (41); man to vulture D152.3. (2); (19); man to whale D127.3. (2); man to wind D281.1. (2); of enemy . . . D665. (5); of shaman's spirit . . . D651.1.1.+ (33); owl to man D350.+ (34); through song D523. (29); through wish D521. (41); to escape death D642.2. (57); to spy enemy's camp D651.5. (57); to whale to be caught D646.1.+ (33); water becomes bloody D474.2. (17); woman to bird D150.+ (57); woman to seagull D154.4.+ (45); woman to swallow D151.1.+ (27); woman to swan D161.1.+ (57); women to animals D100.+ (57). — Animal characteristics from transformation . . . A2261. (57); creation of animals through transformation A1710. (2); punishment: transformation . . . Q551.3.2. (5); rocks from transformation . . . A974. (12).
- TRANSFORMED. — Animals from transformed man A1715. (2). — Mountains are transformed . . . ancestors A960.+ (57); person trans-

- formed to moon A747. (57); plover transformed from seamstress . . . A2260.+. (44); rivers are transformed . . . ancestors A930.+. (57); stars are transformed . . . ancestors A770.+. (57); winds are transformed . . . ancestors A1120.+. (57).
- TRAPPED. — Victim trapped K730. (9).
- TRAPS. — Extraordinary traps F887.+. (19).
- TRAVEL. — Knowledge acquired through distant travel J150.+. (59).
- TREACHEROUS brother K2211. (4); (10); (11); brother-in-law K2211.1. (47); co-wife K2222. (44); daughter K2214.1. (57); father-in-law K2218.2. (16); rivals K2220. (4); (6); (9); (11); (13); wife K2213. (57); wife punished Q261.2. (27); (44); (57); (58).
- TREACHERY. — Death . . . for treachery Q411.4. (57); (58).
- TREE refuge R311. (23); (51).
- TREMBLE. — Sky trembles . . . F790.+. (57).
- TRIBE. — Punishment for . . . massacre of tribe Q211.11. (23).
- TRIBES. — Distribution of tribes A1620. (1); (3); (19); origin of various tribes A1610. (1).
- TRICK. — Ogre outwitted by trick G501.+. (12).
- TRICKED. — Men tricked . . . K330.+. (57).
- TRICKSTER. — Culture hero as . . . trickster A521. (24); fatal deception into trickster's power K810. (23).
- TRIUMPH of the oppressed L300.+. (57).
- TWO brothers as contrasts P251.5.4. (10); suns . . . F961.1.3.1. (8). — Contest between two swift runners F681.3.1.+. (38).
- TYRANNICAL ruler P12.2.1.+. (4).
- TYRANNIZE. — Ogre tyrannizes . . . G464.+. (4); (17); (18).
- TYRANNY. — Care against future tyranny J643. (19); (57).
- UNFORTUNATE. — Unintentional injuries bring unfortunate consequences N385. (23).
- UNINTENTIONAL injuries . . . N385. (23).
- UNIQUE survivor Z356. (23).
- UNITING against a common enemy J624. (57).
- UNKNOWN . . . paramour T475. (47).
- UNUSUAL conception . . . T538. (45). — House of unusual material F771.1.+. (58); mankind from unusual . . . mating A1221. (1); person of unusual color F527. (27); (45).
- UNWITTING . . . incest N365.2. (6).
- UPPER. — Journey to upper world F10. (2); (4); (10); refuge in upper world R323. (57).
- URINATE. — Spirit urinates F402.1.+. (34).
- URINE as magic . . . drink D1335.2.+. (38).
- USELESS. — Touch . . . renders flint useless D2089.+. (13).
- UTTERING. — Tabu: uttering secrets C420. (57).
- VAGINA. — Extraordinary vagina F547.5. (1).
- VALUABLE secrets . . . N440. (15); (57).

- VANISHED. — Quest for vanished wife . . . H1385.3. (22).
- VANITY punished Q331.2. (23).
- VEILING. — Disguise by veiling face K1821.3. (57).
- VICTIM pushed into fire K925. (56); pushed into water K926. (9); trapped K730. (9).
- VICTIMS. — Bodies of victims . . . G691. (12).
- VICTORY. — Decision of victory . . . H217.1. (16).
- VIOLENCE. — Man demonstrates his violence . . . W185.1. (51).
- VITAL bodily members E780. (32); (33); (34).
- VOICE. — Man with marvelous voice F688. (29); recognition by voice H79.3. (57).
- VOLUNTARILY. — Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble . . . E31. (33); (34).
- VULTURE and cormorant fight B266.+ (52). — Origin of vulture's long neck A2351.4.+ (52); transformation: man to vulture D152.3. (2); (19); why vulture has bald, wrinkled head A2320.+ (52).
- WAGE. — Foreign king wages war . . . T104. (16).
- WALLS. — Enemy magically enclosed within walls D2091.16. (9).
- WAR with the moon A739.2.+ (57). — Foreign king wages war . . . T104. (16); origin of war . . . A1341. (25).
- WAR CRY. — Spirits answer war cry F418.1. (54).
- WAR-MAKING punished Q305. (23).
- WARNINGS. — Attention to warnings J1050. (43); (57); (59); inattention to warnings J652. (45).
- WARRIOR of special strength F610.3. (19); (22). — Woman distracts warrior . . . K822.+ (22).
- WARRIORS. — Amazons. Women warriors F565.1. (15).
- WATER. — Evil spirit holds back water D2151.2.3.1. (17); impounded water A1111. (17); magic journey over water D2125. (44); origin of water features . . . A910. (12); permission refused to drink from water supply W155.5.+ (17); sea lion carries girl across water B551.+ (46); transformation: water becomes bloody D474.2. (17); victim pushed into water K926. (9).
- WEAK fear . . . strong J425. (57); (small) hero . . . L311. (17); (18); (23). — Subordination of weak . . . J421. (57); subordination . . . to weak by deception J421.+ (57); wise fear of the weak . . . J613. (57).
- WEAPONS. — Extraordinary weapons F830. (22); indentations on rocks from weapons . . . A972.5.4. (19); smoke and weapons protection . . . E439.+ (33).
- WEATHER signs D1812.5.0.15. (20). — Fugitives aided by magic weather R236.+ (16); good weather produced . . . D2143.1.2.+ (29).
- WHALE. — Artificial whale . . . K922. (34); devastating whale B16.2.+ (34); magic whale B175.+ (33); (34); (35); origin of whale A2135. (2); shaman in form of whale G211.7.1.+ (33); singing whale B214.1.+ (34); transformation: man to whale D127.3. (2); transformation of shaman's



- spirit to whale . . . D651.1.1.+ (33); transformation to whale to be caught D646.1.+ (33).
- WHISTLE. — Signal . . . by whistle K2350.+ (57).
- WHITE. — Why finch has white spot on neck A2412.2.+ (53).
- WHOLESALE. — Punishment for wholesale massacre . . . Q211.11. (23).
- WIDENED. — River magically widened D2151.2.6. (12).
- WIDOW. — The widow's meal J355.1. (19).
- WIFE hides food . . . S20.2.+ (44); . . . shot N380.+ (22). — Faithful wife T210.1. (47); husband rescues stolen wife R151.1. (22); journey . . . to obtain a wife H1256. (16); quest for vanished wife . . . H1385.3. (22); shaman's spirit protects wife . . . D1384.+ (44); stupid wife J1701. (30); the hypocritical wife T263. (44); treacherous wife K2213. (57); treacherous wife punished Q261.2. (27); (44); (57); (58).
- WILD animal . . . tamed B771. (9). — Marvelous runner catches wild game . . . F681.6. (38).
- WILL. — Person changes size at will D631.1. (45); transformation . . . at will D630. (34).
- WIND personified Z115. (16); produced by magic D2142.1. (16); (52). — Extraordinary behavior of wind F963. (16); South wind tempers fury . . . A1127.1.1.+ (16); transformation: man to wind D281.1. (2).
- WINDS are . . . ancestors A1120.+ (57). — Entrance . . . guarded by . . . winds F150.2.3. (16); establishment of . . . winds A1120. (2); magician controls winds D2142.0.1. (16); marriage between winds T110.+ (16); regulation of winds A1128. (2); (16).
- WINGS. — Plover . . . still carries awl in form of spur on wings A2260.+ (44).
- WISDOM. — Moon endowed with wisdom . . . A753.3.4. (57); sun endowed with wisdom . . . A738.2.2. (57).
- WISE fear . . . J613. (57); words . . . J154. (37).
- WISH. — Transformation through wish D521. (41).
- WITCH. — Cannibal witch G11.3. (34).
- WITCHES. — Evil deeds of witches G260. (17).
- WOMAN and sick husband K2065.1. (44); distracts warrior . . . K822.+ (22); in the moon A751.8. (15); (57); sent to rendezvous . . . K787.+ (47); skillful in sewing F662.0.1. (44). — Cruelty to pregnant woman S185. (47); marriage of woman to sea lion B600.+ (46); (47); moon as woman who left earth A711.+ (15); remarkably beautiful woman F575.1. (27); (45); (47); sun and moon as man and woman A736.1. (14); (15); (57); transformation: woman to bird D150.+ (57); transformation: woman to seagull D154.4.+ (45); transformation: woman to swallow D151.1.+ (27); transformation: woman to swan D161.1.+ (57).
- WOMEN. — Amazons. Women warriors F565.1. (15); land where women live separate . . . F566.2. (57); moon as primeval leader of women A753.+ (15); (57); parliament of women F565.3. (15); (57); parliament of

- women overthrown F565.3.+ (57); transformation: women to animals D100.+ (57); why women are subservient to men A1372.9. (15); (57).
- WON. — Climbing match won . . . K15. (59); race won by deception K11. (38).
- WOODPECKER. — Color of woodpecker A2411.2.4.1. (18); helpful woodpecker B461.1. (18); origin of woodpecker's crest A2321.3. (18); origin . . . of woodpecker's tongue A2344.+ (18); why woodpecker is stupid A2537.+ (18).
- WORDS. — Wise words . . . J154. (37).
- WORLD. — Journey to upper world F10. (2); (4); (10); refuge in upper world R323. (57).
- WORN-OUT shoes as proof . . . H241. (16); (33); (34).
- WOUND. — Cure by grafting own skin onto wound D2161.4.+ (34); magic cure of wound D2161.2. (33); (34); magic song heals wound D1503.1. (33); (34); skin of magic bird heals wound B184.3.2.3.+ (34).
- WOUNDED. — Ghost wounded . . . F389.3.+ (34).
- WRESTLER. — Mighty wrestler F617. (52).
- WRESTLING. — Test of strength: wrestling H1562.9. (52); (53).
- WRINKLED. — Why vulture has bald, wrinkled head A2320.+ (52).

## MOTIF DISTRIBUTION BY MOTIF GROUP

The largest motif group by far among the Selknam stories is the MYTHOLOGICAL (247 motifs), representing fully 25 percent of the total number. After that there is a sharp drop in frequency, to motifs of MAGIC (166 = 17 percent). Motifs connected with MARVELS are third in frequency, totaling 108 (11 percent). Subsequent motif groups all fall within the range of 1-72 motifs, with the largest group (DECEPTIONS) constituting 7 percent.

The two most prevalent motif subgroups are *magic powers and manifestations* (82 motifs) and *marvelous creatures* (80 motifs), each coming to 8 percent of the total. The former is a subgroup concerned primarily with the use of magic for the purpose of attack or defense, or simply as a means of escaping from difficult or dangerous situations. Then follow *transformation* (65 = 6 percent), and *demigods and culture heroes* (53) and *animal characteristics* (52), each making up 5 percent.

| <i>Motif group</i>     | <i>Motif subgroup</i>               | <i>Number of motifs</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| MYTHOLOGICAL<br>MOTIFS | Creator                             | 4                       |
|                        | Gods                                | 11                      |
|                        | Demigods and culture heroes         | 53                      |
|                        | Cosmogony and cosmology             | 40                      |
|                        | Topographical features of the earth | 21                      |
|                        | World calamities                    | 3                       |
|                        | Establishment of natural order      | 13                      |
|                        | Creation and ordering of human life | 38                      |
|                        | Creation of animal life             | 11                      |
|                        | Animal characteristics              | 52                      |
|                        | Miscellaneous explanations          | 1                       |
|                        | Subtotal motifs                     | 247                     |

| <i>Motif group</i>         | <i>Motif subgroup</i>               | <i>Number of motifs</i> |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| MAGIC                      | Transformation                      | 65                      |
|                            | Magic objects                       | 19                      |
|                            | Magic powers and manifestations     | 82                      |
|                            | Subtotal motifs                     | 166                     |
| MARVELS                    | Otherworld journeys                 | 6                       |
|                            | Marvelous creatures                 | 80                      |
|                            | Extraordinary places and things     | 10                      |
|                            | Extraordinary occurrences           | 12                      |
|                            | Subtotal motifs                     | 108                     |
| DECEPTIONS                 | Contests won by deception           | 3                       |
|                            | Thefts and cheats                   | 2                       |
|                            | Escape by deception                 | 8                       |
|                            | Capture by deception                | 5                       |
|                            | Fatal deception                     | 13                      |
|                            | Deception into humiliating position | 3                       |
|                            | Seduction or deceptive marriage     | 3                       |
|                            | Dupe's property destroyed           | 1                       |
|                            | Deception through shams             | 13                      |
|                            | False accusations                   | 1                       |
|                            | Villains and traitors               | 13                      |
|                            | Other deceptions                    | 6                       |
|                            | Subtotal motifs                     | 71                      |
| SEX                        | Love                                | 24                      |
|                            | Marriage                            | 8                       |
|                            | Married life                        | 3                       |
|                            | Illicit sexual relations            | 8                       |
|                            | Conception and birth                | 6                       |
|                            | Care of children                    | 3                       |
|                            | Subtotal motifs                     | 52                      |
| REWARDS AND<br>PUNISHMENTS | Deeds rewarded                      | 1                       |
|                            | Deeds punished                      | 27                      |
|                            | Kinds of punishment                 | 14                      |
|                            | Subtotal motifs                     | 42                      |



| <i>Motif group</i>          | <i>Motif subgroup</i>                            | <i>Number of motifs</i> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ANIMALS                     | Mythical animals                                 | 2                       |
|                             | Magic animals                                    | 9                       |
|                             | Animals with human traits                        | 8                       |
|                             | Friendly animals                                 | 9                       |
|                             | Marriage of person to animal                     | 9                       |
|                             | Fanciful traits of animals                       | 1                       |
|                             | Subtotal motifs                                  | 38                      |
| OGRES                       | Kinds of ogres                                   | 10                      |
|                             | Falling into ogre's power                        | 4                       |
|                             | Ogre defeated                                    | 14                      |
|                             | Other ogre motifs                                | 1                       |
|                             | Subtotal motifs                                  | 29                      |
| CAPTIVES AND<br>FUGITIVES   | Captivity                                        | 8                       |
|                             | Rescues                                          | 2                       |
|                             | Escapes and pursuits                             | 9                       |
|                             | Refuges and recapture                            | 9                       |
|                             | Subtotal motifs                                  | 28                      |
| THE WISE AND<br>THE FOOLISH | Acquisition and possession of wisdom (knowledge) | 3                       |
|                             | Wise and unwise conduct                          | 20                      |
|                             | Cleverness                                       | 3                       |
|                             | Fools (and other unwise persons)                 | 1                       |
|                             | Subtotal motifs                                  | 27                      |
| TESTS                       | Identity tests: recognition                      | 1                       |
|                             | Tests of truth                                   | 6                       |
|                             | Marriage tests                                   | 1                       |
|                             | Tests of cleverness                              | 3                       |
|                             | Tests of prowess: tasks                          | 2                       |
|                             | Tests of prowess: quests                         | 8                       |
|                             | Other tests                                      | 4                       |
|                             | Subtotal motifs                                  | 25                      |

| <i>Motif group</i>   | <i>Motif subgroup</i>             | <i>Number of motifs</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| TRAITS OF CHARACTER  | Favorable traits of character     | 4                       |
|                      | Unfavorable traits of character   | 17                      |
|                      | Traits of character—miscellaneous | 3                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 24                      |
| UNNATURAL CRUELTY    | Cruel relatives                   | 12                      |
|                      | Revolting murders or mutilations  | 11                      |
|                      | Cruel persecutions                | 1                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 24                      |
| THE DEAD             | Resuscitation                     | 6                       |
|                      | Ghosts and other revenants        | 11                      |
|                      | The Soul                          | 4                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 21                      |
| CHANCE AND FATE      | Unlucky accidents                 | 7                       |
|                      | Lucky accidents                   | 7                       |
|                      | Helpers                           | 5                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 19                      |
| SOCIETY              | Royalty and nobility              | 1                       |
|                      | The family                        | 9                       |
|                      | Other social relationships        | 1                       |
|                      | Trades and professions            | 1                       |
|                      | Government                        | 2                       |
|                      | Customs                           | 3                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 17                      |
| ORDAINING THE FUTURE | Bargains and promises             | 5                       |
|                      | Prophecies                        | 8                       |
|                      | Curses                            | 1                       |
|                      | Subtotal motifs                   | 14                      |

| <i>Motif group</i>             | <i>Motif subgroup</i>                   | <i>Number of motifs</i> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| REVERSAL OF FORTUNE            | Unpromising hero (heroine)              | 1                       |
|                                | Triumph of the weak                     | 4                       |
|                                | Pride brought low                       | 3                       |
|                                | Subtotal motifs                         | 8                       |
| MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS OF MOTIFS | Symbolism                               | 2                       |
|                                | Heroes                                  | 2                       |
|                                | Unique exceptions                       | 1                       |
|                                | Subtotal motifs                         | 5                       |
| TABU                           | Tabu connected with supernatural beings | 2                       |
|                                | Speaking tabu                           | 2                       |
|                                | Miscellaneous tabus                     | 1                       |
|                                | Subtotal motifs                         | 5                       |
| HUMOR                          | Humor of disability—physical            | 1                       |
|                                | Humor of social classes                 | 1                       |
|                                | Subtotal motifs                         | 2                       |
| 21 MOTIF GROUPS                | 96 SUBGROUPS                            |                         |
|                                | TOTAL NUMBER OF MOTIFS                  | 972                     |

## GLOSSARY\*

- AHÁM. — Tame guanaca that helped men hunt in primeval times.
- AHEWÁUWEN. — Male sea lion of the Otariide family.
- AKÁINIK. — The rainbow, half-brother of Kra, the moon-woman. Mighty wrestler.
- AKELKWÓIN. — Kwányip's sister, and also his mother (incest). She turned into a high mountain.
- ALEKSPÓOT. — An exceptionally handsome man and a great runner, who was killed in the first war.
- ÁLENTAL. — The small seagull, "gaviotín," *Larus glaucodes* or *Larus Belcheri*. Married to Emienpóot.
- ANAKLÁUIN. — The falcon, *Circus cinereus*.
- APEN. — The louse.
- ASČIX. — The inventor of war and a brave man, who died in the first war.
- AUKMÉNK. — Kwányip's older brother; turned into a mountain, like his sister Akelkwóin.
- BIG HUT. — Specially built hut used for the *klóketen*-ceremony.
- ČÁČUN. — A small, nimble, bright yellow bird found only in open meadows. Well-known runner.
- ČÁNEM. — The essence of the shaman's power to kill, which is sent out by him against his victim. Táita was its personified prototype.
- ČAP. — The small treecreeper.
- ČÁSKELS. — A horrible man-eating giant who tyrannized the people. A contemporary and enemy of Kwányip. Turned into a mountain ridge.
- ČEIP. — The finch, "chinchol," *Zonotrichia canicapilla*, from the family of the Fringillidae. Strong man.

\*Throughout the text and the glossary, I followed the original rendering of technical terms. *Ed.*



- ČÉISA. — An ordinary pumice stone used to smooth the shaft of an arrow.
- ČÉNUKE. — Kwányip's contemporary and opponent, a powerful evil shaman who oppressed the people cruelly. Eventually he turned into a star.
- ČÉURA. — The thrush, "tordo negro," *Ciraeus aterrimus*, from the family of the Icteridae or Troupiale.
- ELANKÁIYINK. — The largest whale, "cachalote," *Balaenoptera*. Powerful shaman, and related to Kaux.
- ELKOTÉLEN. — A small man, much sought after by women because of his exceptionally long penis.
- EMIENPÓOT. — Culture hero, inventor of the canoe and harpoon. Could change size at will.
- ESKAI. — The black vulture.
- EUWAN. — Kwányip's cousin, who turned into a steep coastal rock wall.
- GUANACO. — *Lama huanachus*.
- HACÁMŠES. — Scorned lover, and son of old Elankáiyink.
- HAHÁPEL. — The black albatross, *Phoebetria fuliginosa*. Faithful wife of Káper.
- HÁIS. — Shaman; begetter of Kwányip by Akelkwóin, his own daughter.
- HALAKWULUP (ALACALUF). — Tribe inhabiting the archipelago west of the Great Island, up to Cabo de Peñas in the north.
- HÁLUWIL. — Grandfather of Kórior, a culture hero.
- HÁRUX. — The grayish-white wild goose.
- HASĚKLÁUN. — Old and powerful shaman.
- HAUS. — Subgroup of the Selknam inhabiting the south-eastern corner of the Great Island.
- HAUTPÁN. — A particularly well-built man.
- HÓŠNE. — Beautiful daughter of Nákenk, and Háis' beloved.
- HÓWENH. — The ancestors.
- KÁI (KÁIL). — The great petrel, *Ossifraga gigantea*.
- KÁKAČ. — The big woodpecker, *Ipocrantor magellanicus*. Hero who killed evil tyrant.
- KÁKREČEN. — Father of Čénuke.
- KÁMŠOT (see also "KÁRPER"). — Arrogant *klóketen* who brought to the south the seasonal change in the coloration of trees. Turned into parrot (Kárper).
- KÁPER. — The large albatross, *Diomedea exulans* or *Diomedea melanophrys*. Powerful shaman.
- KÁPEŠAN. — Wise man, leader and director of the first *klóketen*-ceremony. Turned into a mountain ridge.
- KÁRKAI (see also "KWÁIČIN"). — The large bright-colored vulture, "carancho," *Polyborus tharus*.
- KÁRKE. — The Chilean plover, "queltehue," *Belonopterus chilensis*. Selfish wife of Káper.

- KÁRPER (*see also* "KÁMŠOT"). — The green parrot, *Microsittace ferrugineus*, from the order of the Psittaci.
- KÁŠKOYUK. — Warrior of great fame and the uncle of Ootáčix.
- KÁŠMEN. — Wife of Háis; later became a mountain.
- KÁŠPI. — The soul.
- KÁTAIX. — One of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted man.
- KAUX. — The large eagle owl of Tierra del Fuego, *Bubo magellanicus*, who assigned to Selknam family groups their permanent districts. Táiyin's grandfather, and a wise old man.
- KAX. — The bald buzzard, *Buteo poliosomus*, a clever shaman.
- KÁXKEN. — Small bird, "porotero." Has a long beak and earth-colored feathers and lives in the high grass. Well-known runner.
- KAXS. — The small wood owl, *Glaucidium nanum*. Brother of Kaux.
- KEHAČÓNH. — The south(west)-wind personified.
- KÉLPEL. — The lizard.
- KEMÁNTA. — The small dolphin.
- KENÓS. — Demigod and servant of Temáukel, the Highest Being, who in the beginning of time sent him to earth to create the first people and order their life and customs.
- KEPÉYIK. — The male of the big "lobo de dos pelos."
- KETÁIXTEM. — The male whale.
- KETÉRNEN. — Some of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted men.
- KEYÁIŠK. — The black cormorant, "lile negro," *Phalacrocorax atriceps*. Skilled craftsman and good wrestler; one of the seven original *šoórt*e. Erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- KIAKČÁ. — Father of Šínu, the south(east) wind.
- KINA. — Secret ceremony of the Yamana men, roughly equivalent to the Selknam *klóketen*.
- KLÁTUE. — The male of the species *Lama huanachus*. Skilled craftsman.
- KLÓKETEN. — 1. Secret ceremony of the Selknam men to which boys were introduced upon reaching puberty. 2. A boy participating in this ceremony for the first time.
- KNÁNEKA. — Beautiful daughter of Šínu, the south(east) wind.
- KÓČEL. — Triangular ornament for the forehead worn by Selknam men.
- KÓHMEN. — The swan-woman.
- KÓKAT. — Unidentified bird, very timid.
- KOKPÓMEČ. — The many-colored wild goose, "caiquén de pecho colorado," *Chloëphaga poliocephala*. Culture hero, son of the south wind. Co-founder of the *klóketen*-ceremony and introducer of singing among shamans.
- KOLIÓT. — White men.

- KÓOKLOL. — A very shy type of diving bird. Daughter of the moon-woman and the sun-man.
- KOÓRI. — The male of the largest type of sea lion.
- KÓRE. — Handsome man, married to a guanaca; turned into a mountain.
- KÓRIKEN. — The spectacled ibis, "bandurria," *Theristicus melanopis*.
- KÓRIOR. — Offspring of primeval lumps of earth. Culture hero, novice in the first *klóketen*-ceremony: caused the spread of this ceremony throughout Selknam territory. Turned into a mountain called Šáruk.
- KOS. — Medium-sized mussels with white, flat, lightly ribbed oval shells (*Macra* sp. ?).
- KÓSITOS. — A small rodent of the family of the Muridae. The sister of Kákač, the woodpecker.
- KOŠMÉNK. — Some of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted men.
- KÓTKOLEN. — The swan, *Cygnus melanocoryphus*.
- KRA. — Moon-Woman, wife of Kran (Sun), and the leader of the women in primeval times.
- KRAN. — The younger sun-man, husband of Kra (Moon-Woman), and the leader of the men in their rebellion against female rule.
- KRANAKHÁTAIX. — The older sun-man (primeval sun, stronger than the present sun).
- KSÁMENK. — The largest dolphin.
- KTÁTU. — The small, dark ground owl, "peguén," *Speotyto cunicularia*. A shaman of great fame.
- KTEIT. — The north wind personified.
- KWÁIČIN (see also "KÁRKAI"). — The large vulture, "carancho," *Polyborus tharus*. Powerful shaman and famous wrestler. Changed his name to Kárkai after losing wrestling match.
- KWÁIYUS. — Powerful shaman; the introducer of sickness among the Selknam.
- KWÁKE. — Essence of sickness. Specifically: epidemic.
- KWÁNYIP. — Selfish culture hero with marvelous powers; the introducer of death on earth and the originator of the division between night and day.
- KWAR. — The big gray eagle.
- LÉWE. — The sparrow hawk.
- MA. — Owl.
- MÁN. — Shadow image.
- MARŠÁ. — The adult female of the species *Lama huanachus*.
- MÁTAN. — Some of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted men.
- NÁKENK. — Shaman; adversary of Háis.

- OIXÁLA. — Powerful and kindly man, protector of the people against Čáskels, his own relative. Turned into a mountain ridge.
- OKLTA. — The bat, *Myotis chiloensis* and *Vespertilio magellanicus*.
- OKRÍČIN. — See "SÍTA."
- ONKOLXÓN. — Powerful shaman.
- OOTÁČIX. — Hunter with marvelous traps; the nephew of Kaškóyuk.
- PAŠÁTERRČEIN. — The horsefly.
- PAWÚS. — One of the seven original *šoorte*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- PÁXAL. — The big brass beetle, *Carabus auratus*.
- PÓTA. — The large seagull.
- SASÁN. — These two boys were the nephews of Kwányip. Their father was Aukménk.
- SÁTER. — Shrub, *Ribes magellanicum*. Prior to transformation she was a captive servant to Háis.
- SEKUTÁ. — Mother of Čénuke.
- SÍTA. — The light-colored horned owl, "nuco," *Asio accipitrinus*. Before his transformation he was a man named Okríčín.
- SOIKÁTEN. — The squid, *Loligo subulata* Lam. Participated in the first war.
- ŠAKANUŠÓYIN. — Son of guanaco mother, human father. Excellent runner.
- ŠÁNKOWH. — The dark owl.
- ŠÁSTEL. — Very common brown algae, eaten by the Haus.
- ŠAT. — The oyster-catcher, *Haematopus*. Well-known runner.
- ŠÁTE. — One of the seven original *šoorte*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- ŠÉNU. — One of the seven original *šoorte*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- ŠÍIKA. — The starling, "loica," *Leistes superciliares*, from the family of the Icteridae or Troupiale. Strong man.
- ŠÍLA. — Kwányip's uncle, who turned into a steep coastal rock wall.
- ŠÍNU. — The south(east) wind personified.
- ŠÍŠPI. — The son of Elankáiyink; scorned lover.
- ŠOÓRTE. — Some of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted men.
- TÁITA (CÁNEM). — The first female shaman, an evil and powerful woman who tyrannized the people.
- TÁIX. — The sea swallow, "gaviotín," *Sterna hirundinacea* and *Sterna macrura*. Married to handsome Alekspóot.
- TÁIYIN. — A small bird, probably the Chilean hummingbird, *Eustephanus galleritus*. Grandson of Kaux, and a culture hero, who caused the topographical features of Selknam territory and ordered the land to be divided up into permanent family districts.



- TÁLAMŠOS. — Brave man who died in the first war.
- TÁLEN. — One of the seven original *šoorte*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- TALILŠUŠÓYIN. — Fast runner.
- TÁMHKEN. — A mussel with conical shells, possibly *Fissurella* sp.
- TÁMTAN. — Small bird with greenish feathers, likes to stay near eddies in creeks. Daughter of Kran and Kra (Sun-Man and Moon-Woman).
- TÁNU. — Some of the spirits appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted men.
- TÁREMKELAŠ. — The old south wind, father of Kehačónh, and a mighty shaman.
- TASĚ. — The male sperm whale, “cachalote.”
- TAUKÓYIN. — The adopted mother of Kórior, and the first woman from the north to move to the south.
- TEMÁUKEL. — “The-One-Up-There” or Highest Being, omnipotent disposer over human life and destiny.
- TÉXNOL. — Kwányip’s cousin, who turned into a steep coastal rock wall.
- TÓLON. — Bark masks worn by men dressed up as spirits at the *klóketen*-ceremony.
- TORNĚČEREN. — Small, brownish-gray bird; runs very fast over grassy ground.
- TÓSES. — The green finch, *Phrygilus gayi*, of the Fringillidae family.
- WACŮŠ. — One of the seven original *šoorte*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.
- WÁIYUWEN. — The soul of a dead shaman, which takes over the soul of a living shaman whenever the latter wants to exercise his art, and acts as his source of magic power.
- WAS. — The big fox, *Canis magellanicus*.
- WAUKELNÁMA. — Beautiful daughter of the North (the north wind). Today she is the thick fog that comes in from the south.
- WÓWEN. — Selknam designation for “Yamana man.”
- XÁLPEN. — Principal spirit appearing at the *klóketen*-ceremony; actually masked and painted man.
- XÁLPEN KE XAT. — Literally: “Xálpén eats [the men].” Ritual enactment of Xálpén killing and devouring all the *klóketen*-participants.
- XÁLPEN TE WÁKENEN. — Literally: “Xálpén demands [meat],” that is, from the women in the camp during the *klóketen*-ceremony.
- XON. — Shaman.
- XÓOLČE. — The Magellanic thrush, “zorzal,” *Turdus magellanicus*.

XÓŠE. — Snow, personified as a mighty army of men sent out by the south wind.

YAMANA (YAHGAN). — Tribe inhabiting the archipelago south of the Great Island.

YÓIČIK. — One of the seven original *šoórtē*; erected one of the seven main posts in the first *klóketen*-hut.

YÓŠI. — Wood spirit.

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