Oral Tradition, 13/1 (1998): 92-129

Reading Martha Lamont's Crow Story Today

Marya Moses and Toby C. S . Langen

Translator's Introduction to the Text[1]

In the early years of this century, probably about 1915, a white teenager dropped out of high school and went to work in a logging camp, an event that eventually led to the Crow story told by Martha Lamont that is printed here. Because of a hearing disability, the young man, Leon Metcalf, had run into trouble in a high school in Marysville, Washington, a town bordering the Tulalip Indian Reservation. In the logging camp Leon met some Snohomish Indian loggers, who took him under their wing, advised him, and taught him some of their language and something about their culture. In time, fortified by this care, Leon returned to school, finished college as a music major, toured the country as a member of a circus band, earned a masters degree, and became band director at Pacific Lutheran College (now University) in Seattle.

While he was at Pacific Lutheran, Leon became interested in the work of the Wycliffe Bible Translators and took classes in fieldwork methods through the Summer Institute of Linguistics. In the early fifties, remembering the kindness of his Snohomish friends forty years earlier, he returned to Tulalip to record texts in what he and many others thought was a dying language: Lushootseed, the closely related group of tongues belonging to the Native peoples whose ancestral lands extend from the mountains to the salt water along the eastern shore of Puget Sound between Bellingham and Olympia. He worked chiefly with Martha Lamont, a Snohomish elder who was a generation older than he.

Martha was married to Levi Lamont, who had been a logger and may have known Leon as a youth. At any rate, they enjoyed each other's company, as the laughter and high-jinks on Leon's tape-recordings testify.

---

[1] Translator's Introduction to the Text, Translation, and Notes to the Texts were written by Toby C. S. Langen. Commentary on the Story was written by Marya Moses and Toby Langen as indicated in the text.

Martha and Levi lived on an unpaved road known as Dogs' Alley. (Not only did the Lamonts take in strays, but their neighbors also had numerous dogs. These, along with roosters and chickens, ran in and out through the Lamonts' ever-open door and were immortalized on the tapes not only of Leon Metcalf, but also of Thom Hess, who worked with the Lamonts ten years later.)

Leon, who did not speak Lushootseed and could recognize only isolated words, recorded perhaps a dozen stories from Martha Lamont. Talking about this work with an interviewer in 1986, he said he thought that Mrs. Lamont had recited her stories by rote. Perhaps the rapidity of her delivery kept him from questioning this belief; but we know from versions of the same stories told to Thom Hess a decade later that Mrs. Lamont, speaking rapidly and making excellent use of Lushootseed rhetorical and narrative convention, was improvising. Leon did not pay the people with whom he worked at Tulalip and other reservations; instead, he brought food, chopped wood, and provided transportation in his Volkswagen.[2] It is said that Leon's chopping wood and bringing food actually saved the life of one elder with whom he was working.

Martha Lamont died in 1973 at the age of 93; Leon, in 1993 at the age of 94.

When Marya Moses and I presented our commentary on "Crow, with her Seagull Slaves, Looks for a Husband" at a 1993 conference, a Lushootseed elder criticized the equation of *siʔab* status with the possession of wealth that is suggested in the following passage: "[He was a man of] very high standing—a good deal of money he must have had, a good deal of money. . . ." Because the story itself and not our commentary connected wealth with *siʔab* status, at that time we could not accommodate the elder's discomfort. However, I do respond to it now by including a few words of explanation about *siʔab* here. *Siʔab* has often been translated as "upper class;" but, whereas in English "upper class" sometimes means nothing more than "rich," in Lushootseed culture *siʔab* assumes the employment in everyday behavior of wisdom, a thoughtfulness that precludes haste, benevolent manners, and self-control under provocation. In this system, wealth results from extensive knowledge—both practical and spiritual—and from good relations with a large number of people and is best understood as a by-product rather than a prerequisite of *siʔab* status. There does not seem

[2] Stories tell that he was a health enthusiast at the time, and the peanut-butter-and-alfalfa-sprout sandwiches he brought produced considerable cross-cultural strain. The Volkswagen is also legendary because Leon, over six feet tall, spent nights in it when he was on the reservation.

to be the antagonism between practical and spiritual in the Lushootseed system of values that there is in the European.

In Martha Lamont's telling of this story, however, wealth is the only characteristic of *siʔab* that is mentioned explicitly. The father of the groom is Prized Shell, whose Indian name, *xʷčɬqs*, is the name of a shell used as an item of exchange long ago. Levi Lamont thought it was somewhat like an oyster (Bates et al. 1994:65); others have identified it as the shell of a very large northern clam, so valuable that two such shells could buy a slave (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930:29). In a version of this story in which the bride and groom are human (Hatch 1940), the bride is named *cisʔuləx̌,* "Dentalium Woman," *dentalium* being another shell used as an exchange item. In that story, the groom (named, like the groom in Martha's story, Whyaliwa) is identified as "Mother of Pearl." It is a story of the marriage of money to money. None of these valued shells were consumable and thus they lasted longer and traveled farther than items that were consumed. This story may be addressing the relative value of consumable wealth and monetary wealth, an issue that may have extended to a consideration of the meaning of *siʔab* in that context. "This story" in the above sentence refers to the entire assemblage of stories about this bride and groom, not strictly the single rendering of Martha's that we concern ourselves with here. Martha's story stands in a parodic relation to the assemblage as a whole, and the symbolic shorthand of equating *siʔab* with "wealthy" becomes in her telling intentional impropriety.

It has often been noted that translation is interpretation. My presentation of the printed text of this story seeks to emphasize the parallel truth that decisions made concerning native-language transcription are also interpretive. Thus, the Lushootseed text is formatted in a style different from that of the English. In the Lushootseed text, a new line begins where a pause in the taped performance is preceded by falling intonation; double spaces mark pauses of more than two seconds or the occurrence of a pause accompanied by a change of delivery style (for instance, from straightforward style to declamatory, chanting, or otherwise marked style). Italics identify words and phrases spoken in characterized voices (for Crow or the seagulls), in chant form (characteristic of content that implies spiritual valence), or in a form that emphasizes the innate rhythms and internal echoes of the phrases being spoken (characteristic of formulaic portions of the story). My purpose was not to distinguish among these forms of speech, but merely to indicate the amount of specialized speech in Mrs. Lamont's storytelling.

The most obvious difference in appearance between the Lushootseed text and the English is that the English is more copiously lineated. This is

because Mrs. Lamont marked episode boundaries often by intonation rather than by pause, and the differences between the ways the Lushootseed and English pages are filled is simply an acknowledgement that I cannot represent the sound of her voice on paper.

The English text, unlike the Lushootseed, is formatted to emphasize structural, not acoustic, features: spacing indicates not pauses, but episode boundaries and bridge passages between episodes; indentation calls attention to circular or concentric figuration and variations on episodic patterns. Italics in the English version mark features of the storytelling, such as formulaic passages and rhythmically heightened delivery, that cannot be fully conveyed in English via diction. Crow's voice on the other hand, can be, and is, characterized in English by her diction and so is not italicized. These functions of the formatting are explained more fully in the notes.

For the last two decades, much discussion about the production of printed versions of works from Native American oral tradition has revolved around two points of view: that of Dennis Tedlock, whose scripting provides typographical cues about such acoustical data as length of pause, volume of sound, and speed of delivery (e.g., 1971) and that of Dell Hymes, whose formatting reflects his analysis of narrative structure (e.g., 1977). For those readers who are interested in this discussion about text production, it may be well to point out here that I take neither side—or, perhaps more accurately, that I take parts of each side.

Both Tedlock and Hymes argue that their lineated texts indicate that they are transcribing poetry, not prose. Though each conveys in English characteristics of oral performance that elude the other, it needs to be noted that any such lineation is constructed not for purposes of storytelling but for purposes of transcription. It sometimes seems that lineation on the printed page is all that distinguishes some poetry from prose in modern English-language literature. But in verbal art (assuming for the sake of discussion that a distinction between "poetry" and "prose" were valid in the oral tradition under discussion, though this is not the case for Lushootsheed) cues signalling that distinction would have to be intelligible by ear, which means that if such cues were transferable in translation, they would be intelligible, to those familiar with the tradition, in a transcription without lineation.[3]

Another group of researchers of oral narrative, whose work is less often cited in the study of American Indian narrative than that of Tedlock

[3] One thinks of the scribes of Old English and Old Norse verse, who wrote from one edge of the vellum to the other, and of their readers, who had no trouble realizing qualities of verse in their reading aloud.

and Hymes, is the oral-formulaic school, whose inquiries stem from Milman Parry and Albert Lord's research on Homeric and South Slavic epic. Their formulations suggested to later scholars that storytellers may vary the degree to which their language is rhythmic, esoteric, idiomatic, formulaic, and so forth from one performance to the next, according to the demands not only of a particular performance, but of the tradition as a whole (Foley 1991:2-60). This awareness of register is very important in understanding characteristics of Martha Lamont's storytelling. In preparing the texts that follow, I have not treated Mrs. Lamont's utterance as poetry—though portions of it are certainly poetic—and I have tried to demonstrate that, though her narrative is structured, only portions of it are patterned. The acoustic features of performance (pause, intonation, speed, style of delivery) sometimes illuminate the structural features and sometimes obscure or even counterpoint them, and the difference in appearance between the Lushootseed text and its facing-page English version reflects this changing relation between narrative surface and depth.[4]

[4] Marya Moses spent many hours with me going over the transcript and the translation. Thom Hess and Dawn Bates have also devoted time to these projects. In addition, I was able to consult a transcription made by Vi Hilbert (1985b). The errors and infelicities that remain are my own, some of them a result of indecisiveness in the face of a story that is working on at least three vastly different levels at once. The story is recorded on Reel 38 of the Metcalf tapes in the collection of the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, and I thank the Museum for permission to transcribe. Laurel Sercombe, University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archivist, provided a sound-enhanced version of the tape that continues to be extremely helpful. I thank Dawn Bates for her careful review, not only of the English and Lushootseed texts of the story, but also of my part of the commentary and notes.

ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ
syəhub ʔə tsi səswiχ̌ab

1. *ʔistaʔəb tsiʔiɬ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.*
2. *dxʷqaləp tsiʔiɬ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.*
3. huy gʷəl ʔabs(s)tudəq tsiʔəʔ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs.

4. *huyʔ uʔuχ̌ʷ tsiʔiɬ sładəyʔ* X̌uabsc̓isc̓istxʷ dxʷʔal kʷədiʔ diʔiʔ bəda ʔə kʷi xʷc̓iɬqs.

5. siʔab.
6. cicƛ̓ʷ siʔab—qahał talə gʷəqahał taləs
7. tiʔəʔ bəda ʔə kʷi xʷc̓iɬqs.
8. xʷayaliwəʔ ti sdaʔ ʔə ti bəda ʔə xʷc̓iɬqs: xʷayaliwəʔ.

9. *huy cutəxʷ tsiʔəʔ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ,* "X̌ubəxʷ čəd ʔuʔuχ̌ʷəxʷ. xʷiʔ gʷəX̌uχ̌aX̌tub ʔə kʷi cədiɬ. xʷiʔ kʷi gʷat gʷəkʷədxʷ."
10. *huy ʔuχ̌ʷəxʷ tsiʔəʔ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ* gʷəl cutəbəxʷ cədiɬ dᶻəɬ kʷi gʷəkʷədxʷ kʷədiʔ siʔab, tsə ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.
11. tuχ̌ʷ huy ʔuʔuχ̌ʷ ʔab(s)studəq ʔə tsiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs.

12. qʷibicutəxʷ tiʔəʔ studəqs huy ʔuluɬtubəxʷ—*cicƛ̓ʷ ʔuhaʔəlb tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd.*
13. *dayʼayʼəxʷ tiʔəʔ ʔacəc q̓il̓bid ʔə tsə ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ tiʔəʔ ləbiƛ̓ʷəb.*
14. *huy ʔuxʷəxʷ, huy ʔuʔuluɬtəbəxʷ* dxʷ ʔal tiʔiɬ dxʷǰəc tiʔəʔ łudəxʷc̓isc̓istxʷs.

15. *huy tiləxʷ ʔučaʔkʷ* tiʔəʔ ʔacəc, tiʔəʔ ʔacəc, stəb χ̌aʔχ̌alus; ləχ̌alus, ʔəxʷliq̓ʷus tiʔəʔ χ̌aʔχ̌alus.
16. *huy ɬaliləxʷ* tiʔəʔ cədiɬ kiyuuqʷs stətudəqs.
17. *ɬaliləxʷ*, gʷəl ləc̓ic̓itil—ʔəX̌ ləχ̌alus tiʔəʔ ʔacəc ləxʷliq̓ʷus tiʔəʔ stubš.
18. ʔəxʷscutəb diɬ gʷədəxʷχ̌aX̌ildub ʔə tsiʔəʔ ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ, gʷa xʷiʔ ləcədiɬ.
19. huy cucutəxʷ tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs: *"X̌al mələliʔ, X̌al mələliʔ, ləliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ!"*

Crow with Her Seagull Slaves Looks for a Husband

A Story Told by Martha Lamont
Translated by Toby C. S. Langen

[1]*This is how it was with that Crow:*
[2]*That Crow had never been married.*

[3]Now, she had some slaves who were seagulls.

[4]And this young lady Crow was going to go and get a certain person to be her husband, the son of someone named Prized Shell,

[5]A man of high standing in the community,

[6]Very high standing—a good deal of money he must have had, a good deal of money, [7]the son of Prized Shell.

[8]Whyaliwa was his name, the son of Prized Shell: Whyaliwa.

[9]So now Crow said, "I'd better get going. This man doesn't seem to be in love with anyone, and no one has managed to get ahold of him yet." [10]So now Crow goes around thinking of herself as just the person to get ahold of a wealthy man like this one.

[11]Anyway, her slave seagulls get going.

[12]The slaves get everything ready and then take her on her way over the water—

Utterly calm was the sea
[13]*Except for a little wash from Crow's canoe.*

[14]*So now they go, so now they're taking her on her way over the water,*

toward her destination, the place where she's going to find a husband.

[15]But now coming down toward the shore is this person, this Raccoon.

He's marking his face, going along with his face painted, "Little Marked Face."

[16]So Crow's slave seagulls put in to shore;

[17]They're putting in and getting a little closer—

He comes onto the beach marking his face, this man with the painted face. [18]He thinks of himself as just the person Crow might fall in love with—

but no, it won't be him: [19]For the seagulls all call out: *"Once again, not the one, still not the one, not the one, not the one, not the one!"*

20. *"čaʔgʷustxʷ łi ʔə tə gədu?—cədił dᶻəł kʷi cəxʷudəxʷʔa, ʔəxʷbalgʷusus!"*
21. tiʔəʔəxʷ x̌aʔx̌alus tiʔiłʔuq̓x̌atəb.
22. *ʔux̌ʷ bəhiwil tsi k̓aʔk̓aʔ ləṫilib.*
23. *ṫilib tsiʔəʔ k̓aʔk̓aʔ:*
24. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.*

25. *"bəłaliltxʷ łi!* ʔacəc tudiʔ *ʔučaʔkʷ."*
26. *čaʔkʷ* kʷədiʔ diʔiʔ bəstab, sqigʷəc, xʷuʔələʔ
27. huy gʷəl bəcutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs: *"X̌al mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ!"*
28. *"čagʷustxʷ łi! bələliʔ. dił dᶻəł cəxʷuʔəX̌ tə gəduʔ ti dəxʷʔučaʔkʷs."*
29. *bəʔux̌ʷ tiʔił, bəʔuluł:*
30. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.*
31. *dił kʷi bəsučaʔkʷ* ʔə tiʔəʔ bəsčətxʷədəxʷ.
32. ləsX̌alabac tiʔił sčətxʷəd ʔə tiʔəʔ ləshaʔł ləḵʷiṫ.
33. huy łalił; gʷəl cut, "dił kʷədaʔ stab tudiʔ ʔuḵʷiṫ"—
34. bəḵʷiṫ tiʔił sʔušəbabdxʷ lətab, lədxʷsčəgʷasəb dxʷʔal tsiʔəʔ k̓aʔk̓aʔ.
35. X̌al bəcutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ cədił kiyuuqʷs: *"X̌'al mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ."*
36. huy X̌ubəq̓x̌atəb ʔə tsiʔəʔ k̓aʔk̓aʔ tiʔəʔ šʔušəbabdxʷ sčətxʷəd ʔuḵʷiṫ lədxʷsčəgʷasəb.
37. *"cədił dᶻəł kʷi dəxʷuʔux̌ʷs."*

38. *huy bəhiwil tsi k̓aʔk̓aʔ, bəṫilib:*
39. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.*

40. *"łaliltxʷ łi! ʔa tudiʔ bəʔučaʔkʷ."*
41. bəḵʷiṫ ti ʔacəc xʷuʔələʔ, stab, stiqayuʔ xʷuʔələʔ tiʔəʔ bəʔučaʔkʷ, *X̌al bəhaʔł* ləgʷəb—*"X̌al bələliʔ* tiʔiłʔ" bəcutcut tiʔəʔ studəq ʔə tsiʔəʔ k̓aʔk̓aʔ, tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs,
42. *"X̌al mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ."* x̌əłti X̌uxʷisicut tiʔəʔ stətudəqs.

[20]"Shove off, you slaves! Away from that bum—as if I'd come here on account of someone like him, with his smeared-up face!"
[21]It was Little Marked Face, now, who was getting insulted.

[22]*She went, went on ahead, this Crow, singing.*
[23]*She sang, this Crow:*
[24]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[25]"Put in again, you slaves! There's someone over there down by the water."
[26]He came toward the water, that—who was it, again?—Deer, I guess.
[27]And once again the seagulls call out the same thing: *Once again, not the one, not the one, not the one, not the one*."
[28]"Shove off, you slaves! Still not the one. As if I'd come here just because that bum was down by the water!"

[29]*They went on, traveled on over the water:*
[30]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[31]There's another person who's come toward the water; this time now it's Bear.
[32]That bear was wearing clothing of the finest as he came to the water's edge.
[33]So she puts in to shore and says, "There's someone or other over there who's come to the water's edge" —
[34]He, too, came to the water's edge, that poor thing, wanting a wife and thinking of Crow.
[35]*Once again those seagulls called out the same thing: "Once again, not the one, not the one, not the one."*
[36]So someone else was insulted by Crow in her usual way, this poor Bear who came to the water's edge wanting a wife:
[37]"As if anybody would go and travel on account of someone like that!"

[38]*So she went on ahead, this Crow, went on singing:*
[39]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[40]"Put in, you slaves! There's another one over there who's come toward the water."
[41]He came to the water's edge, whoever this one was—Wolf, I guess, who was coming toward the water this time,
Once again a fine young man.
"*Once again, not the one,*" they all said, these slaves of Crow, these seagulls. [42]"*Once again, not the one, not the one, not the one*." The seagulls were sort of shaking themselves off, these slaves of hers.

43. *bəʔuxʷ, bəhiwil, bəɬilib tsiʔiɬ ƛaʔƛaʔ:*
44. *ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ,*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

45. *bəčaʔkʷ tiʔəʔ stab xʷuʔələʔ swəwaʔ, gʷəl ƛ̓ubəcutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs, "ƛ̓al mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ." bəʔuxʷ tiʔiɬ, bəʔuluɬ.*
46. x̌ʷuɬ lələliʔ tiʔəʔ ləčaʔkʷ, ʔabsčəgʷasəb əlgʷəʔ dxʷʔal tsiʔəʔ ƛaʔƛaʔ, ləshiqʲʷabid həlgʷəʔ.

47. *ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ,*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

48. *bəɬalil; bətiləb bəbuʔqʷ* tiʔəʔ ʔučaʔkʷ, haʔɬ ɬəɬqʷiʔ tiʔəʔ ləƛʷiɬəxʷ.
49. yuʔ kʷədiʔ səsƛ̓alabac ʔə tiʔəʔ ɬəɬqʷiʔ.
50. Ducksəxʷ.
51. huy bəcutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs, *"ƛ̓al mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ."*

52. *bəčagʷucut; bəʔuxʷ, bəɬilib tsiʔiɬ ƛaʔƛaʔ:*
53. *ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ,*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

54. bəʔuxʷ;
bəčaʔkʷ tiʔəʔ x̌atx̌atəxʷ.
55. *haʔɬ* ʔəsqʷib tiʔəʔ x̌atx̌at; put *haʔɬ* tiʔəʔ səsɬuʔqʲʷs ʔuləliʔcut.
56. ƛʷiɬ ləʔabsčəgʷas, diɬ dᶻəɬ kʷi gʷəsx̌aƛ̓ ʔə tsiʔəʔ ƛaʔƛaʔ.
57. xʷiʔ: *"ƛ̓al bələliʔ, bələliʔ, bələliʔ."*

58. *bəʔuxʷ, bəčagʷcut.*
59. *"cədiɬ dᶻəɬ kʷi cəxʷdəxʷʔa kʷi dəxʷʔučaʔkʷ ʔə tə ʔəsʔistəʔ."*

60. *bəʔuxʷ, bəhiwil, bəɬilib tsə ƛaʔƛaʔ:*
61. *ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəqʲixʷqʲixʷ kayayəʔ,*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

[43]*She went on, on ahead, went on singing, that Crow:*
[44]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[45]Someone else came toward the water—Cougar, I guess—and as usual the seagulls said the same thing:
"Once again not the one, not the one, not the one."

They went on, went on their way over the water.

[46]It was just a lot of different ones who were coming toward the water.
They wanted Crow for their wife, they had her on their minds.

[47]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[48]They put in again—
This time it's water birds who came toward the shore, beautiful Buffleheads who were coming to the water's edge.
[49]It was just gorgeous, what the Buffleheads were wearing. [50](They are ducks.)
[51]But the seagulls said the same thing: "Once again, not the one, not the one, not the one, not the one."
[52]They shoved themselves off again.

She went on, went on singing, that Crow:
[53]*"Crow is still making her way*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."
[54]They went on.

It's Mallard now who's coming down this time.
[55]Very well turned out Mallard was; very lovely his little feathers looked as they changed colors.
[56]He came down to the water's edge
wanting a wife of his own, as if he would be the chosen one of Crow.
[57]Not him: *"Once again, not the one, not the one, not the one."*
[58]They went on, they shoved off again: [59]"As if I was here on account of him! What reason could someone like that have for coming down to the water?"

[60]*Crow went on, on ahead, went on singing:*
[61]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

62. ča?kʷ ti?ə? ?acəc ƛəƛ̓ʷaǎad.

63. yu? ha?ł ti?ił sƛalabac ?ə ti?ił ƛəƛ̓ʷaǎad, hikʷ "ducks."

64. hay gʷəl bəcutcut ti?ə? kiyuuqʷs, "*ƛ'al sixʷ mələli?, mələli?, mələli?.*"

65. *bəhiwil tsi?ə? ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?, bəl̓ilib.*

66. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?*
dxʷ?al kʷi bəda? ?ə xʷayaliwə?, xʷayaliwə?.

67. *bəča?kʷ sixʷ, bələƛ̓ʷiɬ̓ šixʷ* ti?ił stab.

68. *bələča?kʷ* ti?ił stab.

69. xʷu?ələ? łulac stab.

70. ?aǎalus, ?əsǎal ?əsǰadᶻ ?ə ti?ə? ǎəłti ti?ə? ?əsqʷəq̓ʷil.

71. łalil; ǎʷi?: "*bələli?*" *ƛal* cutəb ?ə ti?ə? kiyuuqʷs.

72. "*bələli?, ƛal bələli?, mələli?, mələli?.*" ǎəłti ƛuxʷisicut ti?ə? studəq ?ə tsi?ə? ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?.

73. kiyuuqʷs.

74. *bəhiwil, bə?uǎʷ, bel̓ilib tsi ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?.*

75. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?*
dxʷ?al kʷi bəda? ?ə xʷayaliwə?, xʷayaliwə?.

76. *bəłalil; bələča?kʷ* kʷədi? di? hikʷ bu?qʷ, xʷu?ələ?, stab; ƛəƛ̓ʷaǎad ?u stab–xʷi? ləbəƛəƛ̓ʷaǎad, dił ti?ə?–stab kʷi ƛusda?ətəbs tə? hikʷhikʷ, ti?ə? bəsbəq̓ʷa?; ?i, bəƛ̓ʷ stab dił ləča?kʷ.

77. diłəxʷ ?uq̓ǎatəbəxʷ. "cədił dᶻəł kʷi cəxʷubəsubəsc̓isc̓istxʷ tə xʷi? ləha?ł kʷi bədəxʷ?učagʷsəbułs.

78. hiwil łi, hiqicut łi, bə?uǎʷ čəł, bəhiwil!" *bəl̓ilib sixʷ ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?:*

79. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayə?*
dxʷ?al kʷi bəda? ?ə xʷayaliwə?, xʷayaliwə?.

80. bələ?uǎʷ sixʷ gʷəl bələtiləxʷ bələča?kʷ ti?ə? ?acəc s?ušəbabdxʷ bu?qʷ stab.

81. l̓əl̓qʷi? ?u; xʷi? lel̓əl̓qʷi? ti?ə? stab.

82. stab təƛusda?ətəbs ti?ił–?a?agi?.

83. ha?ł ti?ə? s?a?agi?, ?əsƛalabac ?ə ti?ə? ha?ł put ti?ə? ta?a? st̓uq̓ʷs.

[62]This certain goose, a *ƛ̓ək'ʷαx̌ad*, came toward the water.
[63]Real nice clothes this goose had (*ƛ̓ək'ʷαx̌ad*, big ducks).
[64]And then the seagulls said again: *"Once more, like before, it's still not the one, not the one, not the one."*

[65]*On she went, this Crow, on she sang:*
[66]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[67]Once more, someone came toward the water, once more something was coming down to the shore; [68]this something was coming, [69]maybe it was Brant or something.
[70]He was decorated on his upper part, he had markings, he had a necklace, something white.
[71]They put in—
"No, not the one," the seagulls said once more:
[72]*"Not the one, still not the one, not the one, not the one"*—they were always kind of shaking themselves off, Crow's slaves.
([73]After all, they were seagulls.)

[74]*On she went, on she traveled,*
On she sang, this Crow:
[75]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[76]They landed again—
Again someone over there was coming toward the water, some big water bird, Goose or something. (No, not Goose again, it was this—what's the name of that great big—) this Great Blue Heron and everything coming down toward the water. [77]That's who it was getting insulted now:
"As if I'd be considering any of them for a husband, these good-for-nothings who keep coming toward the water to meet us! [78]Go on, you slaves—push off, let's travel!"

Crow went on again, singing again as before:
[79]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."

[80]They went on as before,
and at this moment, as before, there came down toward the water some poor duck. [81]Was it Bufflehead? No, not Bufflehead, this one. [82]What is the name of that, that—Oldsquaw!
[83]Oldsquaw was handsome, wearing clothes of the finest, especially with that feather of his.

84. čaʔkʷ ləxʷčəgʷasəb dxʷʔal tsiʔə ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.

85. huy gʷəl bəcutəb, "*ƛ̓al bələliʔ, ƛ̓al bələliʔ, ƛ̓al bələliʔ,*" cutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs.

86. "hiwil łi! diɬ dᶻəɬ cəxʷ dəxʷʔa tə ʔəsʔistəʔ kʷi bədəxʷʔučaʔkʷs ʔəxʷgəlgałdəɬ."

87. *bəhiwil, beɬilib tsi ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ:*

88. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

89. *bəʔuǰʷ, bəhiwil tsi ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.*

90. tiləxʷ ʔučaʔkʷ tiʔəʔ bəstab.

91. gʷahaẇəxʷ diɬ tiʔəʔ bəsɬəqxʷ tiʔəʔ bəʔučaʔkʷ.

92. čaʔkʷ tiʔəʔ sɬəqxʷ.

93. huy gʷəl ləcutəb ʔə tsiʔəʔ cədiɬ:

94. "diʔaʔ tudiʔ ʔuƛ̓ʷiɬ. hiwil łi! łalil!" bəłalil. diɬ bəsɬəqxʷ hawəʔ. "*ləliʔ, ƛ̓al bələliʔ, mələliʔ, mələliʔ,*" cutəb tiʔəʔ stətudəqs.

95. huy gʷəl ləčaʔkʷ.

96. "čagʷus łi! diɬ dəxʷ cəxʷ dəxʷʔa ti ʔudxʷƛ̓uq̓ʷucutigʷəd.

97. bələčayɬ kʷi dəxʷʔučaʔkʷs.

98. cədiɬ dᶻəɬ kʷi cəxʷubəʔuǰʷ."

99. *bəhiwil gʷəl bəɬilib:*

100. *ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ, ləbəq̓ixʷq̓ixʷ kayayəʔ*
dxʷʔal kʷi bədaʔ ʔə xʷayaliwəʔ, xʷayaliwəʔ.

101. *hay bəhiwil tsi ƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔ.*

102. diłəxʷ kʷi sʔəƛ̓ ʔə tiʔiɬ ʔuƛ̓ʷiɬ.

103. *k'ʷiɬəxʷ* tudiʔ diʔ ʔə tiʔiɬ hikʷ qaʔ ʔalʔal tiʔiɬ dəxʷʔa łčils. hikʷhikʷ ʔalʔal kʷədiʔ səshuys.

104. haʔɬ ʔadᶻaligʷəd tiʔəʔ dəxʷʔa ʔə tiʔəʔ haẇəʔ xʷayaliwəʔ.

105. huy gʷəl łčil: xʷayaliwəʔ tiʔiɬ sdaʔ ʔə tiʔiɬ xʷc̓iłqs.

106. tiʔiɬ xʷc̓iłqʷs tiʔiɬ cədiɬ xʷayaliwəʔ haẇəʔ tiʔiɬ sdaʔs.

107. stab kʷi xʷc̓iłqʷs; haʔɬ siʔab "Pearl" xʷuʔələʔ ʔal tiʔəʔ pastəd.

108. hay łaliləxʷ kʷaʔ.

[84]He gets closer to the water, wanting Crow for a wife.

[85]And then again, *"Still not the one, still not the one, still not the one,"* the seagulls said.

[86]"Go ahead, you slaves—as if I'm here for him, as if he'd have any reason to come down toward the water, with his mumble-mouth!"

[87]*She went on ahead, she went on singing, this Crow:*
[88]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."
[89]She traveled on, on ahead, this Crow.

[90]Just then, someone else came toward the water. [91]It turns out to be Beaver who has come down this time. [92]Beaver comes down toward the water.

[93]And Crow in the canoe is saying, [94]"There is someone over there who's come to the shore. Go on, you slaves, land the canoe!" They land again: it's just Beaver, for goodness sake!

"Not the one, still not the one, not the one, not the one," the seagulls all say.

[95]So then they're putting out to deep water again.

[96]"Out to sea, you slaves! As if I'm here on account of him and his strapped-in guts! [97]Why should he go down toward the water, anyway? [98]As if he'd be the one I'm traveling for!"

[99]*She went on ahead and went on singing:*
[100]*"Crow is still making her way,*
Crow is still making her way
Toward the son of Whyaliwa, Whyaliwa."
[101]*Indeed, she went on ahead, this Crow.*

[102]Way, way over there, there was someone who had come to the water's edge and was standing there. [103]He had come to the water's edge over there, and at the place where he was standing, there was a large number of houses, big, big houses that had been built there. [104]It is a beautiful spot, the place where he is, this man who really seems to be Whyaliwa.

[105]*And so they are arriving.*

Whyaliwa is the name of that Prized Shell, *x*^{w}*čiłqs*. [106]Prized Shell is who it is—Whyaliwa is really his name. ([107]What is *x*^{w}*čiłqs*—"Great and Noble Pearl," maybe, in the white man's language.)

[108]So they must be just about beaching the canoe now.

109. cutcutəxʷ tiʔəʔ cədił studəqs: *"nił tə, nił tə; nił tə, nił tə, nił tə, nił tə, nił tə."* cutcutəxʷ tiʔəʔ kiyuuqʷs; huy ƙayiłcutəxʷ.

110. huy *ƙʷiɬəxʷ tiʔəʔ ʔacəc cədił* bədaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ xʷayaliweʔ, xʷčiłqʷs.

111. *ƙʷiɬəxʷ tiʔił cədił.*

112. haʔł stubš.

113. bədaʔ ʔə tiʔił.

114. *ƙʷiɬəxʷ* gʷəl ləłčil dxʷʔal tiʔəʔ ʔacəc ʔilgʷił. gʷəl huy łaliltubəxʷ tsiʔəʔ ƙaʔƙaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ cədił studəqs. hay gʷəl huy łəx̌təbəxʷ ʔə tiʔəʔ cədił, łəx̌təbəxʷ ʔə tiʔił xʷčiłqs tiʔił q̓ʷastəduliċəʔ tuɬʔal tiʔəʔ q̓iɬbid dxʷʔal tiʔił ʔalʔal. hikʷ ʔalʔal gʷəstabəs ʔalʔal tiʔił ʔalʔal ʔə tiʔił xʷčiłqs.

115. hikʷ x̌udəxʷuq̓ʷuʔq̓ʷuʔ.

116. huy siʔab.

117. *łalil gʷəl huy qʷibitəb tiʔəʔ ƙaʔƙaʔ, gʷəl hay ʔibəš.* yəhaẇəxʷ liłʔal tiʔił cicəlšaditəbəxʷ ʔə tiʔəʔ q̓ʷastəduliċəʔ, huy *gʷax̌ʷəxʷ əlgʷəʔ.*

118. *gʷax̌ʷəxʷ əlgʷəʔ* ʔə tiʔəʔ shuygʷass.

119. šəšəgʷəlax̌bitəbəxʷ tsiʔəʔ sʔušəbabdxʷ ƙaʔƙaʔ gʷəl ʔux̌ʷtubəxʷ.

120. ləxʷiƙʷicut tiʔəʔ sx̌alabac ʔə tsiʔəʔ ƙaʔƙaʔ. put ləgʷiliċəb.

121. ʔux̌ʷ čubatub tsi ƙaʔƙaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ. huy diłəxʷ tiʔəʔ tusʔəsbəlyiʔs tiʔəʔ ʔacəc xʷayaliwəʔ, bədaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔacəc xʷčiłqʷs.

122. haʔł siʔab sqaqagʷəł tiʔəʔ dəxʷʔaʔilexʷ ʔə tsiʔəʔ ƙaʔƙaʔ.

123. *ʔəshaʔəlbəxʷ tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd, put haʔł qəqil tiʔəʔ dəxʷʔuluł ʔə tsiʔəʔ ƙaʔƙaʔ.*

124. x̌ʷuɬəxʷ tuʔaʔiləxʷ, huy tułəgʷəlbəxʷ ʔə tiʔ ʔacəc tustətudəqs tsiʔił ƙaʔƙaʔ, huy ʔuhuygʷasəxʷ.

125. ʔux̌ʷtubəxʷ ʔə tiʔəʔ dəxʷq̓ʷuʔq̓ʷuʔəxʷ ʔə tiʔił ʔaciłtalbixʷ ʔə tiʔił hikʷ ʔalʔal ʔə tiʔəʔ siʔab dəxʷłčils.

126. huy gʷəl sasaq̓ʷəxʷ tiʔəʔ sʔušʔušəbabdxʷ kiyuuqʷs studəqs.

[109]Those slaves all said now, "That's him! That's him, that's him, that's him, that's him, that's him, that's him, that's him!" The seagulls all said it now, pretending to talk.

[110]So he comes to the shore now, this son of Whyaliwa, Prized Shell. [111]That man comes to the shore.

[112]He is a good man, [113]Prized Shell's son.

[114]He comes to the shore now and gets to the very edge of the water.

And at that moment Crow is brought ashore by those slaves of hers.

And then there is spread out by this man, spread out by Prized Shell, this ceremonial weaving made of rare and costly wools, spread all the way from the canoe clear up to the house; a big house it must have been, the house of Prized Shell: [115]A big place where people could gather, [116]for he was an important man.

[117]They land and then Crow is made ready and then she walks.

She proceeds along the path where the weaving has been made, a carpet for her feet. So now they are walking together. [118]They are walking together, she and this fiance of hers. [119]He took poor, wandering Crow's arm and brought her with him. [120]Crow's dress rustled; it shone.

[121]They went, he brought her up from shore.

So that was who she married, that Whyaliwa, son of Prized Shell, [122]a fine young man of good family at this place that Crow had come to.

[123]*Calm and bright was the world.*
It was a beautiful day at this place that Crow had come to by water.

[124]When she got to the place where Prized Shell's house was, her slaves left her, because she was married now. [125]She was brought into the place where all the people were gathered, the big longhouse of this great man where she had arrived. [126]And then her poor little seagull slaves flew away.

127. dił ti?ə? x̌ʷiqʷəq̓ʷəq̓ʷ ?ə ti?ə? kiyuuqʷs ti?ił dəxʷəsƛ̓ədisəbs ?ə tsi?ə? ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?, dəxʷəshuyuds studəq.

128. ti?ił x̌ʷiqʷəq̓ʷəq̓ʷ gʷəl xʷi? kʷi sha?łs, ?əshuyudəxʷ ƛ̓ub x̌ʷuɬ studəq. dił kiyuuqʷs. dił ti?ə? sx̌ʷiqʷəq̓ʷs. gʷəl ti?ə? səshuys x̌i̓bəč gʷəl dił dəxʷəshuys si?ab ?al ti?ił sgʷa?s x̌əčs ti?ił ?əxʷscutəbs.

129. *hay dił sšać ?ə ti?ił tusbəsc̓istxʷ ?ə tsi ?acəc s?ušəbabdxʷ ƛ̓a?ƛ̓a?.*

130. ?aliləxʷ ti?ə? ?acəc si?i?ab dəxʷhuygʷassəxʷ gʷəl huy łudəxʷq̓ʷu?q̓ʷu?əxʷ, łudəxʷəłədəxʷ ?ə ti?ił ?aciłtalbixʷ; huy huygʷas ti?ə? si?ab bəda? ?ə ti?ə? xʷayaliwə?.

131. dił shuys ti?ił syəhub.

**A Note on Pronunciation and Orthography*

ʔ glottal stop

With the exception of the following, Lushootseed consonants, unless glottalized, sound similar to English consonants:

c "ts" as in mats

ł unvoiced "l"

ƛ̓ glottalized "tl"

x̌ "ch" as in German "ach"

x̌ʷ rounded version of the sound above

xʷ "wh" as in why

q, qʷ like "k" as in king and "qu" as in queen, except the sounds are further back in the mouth

[127]It was the whiteness of the seagulls that was the reason for Crow's attitude, the reason she made them slaves. [128]Their being white and therefore not good for much was the reason they did all right as just slaves. They were seagulls. It was their whiteness.
And her being black it was that made her a great person in her own mind. That was how she thought.

[129]*So that was the end of the wedding of poor, wandering Crow.*

[130]When she got to those noble people at the place where she was married, then the people had reason to get together, they had reason to feast. Thus, the noble son of Whyaliwa got married.

[131]That's the end of this old, old story. [Martha laughs.]

Consonants appearing with apostrophes over them are glottalized.

Lushootseed vowels are pronounced as follows:

a	"ah" as in father
ə	"uh" as in some
i	"ee" as in machine or "ay" as in may
u	"oo" as in tool, long "o" as in hole, or "oo" as in foot

Notes to the Texts

Lines 3-10, English version. The indentations are intended to bring into prominence the concentric organization of this passage. Lines 3 and 11 concern the slave seagulls; lines 4 and 9-10 concern Crow's purpose; and lines 5-8 concern Prized Shell and his son. This figure (ABCBA) may be referred to as a *chiasmus* or *chiastic inclusio*; for a fuller discussion of such figures in the work of Martha Lamont, see Langen 1989-90.

Line 8. Here, Whyaliwa is the name of the son. In Crow's song and later in the story, Whyaliwa is the name of Prized Shell himself. Possibly, Mrs. Lamont misspeaks here.

Lines 12-14. This is a bridge passage carrying the story from its prologue to its first episode. Such passages also separate the episodes throughout the story. In the English version they are centered and italicized to indicate their formulaic content and changed delivery.

A literal translation of the passage would read as follows: "Very good-weathered was the world. Alone now this certain canoe of Crow's was [verb of motion, exact gloss unknown; "ripple" has been suggested]." The interesting question here concerns the meaning of "alone": is Mrs. Lamont saying the canoe was the only thing moving on a calm day or that it was moving by itself without being paddled? In another telling of this story, Mrs. Lamont makes it clear that Crow, like other *si²ab* people long ago, could make the canoe travel without paddlers. In the present version, the chanting delivery seems to suggest this power, but the rest of Crow's portrait at this point seems to indicate that she is not really *si²ab*. Another thing to keep in mind is that all the other bridge passages contain Crow's singing of her song: is it the very song with which she makes the canoe travel?

Line 14. Midway in this line, Mrs. Lamont reverts to ordinary speech. The Lushootseed version shows several instances when the chanting delivery "bleeds" into what is probably unmarked utterance.

Lines 15-21. This is the first of twelve episodes in which hopeful suitors come down to the shore to meet Crow. Each episode is formatted to display the selection and arrangement of the parts of a common underlying pattern.

The event structure of the episodes invites characterization as a group of pairs centered around a refrain:

Pair A:	a suitor comes down to the water, is identified (A)
	he is left by the water or goes up from the shore, is named again (A´)
Pair B:	he is described, praised (B)
	he is insulted (B´)
Pair C:	the seagulls (are commanded to) put in (C)
	they (are commanded to) shove off (C´)
Refrain:	the seagulls cry "*niɬ tə*," it's not him (D)

A complete chronological narration of each episode would be structured ABCDC´B´C´. We never find this pattern perfectly realized in any episode; indeed, part of our pleasure in the storytelling lies in the way the particular realization plays off the generic structure.

Mrs. Lamont typically varies her narration of episodes in one of five ways. (1) She omits one or more elements: her shortest episode, for example, Cougar's suit, contains only A and D. (2) She reduplicates one or more elements so that they encircle another: in Raccoon's episode, for example, B is restated on the other side of C before the storyteller moves on to D.[5] (3) She substitutes one element for another: B´, the insult, for example, may take the place of C´, the order to shove off, as it does in Bear's episode. (4) She varies the order of elements: in Wolf's episode, for instance, the initial sequence is CAB. (5) She inserts intercalary material, such as the description of the seagulls shaking themselves off in Wolf's episode.

The functions of this figuration and the contextualizing role of the prosody, the audible vehicle for the figures, cannot be discussed adequately in a text note, but the formatting of the suitors' episodes is meant to remind the reader of the pervasiveness of figuration in the story and to suggest that the art of repetition was one of the chief skills of storytellers in this tradition. The A and A´elements are flush left on the page; B and B´ are indented five spaces from the left; C and C´, ten spaces; and D, fifteen.

Line 24. Crow's song: One of the resources of Lushootseed is that it accepts the distortion of words as they are used in song lyrics and in the speech of Myth Age characters: syllables may be added or subtracted, stress may wander, and individual consonant and vowel sounds may be transformed. The first line of Crow's song, which is both song and Crow language, is a puzzle. When Marya first heard it, she said it sounded as if it

[5] Raccoon comes down to the water (A), he has his face painted (B), the seagulls put in (C), he is going along painting his face (B), the seagulls all cry "*niɬ tə*" (D).

were about dried salmon being taken upriver. *Kayayəʔ*, which I (and others) have taken to be a song version of *kʾaʔkʾaʔ* ("crow"), could be a song version of *kʾayayəʔ*, "dried salmon;" and *qʾixʷ* has a separate non-song existence as "upriver" or "to the East." As Martha sings, it is hard to hear a difference between *qʾ* and *kʾ*; Bates et al. transcribe the word as *kʾixʷ*, "Myth Age word for [. . .] husband" (1994:121). I have used their definition, but retained the spelling *kayayəʔ*, partly because that is what I hear and partly because it keeps open a level of the story that may be concerned somehow with the circulation of wealth.[6] The story is not necessarily about the circulation of wealth, but it may resound in that direction, as the song words did for Marya.

Line 52. As the Lushootseed text shows, Mrs. Lamont begins the strongly rhythmic delivery she uses on the bridge passages early here, in the last sentence of the episode. From this point on, her delivery increasingly blends bridge passages and episode borders.

Line 94. *dił bəstʾəqxʷ hawəʔ* ("It's just Beaver, for goodness' sake."): In some renderings of the story the bride-to-be is wise enough to see through the pretenses of her suitors, each of whom falsely claims to be the one she is seeking (e.g., Hatch 1940). Each episode demonstrates her powers of discernment. In her diction here, Mrs. Lamont may be referring to this alternate way of telling the story. *Hawəʔ* ("for goodness' sake") may be reminding us that Crow has to rely on her slaves' discernment. In this context, her outrageous rudeness might be seen as an attempt to cover her embarrassment, for in Mrs. Lamont's story, all the suitors seem like honest fellows.

Although the allusion here is not overt, Lushootseed literary records indicate that storytellers often did refer explicitly to stories related to the ones they were telling, as well as to traditional storytelling customs and content.

Line 96. *ʔudxʷƛ̓uqʾʷucutigʷəd*: Many Beaver stories refer to his stomach as noisy or protruberant. In one story (Moses 1993), Beaver uses a cedarbark girdle to get himself into shape when he goes courting.

Lines 114 ff. At this point, as Crow prepares to step ashore, the narration abandons the episode pattern. The narration is punctuated by words that refer to landing, going ashore, moving up from the water, getting to the

[6] See Translator's Introduction to the Story above.

place where people are gathered, and going inside. The disquisition about the seagull's color is framed by two such statements, as are the two descriptions of the woven runner. In this final passage, there are two echoes of the beginning of the story as well. In line 114, the phrase "a big house it must have been, the house of Prized Shell" echoes lines 6 and 7, "a good deal of money he must have had, a good deal of money, the son of Prized Shell." Likewise, line 123, "Calm and bright was the world. It was a beautiful day" echoes line 12, "Utterly calm was the sea"—not only in diction (more evident in the Lushootseed than in the translation), but also in marked (chanted) delivery. In Lushootseed tradition, storytellers bring full circle in this detailed way stories that are thousands, not just hundreds, of lines long.

Line 119. *sʔušəbabdxʷ* ("poor, wandering"): The root of the word is *ʔušəb*, "pity," and it is often translated as "pitiful," with connotations spreading from "poor, without proper upbringing" and "in need of help" to "dear." From this constellation I chose "dear" to mark the affection we and her new husband feel for Crow in spite of herself (poor dear), and I added "wandering" to invoke the part of the spectrum that concerns being in need of instruction, since Crow is in so many ways without a clue.

Line 127. *x̌ʷəqʷəqʼʷ* ("whiteness"): This is a term for color and is never used when referring to "white people."

Commentary on the Story

In the course of transcribing the Crow story from the Metcalf tape, the authors of this commentary often discussed with Marya's family both this story and the version of it told to Thom Hess ten years later. From these discussions there emerged a clear sense of the discrepancy between the storied world of opportunity for Crow in her youth and the remembered hard times women faced in the years when the storyteller and the oldest member of her audience were young. According to what people remembered, it seems that during the early part of this century most women could find their way to a marriage of choice only by breaking up previous marriages, abandoning children, or being left by husbands. The Crow story contests not only the ethnographic record with its appeal to precontact custom, but people's current sense of what their relatives' experiences were. We came to feel that the best audience for the Crow story would come to the account of her bridal entrepreneurship with words such as these

sounding in their ears: "Do you remember when they sold Georgina's grandmother to the man from La Conner?" "Yeah, he give a horse and wagon for her; that was a lot in them days."

In what follows all of the personal names (as well as Georgina's above) are fictitious, except for those of the authors of this article and the storyteller. The passages headed with Marya Moses' name have been edited by her from transcripts of tape-recorded discussions; the passages headed with an asterisk or enclosed within square brackets were drafted by Toby Langen and co-edited with Marya Moses, and the passages headed with her name were written by Toby Langen.

Marya Moses

[Marya Moses married in 1928 at the age of seventeen. Her husband, Walter, came from the Sauk River region, in the mountains, and she went there to live with him and her in-laws. When she arrived there, some young men began to tease her about another marriage, one in which the arrangements had been made by the bride's parents and in which a much older man had taken a young wife from Tulalip.]

I heard them—there were a bunch of young fellows when I first got up there about 66 years ago, 67—they were all laughing, and they said, "I guess we'll have to wait until we're old men before we get a young girl." They said, "How do you like that, them old men get them girls?" Walter was about ten years older than me.

But they were really referring to long ago, before even that time (1928). Maybe over a hundred years ago. The girl would *bayʔsx̌əb* (have her first period) and they'd put her with this old man. Not any man, someone who would be a good provider.

And I said, "Why did they put a young girl with an old man?"

And they said, "To prevent her from going boy-crazy."

Not in our day, now. That was in the old days. They were just kind of joking about it up there. But to go up to Sauk River in those days [1928] was like going back two hundred years. Now, when I got up there, women—my mother-in-law, sisters-in-law— didn't eat at the table with the men; they waited until the men got through. Down here at Tulalip our men treat us equal. You sit with them. So I went and sat with the men at the table. I said to my mother-in-law, "Aren't you going to eat?" But I didn't know. When I did catch on, I said, "I've got a stomach too, not only you folks. And I get hungry too, so I'm going to eat." I wouldn't change.

At gatherings, the women did sit with their husbands. They were called to the table by couples according to rank.

The women didn't look around and talk to the men; they just sat back. Being up there was just like going back two hundred years. Long ago, the girl had no say in her marriage. Now, this didn't apply to every family. It was among the people who had higher standards for themselves. They lived a little bit better, not meaning they came from chiefs, but they were above the average. Now, they would notice a girl when she just *bayˀsx̌əb*. If the girl was trained by the family to be a good worker, to make baskets or cook, and to behave (stay back quietly), then the boy's family would pick a friend of the family who was known for his eloquence to go and speak to the girl's family. This friend would tell them what a fine young man he was, what skills he had, how he could be a help to the girl's family. Then they would offer gifts to that family, a horse or whatever they had. And the girl's family could accept it or reject it. But usually they always felt it was kind of an honor, I imagine, to be selected, so they accepted the gift.

The way they would recognize the marriage would be with a gathering. They would have the couple stand up, and they would feed the people. That's one way.

There are others. Willard tells me that when he took Francine, he built a fire. She was not to accept it right away; she was to kick it and put it out. Then he was to build it again, in front of all those people. That's a different way; I can't really talk on that.

But I think the way they recognized a marriage then was most often a big gathering. They would feed the people—not fancy, just whatever they had: fish, berries, dried berries, dried salmon, deer meat, ducks, clams, according to the season. If there was food left over, they'd distribute it. Ladies would wrap it in whatever cloth they had and take it home.

*

Ten years after telling the Crow story to Leon Metcalf in 1953, Martha Lamont offered a sort of commentary on it in remarks she made on the traditional upbringing of Snohomish children (Lamont 1963). This was only a few days before telling what has been called "The Marriage of Crow" (Lamont 1991), a revision of the Crow story presented here that

takes it from the realm of light satire to the realm of cultural credo.[7] In her remarks on the upbringing of children, Martha Lamont values the arrangement of a good marriage equally with the training of youngsters for the spirit quest as a way for parents to ensure a happy life for their children. Arranged marriages, according to Mrs. Lamont, grow out of a long-standing regard that the parents have had for each other's families, as well as from careful observation of the prospective bride and groom as they have been growing up. Community life makes this careful planning and observation possible. All of these elements of the well-conducted marriage process are missing from "Crow, with Her Seagull Slaves, Looks for a Husband" and yet, despite doing everything wrong (or, as Marya Moses puts it, living as if she were two or three centuries ahead of her time), Crow evidently ends up with the best husband any parents could want for their daughter.

The story, lightheartedly revolving around its central irony of undeserved success, seems to have had great appeal for women of Martha Lamont's generation and of the one following it, the generation of Marya Moses. In the decades around the turn of the century, when Martha Lamont was a young woman, the community structures that made the traditional arrangement of marriages possible had all but broken down. In the late 1920s, when Marya Moses married, the support offered to young people by the system of arranged marriages was no longer readily available. But young married couples without the support of an extended family network were often nonetheless expected—or expected themselves—to carry on as if that network were intact: to be generous and hospitable even though there were only one or two people to provide food, to be patient in the face of a spouse's failings even in the absence of advice or emotional support from older family members, and to take care of however many children came along even though there were fewer and fewer family members available to share in the duties of childcare.[8] The topsy-turvy plotline of the Crow story might well be perceived as alluding to the breakdown of the system without particularly evoking nostalgia. Such allusions may have offered women of Mrs. Lamont's and Mrs. Moses' generations the opportunity to deal with their awareness of this breakdown in an atmosphere free of anger and regret.

---

[7] For a discussion of "The Marriage of Crow," see Bierwert 1991; for a discussion of the differences between versions, see Langen 1995.

[8] For a discussion of the ways these conditions continue to affect marriages, see Suttles and Lane 1990.

The custom of arranged marriages continued in diminished form at Tulalip into the 1950s. The marriages from that era most often discussed today were arranged for men who were having difficulty in their lives. Such arrangements, however, are viewed as unusual solutions. Although widowed or divorced women traditionally were free to choose husbands according to their own inclinations without family approval, men could still ask for them in the same way they asked for young brides. This custom survived at Tulalip well into this century. In the 1950s, Emma, a widow with a grown daughter named Maryanne, was out in the fields picking berries. She saw two men, who had evidently been drinking, making their way toward her: Enoch, who had recently lost his wife, and his friend Roy, a well-known public speaker. They came up to Emma and tried to stand decorously before her, but Enoch kept falling over and had to prop himself up on Roy. Roy said, "My honorable relative has asked me to speak for him. He wants to know if you would consent to become his wife." Emma answered, "You'll have to ask Maryanne"—elegantly invoking a traditional constraint on behavior (the need for family approval of such arrangements) to get herself out of an embarrassing situation.

The traditional literature paints a much darker picture of the effect of constraints on women's behavior. Most often a woman is seen as exercising power over her own destiny only by leaving a bad situation, rather than by being able to avoid it. Susie Sampson Peter's story of the abduction of the dutiful but neglected Sockeye wife comes to mind.[9] Mrs. Peter invokes a traditional motif—the woman who is bathing in a river and looks up to find a strange man sitting on her clothes—and employs it to display a conflict between the neglected wife's injured pride (which prompts her to go with the stranger) and her as yet unwounded pride in her domestic skills and good relations with her in-laws (which prompts her to stay in the marriage). Whatever course of action the woman takes will lead to pain of one kind or another, a circumstance Mrs. Peter's story dramatizes by marking each stage of her disobedience with an icon of her obedience: before she abandons her home, she cleans it up; as she deserts the old people, she worries about who will get their firewood for them now; as she disappears into the woods with the stranger, she rips up a piece of the clothing she is famous for making and drops bits of it along the trail. The story is from the Upper Skagit but examines a knot of interwoven and conflicting themes that surface frequently in Tulalip narratives as well.

---

[9] The story is translated in Hilbert 1985a and discussed in Langen 1992; for a discussion of the kidnapped bather motif, see Langen 1991.

Marya Moses

[When Marya Moses, temporarily defeated by the constraints of life on the Sauk River, returned to Tulalip several years after her marriage, her mother had a story for her.]

Well, Mom kind of cut it short. It's a lesson to some men that don't appreciate a good woman, I imagine.

Well, this man had a woman. He came and got her from somewhere down here, *sx̌ʷəlč*, the salt water, and brought her up there. She must have been up there quite a while, and she was a good homemaker—good cook, could do all that. And after a while he spots a real good-looking girl, I guess. Not only that, he gets her. Then he brings her home and says to this woman, "Well, uh, I've got another woman; I guess you can go home now."

And she said, "*ƛ̓ub, ƛ̓ub*" [all right, fine].

So this woman went around and she started dismantling her house, took the mats—there were mats all around—started taking them down, taking her cooking utensils, took her blankets—because she was a worker. And she came on home.

And after a while, pretty soon that man comes back down there and he asks her to go back, because that young woman couldn't cook. He was hungry, he was cold—no blankets.

And instead of answering him, she just started singing a song: "Am I a salmon, that I should go back up again?" Because she was already up there once and came back.

Mom sang the song. It was in Indian, of course. What do you use, *təyil* [going upriver]? Because the salmon goes up and spawns and then they die and they drift back. But she wasn't a salmon, she wouldn't go up again.

It must have been a couple of generations before my mother, long ago, because they came down in a canoe. During my mother's time they didn't go up and down in a canoe. So that must have been, oh, about two, three hundred years ago. The woman couldn't pack all her mats out, made out of cattails. See, she made a lot of them, and I imagine she'd make baskets, too. That's what they cooked in. She was a woman who could work. Usually, if a man had a brain, he chose that kind of woman. And another thing, if there were a couple of brothers, if one died and his wife was a good worker, the other brother could take her. If she was a good worker, he would.

It must have been long ago: they traveled in the shovel-nosed canoes, so you can see. In Mom's time, when she was a little girl, they traveled on

ʔutxˇs [ocean-going canoe]. *ƛ̓ʼəlayʔ* is a river boat. Now, no one, I think, has ever seen any of that. So you could just judge how long ago that was. It was an old, old story.

*

The information offered here about traditional marriage customs and women's deportment is not intended to be definitive of Lushootseed practice. The value of this information is rather that it records the responses to Martha Lamont's Crow story that came up in the course of several months' discussion within one family group.

There is, as a matter of fact, no definitive study of traditional Lushootseed marriage. Each published ethnography contains information contrary to that provided in another.[10] To a question like "Who gave the marriage feast?" the answer seems to vary from place to place, indicating that no single answer can serve as a standard for the people of the region and that there was no pan-Lushootseed way.

Although we know that there were and continue to be variations in marriage customs among classes within tribes, most of the ethnographic information available concerns upper class families. Marya Moses' information reflects a slightly different point of view. In the literature, Lushootseed society is often schematized as comprising three classes: the *siʔab* people, who held the wealth and power and whose behavior was supposed to reflect the highest moral values; those free people who were not *siʔab*; and slaves. Today the position of one's ancestors within those class divisions still influences the way people are valued within the reservation community at Tulalip, but it is only one of a number of factors that contribute to a person's status. The somewhat changeable nature of "*siʔab*" in the twentieth century may be seen as providing much of the surface fun in the Crow story.[11]

[10] See Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, Smith 1940, Smith 1941, Suttles 1960, Waterman 1973, Collins 1974, Tweddell 1974, Amoss 1978.

[11] For discussions of the changes in attitudes toward status in the post-contact period see Collins 1950, Suttles 1958, and Amoss 1977.

Toby Langen

Even in the context of Tulalip Reservation life, which provides a running commentary on what everyone says and how they say it, Marya Moses stands out as a commentator on discourse in general, especially as it reflects cross-cultural differences, and she is unremittingly self-conscious when it comes to her own speech. In working on this paper, she edited herself stringently, removing from the record of her speech all kinds of idiosyncratic expressions and oral rhetorical structures that I had hoped she would leave. She was annoyed with me for not having wielded the blue pencil on her transcript myself, for, as she pointed out, she as a speaker is not the subject of this paper: Martha Lamont is. However, insofar as her awareness of her own speech affects her performance as a reader of Martha Lamont's story, Marya is interested in going on the record. One of the habits she criticizes most in herself is the way she tends to get off the subject. Since in my view one of the glories of traditional Lushootseed storytelling is the ability to manage artful departures from and returns to topics, I have been especially interested in the way Marya Moses' self-consciousness about this practice in her own speech affects her ability to appreciate the repetition and the circular structuring of discourse in traditional narrative.

The role of the Tulalip Indian Boarding School in shaping the attitudes of its students toward both Lushootseed and English has been the subject of much comment recently at Tulalip as a committee of elders and teachers has worked to incorporate the memories of former students into a tribal history for use in schools. Many people described the education at the Tulalip Indian Boarding School as rendering students inarticulate, as they were prohibited from and punished for speaking their native language. Not only was Lushootseed prohibited, but the English that students learned at home was criticized. Such lessons about voice did not stop when students left the school. When Marya Moses draws attention to the fact that she has digressed from the subject of a conversation, she often refers to the following experience, which took place when she was serving on the Tulalip Tribes Board of Directors, decades after she had left the Tulalip Indian School.

Marya Moses

I don't know what year it was that the Bureau—I think it was the Bureau of Indian Affairs—invited us [tribal officers] to a meeting. We

didn't know at the time what their intention was, that they wanted to see if we were ready to be self-governing. They invited me as the chairman of the Health, Welfare, and Education Committee. Teresa, my daughter, went with me. The meeting was held at Bremerton, I think it was; you had to cross the ferry to get to that place, what would it be—a university or college? There were professors there, real smart men, but we didn't know what we were getting into. They didn't tell us.

As we entered, we signed our names, what tribe we were, the like. There were all different tribes, from Montana, Idaho, Oregon. They separated us: they took one Yakima, one Spokane, one Snohomish, like that; they didn't want two from the same tribe in one group. They gave us a set time: "Now you folks get together and choose a subject. We give you so many minutes. Then from there you pick out a chairman." That was all right.

But I sat beside a woman and the first thing we did was start asking each other, "Where are you from?" And all that while, I guess, that panel from the BIA or whatever, they were monitoring what we were doing. They were watching. Of course, I asked her where she was from, and we got to exchanging addresses. As women, we were introducing ourselves, and that man [chairman of the group] started getting real nervous. He said, "What will be our topic?" He had to give his report.

I spoke on education. I said, "I think the trouble with this education is that the teacher's place is to help those that need it, but it seems like they place the emphasis on the ones who are smart and let these others go. Just on this already smart one they focus attention, and then they pass these others on condition."

Then they closed the meeting. Then we knew now: the professors and all the head people there told how we didn't even know how to conduct ourselves. We started out talking about the weather, or started in on one thing and went way off on another thing. It showed right there we weren't able to take care of business.

I think we proved to them beyond a shadow of a doubt that we weren't ready, because some of the groups couldn't come to any conclusions, couldn't even decide on who should be their chairman or on the problem they wanted to discuss. But anyway we proved that we weren't ready.

Toby Langen

As I listen to this story, it seems that it was the women's insistence on greeting people before starting a meeting that got one group into trouble, that some groups fell into factional disarray (possibly mirroring pre-existing tensions between some tribes and bands), and that other groups came to grief because their discussion took the recursive shape that is typical of much oral discourse, whether in English or in an Indian language. I also hear with amazement Marya Moses' characterization of herself as not ready for self-government at the very time when she was instrumental in securing a reliable water supply for the reservation and in instituting the Head Start program at Tulalip. What is it about those professors that is more convincing to her than the achievements of her own life experience? I can only conclude that criticisms of one's way of speaking are very powerful.

For a number of reasons, then, Marya Moses does not take pleasure in the repetitions and digressions in Martha Lamont's storytelling. The one discussion about such matters that I have on tape followed the narration of the trip to Bremerton quoted above. I tried to suggest that conversations that repeatedly leave and return to a topic may operate as a successful process for consensus decision-making, and I tried to go further and suggest that recursive structures in traditional storytelling may likewise succeed in gathering an audience's attention and commitment. But Marya decisively rejected any kind of similarity between storytelling style and business discussions. (In the passage that follows, I have lettered the paragraphs for ease in referring to them later. Other than the lettering, the passage is an unedited transcription.)

Marya Moses

[A] Now, you're talking on two different things. I think you're applying this repeating over—it's on Indian stories and on your behavior, how you behave at funerals or other times like that: now, that doesn't apply to business. I think you didn't quite understand what I'm saying.

[B] What I'm talking to you about is the Indian way. The old Indians that were illiterate—you know, nothing to go by—told you again and again.

[C] I'm not saying each household did that, because they didn't. Very few people that cared enough to want it, to carry on, did that. Not everyone; there were very few. It's the same way today. How many follow our Indian ways? No one, no one. They think you're nuts.

[CORE] I'm very careful, because they'll take your words and change them around and maybe make fun of you. It's like I could say "Yeah?" [amazement] or "Oh, yeah" [sarcasm], you know, like that, sit here and change your tone. "Is that so?" [curious]; "Is that so!" [sneering], just by the way you say it.

[C´] But on the Indian stories, they told the same story—not all the time, I'm not saying they told it every day, every month, every year, because that didn't happen that way. Just like certain people, not all people, made canoes; just certain people, not all people, were Indian dancers; it's just certain ones. It's a gift to those same people. And usually the family that it went to handed it down, told their children.

[A´] Mom always told us about our conduct at funerals, at different times like that.

[B´] You get tired of hearing about it, but there was no written language to go by, you know, so they told you.

Toby Langen

While denying the usefulness of recursive structures of discourse for the conduct of business, Mrs. Moses here conducts her business in a three-part concentric structure with a pendant:

	[A] repetition of stories, advice on funeral behavior
	{not business; you don't understand}
way in	[B] illiteracy leads to repetition
	[C] only certain people lived a traditional way
	[CORE] changing the meaning of a person's speech by falsifying intonation
	[C´] only certain people had certain gifts
way out	[A´] Mom told us how to behave at funerals
	{You got tired of hearing about it}
	[B´] no written language to go by
	[PENDANT] (not quoted) people today are falsifying the old ways and deliberately misunderstanding advice

A perfect concentric structure would have the shape ABC core C´B´A´, in which the *way out* would be the reverse of the *way in*. But in conversation people often repeat the "way–in" order of some elements, perhaps in this case conceptualizing them as two parts of a single element rather than as

two elements: "illiteracy leads to repetition about behavior" rather than (A´) "repetition about behavior" and (B´) "repetition because of illiteracy." This structure occurs in the rhetoric of traditional storytelling, too, but less frequently than in conversation.

The brackets {} enclose what I term "breaches of frame." Their function is to reach outside the shape of the structure by an appeal to the way the listener is feeling about what is being said; note that here one appeal is to the listener right there in the room and one is to the listener of yesteryear. And note the symmetrical placement of the breaches of frame in the structure as a whole.

Mrs. Moses increases the cohesion of her structure by verbal echo in B and B ("nothing to go by, so they told you again and again": "no written language to go by, you know, so they told you"). Various forms of rhetorical coloring are also employed in C and C´. C uses verbal echo ("very few," "very few") and asks a rhetorical question ("How many?") whose answer is a more extreme form of "very few," "very few" ("no one, no one"). C´ uses parallelism ("every day, every month" and "certain people, not all") to further comment on the concern about "very few" expressed in C.

What looks like a digression in the middle of the structure, the "core" is in fact an introduction to the topic that Mrs. Moses is leading up to and that she takes up in detail at the close of the structure in the pendant: the fact that even the very few traditionalists nowadays are changing the old ways to suit themselves, as evidenced in a catalogue of abuses, chief among which is that they don't listen. In this succession of topics Mrs. Moses may seem to be straying from the subject of repetition's not being suitable for business. But at the end of her catalogue of ways in which young people are changing things she asks, "Now, to come back to it, what was it you didn't understand [note the verbal echo of the first breach of form {you don't understand}] about the repeating? Ask me again." By the time she asks me to ask her again, I know that the pendant's discussion on change and not listening is her way of saying that she feels I am in danger of changing her testimony because I have ideas of my own that prevent me from hearing what she is really saying. The whole structure has been a way of advising me without directly criticizing me, and the message is conveyed by the circularity of her rhetoric, by the words as they are perceived to participate in an aesthetic architecture, not by the words as lexical entities or as constituents of syntactic patterns alone.

I had thought for years that one way back into an appreciation of traditional rhetoric for readers of Lushootseed stories at Tulalip today was to encourage people to value the way they speak their own English. But

recent experience as a teacher of Lushootseed to Snohomish people has shown me that the process works more often the other way around, as my students come to value their own way of speaking English when they see in it reflections of the rhetoric of a traditional storyteller whose language, though "foreign," turns out to be familiar, too. People of Marya Moses' generation, thanks to their Tulalip Indian Boarding School education and their life experience, do not enjoy exploring the connection between traditional rhetoric and their own English. This component of reading traditional stories at Tulalip today is valued more by younger people who have never spoken Lushootseed, but whose English is influenced by the Lushootseed-influenced English of their grandparents and great-grandparents.

Tulalip Reservation
Tulalip Lushootseed Program

References

Amoss 1977 — Pamela T. Amoss. "The Power of Secrecy among the Coast Salish." In *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*. Ed. by Richard Adams and Raymond Fogelson. New York: Academic Press.

Amoss 1978 — _____. *Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bates et al. 1994 — Dawn Bates, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert. *Lushootseed Dictionary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bierwert 1991 — Crisca Bierwert. "The Figure of Speech is Amatory." *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 2nd ser., 3:40-46, 66-79.

Collins 1950 — June M. Collins. "The Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority among the Skagit Indians during the Contact Period." *American Anthropologist,* 52:331-42.

Collins 1974 — _____. *Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Foley 1991 — John Miles Foley. *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Haeberlin and Gunther 1930 — Hermann K. Haeberlin and Erna Gunther. *The Indians of Puget Sound*. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hatch 1940 — Effie V. Hatch (Connie Chiosi). "Significance of the Totems." In *Kla-Ha-Yah, a program for the dedication ceremony for the Totem Entrances on the Tulalip Indian Reservation*. Box 492, National Archives, Seattle.

Hilbert 1985a — Vi Hilbert. *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hilbert 1985b — _____. "Crow and her Seagull Slaves." Transcription of Crow story from Metcalf Reel 38. Unpublished ms. on file at Lushootseed Research, Inc., Seattle.

Hymes 1977 — Dell Hymes. "Discovering Oral Performance and Measured Verse in American Indian Narrative." *New Literary History*, 8:431-57. Rpt. in *"In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Lamont 1953 — Martha Lamont. Tape-recording of story titled "Crow with Her Seagull Slaves Looks for a Husband." Recorded by Leon Metcalf. Reel 38, Metcalf Collection, Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, University of Washington.

Lamont 1963 — _____. *Information on the Training of Snohomish Children*. Tape-recording by Thom Hess, September 5, 1963. Collection of Thom Hess.

Lamont 1991 — _____. "The Marriage of Crow." Trans. by Crisca Bierwert (Hess version). *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 2nd ser., 3:48-65.

Langen 1989-90 — T.C.S. Langen. "The Organization of Thought in Lushootseed (Puget Salish) Literature: Martha Lamont's 'Mink and Changer'." *Multiethnic Literatures of the United States*, 16:77-94.

Langen 1991 — Toby C.S. Langen. "The Type-Scene of the Kidnapped Bather in Lushootseed, Chinook, and Tewa Examples." Paper presented to the Northwest Anthropological Conference, March 29, Missoula, Montana.

Langen 1992 — _____. "Translating the Classical Literature of Native America." In *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*. Ed. by Brian Swann. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. pp. 191-207.

Langen 1995 — _____. "Nostalgia and Ambiguity in Martha Lamont's 'Crow and Her Seagull Slaves.'" In *Memory and Cultural Politics: New Approaches to Ethnic American Literature*. Ed. by Amritjit Singh, Joseph Skerritt, Jr., and Robert Hogan. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Metcalf 1986 — Leon V. Metcalf. Interview. Tape-recorded by Toby Langen, Phoenix, Arizona, April 1986. Collection of Toby Langen.

Moses 1993 — Raymond Moses. "Beaver and Fieldmouse." In *Tulalip History and Culture: Supplementary Class Materials*. Ed. by Ann M. Bates. Marysville, WA: The Tulalip Tribes, the Marysville School District, and Catholic Community Services. p. 9.

Rygg 1977 — Lawrence Rygg. "The Continuation of Upper Class Snohomish Coast Salish Attitudes and Deportment as Seen Through the Life History of a Snohomish Coast Salish Woman [Harriette Shelton Dover]." M.A. thesis, Western Washington University.

Smith 1940 — Marian Smith. *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Smith 1941 — _____. "The Coast Salish of Puget Sound." *American Anthropologist*, 43:197-211.

Snyder 1964 — Sally Snyder. "Society and Its Existential Basis: An Ethno-folkloristic Reconstruction." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.

Suttles 1958 — Wayne Suttles. "Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish." *American Anthropologist*, 60:497-507. Rpt. in Suttles 1987.

Suttles 1960 — _____. "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige Among

the Coast Salish." *American Anthropologist*, 62:295-305. Rpt. in Suttles 1987.

Suttles 1987 _____. *Coast Salish Essays*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Suttles and Lane 1990 Wayne Suttles and Barbara Lane. "Southern Coast Salish." In *Northwest Coast*. Ed. by Wayne Suttles. Handbook of North American Indians, 7. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. pp. 485-502.

Tedlock 1971 Dennis Tedlock. "On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative." *Journal of American Folklore*, 84:114-33. Rpt. and rev. in *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Twedell 1974 Colin Ellidge Tweddell. *A Historical and Ethnological Study of the Snohomish Indian People*. American Indian Ethnohistory. Indians of the Northwest, 2. Ed. by David Horr. New York: Garland Press. pp. 475-694.

Turner 1976 Harriet Turner. "Ethnozoology of the Snoqualmie." Unpublished ms.

Waterman 1973 T.T. Waterman. *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*. Indian Notes and Monographs. New York: Heye Foundation.