

MASK, MYTH AND RITUAL: AN ANALYSIS
OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS ON
THE NORTHWEST COAST

by

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B.A. (Hon.) University of Alberta, 1972

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DATE 2 May 74 DEAN

We accept this thesis as conforming
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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
April, 1974

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ABSTRACT

The relationship of the elements of myth, ritual, and mask among the Kwakiutl is examined to determine their indices and associations. Special attention is paid to the mythological figure Bukwus, the Wild Man of the Woods.

Structural analysis of myth reveals a consistent pattern with a body of five myths; there is a move from disequilibrium to equilibrium achieved by the mediating role of Bukwus. Study of the ceremonial context in which the mythological figure is impersonated indicates that the figure of Bukwus is portrayed in the dance in two separate ceremonies: first, in the celebration which marks the transition from the profane summer season to the sacred winter season, and, second, in the winter ceremonials, which serve primarily to initiate novices into the dance societies. Within the organization of the dance societies Bukwus appears as a member of two distinct groups; in one the dancers are considered to be supernaturally possessed and in the other they are not, although all dances are of supernatural origin.

The analysis of the masks portraying Bukwus is based upon the 36 variables (190 attributes) characterizing the mask, limited to a sample of twenty-six. The frequency of occurrence of each attribute is calculated with a number of specific features being isolated within the sample. A dendrogram and two-dimensional scalogram were generated based on a coefficient of similarity which suggested two clusters of limited strength. It is suggested that the attributes distinguishing

each cluster are based on stylistic variation rather than on the dual nature of Bukwus revealed by the myths and rituals.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my committee--Professor N. Ross Crumrine, Professor Leland H. Donald and Professor Samuel E. Scully for their advice and encouragement. I also appreciate the assistance given me by Peter McNair of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Gloria Cranmer Webster of the Anthropology Museum, University of British Columbia, and Bill Holm of the Thomas Burke Washington State Memorial Museum.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The best basis for ethnological comparisons are collections of specimens and collections of myths.
Boas 1888:194

With Boas' dictum in mind a group of specimens and myths dealing with a mythological figure was assembled. The specimens utilized were masks which function in the ceremonial portrayal of the character. In order to obtain additional information about the masks, the context of their use was also examined. This resulted in an analysis of the ceremonial or ritual configurations. Specifically the mythological figure chosen was the Kwakiutl Bukwus, the Wild Man of the Woods. A sample of twenty-six masks, five myths and the ceremonials portraying this figure will be analyzed in order to determine the kind of relationship that exists between specimens, that is: masks, the ceremonial environment in which they are used, and myths. A general introduction to the Kwakiutl does not seem necessary here in terms of the amount of material which has already been published. The major studies include those by Boas, Curtis, Drucker, Hawthorn, and Olson (see Bibliography for specifics as well as area maps in Appendix H).

Bukwus is a Kwakiutl mythological character who lives in the woods and gathers cockles along the beach. He is thought to be a small manlike being with a powerful whistle. The myths portray Bukwus in diverse ways: he has the ability to fly, to make people crazy, and to bestow his shaman's powers and wealth upon man. He is thought to be the

chief of the ghosts, of those who have drowned. He lures people to his world by tricking them into eating his food, thereby transforming them. One author (Newcombe 1915) has suggested that Bukwus is a being who is part man and part bird; his face has the elements of both, as does his dance.

Bukwus masks are characterized by a heavy brow ridge, deep-set eyes and a hooked beak-like nose. The dance of this figure was performed during two distinct periods of the ceremonial year: the Klasila, or the transition from the secular part of the year to the sacred season in which novices were initiated into dance societies; and the Tsetseka, the sacred part of the year in which the winter ceremonials occurred. Of the dance societies that performed, Bukwus was included in the Atlakim ("taken back into the woods") society and the Dluwalakha ("once more from heaven") society. The former was composed of dancers who were considered supernaturally possessed while the latter was made up of dancers who were not thought to be supernaturally possessed.

The myths dealing with Bukwus portray him as a varied creature. The rituals in which he appears and the masks which represent him seem to be more uniform than the myths. However, the analyses of Bukwus masks, rituals and myths are important not only in understanding the total configuration but also in discovering the meaning of the units and their interconnections.

MYTH AND RITUAL

The relationship between myth and ritual is one of continual anthropological concern and theorizing: is ritual an enactment of

myth, or does myth develop to explain a particular ritual? Boas (1897:663) claims that the explanation of rituals on the Northwest Coast must be supported by the mythology, "that the same ritual is explained by a variety of traditions, we must conclude that in this region at least the ritual is older than the tradition referring to the ritual; that is the former must be considered as primary, the latter as secondary." Susan Reid (n.d.) has examined the Kwakiutl Cannibal myth and ritual and concluded that one is not more important than the other but that the two are interwoven. When the ritual begins, the initiate is taken by the spirit into the woods. During this isolation he is told the initiation myth and thus the myth occurs when the ritual does not. During the break in the ritual proper the initiate is transformed by gaining the power of the spirit. Upon completing the myth and bringing the novice back to his village, the ritual resumes. The initiate then dances before his tribe at the winter ceremonial and is tamed.

After examining the treatment of the myth-ritual relationship in the literature, Klückhohn (1965) suggests that neither myth nor ritual can be viewed as prior to the other. In certain cases myth appears to generate ritual; in others, ritual engenders myth. He concludes that (1965:147):

To a considerable degree, the whole question of the primacy of ceremonial or mythology is as meaningless as all questions of 'the hen or the egg' form. What is really important...is the intricate interdependence of myth (which is one form of ideology) with ritual and many other forms of behavior...

Victor Turner (1967, 1969) has suggested rituals may be examined

in terms of the symbols they contain, or vice versa, symbols should be studied within the context of specific ritual. By symbol Turner means (1967:19) "a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought." Ritual symbols he claims are not univocal but rather multivocal or represent many things at the same time. If ritual may be thought of as a configuration of symbols, then it would appear that Bukwus is a ritual symbol. Bukwus represents many things: a mythological figure with multivariied characteristics, a dancing impersonator with alternate ritual performances, and a mask with varied feature attributes.

The meaning of a symbol may be examined on various levels (Turner 1967:50): those of indigenous interpretation, operational meaning and positional meaning. Utilizing these levels for the data under consideration the indigenous interpretation, the information received from the informant, corresponds to myth. Myths are prose narratives given by the informant and thus conform to indigenous meaning. Operational meaning applies to the way a symbol is used, combining both what is said about a ritual symbol and what is done with it. This level corresponds to the masks for they represent the concrete manifestation of the figure. The positional meaning of a symbol is revealed from its relationship to other symbols in totality. It is suggested that this level corresponds to ritual, for the meaning of the figure is revealed by the ceremonial context in which it occurs. Thus the meaning of Bukwus as a symbol will be examined on the levels specified by Turner, which I suggest correspond to the elements of mask, myth,

and ritual.

Rituals of initiation in addition to having a well-defined liminal phase, have at their heart the sacra (Turner 1967:102) which may be communicated as exhibitions or what is shown, actions or what is done, and instructions or what is said. Masks are part of the exhibition aspect of the ritual and as such recombine features of the environment in unusual ways in order to teach the initiate how to distinguish between the elements of cultural reality. Masks may combine both animal and human attributes in order that the novice think about "objects, persons, relationships, and features of their environment they have hitherto taken for granted" (Turner 1967:105). As we shall see, the evidence indicates that the Bukwus mask combines human and nonhuman attributes.

For example, the relationship between ritual sculpture and myth has been examined by Wescott (1962) for Yoruba art. By analyzing the ritual, myths and praise songs describing Eshu-Elegba, the god of mischief, the elements presented in sculptural form assume meaning. The clusters that emerge from the analysis of the sculptural form and the apparent contradictory nature of the trickster are given meaning by examining the related myths and rituals as well as the cultural values. Wescott (1962:336-337) provides the following cautionary remarks:

Moreover, the student of ritual sculpture must be aware that although myths and songs give the best clues to cult symbols and sculptured forms, the link between the sculpture and the often oblique and elliptical statements in myth, may sometimes have to be provided by him. In linking a statement in myth with what one supposes to be its visual parallel or

iconographic referent in the sculpture, there can be at times an element of the arbitrary--a certain degree of subjectivity--at play.

THE FORM AND STYLE OF NORTHWEST COAST ART

The analysis of masks as ritual objects has been given much less attention in the literature than has the more general area of ritual art objects. The concept of style is integral here. This concept may be conceived of as a consistency in form, qualities and expression in the art of an individual or group (Schapiro 1962:278). Kroeber (1957:30) has qualified this view by suggesting three ingredients: the gross or objective subject matter dealt with, the "concept" of the subject with its emotional aura and value toning, and the specific technical form given the art object by the artist.

Boas (1955) claims that art, traditionally examined by anthropologists, is characterized by a regularity of form and evenness of surface which allow the problem of representation to be solved by the use of symbolic forms. Formal elements of art, such as symmetry, rhythm and the delimitation of form do not account in total for specific styles. Boas (1955:144) suggests:

Representative art is more apt to develop differential features, for in each area symbolic, perspective and wavering representations have peculiar, pronounced characteristics. The principles of symbolic selection and the method of composition help to individualize representative art forms; but, besides these, many formal elements are integral parts of every art style and these give it its most specific character.

Principles of symbolic selection are important in discussing a specific art form, in this instance a mask, for it is these principles which distinguish one mask from another. The formal elements which characterize

a Bukwus mask will be examined in the mask analysis which is based on specific variables. These principles of symbolic selection, that is style, are crucial in developing a framework for Northwest Coast in general, and for the Kwakiutl Bukwus mask in particular.

The representative aspect of Northwest Coast Indian art was characterized by Adam (1936:8-9) as possessing the following principles: (1) stylizing, as contrasted to realistic representations; (2) schematic characterization, or symbolism by emphasizing certain features or adding others; (3) splitting; (4) dislocating the split details; (5) representing one animal by two profiles; (6) symmetry, although exceptions exist; (7) reducing; and, (8) the illogical transformation of details into new representations. These principles indicate representation as discussed by Boas, rather than form of composition is essential in discussing the stylistic basis of art.

Of these principles of representative art, three seem of particular significance in discussing masks. The principle of schematic characterization is primary for it is the emphasis of particular features which separate and typify specific masks. Symmetry is also present in masks, as is the transformation of details into new representations. This transformation results in individual mask variation and, in the mask under analysis, combines and transforms specific attributes. The additional principles stated by Adams above apply more to two-dimensional art forms than to masks.

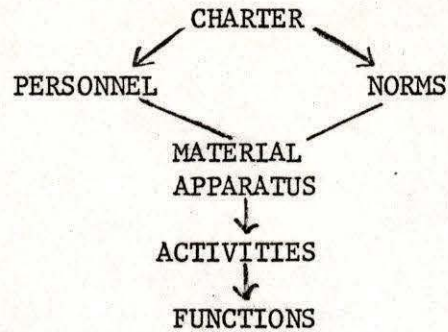
Characteristics of Kwakiutl sculptural style illustrate the way in which various art traditions have manifested themselves, such as the pronounced mouth projection forming a distinct cheek line with the

(forecheek plane, and the eye constructed on a bulge or orb. In terms of the masks to be discussed, Holm (1972:80) says "Taken on its sculptural form alone a typical Kwakiutl humanoid face is characterized by strongly defined planes in the eyesocket and mouth area, with eyes on a pronounced orb." In the Bukwus mask these elaborated planes are indicated by the deep carving of the eyesocket and cheek area, and the strongly pronounced lines carved around the mouth. The eyes are constructed on conical-shaped orbs. In more general terms it is a representative art style based on specific principles of symbolic selection as discussed by Boas and Adam.

Little attention has been paid to the stylistic considerations of Northwest Coast masks. Boas (1890) distinguished two types of masks: dancing masks and masks attached to house-fronts and heraldic columns.) It is the dancing masks which are of particular importance here for they were either clan masks used at potlatches or in winter ceremonials, or secret society masks.) The type of mask under examination here is a Kwakiutl dance mask used in the winter ceremonials.) In terms of the thesis, the mask analysis will be combined with the ceremonial and mythological aspects of Kwakiutl society to achieve an analytic model of the ritual character under examination, Bukwus.

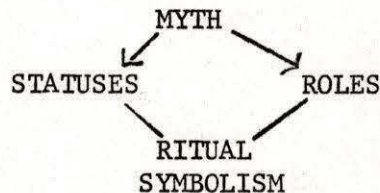
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Malinowski (1944:53) has proposed a model to analyze the "concrete isolates" of organized behavior in which the charter of an institution, that is its purpose, may be examined.



The personnel of the charter includes the organization and structure of the institution; the norms include the technical skills as well as the ethical commands accepted by its members. Malinowski defines the activities of his model as the behavior in which the institutional members engage, and the functions are the results of these activities.

Crumrine (1968) has adapted this model to the area of myth and ritual in which the myth assumes the position of the charter, or:

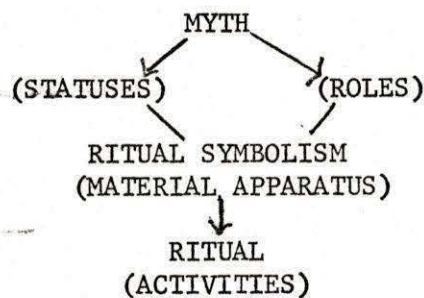


Myth, a story that recounts purportedly historical events to explain how traditions and ritual arose, may account for particular statuses and roles within a cultural group. Traditionally status is the comparative prestige rank within a group based on both rights and duties, while role is the dynamic aspect of the status. Myth provides the structure of the status, or the personnel required as well as the rituals of the status, the necessary roles or activities. The structure

and rituals of status combine to form the symbols of status, or the ritual symbolism. This is in accord with Crumrine's (1968:35) idea that:

The ritual of status (activities) and symbols of status (material apparatus) symbolically communicating the structure of status (personnel) and embodying the norms and charter could be seen as pointing to a logical, as well as a social, structure.

The nature of the data to be analyzed is such that Malinowski's personnel and norms, and Crumrine's statuses and roles are not appropriate. Assuming these elements to be aspects of ritual, the ceremonies in which Bukwus appears have not been documented sufficiently to lend themselves to an analysis based on statuses and roles. Thus, I have synthesized the above models into the following one:



Myth may account for the statuses and roles present in ritual. The symbols that compose ritual are made up of elements in addition to statuses and roles, that is, material apparatus. The ritual symbol is exemplified by the mask, and the way in which the ritual symbol is used is the ritual itself.

This thesis, then, deals (1) with myth, (2) with ritual symbolism, the material apparatus aspect of the ritual, and (3) with ritual, the activity aspect of mask and myth. A structural analysis of myth

indicates the composition of the ritual symbols, the masks, and the ritual, the activities or the ceremonials in which the mythological figure Bukwus is portrayed. Ritual symbolism in terms of the masks used in the portrayal of the figure will be dealt with by focusing on the stylistic features and attributes of the masks.

Chapter II deals with an analysis of the data and the findings. The myths will be examined using both syntagmatic and paradigmatic structural analyses. The physical attributes possessed by Bukwus as revealed in the myths are examined to obtain a general description of the figure. The spirit world of the Kwakiutl is discussed with reference to the dance or secret societies which originate from the spirit world and which are incorporated into the ceremonial year. The role Bukwus plays within the specific dance societies and the time of year in which the dances are performed are discussed. Chapter II concludes with an analysis of twenty-six masks representing Bukwus with an emphasis upon the particular variables and attributes the masks possess.

Chapter III deals with the results of the various kind of analyses performed in the previous chapter. The results of the myth and ritual analyses are listed in table form and presented as Bukwus possessing a mediating role. The results of the masks analysis are discussed in terms of stylistic variation and attribute clusters. The conclusions are discussed in Chapter IV with special attention focused upon the way in which the elements of myth, ritual and masks are related.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND FINDINGS

MYTH

The myths chosen for analysis include those collected by Boas (1935b), Boas and Hunt (1902, 1905) and Newcombe (1915); see Appendix A for the complete set of myths. In discussing the forms of folklore Bascom (1965) differentiated among: (1) folktales or prose narratives regarded as fiction; (2) myths or prose narratives which are considered truthful accounts of events that occurred in the remote past in an earlier or other world; and (3) legends or prose narratives regarded as true accounts of events occurring in the recent past when the world was as it is today. However, in my opinion, the distinction between myth and folktale is rather arbitrary. In fact, Boas argued that there is no clear difference between the two forms of prose narratives. For this reason the terms myth and folktale (or tale) will appear interchangeably. The term Bukwus myth is utilized to refer to any prose narrative dealing with Bukwus.

In the sources examined only five myths focusing on Bukwus were found. It is possible that this collection is not entirely representative of all Bukwus myths, but all the myths available were used. Boas (1966) discusses a chief named Bukwus in his chapter on warfare. Elements from this account will be employed in the discussion of the mythological representation of Bukwus but the accounts will not be treated as myths.

Alan Dundes (Propp 1968:xi) has suggested that there are two types of structural analysis which can be applied to folklore. The syntagmatic structural analysis based on Vladimir Propp's work is concerned with the formal organization of the text as indicated by the chronological order of the linear sequence of elements in the text. Paradigmatic structural analysis concerns itself with the underlying pattern of the text revealed by removing elements from the given order of the text and regrouping them according to a particular analytic scheme. Both forms of structural analysis will be employed in the examination of the corpus of myths.

Syntagmatic Structural Analysis

The methodology of this type of analysis involves the separation of components of the tales and the comparison of these components in order to produce a morphology of the tale. Morphology is defined as "a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole" (Propp 1968:19). The sequence of the action according to Propp is revealed by the functions of its dramatis personae. These functions do not depend on the person who performs them but rather on their place in the narrative sequence of the tale. In other words, functions can be defined according to their consequences.

In his study of the folktale, Propp observed that the number of functions present in the tale are limited. He isolated a total of thirty-one functions. Propp also shows that one function develops out of another one, or may appear in conjunction with a second function. For example, Propp discusses function pairs or twin functions such as an interdiction addressed to the hero (1968:26-27) and a violation of the interdiction

(1968:27-28). The syntagmatic analysis of myth is based on the distinction between form and content; form is the constant, content the variable. Dundes (1962:101) has suggested that Propp's minimal unit of function is related to Kenneth Pike's minimal unit of the feature mode, the emic motif or motifeme. Accordingly, Propp's function may be called a motifeme and a myth or folktale may be defined as a sequence of motifemes. Thus function and motifeme refer to the same concept, an act of a character or dramatis personae which is "defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of action" (Propp 1968:21, emphasis in original).

The application of motifeme patterns to North American Indian folktales has been carried out by Dundes (1964, 1965). He has isolated four structural types of folktales based on the presence, absence and recombination of primary functions. These motifeme patterns include the following:

1. nuclear two motifeme pattern: In this type of myth there is a move from disequilibrium to equilibrium, characterized by a lack (abbreviated L) and the liquidation of that lack, or lack liquidated (LL). Intervening motifemes exist in this pattern. The principal ones are task (or test) (T) and task accomplished (TA), interdiction (I) and violation (V), and deceit (o) and deception (Q). The nuclear two motifeme pattern constitutes a minimum definition of an American Indian folktale (Dundes 1965:208).

2. four motifeme sequence: This pattern of myth is characterized by an interdiction (I), which may be implicit or explicit, violation (V) of the interdiction, consequence (C) and attempted escape (AE) from the consequence. The attempted escape is an optional structural slot and an

explanatory motif (EM) may be utilized as a terminal marker.

3. nuclear two motifeme pattern with intervening motifeme: The sequence of this myth type includes lack (L), deceit (o), deception (Q) and lack liquidated (LL).

4. six motifeme combination: This type of myth is structured by a lack (L), lack liquidated (LL), interdiction (I), violation (V), consequence (C) and attempted escape (AE).

In folktales where there is no initial lack given, for example, the four motifeme sequence outlined above, a sequence of motifemes may cause a state of lack. Or, "On the basis of structural analysis, one might say that in any tale which begins with an initial lack, it is theoretically possible for that tale to begin with an interdiction whose violation causes the lack" (Dundes 1965:210-211, emphasis in original).

It was found that the specific thirty-one folktale functions listed by Propp (1968) were too categorical and limiting to be of direct application to the data at hand. Dundes' motifeme patterns are more appropriate to both the context and geographic setting of the myths. Thus, elements from both Propp and Dundes can be applied to the data. The results are shown in Table 1, page 21. The column titled "Move" lists those functions listed chronologically, or the motifemes present in each myth. The myths are reprinted in Appendix A.

Myth number 1 tells of a winter dance the animals are having: the wolf, wolverene, black bear, and their chief Bukwus. After various dances and acts are performed Bukwus speaks to the gathering about the "ways of the other men," that is, the ways of humans. He advises the animals to remain without structure, not to assemble but rather "just scatter over

this world" leaving it to those who will replace them, man. The first move of the myth establishes the initial situation, the setting and the participants of the story. The remaining motifs deal with the move from disequilibrium, suggested by the lack of plan and direction shown by the animals, to equilibrium implied in the advice given by the chief Bukwus. The myth ends in an explanatory motif, "This will be the story of those who will take our place," indicating a terminal marker. The syntagmatic structural analysis of this myth then consists of a lack and the liquidation of that lack, with the first and final move consisting of the establishing of an initial situation and an explanatory motif respectively.

Myth number 2 deals with children (four brothers and two sisters) who are sent to the beach to gather clams for a feast their father is to give. In Dundes' terms then the lack is explicit in food for a potlatch and implicit perhaps in nontangible goods to be used at a feast and winter dance. After the children have departed (B) they see a strange looking man on the beach whose appearance alarms them. After several tries they establish contact with the man who refuses to join them or to reveal his identity. This move is *deçait* (o) and corresponds to Propp's (1968:60) twenty-third function of the unrecognized arrival. One night the strange man enters the children's house: "They cannot make out who the man is because he keeps his arms in front of his face. They keep asking him who he is but get no reply or sound of any kind, so the brothers go up to shake him." The man then identifies himself as Bukwus, corresponding to Propp's (1968:62) function of recognition (Q). The sixth move is that of liquidation of the lack initially established; Bukwus gives the children

his power (LL). An explanatory motif ends the myth telling of the significance of the Bukwus mask and dance: "The son or near relative of the owner dances and when the owner gives a feast, the above story is recited telling how the mask was acquired and what it means." This myth corresponds to Dundes' nuclear two motifeme pattern with the intervening motifemes of deceit and deception.

Myth number 3 tells of the relationship between a chief and Bukwus. The initial situation establishes the woods as the setting. The lack is revealed by the chief's mood: "he felt downcast." The chief departs (B) for the woods to kill himself. One morning, after days of travelling, he wakes up to find a Bukwus child sitting on the edge of his blanket. The interdiction and violation occur as one function (IV) and are expressed as follows: "Ye'madzas bit the end of his tongue, and spit the blood on the body of the woodmanchild." The interdiction is implicit in the motifeme: interference with the power of a supernatural being especially through the letting and use of blood. The consequence of the violation of the interdiction is immediate, the Bukwus child loses his power. The chief then carries the child home, who grows up and becomes wild. The chief's lack is liquidated by his having the Bukwus child for his own. When Bukwus returns to his wild state, the menstrual blood of a virgin is rubbed on him, causing him to disappear (an escape from the consequence of being rendered powerless when a child and raised as a human child). The explanatory motif, function VIII, is the terminal function of the myth.

Myth number 4 establishes the initial situation when a hunter is hurt by a falling log. The interdiction is suggested in a dream the

hunter has in which he learns that a supernatural animal must not be killed. The hunter finds a land otter with a human head and kills it; thereby violating the interdiction. Upon awakening the hunter is afraid to enter his house because of contaminating influences (the consequence - C). He attempts an escape by travelling in his canoe for eight days. Afterwards he goes hunting but is unsuccessful thereby introducing a lack (motifeme VI) into the myth sequence. Before the lack is dissolved he is confronted by Bukwus, shoots, and kills him. The interdiction posed here is of the same type as the first one (motifeme II) in this myth, that of killing a supernatural being (violation - Bukwus' death). Nevertheless the consequence is completed and the lack liquidated (motifeme IX) by the hunter losing the shaman's power given him because (in the function of the explanatory motif) "He lost his power and became secular because during this time he had many children born to him." Thus the hunter loses his shaman's power because he had many children and the grandfather loses his wealth because his wife sees the body of Bukwus. The syntagmatic structural analysis of this myth reveals a modification of Dundes' six motifeme pattern in that the lack and lack liquidation occur in the middle of the function sequence both preceded and followed by a pattern of interdiction, violation, consequence and attempted escape.

Myth number 5 is presented in two sections. Because it is one myth with a natural break, the writer has chosen to discuss the syntagmatic structural analysis of the myth in two parts, a and b. The paradigmatic structural analysis also supports this division.

Myth 5 a begins with the initial situation (↔) in establishing the actors and the setting. Calling-Tribes, a princess, has a lover named

Property-Body. One night he decides not to visit her as usual (B), and that night Bukwus appears in the form of Property-Body (deceit, function III) and takes Calling-Tribes to his village. On the second day she realizes it is not her lover (deception, function IV) for "the man (Bukwus) spoke angrily to her as soon as they entered the house." Bukwus then tells her that he is chief of the Wood Men, and that his home is the country of the ghosts, or those who drowned. On the fourth day, a lack is introduced (function V) in the form of food. Bukwus obtains halibut for Calling-Tribes but she refuses to eat until she eats his food. She eats the salmon he offers her which is actually not salmon but rotted hemlock trees. The food lack is thereby eliminated (motifeme VI) and the explanatory motif reveals the importance of this action and therefore its link to the second part of the myth.

Now she was caught by her husband, for she had eaten the roasted salmon of the Wood-Man. What the Wood-Man referred to as roasted (salmon) was rotten wood. It is just like roasted (salmon) to those whom the Wood-Man tries to make foolish. Now we will finish this story, and we will tell how this is known by the people of our world (Boas and Hunt 1902:255, Appendix A).

Myth 5b begins with an initial situation in which Made-to-be-Hunter, who is from the same village as Calling-Tribes, becomes lost in a storm and is stranded on a beach. That night Bukwus appears, stares at him, and then disappears. Calling-Tribes warns Made-to-be-Hunter of Bukwus and his ways of capture. The lack (L) function of the myth stems from Made-to-be-Hunter's being lost and his attempts to challenge Bukwus with the assistance of Calling-Tribes. The lack is liquidated by a series of tasks or tests (T) and tasks-accomplished (TA). The first three tasks are similar in nature (motifemes III, IV, and V): Bukwus' attendants

give Made-to-be-Hunter salmon to eat, but following Calling-Tribes' directions, he only pretends to eat it and later throws it on the fire where upon the salmon turns into a rotten log and the salmon skin changes to frogs and lizards. Functions VI, VII and VIII are also tests, and take the following form: Made-to-be-Hunter is warned by Calling-Tribes that relatives of his will arrive and that he is to expose them by (a) taking their paddles and putting them over the fire, whereupon they turn into minks and martens (motifeme VI) or into minks (motifeme VII) and can be killed; by (b) sprinkling people with urine whereupon they turn into land otters (motifeme VI and VII) and can be killed; and by (c) putting a knife through the canoe whereupon it turns into a skate (motifeme VI) or a sea lion (motifeme VII) and swims away. In the final test (motifeme VIII) Made-to-be-Hunter follows the advice given him by Calling-Tribes and finds that the paddles when placed over the fire only burn, his family when sprinkled with urine only ask for more with which to wash themselves, and a knife when put through the canoe shows it is only cedar wood. With this final test and test accomplished the lack is removed (motifeme IX) and Made-to-be-Hunter and his family escape. In the explanatory motif, Made-to-be-Hunter and his family have a winter dance where the hunter performs the Bukwus dance.

In terms of Dundes' patterns, myth 5a consists of four motifeme sequence (IV to VII) composed of actions different from those specified by Dundes. A form of deceit, deception, lack, and liquidation of the lack is revealed in myth 5a whereas Dundes' four motifeme sequence consists of interdiction, violation, consequence and attempted escape. Myth 5b shows the nuclear two motifeme pattern with a series of intervening motifemes,

Myth No.	Move	∞	L	B	o	Q	T	TA	I	V	C	AE	LL	EM
5b	I	∞												
	II		L											
	III						T	TA						
	IV						T	TA						
	V						T	TA						
	VI						T	TA						
	VII						T	TA						
	VIII						T	TA						
	IX											LL		
	X												EM	

Abbreviations

∞	initial situation
B	absentation
L	lack
o	deceit (or unrecognized arrival)
Q	deception (or recognition)
T	test or task
TA	test or task accomplished
I	interdiction (implicit)
V	violation (explicit)
C	consequence
AE	attempted escape (or disappearance)
LL	lack liquidated
EM	explanatory motif

that of task and task accomplished.

The syntagmatic structural analysis shown in Table I and discussed in the preceding pages indicates several consistent motifemes or functions. All the myths possess an initial situation (∞) wherein the spatial dimension of the myth is defined, we are informed of the identity of the central figure or figures, and an indication of the activity to be performed is specified. The absention (or departure) function does not appear in all the myths but where it does, it occurs after a lack has been established. The interdiction function was found to be implicit in all the myths examined, whereas the violation of the interdiction was always explicit. The move from disequilibrium to equilibrium which is characteristic of all the myths analyzed is achieved through the liquidation of a particular lack. Although there may be intervening motifeme patterns, the pattern of lack and lack liquidated are characteristic of this particular set of myths. As I shall show in the following section, the move from imbalance to balance is directly related to the role Bukwus portrays in the myths.

Paradigmatic Structural Analysis

While syntagmatic analysis has shown itself to be of a linear formulation, paradigmatic structural analysis is non-linear and as Lévi-Strauss has revealed is concerned with the resolution of binary opposites. According to this model (Lévi-Strauss 1963:206), myth is composed of constituent units which may be analyzed on levels such as phonemes and morphemes but at the same time they belong to a more complex order.

Thus the specific character of mythological time, which as we have seen is both reversible and non-reversible, synchronic and diachronic, remains unaccounted for. From

this springs a new hypothesis, which constitutes the very core of our argument: the true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning. (Lévi-Strauss 1963:207).

The bundles of contradictions and their mediators form the real theme of a myth as opposed to its seeming content. The myth is read diachronically, as a sequence of events through time but it is understood only if the sequences are cognitively reorganized into bundles and read synchronically (see Reid n.d.).

Paradigmatic analysis is revealed by the formula suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1963:225) which resolves binary opposition through a mediating process,

$$F_x(a) : F_y(b) :: F_x(b) : F_{a-1}(y)$$

In this formula (a) is the first term which expresses a dynamic element specified by a function F_x and (b) is the mediator. The second function F_y is opposed to the first one, F_x and specifies the mediator in its first incidence, $F_y(b)$. The mediator (b) is alternately specified by both functions and can thus mediate opposites (Maranda and Maranda 1971:26). Lévi-Strauss' formula "implies a permutation of roles or functions and or terms, since (a), which is given as a term, becomes, once inverted, a^{-1} , a sign of function, and y, which is given as a sign of function, becomes (y), i.e., a term which is the final outcome of the process" (Maranda and Maranda 1971:26). The Marandas suggest that the last function, $F_{a-1}(y)$ is the end of the process of mediation (1971:27).

Lévi-Strauss' formula was applied to the myths under examination in a manner similar to that of the syntagmatic analysis. The results of this analysis are listed in Figure 1.

Myth No.	$F_x(a)$:	$F_y(b)$::	$F_x(b)$:	$F_{a-1}(y)$
1	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{animals})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus})$:	$F_{\text{humans}}(\text{supernature})$
2	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{children})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus})$:	$F_{\text{adults}}(\text{supernature})$
3	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{chief})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus})$:	$F_{\text{chief's}}(\text{supernature})$ tribe
4	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{hunter})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus})$:	$F_{\text{hunter's}}(\text{supernature})$ family
5a	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Calling-Tribes})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus})$:	$F_{\text{"captured"}}(\text{supernature})$ Calling-Tribes
5b	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Made-to-be-Hunter})$:	$F_{\text{supernature}}(\text{Bukwus \& Calling-Tribes})$::	$F_{\text{nature}}(\text{Bukwus \& Calling-Tribes})$:	$F_{\text{Made-to-be-Hunter and his family}}(\text{supernature})$

FIGURE 1. PARADIGMATIC STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF MYTH

The following values are assigned to the two terms (a) and (b) and the functions (x) and (y) of the formula:

- x = nature, the original state of being which may be characterized by an absence of power
- y = supernature, the higher state of being which may be characterized by the possession of power
- a = role of those who undergo transformation
- a^{-1} = the change (usually expansion) of the human role or (a)
- b = role of mediator: Bukwus

The formula for myth number 1 now reads: the nature "F" of the animals: supernature "F" of Bukwus, showing his strength by using the double-headed serpent as a belt :: nature "F" of Bukwus, giving advice to the animals based on comparisons with humans : man's "F" supernature, being allowed to assemble but in the imitative light of the animals. The natural function $F_x(a)$ of the myth is characterized by an absence of power; the animals lack tribal organization. The natural function $F_x(b)$ is expressed by Bukwus advising the animals to scatter. The supernatural functions $F_y(b)$ and $F_{a^{-1}}(y)$ are characterized by the possession of power: Bukwus shows his strength by wearing the belt and man obtains power from organization and inheritance of the animal world. The role of the mediator Bukwus is that between the animals on the one hand who are advised to scatter and reject structure, and man on the other who is criticized.

"He (Bukwus) struck at their character as a tribe." but who will inherit the "sacred room" of the animals (see Figure 1.1).

Turning to myth number 2 (Figure 1.2) Lévi-Strauss' formula would read: the nature "F" of the children, their gathering food along the beach : supernature "F" of Bukwus, his "odd-looking" appearance, his use of "strange noises," and his knack of being able to throw anything at a person and kill him immediately :: natural actions of Bukwus, giving

names and wealth to the children : people of ceremonial age "F" of supernatural abilities, having "all the power of Bukwus," as well as his song, dance and mask. The role of Bukwus mediates the nature/supernature dichotomy. By taking on aspects of both the supernatural and the human Bukwus is able to bestow supernatural powers on man, thus resulting in man possessing the power and ability of the mediator. Through the intervention of the mediator man is transformed: he possesses qualities both of the natural and of the supernatural.

Figure 1.3 myth number 3 reads: the nature "F" of the chief who is depressed : supernature "F" of Bukwus, as a child, blood from the chief's tongue results in loss of power and upon returning to the village songs and dances are performed : : nature "F" of Bukwus, he grows up as a human child and becomes wild as an adult : chief's people "F" of a supernatural act, rubbing the body of the Bukwus adult with the menstrual blood of a virgin resulting in the disappearance of Bukwus and by extension the protection of the tribe. Bukwus mediates between the natural and supernatural by possessing attributes of both realms; his natural power and influence must be appeased through the performance of songs and dances and yet the human attribute of aging, growing from a child to a man, results in a reversal to the supernatural, to gaining power for he becomes wild again. In the same sense that the power of Bukwus as a child had to be pacified and the tribe had to ensure protection by performing a particular ceremony, the tribe must also perform a ceremony (rubbing virgin's menstrual blood on Bukwus) to protect itself from Bukwus' force.

The formula for myth number 4 (Figure 1.4) reads: the nature "F" of the hunter, having an accident : supernatural function of Bukwus, his

movement gives off the sound of sparks and his appearance causes the hunter to be paralyzed with fear : : nature "F" of Bukwus, he is killed by the hunter : hunter's family supernature "F" of obtaining wealth and shaman's powers. The natural state is characterized by an absence of power on the part of both the hunter and Bukwus; the supernatural state is characterized by the expression of power Bukwus possesses and the power the hunter and his grandfather are given. Bukwus as mediator acts as both a supernatural by giving wealth and power to man and then taking his gifts away from man because he abuses them, and as a man (similar to Figure 1.3) in that he is mortal.

In the same manner as the syntagmatic analysis of myth number 5, paradigmatic analysis will be offered for the myth in two parts. Turning to myth 5a (Figure 1.5a) the formula reads: the natural state of Calling-Tribes, living in the human world and having a lover : supernatural state of Bukwus, assuming the disguise of Calling-Tribes' lover and tricking her into eating Bukwus' food : : natural state of Bukwus, taking Calling-Tribes as his wife, living as chief of the dead : "captured" Calling-Tribes "F" in a supernatural state, captured in the sense of having eaten Bukwus' food, he possesses her heart, and supernatural in that she now has the knowledge of Bukwus' action in the second part of the myth. The (y) function of the myth is characterized by the possession of power; Bukwus possesses power as a chief of the dead and Calling-Tribes obtains power from eating Bukwus' food.

The second part of myth number 5, 5b (see Figure 1.5b) has a double mediating role, that of Bukwus and of Calling-Tribes. The formula reads: the nature "F" of Made-to-be-Hunter, outsmarting Bukwus by not eating his food : supernatural actions of Bukwus (he tries to trick Made-to-be-

Hunter by various tests), and the supernatural actions of Calling-Tribes, she has knowledge of and tells Made-to-be-Hunter of Bukwus' plans : : nature "F" of Bukwus, he is outwitted by Made-to-be-Hunter because of his wife Calling-Tribes' intervention and the actions of Calling-Tribes for she interferences and saves Made-to-be-Hunter and his family for he escapes and obtains Bukwus' powers. Thus both Bukwus and Calling-Tribes play the role of mediator in the second part of this myth. In separate and distinct ways they mediate between the functions of nature and supernature with the resulting action that Made-to-be-Hunter escapes from the supernatural realm, the "land of the ghosts" but at the same time returns to the human world with an aspect of the nonhuman world, Bukwus' dance.

The paradigmatic structural analysis of the myths examined in the above section has shown that the functions of the Lévi-Strauss formula employed are those of nature or the absence of power (x) and supernature or the presence of power (y). The role of those who undergo change through the functions (a) is usually that of a singular entity who after the change or transformation (a^{-1}) becomes an expanded entity; for example, in myth number 3 the role of the chief is expanded to that of the chief's tribe. The role of the mediator in all the myths is assumed by Bukwus except in myth 5b where both Bukwus and Calling-Tribes share the mediating position. As mediator, Bukwus both separates and joins "conflicting" ideas since by definition the mediator role contains elements found in neither of the conflicting ideas (see Freilich 1973:21). The role of this mediator in all the myths results in a change both in the role of the actor (a) and the function (from x to y) which he performs. The actor is changed by the intervention of the mediator as he is given

an element of power and of the supernatural.

Both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic structural analyses of the myths show a move from lack or disequilibrium to equilibrium. Syntagmatically, the move is from a lack to the liquidation of that lack through a series of functions initiated by the presence or direct intervention of Bukwus. Paradigmatically the move is from the natural function where power is absent to the supernatural one where power is present initiated by the mediation of Bukwus. Bukwus manifests natural and supernatural qualities; he mediates between the possession of power and the absence of power. Both forms of structural analyses show then, in a different form and based on different assumptions, the role of Bukwus as an intermediary.

Mythological Representation

Of the components of a folktale discussed by Propp, one very important one is the function of the dramatis personae. In part this function may be discerned by examining the ways in which the actors are presented: special attention is to be paid to character attributes such as sex, age, external appearance, etc. Propp (1968:88) claims that character attributes can be studied under three basic categories: external appearance and nomenclature, the particularities of introduction into the narrative, and the dwelling place. A study of the myths reveals the following attributes possessed by Bukwus.

The external appearance of Bukwus is given little attention in the myths. He is described as an "odd-looking man" (M3) and his appearance (M5) almost paralyzes a hunter who recovers by chewing tobacco. In the same myth (M5) when the hunter's grandfather takes the dead body of Bukwus to his house it appears "like that of a human being with a little, thin face."

It is not clear from the text of myth number 5 whether the following reference is one of a sexual nature or rather a body description. But the latter seems more likely since those dealing with subjects pertaining to sex were written by Boas in Latin and this material appears in English. The description reads "When he (Bukwus) had finished speaking, he lay down with his wife. It was only wonderful that the body of the Wood-Man was cold, just like ice, for he was indeed a dead person." A feature to which specific reference is made was Bukwus' nose for he is described (M3) as having "a hooked nose."

Bukwus is shown to be capable of disguise (M5a) when he presents himself as Property-Body, Calling-Tribes' lover. He is also able to disguise his voice: "Right away a man answered her, and Calling-Tribes recognized it was the voice of Property-Body, who was speaking. The issue of voice is an interesting one for in other myths Bukwus is said to make a "strange noise" or "queer noises" (M2) and he cries "just like a whistle" (M3). The children in myth number 2 identify Bukwus by the "squeaky noise of the whistle" and in the same myth he speaks to them only after he has been threatened. The whistle/voice dichotomy may correspond to the nature/supernature aspect of Bukwus as mediator. He uses the whistle sound as a method of identification; the children (M2) know that they are dealing with a supernatural being because of the whistle noise. When Bukwus enters the children's house at night one of the sisters wakes up and thinking the man to be her brother asks him why he is up so late. "The man did not answer. The woman reached her leg out of bed and kicked him. Then the squeaky noise of the whistle was heard, and she finds out that this is the strange man." Bukwus uses his voice only

after he has established contact with the children (with culture) and he then uses it to tell the children he is going to give them his power.

An additional area of the sonic factor is mentioned in myth number 4,

"Whenever the woodman moved, it sounded like the crackling of sparks."

In the ceremonial portrayal, Bukwus uses a double whistle where the "two voices produced contrast in pitch and quality, one being a clear flute-like note and the other a buzzing or squealing tone" (Holm 1972:24).

Newcombe (1915:2) suggests that the double whistle used in the Bukwus dance represents the dual nature of Bukwus in which the single note represents the sound of the man and the shrill double note that of the bird.

Bukwus' powers are referred to in the myths either in the context of identifying him as a supernatural entity or as giving these powers to man. In the first myth he performs for the other animals by taking the double-headed serpent, sisiutl, and putting it on as a belt. Sisiutl is a Kwakiutl mythological character who was the war spirit Winalagilis' assistant. With the body section represented by a face, it could bring immediate death by its glance, and an enemy who looked at it could be turned to stone with his joints turned backward (Hawthorn 1967:133).

Bukwus' power is expressed in the second myth as the ability to throw anything at a person thereby bringing instant death. In addition to this "he could fly and make people lose their strength and go crazy whenever he wished." His powers are also beneficial to man, as suggested in myth number 4 when he makes the hunter's grandfather wealthy and gives the hunter shaman's curing powers.

The malevolent attributes possessed by Bukwus are mentioned by Boas

(1966:106) in a discussion of warfare. The story is told of a chief named Bukwus who was insulted by a man touching his head wound. The chief obtained revenge by cutting off the arm of the man who had touched him. In discussing how men became warriors, Boas (1966:107) gives account of the warriors eating a grizzly bear's heart and rubbing their faces with its blood. Toenails of dead individuals were suspended from necklaces worn by the warriors, and it was claimed that these nails belonged to Bukwus.

Bukwus lives in what is described succinctly as a "pretty place" (M5b), although Calling-Tribes describes his home as "the country of all those who die in the water when their canoes capsize. ... This is the place to which their souls come." His house is habitable only at night (M5a) for during the day it disappears.

Bukwus has been described in other sources as a small man with long hair covering his body, able to leap over men's heads (BCFM 1973). Newcombe (1915) in addition to collecting one of the myths (M2) associated with a specific mask (Appendix B, mask number 1) described Bukwus as a mythological being with half human and half bird characteristics; "To the man belong most of the face, the hair and the beard; to the bird, the hooked nose and feathers on the head; what kind of bird was intended is not known" (Newcombe 1915:2). We shall see when the Bukwus masks are examined that this duality does not seem to be present, although a duality is suggested by the myths. A more general description, and one which is suggested by the myths is given by Bill Holm (1972:36):

The Bukwus is thought of as a sometimes malevolent manlike being, a chief of the ghosts, whose habit it is to lure unsuspecting travelers into eating the food of the Bukwus thereby transforming them into beings like himself, or to take the spirits of drowned people into his retinue. Some present-day Kwakiutl believe that the Bukwus, like the Dzoonokwa, still inhabits the wild stretches of the British Columbia coast and can occasionally be seen very early in the morning prowling the beaches in search of cockles, which he prefers to all other food eaten by humans.

THE SPIRIT WORLD AND CEREMONIALS

In the early days of the ancestral people of the myths, birds, men, animals, and fish lived in their own worlds, occasionally entering those of the others. Differing from each other only in covering, they could, and did, doff at will their cloaks of skin, feathers, or fur. (Hawthorn 1967:19)

The following section deals with the structure of the world according to Kwakiutl mythology and the manner in which these divisions were reflected in the social organization. The secret or dance societies generated are important for our purposes since Bukwus was a member of the societies that performed during the ceremonial year.

The Kwakiutl recognized several worlds other than the one they inhabited; their own world in mythical times had been the home of legendary figures who were later transformed into animals. The upper world contained the sun, moon and stars as well as supernatural beings, such as Thunderbird and his younger brothers. The upper world was separated from the Kwakiutl world by a high mountain and the passage to the upper world ran beneath the sea and up through the center of the mountain. In the world beneath the ocean lived the

salmon chief and other supernatural beings. Animals who were counterparts of the earth people lived here such as Sea Raven and Sea Bear. "All of these were ruled over by Komokwa, chief of the undersea people, who lived in a great and wealthy house guarded by sea monsters. "And there were others, some of them so huge that, when they rose up from the sea, the waters became shallow and swirled in tidal races" (Hawthorn 1967:19). Ghosts inhabited the underground where they lived in villages similar to those of man and held winter ceremonials much in the same way as man. The underworld was an inversion of the Kwakiutl world, for when it was daytime on earth it was night time in the underworld.

It was generally accepted that the daily life of the Kwakiutl and his control over his situation depended on the intervention of a supernatural being (Drucker 1955:158) to which he constantly had to offer forgiveness. "Supernatural beings were not omnipotent and, in case of conflict between them and humans, could be tested if the humans were themselves equipped with sufficient supernatural power" (BCHS n.d.:34). "One individual granted sufficient power was the shaman whose most important function was that of curing which consisted of summoning the "spirit helper of helpers, usually by singing their songs and dancing, until the supernatural assistant bestowed the power to extract the disease object, find the strayed soul, or remove the contamination" (Drucker 1955:160).

Families traced their descent from a mythical ancestor who descended from heaven, arose from the underworld, or came up out of

the ocean and who gave special powers and privileges to them. These rights included certain dances and songs and the claim to particular crest forms. The descendants of the mythical ancestors grouped themselves into secret societies based on the privileges obtained. During the winter season ceremonies were performed which represented the origin and the acquisition of these supernatural abilities. Boas (1940:383) suggested that the actual origin of the secret societies was in warfare:

First of all, the deity Winalagilis is considered the bringer of the ceremonial. The name means "the one who makes war in the whole world", and he rules the mind of man at the time of war as well as during the period of activity of the secret societies. For this reason, also, the secret societies are in action during times of war, in winter as well as in summer. All the oldest songs of these societies have reference to war; the cannibal, the bear dancer, and the fool dancer, are considered as chief warriors, and they fall into ecstasies as soon as they have killed an enemy. All this seems to indicate that the origin of secret societies has a close connection with warfare.

In discussing the growth of the secret societies Boas (1897: 660-664) suggests that the ritual is older than the tradition referring to the ritual. This results in the ritual as primary and the tradition referring to it, the myth, as secondary. Loeb (1929:276-277) on the other hand links secret societies with shamanism and privileges owned by sibs (extended lineage groups). The shaman's spirits became part of "sib property" and thus initiation into the secret societies resulted in obtaining "sib privileges by means of being possessed by the sib spirits".

Boas' term "secret societies" applies to a "group of people who by virtue of a dance performance are admitted to witness any of

the esoteric dances grouped together into a ritual system" (Drucker 1940:201). Drucker (1940:201), Hawthorn (1967:46) and Olson (1954:239) suggest that the term "dancing societies or orders" might be more appropriate for this unit. Olson (1954:239) states that the secret societies are not secret organizations but merely dances, "the only 'secrets' are those which involve a magical trick as one feature in some of the dances and the fact that the whistles and horns are, to the uninitiated, the voices or breathings of the spirit". The main secret or dancing societies were the following (Hawthorn 1967, Drucker 1940 and Boas 1897):

1. Hamatsa society, under the supernatural direction of Bakbakwalanooksiwae ("the first one to eat man at the mouth of the river") represented in the dance by persons such as the Hamatsa, the cannibal dancer and the Noonsistahl, the fire thrower. These dances were based upon myths of the bird-monsters who lived in the upperworld existing on human flesh.

2. Winalagilis ("making war all over the earth") society under the direction of Winalagilis, the war spirit initiator and represented by such persons as the Tokwit, the female war spirit dancer and the Mamaka, the disease thrower. This dance society was based on myths dealing with magical gifts and powers such as the ability to fly or to become invisible.

3. Atlakim ("taken back into the woods") society composed of dancers who had received a forest treasure, usually a mask.

4. Dluwalakha ("once more from heaven") society comprised of dancers wearing "masks representing the family crest myth and family dloogwi (the supernatural treasure of dancers), which were supernatural

in origin, but the dancers were not supernaturally possessed as were the Hamatsa, Winalagilis, and Atlakim dancers" (Hawthorn 1967:58).

Membership in the dance societies was determined in part by the social and economic position of the novice's family since the lower or less pretentious the dance society the more members it contained. The winter ceremonials then were concerned primarily with the initiation of novices into various secret societies. The usual format involved the chief who was responsible for the ceremony and his son who was ready for initiation. There were various ways one could be initiated into secret societies: (1) through inheritance directly to one's children or other heirs, (2) as part of a dowry, (3) indirectly to one's grandchildren through the son-in-law, and (4) by killing a man from another tribe who had rights to a dance (Curtis 1915:155).

The initiation of the novice varied in form but revolved around a theme of confrontation with a supernatural being who kidnaps him, bestows his powers on the novice, and then returns him to his village to repeat the experience of the ancestor from whom the novice had inherited his privileges. The novice could enact his kidnapping by various methods: men wearing monster disguises could carry him off bodily to the woods, or he could pretend to be killed by the spirit and then resurrected by the winter ceremonial, or he could inconspicuously leave the village (Drucker 1955:163). The novice's supernatural experience while in the woods could be brought on by various ascetic practices such as fasting and exercising. Eliade (1958: 68) claims that the dreams and visions that became the novice's religious experience are brought on by practising such ascetics in solitude:

The ascetic practices pursue the annihilation of the novice's secular personality, in other words, his initiatory death; in many cases, this death is announced by the ecstasy, trance, or pseudo-consciousness into which he falls.

Curtis (1915:161) says that the novices for the Hamatsa society are the only ones who actually go through a period of solitude in the woods. Novices for other societies remain in hiding in a secret room of the house and prior to the ceremony go into the woods to follow the hamatsa and others when they emerge from the woods to be caught by the members of their society.

The object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness. These objects are attained by songs and by dances. In order to bring the youth back, members of all the secret societies perform their dances. It is believed that they will attract the attention of the absent novice, until finally one of the dances may excite him to such a degree that he will approach flying through the air. As soon as he appears his friends endeavor to capture him. Then begins the second part of the ceremony, the exorcising of the spirit; or, as the Kwakiutl call it, the taming of the novice. (Boas 1897:431)

Division of the Ceremonial Year

The Kwakiutl ceremonial year was divided into three parts: the Bakoos or secular part of the year from March to November, the Klasila or four day festivities marking the transition from the secular to the ceremonial and the Tsetseka, the winter ceremonials in which novices were initiated into the secret or dance societies. This distinction between the secular/profane and sacred parts of the year was originally suggested by Boas (1897:418). The Klasila and Tsetseka are of particular importance since they are the ceremonies in which Bukwus appears, along with of course many other supernatural dance impersonators.

The Klasila was characterized as a time of celebration and relaxation as well as a brief mourning period for those who had died since the last Tsetseka. The mourning period was characterized by the singing

of the deceased's songs and the wearing of mourning masks by the family lineage (Hawthorn 1967:90). After the memorial period a new order of festivities began indicated by the wearing of ceremonial blankets and Dluwalakha masks representing various family myths. Novices initiated during this period were not carried off to the woods; "instead they were, figuratively speaking, borne to the heavens by their spirits and afterwards descended to earth" (Waite 1966:269). Boas (1897:500) lists the Klasila dance order in his discussion of the ceremonial called Nontlem (or Dluwalakha) - "the ones returned from heaven" - with Bukwus appearing as the tenth dance member. The Dluwalakha dance society during the Klasila used cormorant down rather than eagle down; white rather than red cedar bark, and red rather than black paint (Boas 1897:621). The Atlakim dance series could also be used during the Klasila by changing the decorations. The secular nature of the Klasila was indicated by the use of summer or Bakoos names, songs, and social organization. On the fourth day of the Klasila the celebrating changed with the entrance of the masked intruder, Gakhula.

He (Gakhula) made a speech to the effect that this was supposed to be a serious time, and by the time he had finished all the dancers had gone. Everything was quiet, until whistles were heard in the woods on the edge of the village, signaling the arrival of the spirits. Then the speakers announced that the next day would begin a new season; new names would be given, and new songs sung. The people went home, bathed ritually, and completed the preparations for the days to come--the days in which the spirits would return and initiate the descendants into the secrets of their dancing orders. The next day whistles were heard again in the woods. This was the start of the true Tsetseka season. (Hawthorn 1967:35)

The Tsetseka, the Heiltsuk word for shaman, was essentially the initiation of the novices. There seems to be a close relationship between

check this!
#10, p500
Boas, 1897, is
Pakalalakon
shaman
dance!
not
Bakwas.

Boas does not
equate Nontlem
with
Dluwalakha

Boas does not
use the
terminology
on p 621!
(1897)

Hawthorn
distinguishes
between the
Klasila +
Nontlem
where
Person
does not

See p 172 Boas (1966)
for a definition
of season!

footnote?

the dancing societies and shamanistic practices. Drucker (1955) suggests that the encounter between the novice and his supernatural benefactor is very similar to the way in which the shaman obtained his spiritual powers. Many of the activities of the winter ceremonial are also present in shamanism, such as the dancers "throwing" diseases into the audience or "burning" the performers (Boas 1966) as well as sleight-of-hand tricks and the removal of diseases by sucking (Waite 1966).

During the sacred season when the spirits were believed to return among the living, the social divisions of the clans were abolished and replaced by a social organization of a spiritual nature (Boas 1897:418). Instead of being grouped in clans with the advent of the sacred season the Kwakiutl were grouped according to the initiating spirits corresponding to the dance societies previously discussed. New ceremonial names were used and new songs sung, and the use of Bakoos or secular names was forbidden with serious penalties imposed on those who ignored this prohibition. The alternating of seasons was expressed by the saying that (Boas 1897:418) in the summer the Bakoos is on top and Tsetseka below, and in the winter the Tsetseka is on top and the Bakoos below.

Each village was divided into the initiated and the uninitiated, who acted as an audience for the novices. The initiated were divided into the Seals and the Sparrows. The Seals were those who were initiated into the high ranking dance societies, such as the Hamatsa and Winalagilis. The Sparrows were those initiates belonging to all other societies as well as young children not yet of initiation age and old men and women who had resigned from their society to transfer their rights to a novice (Boas 1897:418-420). The Sparrows acted as the officials of the ceremonial and were divided into sex and age groups whereas the Seals

were those under the influence of the spirits of the winter ceremonial. The relationship between the Seals and Sparrows was one of rivalry; the Seals, when excited attacked and tormented the Sparrows while the latter teased the members of the Seals.

Hawthorn (1967:39-42) discusses the staging aspect of the Tsetseka. The heads of the dance societies planned everything from the way in which the ceremonials were to be announced to the dramatic tricks performed by the initiates, such as flying through the air and being consumed by fire, assisted by props such as underground passages and systems of kelp speaking tubes.

The two most importance dance societies for our purposes are the Atlakim and the Dluwualakha since they both perform during the Tsetseka and are both societies where Bukwus was a member. Although the specific dance society was not mentioned in these ethnographic accounts, Bukwus during the Tsetseka was ranked in terms of dance order as follows: Boas (1897:498) in ranking 53 dances lists Bukwus as number 47; Curtis (1915:156) in ranking 63 dances lists Bukwus as number 9; and Drucker (1955:166) in listing 8 specific dances ranks Bukwus as number 7.

The Atlakim ("taken back into the woods") society was comprised of dancers who had received and displayed a forest gift. They wore masks and head and neck rings made of hemlock, balsam and red cedar, unusual materials for a Tsetseka dance since only red cedar was usually used. Atlakim dancers wore aprons of similar material and during the Klasila they also wore feathers (Hawthorn 1967:57). In listing dancers for the Atlakim dance society Boas (in Hawthorn 1967:138) lists a "cannibal of the woods" dance (number 5 in 34). Although it was

*but Hawthorn says
the concerns
"non-sequed"
p 58, 14
Tsetseka!*

impossible to obtain further information on this dance figure, it may be that this is a Bukwus dance.

The Dluwalakha ("once more from heaven") society was made up of dancers who were not supernaturally possessed. The gift the novice possessed was often a dance or other mimetic action and isolation and initiation of the novice into the society were not elaborate.

Descriptions of a Dluwalakha ceremony are given by Mochon (1966:34) and by Drucker (1940:215). In discussing the rank order of the Dluwalakha dance, Olson (1954:248) lists Bukwus as 7th out of 12.

The Bukwus dance of the Tsetseka and Klasila has been described as follows (Holm 1972:36):

The dress of the dancer in earlier days is described as a close-fitting buckskin suit, perhaps colored black. Today the Bukwus wears a black or brown coverall trimmed with horizontal rows of triangular white cloth appendages. His movements are alternately slow and active, and he frequently peers around the back of his upraised hand, which he holds to his cheek as if to shield his face from observations. A skillful dancer evokes the impression of an intense, inquisitive creature, surreptitious but with great strength and vitality.

Since Bukwus lives on cockles, part of the dance consists of the dancer's symbolic attempt to dig up cockles from the floor of the ceremonial house (Mochon 1966:72). Since the foot of the cockle clam keeps moving, he does not eat it (Olson 1954:248). A rattle made of cockle shells accompanies the dance as do a set of wooden hands (Newcombe 1915:2). One hand is carved with a cockle in the palm, and the other is painted with a man's face which is said to be constantly on the lookout for food. Bukwus' song consists of the following verses (Curtis 1915:319):

Oh, you wonder, magic power! You
great wonder, magic power!
Everywhere the great one will select
for destruction.
How weapon how wonderful!
The great Bukwus, this our great, best
one in the world.

Photographs of Bukwus in dance costume may be seen in Appendix B.

In the course of the ceremonial year then Bukwus appears in both the Klasila and Tsetseka. The dance societies in which he participated are the Atlakim and Dluwalakha. Unfortunately the nature of the data is such that in cases where Bukwus is ranked with other dancers the specific dance society was not listed. Nevertheless it is suggested by the writer that these were likely performed during the Tsetseka since information concerning the Klasila is rather limited. The specific taming enacted during the dance has not been given for Bukwus but Drucker (1940:203) suggests that the routines for dancers were much alike. If we may use the information about the Cannibal dancer who has received the most attention in the study of Kwakiutl ceremonials, it seems likely that in the Bukwus dance the novice after being confined prior to the ceremonies emerges when a spirit whistle is heard outside the house. While he dances, he is accompanied by attendants and usually has some sleight-of-hand trick that he performs on the fourth night of his dance. When whistles are heard, the novice becomes possessed by his spirit, running around the fire and ignoring any assistance from the attendants. After the novice's miracle has been performed he sings his supernatural song, and after certain tasks performed by special female attendants, he is placated.

MASKS

The following section will examine the masks portraying Bukwus to determine the significant features of the masks and the way in which the masks relate to the myth and ritual previously discussed. The masks chosen for analysis were those catalogued as Bukwus masks in the British Columbia Provincial Museum, the Anthropology Museum at the University of British Columbia, and the Thomas Burke Washington State Memorial Museum. The number of masks available in these collections are 5, 18, and 1 respectively. Based on Hunter's (1967) inventory, the following museums were also contacted:

Carnegie Museum
McGill University Museum
Milwaukee Public Museum
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Museum of the American Indian
National Museum of Man
Oakland Public Museum
Royal Ontario Museum
United States National Museum

Of those that responded, the following had such a mask in their collection: the Royal Ontario Museum (2), the Milwaukee Public Museum (1), and the National Museum of Man (3). The material at the three museums mentioned initially was examined first hand. In the case of the masks located in the other three museums I had at my disposal catalogue descriptions and information supplied by technicians in response to

specific questions asked. Appendix C lists the museum mask numbers and the corresponding code numbers assigned them. Hereafter mask numbers cited will correspond to the code number rather than the museum number. Of the 30 masks available incomplete information required that four of them be removed from the sample resulting in a sample size of twenty-six masks. Appendix B contains photographs of the masks analyzed.

Mask Analysis

The masks were broken down into 36 variables comprising 190 attributes. Appendix D lists the variables used in the following analyses. The attributes corresponding to each variable were made as specific as possible. In some cases this resulted in the presence or absence of a particular variable, for example number 12 (deeply carved eye and cheek area), whereas in others the attributes numbered 13 for a specific variable, for example number 13 (color of forehead). The reliability of coding was tested and few discrepancies were found, although it emerged that there was a need for more elaborate attribute labels with variables such as nostril projection (#21).

In order to examine the similarity between the masks Driver's G coefficient of similarity was used. G can range between 0.00 or no similarity, and 1.00, complete similarity. With the aid of the G coefficient a dendrogram showing clusters of relationships by branch linkages was generated to obtain an indication of the overall relationship among the 26 masks (see Appendix E for a brief explanation of these methods). The dendrogram based on the similarity of the variables (Figure 2 on page 48) reveals two loose clusters into which

the masks arrange themselves. From Figure 2 we can see that masks 12 and 15 share the greatest percentage of variables, approximately 80% with mask 22 joining them at 78%.

Except for masks 12, 15 and 22 (and perhaps 9 and 8, having a bridge value of .69) the masks generally have rather low bridge values. To obtain the specific variables that characterized each group (breaking between masks 4 and 16 in Figure 2) the absolute frequency of each of the 190 attributes was secured for each group. Group A contained fifteen masks (17, 6, 10, 11, 9, 8, 5, 22, 12, 15, 14, 1, 26, 2 and 4) and Group B eleven masks (16, 25, 20, 3, 21, 7, 13, 18, 19, 24, and 23). Table II page 49 lists the variables and specific attributes separating Group A from Group B. Absolute frequencies were converted to percentages, rounded to the nearest whole and the variables selected were those occurring in over 70% of the cases in each group.

From Table II we can see that the variables tend to characterize the masks as a whole (combining both Group A and Group B) are: (1) deep carving around the mouth, eye and cheek area as well as a carved ridge between the eyebrows, (2) red nostrils and a red horizontal mouth, (3) a nose that protrudes very little from the lines of the forehead, and (4) an absence of forehead design. On the other hand, the specific variables that indicate Group A are: a flat chin, the presence of animal ears, circular eyes and black eyebrows, an open mouth with no teeth visible, white outlines around features such as mouth, eyebrows, nostrils, etc., a green eye area and the absence of adze marks. To examine the possibility that the different distribution of attributes characterizing Group A and Group B were not due simply to chance the Fisher exact probability test was used (see Appendix E for an explanation of this test).

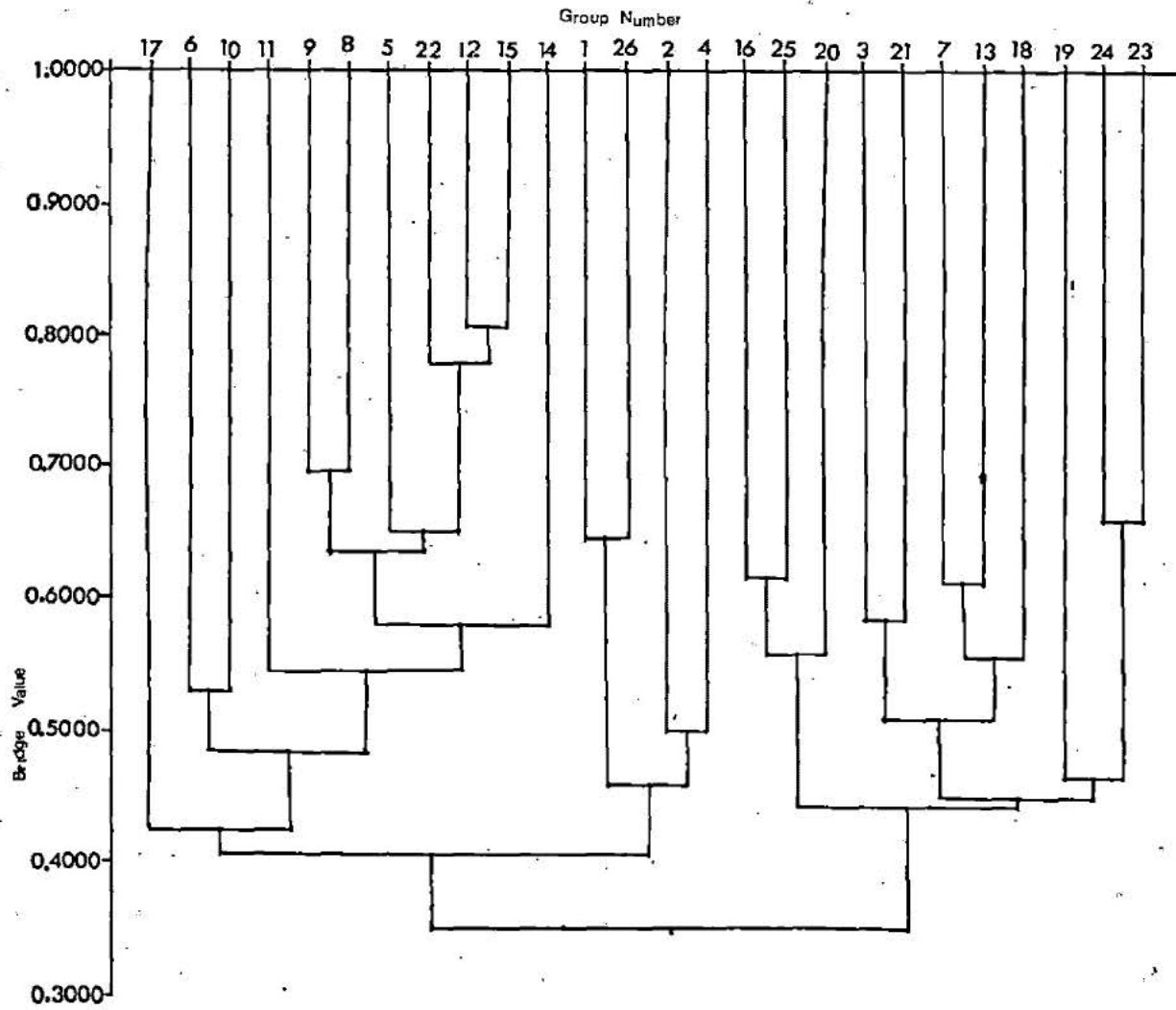


Figure 2. Dendrogram Based on Matrices of G Coefficients of Similarity for
26 Kwakwaka'wakw Masks 36 Variables

TABLE II
 PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFIC VARIABLES AND ATTRIBUTES
 CHARACTERIZING GROUP A AND GROUP B

ATTRIBUTES Present in more than 70% of the masks	GROUP	
	A (total of 15)	B (total of 11)
Deep lines carved around mouth		
-present	73%	64%
*"cedar bark" lines		
-absent	60	100
Chin shape		
-flat	73	45
*Ear type		
-animal	80	0
-none	13	91
Deeply carved eye and cheek area		
-present	73	82
*Eye form		
-circular	93	45
Eye color		
-black and white	80	36
*Eyebrow color		
-black	100	55
*Nose position in relation to lips		
-ends above upper lip	27	100
Distance nose protrudes from forehead		
-0 to 1 inch	80	82
Nostril projection		
-outwards	53	100
Nostril color		
-red	73	82
*Mouth position		
-open, no teeth visible	73	27
Mouth angle		
-horizontal	93	73
Mouth color		
-red	87	82
*Outlines		
-white	93	9
-none	7	82
*Teeth		
-none	93	45
*Color of area around eye		
-green	73	9
*Adze marks		
-present	7	82
-absent	87	18
Carved ridge between eyebrows		
-present	80	64
Shape of forehead designs		
-no designs present	53	73

*Significant attributes

The results showed that the differences between group A and group B are not due to chance but are significant at the level of .05. These specific variables were then examined for each mask in each group to determine what masks possessed all of the variables that seemed to separate the two groups. For group A masks possessing all of the group variables as listed above, one finds masks 5, 8, 12, 15, and 22, or five from the fifteen masks in the group. The masks in group B, possessing all the features belonging to that group which separated it from group A, are numbers 3, 7, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 25 or seven from a total of eleven.

In addition to the specific variables characterizing each group the geographic location of each mask is of interest. All the 5 masks in group A possessing the variables considered significant were obtained in Smith Inlet (see map in Appendix H) and from members of one family. The geographic location of the 7 masks from group B containing all the significant variables, is much more diffuse; one (mask 3) is from Quatsino, one from Minstrel Island (20), 2 from Blunden Harbor (7 and 19), and 3 from Kingcome Inlet (21, 23, and 25).

Multiple scalogram analysis was also performed on the body of the mask data (see Appendix E). Because of the difficulty in handling missing data masks 17, 20, 23, 25 and 26 were removed, reducing the sample size to 21. Both two and three dimensional analyses were carried out. This suggested a focus on the two-dimensional analysis since the coefficient of contiguity (which indicates the degree to which the original data can be reconstructed from the points in m-dimensional space; Bloombaum 1968:77) ranking from -1.00 to +1.00 was 0.912 for two dimensions and 0.935 for three dimensions. The coefficient difference was slight and the desirability of

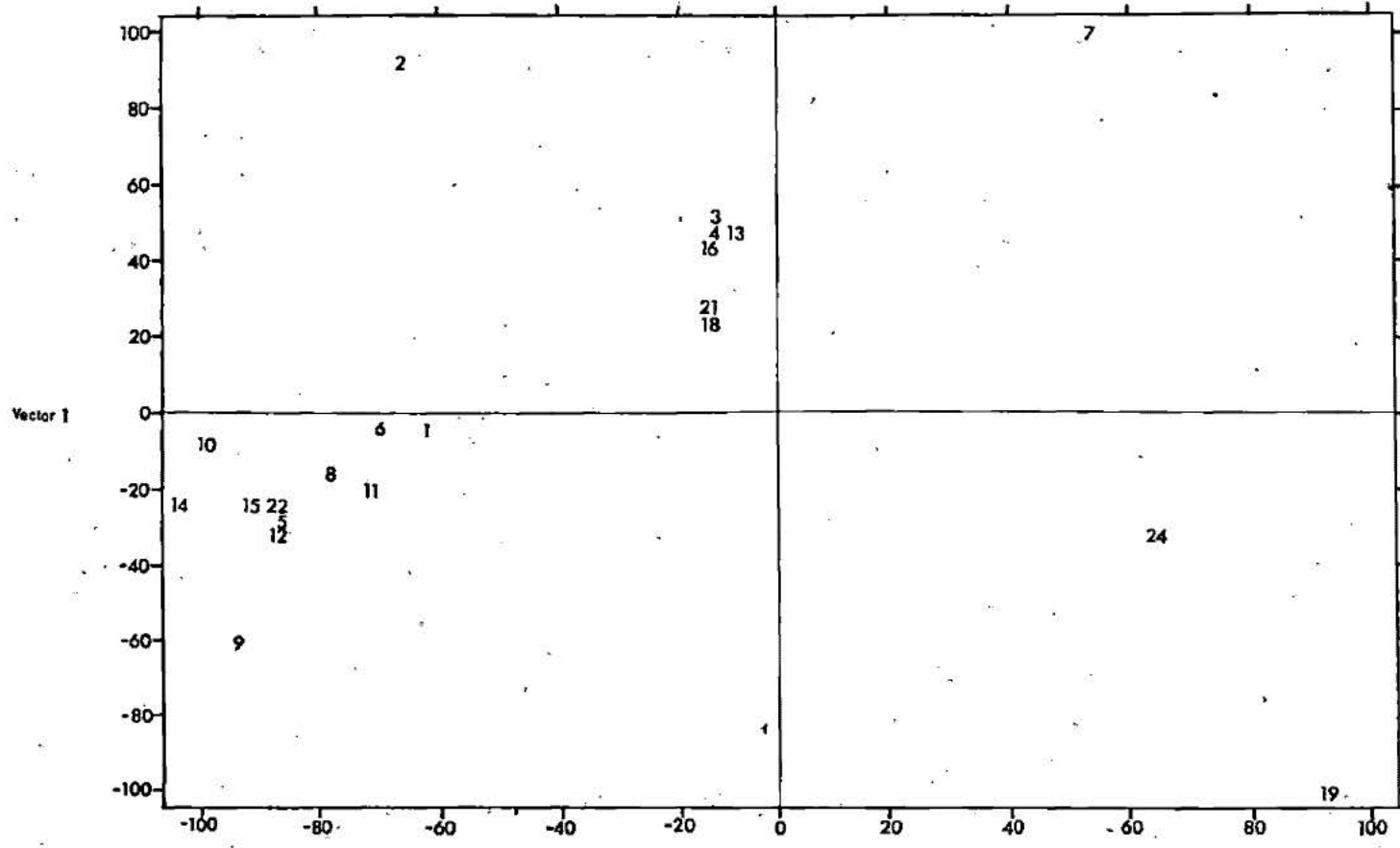


Figure 3. Multiple Scalogram Analysis Using Two-Dimensions for 21 Kwakwaka'wakw Masks -36 Variables

obtaining a solution easy to conceptualize resulted in the selection of the two-dimensional solution. The multiple scalogram analysis using two dimensions is presented in Figure 3, page 51. The outer-point coordinates for the analysis are presented in Appendix G, Table V.

Both the dendrogram and the multiple scalogram analysis then reveal two major clusters of the data. Based on coefficients of similarity the strength of these clusters is rather weak. Both forms of analysis show the tight cluster from Group A, masks 5, 12, and 22. In discussing the dendrograms we suggest that the general clusters are based in part on the specific geographic areas from which the masks were obtained as well as upon specific attributes which characterize each group.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

MYTH ANALYSIS

The body of myths was analyzed from two perspectives: syntagmatic structural analysis based on the work of Alan Dundes (1962, 1964, 1965) and Vladimir Propp (1968), and paradigmatic structural analysis based on the Lévi-Strauss (1963) formula $F_x(a) : F_y(b) :: F_x(b) : F_{a-1}(y)$. The analyses, although based on different rules both gave support to the assumption that the role of Bukwus is that of mediator. In the linear syntagmatic analysis he mediates between the pattern of lack to the liquidation of that lack; in the non-linear paradigmatic analysis he mediates between the natural and the supernatural, the absence of power and the presence of power.

In this sense both analyses reveal the structure of the myths as incorporating the negative and the positive. The negative elements are those of disequilibrium and lack, an absence of specific features. In the paradigmatic analysis this state has been called nature, and in the syntagmatic analysis it has been called lack. These are both aspects of the same phenomenon based on different specific aspects of the myths and on different analytic techniques. The positive elements of the myths are equilibrium and a liquidation of the previously established lack. Syntagmatically this state has been called lack liquidation; paradigmatically it has been called supernature and is characterized by the presence of power.

Freilich (1973:17) has suggested that what Malinowski (1944)

referred to as "the charter" function of myth may be considered as the transformation function of the myth. The charter of the myths examined here deals with the transformation of man. Both forms of analyses show that the transformation is one from a situation of lack, the natural condition, to one of supernatural powers being bestowed on the transformed individual or group. Thus both man and his situation undergo transformation through mediation.

Myths must regularly and effectively transform the-smart (S, that which seems to be effective, efficient and spacially useful) into the-proper (P, that which becomes convention, a rule followed for 'its own sake'). How can polar opposites become one? How can two separate and distinct entities (discrete process) become a unity (continuous process)? Clearly the first step is 'finding' a house located half-way between the conflicting pair: here the mediator is the message. The 'mediator', (M) with the help of myth and time, transforms S into P.

(Freilich 1973:17)

Modifying Freilich's above-quoted role of the mediator we may say that the myths analyzed also use the mediator as the message in the sense that he bridges the two separate spheres of nature and supernature. Nature in the material previously presented is the original state of being characterized by a lack of power. Supernature on the other hand is the inversion of the natural state where the possession of power emerges. The mediator Bukwus bridges these polar opposites for he possesses attributes of both realms.

The attributes possessed by Bukwus as he is revealed in the myths suggest his dual nature. With regard to his external appearance he is described as an "odd-looking man" (M3), odd-looking because he has a hooked nose (M3), feathers on his head (Newcombe 1915), and long hair

covering his body (BCFM 1973) and yet a man in bodily appearance (M4 and M5a). Newcombe (1915) suggests that Bukwus represents a half human and half bird being as does Mochon (1966:72) when she says "they (Bukwus) move not like people but hop around more like certain birds do."

This duality is also suggested by the semantics of the word Bukwus. The Kwakwala word for man is begwānum; k'wus is a directional term meaning away from the shore and towards the woods (Boas 1947 and Grubb 1974). Bukwus is therefore a man who moves between the shore and the woods. His favorite food is cockles (Mochon 1966:72, Holm 1972:41) which he must gather along the beach, and yet his home is in the woods.

Another area where we find an indication of the dual nature of Bukwus is that of sound. He is able to disguise his voice and to make it sound like that of a particular person's (M5a) and yet he is said to make a strange noise (M2) and cry like a whistle (M3). A double whistle is used in the Bukwus dance. This fact led Newcombe (1915) to suggest that the single and double notes of the whistle represent man and bird respectively.

The area of food is one which indicates the power of Bukwus. As mentioned above his favorite food is cockles, and in myth 2 he steals clams from the children. These clams may be cockles for the term cockle clam is used by Olson (1954:248) when discussing Bukwus, or it may be that when translating the distinction between cockle and clam was ignored. Archeological evidence indicates that shellfish in general and cockles in particular were an important source of food. Although it is not possible to "know" why cockles are associated with Bukwus

rather than other shellfish, it is suggested here that the specific type of food is not as important in understanding the figure as is the knowledge that it is human food.

In myth 5a Calling-Tribes is captured by Bukwus because she has eaten his food which appears as salmon but is in reality rotten wood; when she had eaten with Bukwus he says "Now I have your heart, because you have eaten of our food, mistress." After eating his food, she is changed both in the spiritual sense, for she cannot return to her home, and in the physical sense. When Made-to-be-Hunter asks to see Calling-Tribes, she replies "I am ugly, and you would be frightened. My whole face is changed, for I have eaten of the roasted salmon, the same that they try to make you eat." The real substance of Bukwus' food can be exposed by throwing it into the fire, upon which the cooked salmon turns into rotten wood and the salmon skin into frogs and lizards. The element of fire is especially interesting, for when Calling-Tribes offers Bukwus some roasted halibut she has prepared, it is said (M5a) "He did not want to eat what was roasted by a fire."

If cooking as Lévi-Strauss suggests marks the transition from nature to culture then Bukwus refuses to make this transition. "The raw/cooked axis is characteristic of culture...since cooking brings about the cultural transformation of the raw..." (Lévi-Strauss 1969:142). Bukwus remains in the realm of nature not only refusing to eat food cooked by fire but by eating only food that is nonhuman, that is rotten wood although it takes on the disguise of salmon for humans. This aspect of fire corresponds to the terrestrial and creative kind of fire suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1969:188). This is the fire used for

cooking and for making the transition from nature to culture. The celestial and destructive kind of fire is used by man and thus culture to challenge Bukwus. When (M5a) Bukwus' food is thrown into the fire it turns into rotten wood, frogs and lizards; superficially food man eats is transformed into nonhuman or Bukwus food then by the agent of fire in the same way that fire (i.e. cooking fire) transforms human food into food that Bukwus refuses to eat. Fire, in this sense then can not only transform food from the natural to the cultural but it can also change human (culture) food into nonhuman food (nature).

Similarly fire is used (M5b) to turn cultural indicators (paddles) into natural indicators (minks) when Made-to-be-Hunter has knowledge of and challenges Bukwus' power; paddles become minks when put over the (celestial) fire but they remain only paddles when put over the (terrestrial) fire. Likewise is the power of urine (M5b), for under supernatural power of Bukwus urine transforms men to land otters; when this power is removed the urine is not used as a transforming but as a cleansing agent.

The specific ways in which Bukwus appears as mediator throughout the myths do not seem to be related to the geographic origin of the myths. Myths 1 and 4 were both collected among the Gwawaenuk and myths 2 and 5 were collected among the Kwiksootainuk. Both of these are Southern Kwakiutl groups; see the maps in Appendix H. The third myth was collected among the Heilstuk (or Bella Bella), a Northern Kwakiutl tribe.

Table III, page 64 presents the mediating role Bukwus plays in the myths. The first part of the table deals specifically with the five

myths and indicates the division between nature, the absence of power and supernature, the presence of power. In myths 3 and 5b the mediary role is achieved with the use of outside elements such as blood and fire. Such elements do not exist independently but function only in relationship with the role of Bukwus. The second part of Table III is concerned with specific attributes characterizing Bukwus. For this reason the categories of human and nonhuman were used rather than those of nature and supernature as used for the myths. Human attributes are those particular to man; nonhuman attributes are all others. The mediating role is achieved by Bukwus possessing both those traits which are considered human and those considered nonhuman.

RITUAL ANALYSIS

As discussed in the section of the spirit world and the ceremonials, Bukwus appeared in two distinct periods of the ceremonial year. Boas (1897) divided the year into what he called the sacred and the profane periods; for this reason the dichotomy will be used in the analysis despite the nontechnical aspect of the terms. During the Klasila, the four day celebration that marked the end of the profane season, the Bakoos, and the beginning of the sacred season, the Tsetseka, the Bukwus dance was performed. Although the Klasila was characterized by a brief mourning period it was generally a period of relaxation and festivities. Its secular nature was further emphasized by the use of summer (Bakoos) names, songs, and social organization. Two of the dance societies that performed were the Atlakim in which the members were supernaturally possessed and the Dluwalakha in which the dancers were not supernaturally

possessed although the dances in both societies were considered supernatural in origin. We know Bukwus was a member of both these societies.

Bukwus also appeared during the Tsetseka, the sacred time of the year when the spirits were believed to return among the living. These winter ceremonials were held in part to initiate novices into the secret societies of the supernatural beings. During the Tsetseka as in the Klasila the Atlakim and Dluwalakha dance societies performed as of course did the Hamatsa and Winalagilis societies, both of which were supernaturally possessed.

In ceremonial appearance then Bukwus appears during both the sacred and the profane times of the year. The dance societies in which he performed were both thought to be supernatural in origin although in one the dances were supernaturally possessed (the Atlakim) and in the other they were not (the Dluwalakha). In the role of dance performer then Bukwus (i.e. the novices who were initiated as Bukwus dancers) appears to have a dual nature. He performs during both the profane and sacred parts of the year. It would appear that the ceremonial nature of Bukwus is similar to that suggested by the myths: Bukwus possesses attributes from both the natural and the supernatural and his position between the realms is one of mediator. The third section of Table III indicates the ritual portrayal and mediatory role of Bukwus. The categories of profane and sacred are used since those were established by Boas in discussing the Kwakiutl ceremonial year.

MASK ANALYSIS

Table III indicates the dual nature of Bukwus as presented in the myths as well as in the ceremonial year. I have suggested that this duality may correspond to nature and supernature with Bukwus playing a mediating role. Although the specific information on the dance Bukwus portrays is limited, some of the dance paraphernalia also suggest this duality--the wooden hands used during the dance contain a cockle in one palm and a man's face on the other.

Initially I hypothesized that this duality might be represented in the masks portraying Bukwus used in the ceremonials. The analyses showed however that the masks are characterized by specific features such as deep set eyes and a heavy brow ridge, in no way indicative of the nature/supernature elements revealed by the myths. The division that did occur within the masks (group A and B) is based upon the variation of specific features, geographic location, and moreover the individual carver's style.

The body of 26 masks was divided into 36 variables composed of 190 attributes. Using the G coefficient of similarity a dendrogram and a multiple scalogram analysis (2 dimensions) were generated. These analyses, although based on different techniques gave support to the masks being grouped into two loosely knit clusters. Based on these two groups the absolute frequency of each of the 190 attributes was secured and converted into percentages. From this the variables that characterize the group of masks as a whole were revealed as were the features that are indicative of each of the two groups. Of the masks possessing

the highest degree of similarity and those containing all the variables considered significant, the masks from group A (5, 8, 12, 15 and 22) were found to have been located from the same area (Smith Inlet) and were owned by members of the same family. Group B, possessing lower coefficient of similarity and bridge values as shown on the dendrogram, contained more masks possessing the significant features of the group (7 from 11, as opposed to group A's 5 from 15) but the geographic homogeneity was lacking.

As discussed in the introduction the concept of style is crucial in the analysis of an art object for it refers to form elements, the relationships of those elements and the quality or overall expression of the object (Schapiro 1962:280). Haeberlin (1918) suggested directions for arriving at an analysis of form by discussing specific features and by studying the form of these features. He (Haeberlin 1918:260) argues it would then be possible to "arrive at the formulation of a number of esthetic principles which underlie the art of the northwest coast and which have thus far only been 'felt'." Such specific features, that is variables, were isolated for the Bukwus mask and found to contain specific forms as indicated by Table II such as deeply carved areas on the face, specifically the eyesocket, cheek and mouth plane.

Based on the analyses we may describe the Bukwus mask as being characterized by deeply set circular black and white eyes under a heavy black brow, a hooked nose protruding only slightly from the forehead and varying in length from the tip ending above the lips or below them with flaring and outward-projecting red nostrils, a mouth

set straight, painted red and usually carved open with no teeth visible, and a flat chin. These elements were shown to be fixed in terms of the analysis as compared to the varied forms characterizing each group.

(In terms of color the analyses showed little consistency between color and feature except for the following: the eye is usually painted black around the opening with a white circle surrounding the black (80% of the masks), the eyebrow is generally painted black (81%), nostrils are red (80%) as is the mouth (84%). Using Holm's (1965) relationship between color and element then we may say that the primary elements (those painted black) are the eye and eyebrow and the secondary ones (those painted red) are the nostrils and the lips. In many of the masks analyzed these are the elements that are "felt" by the viewer as giving the mask its unique qualities; notwithstanding the arbitrary nature of subjectivity these elements may give the mask its expression and thus in terms of style these specific features may be considered crucial. In the color analysis the variables were coded in very specific terms. For example, one variable possessed 13 attributes. Based on a sample size of 26 this meant that a one to one ratio often existed: one attribute represented one mask. Perhaps more generalized statements could be made about the relationship between element and color if the variables contained fewer attributes; that is, if specific color combinations were reduced.

Bill Holm (1972:36) describes the mask as follows:

(| Bukwus masks are characterized by deep-set eyes under a massive brow, a strongly arched or even hooked beak-like nose, small pointed ears, and lips either drawn

back over exposed teeth or pursed forward. Some of them are frighteningly realistic while others depend for their lifelike effect on the expressive movements of the dancer and the play of firelight on the deeply sculptured features.

This description corresponds in general terms to that given previously as revealed by the analysis. The sample of masks examined gives data that would question Holm's (1972:36) description of the presence of "small pointed ears" and teeth as being characteristic of a Bukwus mask, but the generalization is accurate.

The variability and heterogeneity shown in the masks is a characteristic of style (Schapiro 1962:285). This style may be of a geographic nature as indicated by the group of masks from Smith Inlet or it may also be a specific artist's style. The information collected with the masks is such that often the particular carver is not known. As has been shown by Holm (n.d.) a carver's style, although part of a larger and more general tradition is individual and unique and may be shown to change through time. The stylistic variation shown in the masks is characteristic of the artistic tradition of the Kwakiutl.

The duality that exists in the masks is not between the two clusters of masks that emerged but between elements built into each mask. The unity of style, the type of mask elements, and the individual carver variation combine to represent a specific entity.

TABLE III
BUKWUS AS MEDIATOR

Nature (absence of power)	Supernature (presence of power)	Mediating Role
M1 World of animals	World of man	Bukwus advises the animals to remain without structure and leave their world to man who will replace them.
M2 Children	Children with power	Bukwus gives the children his power.
M3 Bukwus Child	Bukwus adult	Blood from the tongue rubbed on Bukwus as a child renders him powerless; virgin's menstrual blood rubbed on Bukwus as an adult causes him to disappear.
M4 Man without wealth Man without shaman powers	Man with wealth Man with shaman	Bukwus gives man power and takes it away.
M5a Calling-Tribes in human world	Calling-Tribes in Bukwus world with his powers	Bukwus feeds the woman his food, thus "capturing" her.
M5b Paddles	Minks and martens	By passing the paddles over fire they turn into animals thus invalidating Bukwus' power.
Canoe	Skate	By putting a knife through the canoe it turns into a skate thereby nullifying Bukwus' power.

Nature (absence of power)	Supernature (presence of power)	Mediating Role
M5b (cont.)		
Men	Land otters	Man becomes a land otter when sprinkled with urine thus destroying Bukwus' power.

Human	Nonhuman	Mediating Role
Appearance-body of man	Strange looking, hooked nose, bird elements	Bukwus possesses attributes of both
able to disguise his voice and speak to man	makes a squeaky noise and sounds like a whistle	Bukwus possesses attributes of both
Powers gives man wealth and shaman's powers	can fly, make people insane, induce immediate death	Bukwus is both malevolent and benevolent
Food eats cockles	eats rotten wood, frogs and lizards	Bukwus eats both
cooked food	raw food	Bukwus refuses to eat cooked food

Profane	Sacred	Mediating Role
Ceremonial year Klasila	Tsetseka	Bukwus appears in both
Dluwalakha dance society	Atlakim dance society	Bukwus dances in both
Dance paraphernalia wooden hand with man's face on palm	Wooden hand with cockle in palm	Bukwus wears both hands during dance

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Structural analysis of a body of myths dealing with the Kwakiutl mythological figure Bukwus, Wild Man of the Woods, has shown that the charter function of myth may be viewed as the transformation function of the myth. In the myths man is transformed from the natural to the supernatural, from his lack of power to one where he is given powers of the supernatural. The transformation is achieved by the intervention of Bukwus who mediates between the two spheres. As mediator Bukwus possesses attributes of both realms; see Table III which illustrates this mediary role.

An analysis of the ritual or ceremonial portrayal of Bukwus adds support to the idea of Bukwus as mediator. In terms of the ceremonial season he is portrayed during both the sacred and the profane rituals; in terms of specific dance societies he is a member of both the society that is supernaturally possessed and the one that is not. Performance in both of these dance societies occurs during the ceremonial marking the transition from the secular time of the year to the sacred, and during the sacred time of the year itself, when novices are initiated into the particular dance societies.

(Statistical analysis of the masks has shown that a number of attributes are characteristic of a Bukwus mask, namely deeply set orb-like eyes with a protruding black brow ridge, a hooked nose with conical outward-projecting nostrils, a red mouth usually carved open but with no teeth visible, and a flat chin. Specific colors showed little

consistency with specific features although black was used in a high percentage of the masks for the eye opening and eyebrows while red was used for the nostrils and mouth. The sample of masks formed two loose clusters with the groups possessing significantly different characteristic features. It was suggested that this difference may be due in part to a geographic substyle although the number of masks in the sample prohibits major generalizations.

Both paradigmatic and syntagmatic structural analyses of myth have suggested that Bukwus myths are characterized by the move from disequilibrium to equilibrium. Bukwus' role in the myths has been shown to be one of mediator between the world of nature and the world of supernature. This structure of status as revealed by the myth analysis was found in the ceremonial portrayal of the figure; his dance is performed during both the sacred and the profane season and the dance societies of which he is a member are characterized by both supernatural possession of its members as well as a lack of supernatural possession. The structure of myth then has revealed the structure of status and the rituals of status which are part of the ceremonial enactment of the figure. The ritual symbols, the masks used in the ceremonials, have been analyzed and found to contain a number of variables which are suggested as indicative of the specific mask. These variables represent the formal elements characteristic of this mask. Where clustering has occurred within the sample of masks it does not appear to suggest the mediary role as did the myths and rituals. An area where myth and mask may be related is that of death. Some of the masks possess a skeletal-like gaunt appearance achieved by the depth of carving in the eye and

cheek area. Myth 5 deals with Bukwus as chief of the ghosts, and it may be that some of the masks represent this quality. A more distinct area of relationship is that of the beak-like nose that characterizes the masks and the myths (2 and 4) in which Bukwus' nonhuman features are mentioned. However, it is suggested that the form of the ritual symbols are not based on either the myths or the rituals but rather on the boundaries delineating Kwakiutl art and individual stylistic variation as expressed by the carvers of the masks.

It is suggested that when a carver sets out to create a Bukwus mask or any other ceremonial mask he has in mind all the other masks of that type he has seen. This, coupled with the general boundaries of the art tradition and the individual carver's style goes into the carving of a mask. Specific variations may also occur due to the influence of the individual who requested the mask. The information obtained from the myths then is minimal for carving a mask. The myths and the ceremonies provide the context in which the mask is used rather than its framework. Bill Holm (1973) has suggested that the aesthetic effect of the mask is important and that although significant features characterize a Bukwus mask much of the variation in decorative technique is individual style. This is not to say, however, that given a different set of myths and masks one would arrive at the same conclusions. The nature of the data might be such that these links are not revealed whereas other data might provide different results.

Turner (1967:105) discusses masks as recombining features of the environment in unusual ways in order that the novice think about relationships usually taken for granted. The Bukwus mask has elements from

different aspects of the novice's world, from man and from nature, that is, the presence of the hooked nose on a huminoid face.

As is suggested in Table III the relationships between nature and supernature, human and nonhuman, and the profane and sacred indicate Bukwus' mediating role. Different pairs of concepts were used because the data were distinct: myth, attributes and ritual. There is, however, a continuity among the concepts. Nature, human, and profane indicate the original state of being where there is a lack of power. Supernature, nonhuman, and sacred suggest an inversion of the former; among these power exists and the original state is changed.

This thesis has indicated then the relationship among myth, ritual and the symbols of ritual. It suggests a need for further studies of this nature for the interrelation between ritual and specific material apparatus within it has been neglected in anthropological research. The area of style may be further clarified by analyzing masks representing other mythological figures. The dictum stated by Boas at the outset that the best bases for ethnological comparisons are collections of specimens and collections of myths must be enlarged to include the ceremonial functions of the specimens.

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APPENDIX A

MYTHS

MYTH NUMBER 1

Boas, Franz

1935

Kwakiutl Tales, New Series. New York: Columbia University Press. Contributions to Anthropology Vol. XXVI, pt. 1, pp. 24-25.

The wolf (G·îlā'latit) it is said invited all the animals. The animals were going to have a winter dance together, the wolf, wolverene, black bear. They had for their chief it is said the woodman. Now they had a winter dance together in the inside of a rock. The place it is said is a large cave. They had for their drum a wonderful thing. The drum it is just seen. It is the root it is said of a cedar. And so it is said they were dancing. Quartz it is said was the plaything of the wolf. Then it is said they danced the war dance. The wolverene it is said danced the war dance. Then it is said they had for their secrets it is said little birds which were their supernatural treasure. Then it is said the woodman showed his strength as a man. He took the double-headed serpent and put the double-headed serpent as a belt. The chief came it is said and spoke about the ways of the other men. He struck at their character as a tribe. "Let us stay this way and do not let us assemble. Let us just scatter over this world. What shall we do with our sacred room? Do not in vain say this shall be the story of this place, wantonly left behind in our country. This will be the story of those who will take our place."

MYTH NUMBER 2

Newcombe, C. F.

1915 The Wild Man Mask. (BuquEsEml), Field Columbian Museum Kwakiutl Notes # 46, item #85816 (pp. 1-3), British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C., unpublished material.

A man called NaxnaxwEla is about to give a large potlatch and a winter-dance. He sends his sons and daughters to dig clams and dry them in a preparation for the feast. His children go to a place called Xoxopa for this purpose, and when there they constantly hear two strange noises back in the woods. In four days they see an odd-looking man at the other end of the beach.. Alarmed at his appearance they run inside the smokehouse which they had just made. At night they again hear strange noises on the beach and in the morning, getting up early to preserve the clams, they go outside to get those they had gathered on the last night and left to keep fresh in baskets on the beach.. They find that all have disappeared in the night and they think that the strange man must have taken them. At next low water they go down again for more clams and leave them in the same place. In the night they again hear the strange noise and one of the boys says to his brother, "Let us go out and stone that strange man." The youngest daughter says, "No, you had better not; we hear that he can throw anything at a person and kill him immediately," so they did not know what to do. The others said, "What shall we do?" The little girl again says, "Let us try to get him inside and to feed him." They agree and the eldest brother goes and says, "My friend, do not stay so long on the beach. Everything is ready for you to eat inside the house." The strange man makes a queer noise but does not want to seem to join the children. Now the second boy goes out and says the same thing but without success. Then the third goes out but with no results. The youngest

at last went out but did no better. When all was quiet at night and the family sleeping one of the sisters woke up and saw the man sitting near the fire and thinking him her brother asked him, "Why are you sitting up so late?" The man did not answer. The woman reached her leg out of bed and kicked him. Then the squeaky noise of the whistle was heard, and she finds out that this is the strange man. She is afraid and wakens the rest of the family. They cannot make out who the man is because he keeps his arms in front of his face. They keep asking him who he is but get no reply or sound of any kind, so the brothers go up to shake him. Now he talks in Indian and says: "Do not be so rough. I am KaskasE" (that he, he that Walks), but nothing else. The brother says, "I am who?" This time he answers, "I am whom you call the BuquEs." Now he says, "You will get my power and you will be called KaskasE," and he added some new names besides, but now forgotten. The brothers and sisters returned and began to dance, making a mask like BuquEs. The new KaskasE had all the power of BuquEs. He could fly and make people lose their strength and go crazy whenever he wished. A secret song goes with this dance. The son or near relative of the owner dances and when the owner gives a feast, the above story is recited telling how the mask was acquired and what it means.

Boas, Franz, & George Hunt
 1905 Kwakiutl Texts III. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition,
 Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History. New York:
 G. E. Strechert, pp. 429-431.

MYTH NUMBER 3

The first of one clan of the Bella Bella, the Hè'sta tribe, lived at T'ā'yasiwē. Their chief was Yè'madzālas. One day he felt downcast. Night came, and he tried to lie down in his bedroom, but he could not sleep. Then he arose and went out of his house. He started and wished to go to kill himself in the woods. Then he went out. He had not been going long when daylight came. Then he continued walking, and night came again. Then he became tired. He lay down on the ground on his back to sleep. Daylight came again, and he arose again and started. Then night came again, and he started again. He had not gone far when he took a rest. Then his eyes began to feel heavy, and he began to sleep. He did not know that night came again. Then he awoke in the morning. He tried to pull up his blanket of lynx skin, and its edge was heavy. He looked at it, and he saw a woodman child sitting on the edge of his blanket.

Yè'madzālas bit the end of his tongue, and spit the blood on the body of the woodman child. Then the woodman child lost its power. Yè'madzālas at once carried the woodman child on his back and went home. After one day he came out of the woods; and as soon as he arrived at the rear of his house, the woodman child began to cry just like a whistle. As soon as his ancestors of the Hè'sta tribe heard the sound, they remembered their chief, Yè'madzālas. Then four of his attendants went to look for him, and they saw their chief (standing) carrying on his back the woodman child with a hooked nose. The four attendants at once sang their sacred songs, and they called the ancestors of the Hè'sta tribe.

As soon as all of them, men, women and children were in the house, Yè'madzālas was carrying the woodman child on his back. Then the Hè'sta tribe danced the sacred dance, then they finished the sacred dance, and Yè'madzālas just had the woodman child for his child. He grew up. Then he became wild. Then Yè'madzālas asked his attendant to rub the woodman's body with the menstrual fluid of a menstruating virgin. As soon as this was done, the woodman disappeared. That is the end.

MYTH NUMBER 4

Boas, Franz

1966 Kwakiutl Ethnography, edited by Helen Codere. Chicago:
U of C Press, pp. 131-132.

He was hurt by a falling log. He dreamed that he was ordered to bathe. He obeyed. Then he found many land otters in his traps. Finally, he found a land otter with two heads and an animal with a human head. He killed and fainted. When he awoke from his swoon, he saw that the animal was a salmon. He went home but did not enter the house for fear of defiling influences. He had his sail brought out and went travelling about in his canoe for eight days. Then he dreamed, and in his dream he was ordered to bathe. He did so. When he went hunting by torchlight, he was first unable to hit any game. Finally, he saw a "woodman" (bEk!ũ's). The appearance almost paralyzed him, but, by chewing tobacco, he recovered. Whenever the woodman moved, it sounded like the crackling of sparks. The young man "became angry", jumped out his canoe, pursued the woodman, and shot and killed it. Then he became scared, went back to his canoe, and returned home. Then he told his grandfather what had happened. His grandfather took the body of the woodman, which appeared like that of a human being with a little, thin face. It made him rich. When after a while his wife saw the body, he lost his power and became secular. The young hunter himself claimed that he had been revived after his first accident by the woodman, who made him a shaman. For four years, he practiced his art and cured twelve people. He lost his power and became secular because during this time he had many children borne to him.

MYTH NUMBER 5

Boas, Franz, and George Hunt.

Kwakiutl Texts I, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History
Volume V, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Laiden:
E. J. Brill, pp. 249-270.

The ancestors of the Qwē'qusot!ēnox lived at Hē'gams. Their chief was Potlatch-Giver, and his prince was Property-Body. Rolling-Down, the chief of the ancestors of the Gwa'ēwaenox^u, lived at Q!e'nsde^ēmēs. Rolling-Down had a princess (named) Calling-Tribes. Calling-Tribes had for her lover Property-Body. Hē'gams is not far from Q!nsd^ēmēs.

Property-Body always went to his sweetheart. As soon as evening came, he launched his small canoe to go to his sweetheart, and as soon as it was nearly daylight he went home. He continued to do so every night.

One night he told his sweetheart, "O mistress!" thus said Property-Body to his sweetheart, "I will not come this night, mistress, for I am really tired. It is too much (to come) all the time every night." Calling-Tribes at once replied to her lover, and said to him, "It is good so, master. I say that we take a rest and sleep this night, master." Thus said Calling-Tribes to her lover.

Now they ceased speaking, and Property-Body went home. Then Calling-Tribes was sad that day, and Property-Body's mind was also in the same condition that evening. Calling-Tribes slept that night. Then she heard some one knocking (at the) outside of her bedroom, and Calling-Tribes said "Oh!" Right away a man answered her, and Calling-Tribes recognized that it was the voice of Property-Body, who was speaking. Calling-Tribes at once opened the door, and the man came into the room of Calling-Tribes.

Then the man sat down outside the bed of Calling-Tribes. Then

Calling-Tribes called Property-Body to lie down. Then he spoke, and said to her, "O mistress! I will stop coming to you. Just get up, and we will go and lie down in my house, that I may see how (much) you love me, mistress."

Then Calling-Tribes spoke to her lover. "Oh, great master!" thus she said, "you know well my love for you. Let us start and go according to your wish, master." Then the woman took two blankets to cover herself, and she went to where the little canoe of Property-Body lay, and went aboard.

The man immediately began to paddle. They were going to his village. When they were far away, the man spoke to Calling-Tribes. mistress! don't try not to sleep. Sleep, my dear, for the place to which we are going is far away." Then the woman went to sleep. As soon as Calling-Tribes fell asleep, the man changed his course and steered seaward. Now the man began to paddle hard.

When it was nearly day, the man woke Calling-Tribes. Calling-Tribes raised her head to look at what the man had referred to, and to see it. Then Calling-Tribes saw houses just like the village of her lover, -Property-Bdy. Then they got out of the canoe and went to the village. They went into the house of the man and the man said to Calling-Tribes, "Go, sit in the middle of the rear of the house." Calling-Tribes went and sat down at the place to which the man had referred as her seat.

Then Calling-Tribes guessed that the man was different from her lover, -for the man spoke angrily to her as soon as they entered the house. Then the man made a fire. As soon as the fire began to burn, the man went out. The man never entered the house after day had come, and the house also disappeared. Calling-Tribes was just sitting in the grass, and only a beam

of the old house was (left) on the ground in the woods.

Then it was evening once more, and the house came back and stood on the ground. The man also came into the house. He went to Calling-Tribes, and said to her "O mistress! I will tell you how my heart feels towards you. We will stay in the house this night. For this reason I stole you, mistress." Thus said the man to her. "Now you will know me. I am the chief of the WoodMen. These are the ones to whom your drowned people go. This is the country of the ghosts."

Then he asked the woman, "Are you not hungry, my dear, that I may get something for you to eat? Name what you wish to eat, mistress." Then the woman replied to the Wood-Man, and said to him, "I eat halibut in our country."

Then the Wood-Man took cedar-witches and twisted them. He went out of the house and down to the beach. He went right out into the sea, which covered his head. It was not long before he came dragging four halibut, which he put down on the beach of the house at night. Then he told Calling-Tribes, "I brought these four halibut, mistress." Thus said the Wood-Man to her. "Now you will cut them to-morrow." When he had finished speaking, he lay down with his wife. It was only wonderful that the body of the Wood-Man was cold, just like ice, for he was indeed a dead person.

Now day came. Then the Wood-Man arose at once and went out of the house. The woman, Calling-Tribes, arose and started, for the house also had disappeared. She walked to the beach, looking for mussels to cut the halibut. She had not walked long before she found a large mussel. Then she went home and put it down at the place where she was sitting.

Then she walked into the woods to look for cedar-wood on which to hang the halibut. She had not been walking long before she found a cedar-tree lying on the ground. The cedar was split into fragments, and its bark lay flat on the ground. Then she carried the cedar-wood for a roof to her house. After she had finished carrying the cedar-bark, she made a house out of it. Then she finished her house.

Then she cut the halibut and hung it up. After she had hung it up, the drying halibut became dried halibut. Then she took the cedar-bark and dried it; and as soon as it was dry, she rubbed it. The cedar-bark became soft. Then she took her knife and shaved it, she made a notch in the side of the cedar-wood. Then she shaved the cedar-wood again to make it round and after she had finished, she put the soft cedar-bark on the ground.

Then she put the cedar wood on it and drilled it. She had not drilled long when fire fell from it. Then she blew it, and now had a fire (just like) our fire. Then her fire began to burn to the ground. She took cedar-wood and shaved it, and made a roasting-spit for the halibut; for she was going to roast it for her food, because she had not eaten for four days. Therefore she took the halibut at once to eat it. Now what she was roasting was done.

She ate it at once. As soon as she had eaten, night came. Then the house of the Wood-Man grew up all around the house of Calling-Tribes. As soon as the house of the Wood-Man was there, he came in. He went into the house of his wife and laughed. He said to his wife, "Why do you make a house? for my house is already on the ground. You do not see this our house in the daytime. Although it should rain, you would not be

rained upon, mistress."

Then the woman, Calling-Tribes, spoke, and said to him, "You never come in the daytime, and this house is nothing (then), and the floor of our house is only a grassy place. As soon as night comes this house appears on the ground, and its floor is smooth; and as soon as day comes, your house disappears, and its floor is only a grassy place. Therefore, I made this my house to dry my halibut for my food, for you did not give me food and I was very hungry: Therefore I drilled for fire."

Then she tried to give her husband roasted halibut, but the Wood-Man only turned away from his wife. He did not wish to eat the roasted halibut. He did not want to eat what was roasted by a fire. Then Calling-Tribes felt badly on account of her husband, and she gave up (trying). Then her husband also said that he would feed Calling-Tribes. Then his wife said to him, "Let me eat (what you give me), master." Thus she said to her husband.

Then the Wood-Man arose and went out of the house that night. He had not been out long when two young men came in, holding at each end some bark of a hemlock tree. They put it down in front of the place where Calling-Tribes was sitting. Then she looked at it and saw a roasted salmon. As soon as the young men had put it down, they went out. Then the Wood-Man, the husband of Calling-Tribes, came in and sat down by the side of his wife. Then he asked his wife to eat.

Then the Wood-Man took some of the roasted salmon and ate it, and his wife also ate. Then they had enough. After they had eaten, the Wood-Man spoke to his wife, and said to her, "O mistress! thank you. For this

reason I did not come to our house, because before I did not possess your heart. Now I have your heart, because you have eaten of our food, mistress. Now this our house will not disappear (again)."

Now she was caught by her husband, for she had eaten the roasted salmon of the Wood-Man. What the Wood-Man referred to as roasted (salmon) was rotten wood. It was just like roasted (salmon) to those whom the Wood-Man tries to make foolish. Now we will finish this story and we will tell how this is known by the people of our world.

Made-to-be-Hunter, the son of Wealthy, the attendant of Rolling-Down, the chief of the ancestors of the Gwa'^uwaēnox^u, lived at Q!^EE'mdsē^E.ēs.

Made-to-be-Hunter launched his pretty little harpooneer's canoe. He loaded it with provisions and put his mat into it. Then he went aboard and paddled out to sea outside of the Cape, for he intended to hunt seals at Nomas Island. Then a very thick fog came up, and he paddled in vain, for he did not know which way to steer.

It began to blow, and the wind quickly became strong. Then he took his mat and made a sail out of it. He did not care if he reached a different country. Night came, but the wind remained (in) just the same (way). Then day came, and the fog was just as thick. Now night came again, and the wind was very strong. Then day came again. Now there was no fog and only a strong wind.

Then night came. When day came (again) he saw a pretty place. Then Made-to-be-Hunter felt glad. He went ashore at once there, and unloaded his canoe. Then he went down to the beach and saw a heavy wave rising outside of the place where his canoe was. It struck his canoe and split it. Then his canoe was entirely broken.

Made-to-be-Hunter gathered up the pieces of his canoe, carried them up and made a house. When he had finished the house, Made-to-be-Hunter lay down on his back and tried to discover of what place he was. Then he felt sad, for he did not know it. He ate of his provisions. After he had eaten, he lay down again on his back and went to sleep.

Then he awoke, and it was evening, and he just lay down on his back, as before. His mind was much troubled. Then he heard a man speaking behind his house. The man said to him, "O friend Made-to-be-Hunter! I come to feed you, my dear!" Thus said the one who was speaking to him.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter sat up and spoke also to him, for he was very thankful for what he had heard. He said, "Come for a while and let me look at you, my dear!" Thus he said to him. The man came at once to the door of his house and entered. He just stood in the house and stared Made-to-be-Hunter. After he had stared at him, he went out.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter felt troubled. Then he heard a woman speaking at the outer corner of his house. The woman said, "Take care, my dear! Don't eat of the food that the man will bring you, my dear! He is the Wood-Man, who said he would come and feed you. When they bring you roasted salmon, only pretend to eat; but it would be best for you to take of your own provisions, and just drop into your lap his food, and eat only (what comes from) your provisions, my dear! else you will be lost." Thus said the woman.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter spoke to the woman. (He said,) "Oh, my dear! are you Calling-Tribes?" and the woman said, "I am, my dear! I cannot go into your house, for I have eaten of the food of the Wood-Man. Good-by, my dear!" Thus he said.

As soon as the woman stopped speaking, two young men came, carrying a piece of hemlock-bark by the ends. They put it down in front of Made-to-be-Hunter. Then Made-to-be-Hunter sat up and took (what seemed to be) roasted salmon and looked at it. Then he pretended to eat, but he only threw it into his lap. The two young men were just standing with their backs to the fire of Made-to-be-Hunter. As soon as the roasted salmon was all picked over, the two young men went out.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter looked at the roasted silver salmon, and it was just like roasted silver salmon. When he looked at the roasted silver salmon, Calling-Tribes spoke from the outer corner of the house, and said, "How did you come out, my dear?" Made-to-be-Hunter answered her at once, and said to her, "I came out all right. I did not eat. I only did as you told me to, mistress." Thus said Made-to-be-Hunter to Calling-Tribes.

Then Calling-Tribes replied, and said, "Oh, my dear! now you shall know to what place you have come to stay. This is the country of all those who die in the water when their canoes capsize. This is the place to which their souls come. These are the Wood-Men, and my husband is the chief of the Wood-Men. Therefore, I warn you, my dear! The reason why I must stay is, that I took the food that the Wood-Man gave me. Therefore I do not think at all of our country. If you eat the food that is given to you, you will stay away; and if my husband stares at you very much, (it is because) he is trying to make you foolish. Then strengthen your mind, that you may not become foolish; and just stare at him also, that he may give up staring at you. Then he cannot get you, master. I cannot go into your house, because I was made a different being by the Wood-Man. That's it, my dear! Don't eat, else you will stay away, and will be lost sight of by our people, master, for I must stay here in this country. But I will

not leave you, else you might be caught. That's it, master. Now, good-by."

Then night came. Now Made-to-be-Hunter was much troubled in his mind. Then he went to sleep. Morning came, and he was lying on his back on the place where he lay. Then a man came, and spoke from a corner of the house, and said, "Oh, my dear! are you awake?" Made-to-be-Hunter replied at once, and said, "I am awake, my dear! Come into this house, my dear." Then the Wood-Man just stared at him, and Made-to-be-Hunter also stared at him. Then the Wood-Man was the first to give in.

Then the Wood-Man spoke, and said, "I came to tell you that two young men will come again to feed you, my dear, else you might be hungry in my country. That is all, my dear!" Thus said the Wood-Man to Made-to-be-Hunter. Then Made-to-be-Hunter also spoke, and said "Is not your word good, chief? You do not want me to suffer in your country, chief, that I may go back again to our country, chief."

The Wood-Man just listen to what he said. As soon as he stopped speaking, the Wood-Man spoke, and said "Eat well of the food I give you. Then you will not stay long in my country." Thus he said, and went out. Then Made-to-be-Hunter was much troubled in his mind on account of what the Wood-Man had said. While he was much troubled in his mind, he heard Calling-Tribes coming, and speaking at the corner of the house. She said "Oh, my dear! Take care. They are getting ready to come to feed you, my dear! Do not eat, else you will stay away. Strengthen your heart, and do not eat, my dear, for my husband said he would not give up trying to make you foolish, for I wish that you may go back to our country at Q!Ensde^ēmēs, that our tribe may know about me, master." Thus said the woman to Made-

to-be-Hunter. "Good-by, my dear!" Thus said Calling-Tribes to Made-to-be-Hunter.

Calling-Tribes had not stopped speaking long when the two young men came, carrying a piece of hemlock-bark by the ends. They put it down before Made-to-be-Hunter. He took some of it and pretended to eat it, but what he ate was his travelling provisions. He pretended to have eaten all the roasted silver salmon. Then the two young men went out immediately. Then Made-to-be-Hunter took what he had pretended to eat and put it on the floor. Then he was much troubled on account of what the Wood-Man had said to him, for he thought it might be good, and he half thought that the woman might only be trying to fool him.

Then he heard the woman speaking, from the outer corner of the house. She said, "How did you come out, my dear?" Then Made-to-be-Hunter answered her, and said, "I did not make a mistake, my dear! I only did what you told me to do, my dear!" Thus said Made-to-be-Hunter to Calling-Tribes. Then Calling-Tribes said to Made-to-be-Hunter, "Thank you, my dear! for I wish that you may go back to our country, my dear! Don't eat what they give you to eat, and don't give in when he stares at you. I must stay in this country, because I have eaten of this roasted silver salmon, and because I gave in when he stared at me. Therefore I am speaking thus to you my dear, for I have heard what you were only saying in your mind. You have been thinking that I have been trying to fool you, my dear! Go on, and take some of the roasted silver salmon of the Wood-Man and throw it into the fire, and you will believe me, and (also put into the fire) the skin of the roasted silver salmon, my dear!"

Made-to-be-Hunter at once took the roasted silver salmon and threw

it into the fire. Then he saw that it was rotten wood. Then he also took the skin of the roasted salmon and threw it into the fire and immediately frogs and lizards began to jump (and run) about. Made-to-be-Hunter spoke at once, and said, "O mistress, Calling-Tribes! are you still sitting there? Don't I believe you now, mistress, for I have now seen that it is bad? Now, really take care, mistress, and pity me, and watch over me, that I may go to our country, mistress."

Then he stopped speaking. Then Calling-Tribes spoke and said, "Now really, take care, my dear! and obey everything that I tell you (advise you). Only be strong, my dear! Just do the same whenever he comes to feed you. Then just hide some of your provisions, and really chew it when you are eating, and just hide the roasted salmon of the Wood-Man. If you should not really eat, the two young men could see it. Then they would do something else to make you foolish, for I do not know all the means of the Wood-Man to make (people) foolish. Therefore I warn you, master. Now, good-by! I am going home."

Now Made-to-be-Hunter was glad. In the evening the Wood-Man came, and spoke from the outer corner of the house, and said, "Are you not hungry, my dear?" Then Made-to-be-Hunter replied, and said, "Come, my dear! I am really hungry, for I have been very long (without food), master."

Made-to-be-Hunter arose at once and took some of his provisions. He came (back) and hid what he had taken from his provisions. Then he lay down on his back. Now two young men came in, carrying a piece of hemlock-bark by the ends, and put it down in front of Made-to-be-Hunter. Then Made-to-be-Hunter finished eating and the two young men went out at once. Then Made-to-be-Hunter took the roasted salmon and threw it into the fire.

Then frogs and lizards began to jump (and run) about. They were the skin of the roasted salmon, and rotten wood was burning. Then Made-to-be-Hunter just watched what he was to have eaten, for they were all jumping (and running) about; and Made-to-be-Hunter was glad on account of Calling-Tribes, because she helped him.

Then he heard a voice speaking at the outer corner of the house. It said, "Oh, my dear! how did you come out, Made-to-be-Hunter?" He replied at once, and said to her, "O mistress, thank you! Now I really believe that you wish me to remain a man, mistress. Continue to advise me, that I may go back to our country, mistress. I desire that you may come into my house, mistress, that I may see you, mistress." Thus said Made-to-be-Hunter to Calling-Tribes.

Calling-Tribes replied at once, and said, "Oh, my dear! It is impossible, master, that you see me now. I am ugly, and you would be frightened. My whole face is changed, for I have eaten of the roasted salmon, the same that they (try) to make you eat. Therefore I beg you not to eat of the roasted salmon of the Wood-Man. Just take care, Master, and don't eat if they should give you something else to eat. My husband is devising some other means to get you, master. So really take care! Don't eat, my dear! That is it, master. Now, good-by!" Thus said Calling-Tribes to Made-to-be-Hunter.

It was not long before Calling-Tribes came, and spoke again. Then she said, "Oh, my dear! I come to you again. Now, take care, for they are getting ready to come tomorrow. They will come in the shape of your brother-in-law and of your father-in-law and of your elder brother and of your father and of your two younger brothers. In the morning they will come and

pretend to find you, my dear! Just take care! It is they who come. They will make you foolish if you get into their canoe. They whom you will see are land-otters. They will look like those whom I named.

"Now take your bailer and pass water into it. As soon as the canoe comes, they will call for you, and they will call three times, shouting at you. Then you will answer them, and you will go to meet them. Ask for their paddles immediately. They will give them to you. Then take them to your house, and put them over the fire (of your house). Then you will see what kind they are, and you will strike and kill them all.

Then take your chamber-pot and go to the beach, and carry a (stick of) yew-wood for your club; and when you reach the canoe, ask the men to assemble in the middle of the canoe. As soon as they are in the middle of the canoe, sprinkle them with urine and strike them, and they will all die. Then stab the canoe, and you will know what kind it is. That is it, master. Now, good-by, my dear!"

Then night came. Made-to-be-Hunter slept well that night. Then day came. Then he sat on the ground outside of the house. He had not been sitting there long when a large canoe came in sight at the point (just beyond) the place where he was. He went into his house at once and took his club and sat down again. Then one of the men stood up in the canoe and shouted, and the man called out three times. He said every time, "Is it you, Made-to-be-Hunter, over there, master?"

Then Made-to-be-Hunter replied, and said to him, "Come quickly! It is I." The canoe came ashore at once, to the place where Made-to-be-Hunter was. As soon as the canoe came ashore, Made-to-be-Hunter went down to the beach and went to where the canoe was. Now, he recognized all the

men,--his brother-in-law, his father, his elder brother, and his younger brothers.

Then he asked for their paddles. Then one who looked just like his father spoke, and said, "O children, go on! Gather our paddles, and give them to our master." Then the brother-in-law of Made-to-be-Hunter gathered the paddles, and gave them to Made-to-be-Hunter. Made-to-be-Hunter took the paddles, and said, "Just sit still in your canoe while I go up with these paddles to my magic power."

Then he went to his house. Made-to-be-Hunter at once put the paddles over the fire (of his house). Right away the first paddle that he put up became a mink. Then he clubbed it. As soon as the paddles had become warm, they turned into minks and martens, and he killed them all. Now he had killed all the minks and martens that had been the paddles of those who had arrived.

Then he took his chamber-pot and went down to the beach, to where the canoe was. He arrived there. Then he asked the men to assemble in the middle of the canoe. The one who looked like his father and at once, "Slaves of my son, go on!" They assembled at once, according to his word. Now they assembled in the middle of the canoe. Then Made-to-be-Hunter sprinkled them with urine, and they became land-otters. Then Made-to-be-Hunter clubbed them. Then they were all dead. Then he also stabbed the canoe with his knife. Then the canoe turned up at the ends and became a skate, and went out to sea.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter went up from the beach and sat down in his house. He was excited because the Wood-Man had very accurately imitated the faces of his relatives. Then he heard some one speaking. It was

Calling-Tribes. She always said to him first when she spoke, "How did you come out, master?" Then Made-to-be-Hunter answered her, and said, "I came out all right again, mistress. Now the land-otters are also all dead, my dear, and the paddles are all dead, mistress." Thus said Made-to-be-Hunter to Calling-Tribes.

Then Calling-Tribes spoke, and said, "Thank you, master, for having killed the land-otters and the paddles. If you continue to do so, they will do the same three times. Then you will have succeeded. Now take care, master! for they are getting ready again to come to-morrow. There will be more men in the canoe. There will be eighteen men in the canoe when it comes in the morning. You will know them all. Therefore, I warn you, master. That is all. Now good-by, master!"

Then night came. When morning came, he sat down again outside of the house. Then he saw a large canoe coming in sight at the point (just beyond) the place where he was. Made-to-be-Hunter immediately entered his house and took his club. Then he went out of his house again and sat down on the ground where he had been sitting before. The large canoe arrived outside of the house. Then a man who looked just like the most beloved friend of Made-to-be-Hunter in his country arose.

Then he said, "O master! is it you, my dear? Are you Made-to-be-Hunter?" When he had spoken three times, Made-to-be-Hunter replied, and said to him, "Come, I am." Then the canoe came ashore. Made-to-be-Hunter arose and went to meet it. He asked at once for the paddles. They were given to him immediately. Then he said again to (the men) "Just stay in the canoe, that I may go with them to my house." Then he carried the paddles, and put them over the fire of his house. They all became minks, and he clubbed them.

As soon as all the minks were dead, he took his chamber-pot and went down to the beach, to where the canoe was. Then he said to (the men), "Now assemble in the middle of your canoe." As soon as they were in the middle of the canoe, Made-to-be-Hunter sprinkled the men with urine, and they at once turned into land-otters. Then he clubbed them. As soon as the land-otters were dead, he stabbed the canoe with his knife, and it became a sea-lion. Then the sea-lion was alive, and all the land-otters were dead.

Then he went up from the beach and entered his house. He had just sat down in his house when he heard Calling-Tribes coming, and speaking at the outer corner of the house. She said, "How did you come out, master?" Made-to-be-Hunter replied to her at once and said, "I have come out all right, mistress, for I have killed all the land-otters. Therefore I say that I came out all right, mistress." Now, the land-otters did in this way to him three times. Now came the fourth time, and now his relatives were really going to come. Then Calling-Tribes came and told him about this also. She said, "Now, be glad, for your father and your mother and your elder brother and your younger brother will really come to-morrow. Don't believe your own heart at once, that they are your relatives that will come, in case the land-otters should come first; and bid farewell (for me) to our relatives when you go home to-morrow, master. I shall not come to you again, master." Thus said Calling-Tribes to Made-to-be-Hunter.

Then Made-to-be-Hunter tried to speak, but she never replied. He was glad that evening. Then night came, and he slept. He woke up in the morning. He went out at once and sat down outside of his house. Then he saw a large canoe coming in sight this side of the point. He arose at once and entered his house, took his club, and came (back) carrying it. Then

he sat down.

Now the canoe arrived outside of the house. Then his elder brother arose in the canoe, and shouted to him, "Is it you, Made-to-be-Hunter?" Thus he said. When he had called three times, Made-to-be-Hunter replied, and said, "It is I. Come quickly!" His father said at once, "O slaves of my son, paddle! It is he." Then the canoe went ashore at the beach of the house. Made-to-be-Hunter went to meet it; and his first words were, "Gather your paddles, and bring them all to me."

Then the father told his children to gather the paddles. After they had gathered the paddles, they gave them to Made-to-be-Hunter, who took them. Then he said, "Now stay in your canoe and let me go to my house." Then he went up and put the paddles over the fire of his house. The paddles just became dry. Then he took one of the paddles and put it into the fire and it caught fire. It was yellow cedar.

Then he took his chamber-pot and carried it. Then he asked (the men) to assemble in the middle of the canoe. The men assembled. Then Made-to-be-Hunter sprinkled them with urine. His father just asked him, and said, "Go and get some more to wash myself with." Then he stabbed the canoe with his knife, and it was cedar-wood.

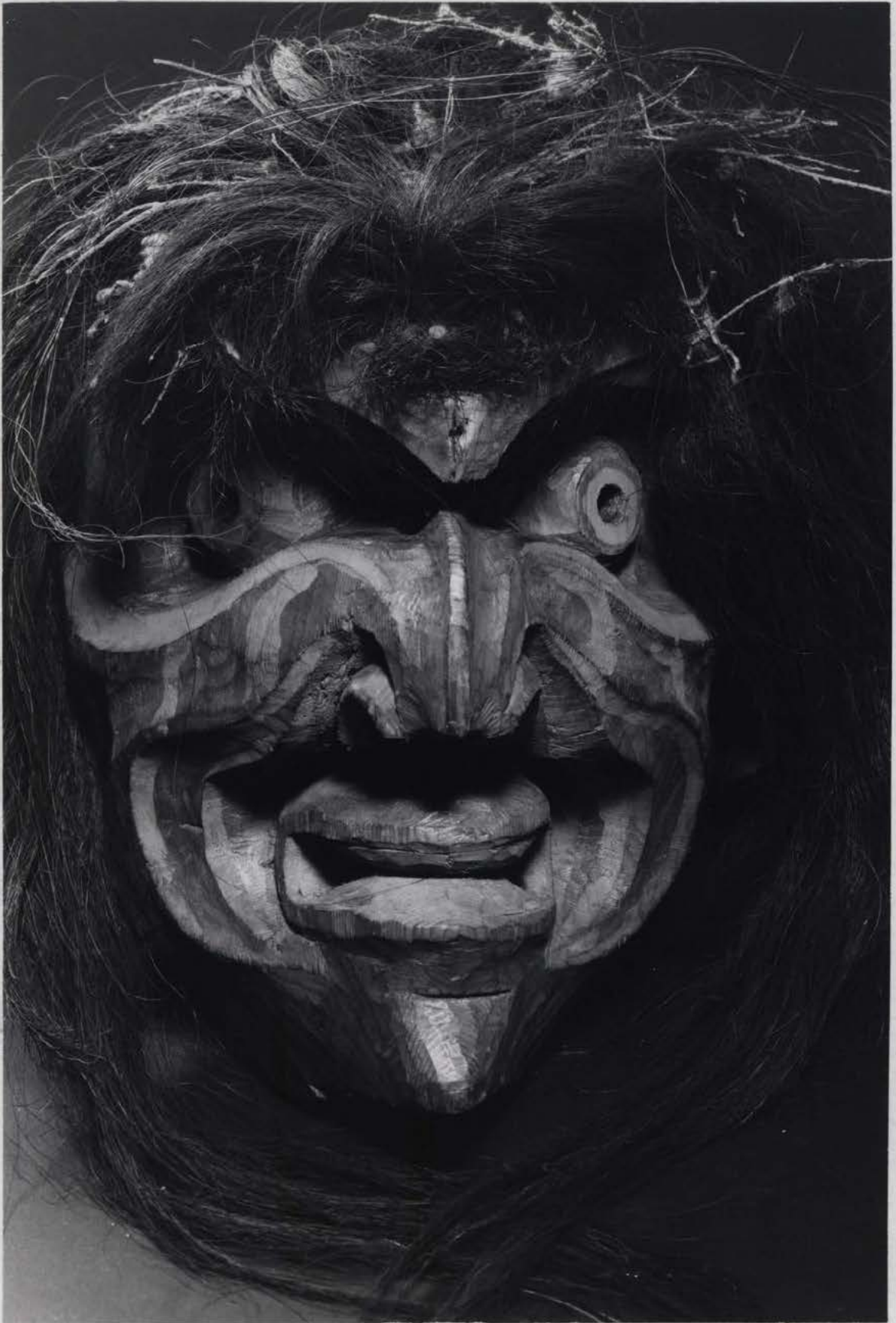
Then Made-to-be-Hunter spoke to them, and said, "Come out of your canoe and go to my house here." Then his father and his children got out of the canoe and went into the house. Then he again took urine and gave it to his father and to his mother, and his father sprinkled his face and (the faces) of his crew. Then they loaded their canoe and went home. They at once had a winter dance in their village. Then they tried to imitate the Wood-Man. Then Made-to-be-Hunter danced the Wood-Man dance. That is the end.

APPENDIX B

PHOTOGRAPHS OF MASKS











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COLOMBIA



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PAQUSIL AHL EMERGING FROM WOODS
from E. S. Curtis "North American Indian"
Volume 10, 1914
B.C. Provincial Archives Photo 74724



MASKED DANCERS - KWAKIUTL
copied from E. S. Curtis Photo 1914
B. C. Provincial Archives Photo 74499
Bukwus is the first figure standing on the right

APPENDIX C

CODING OF MASKS

<u>Museum</u>	<u>Mask Number</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
B. C. Provincial Museum	1913	1
B. C. Provincial Museum	9206	2
B. C. Provincial Museum	10063	3
B. C. Provincial Museum	14078	4
B. C. Provincial Museum	14106	5
Th. Burke Memorial Museum	25.0/220	6
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6218	7
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A1493	8
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6176	9
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6242	10
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A3483	11
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A4287	12
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6220	13
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6175	14
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A8424	15
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6371	16
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6482	17
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6353	18
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A4318	19
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A6370	20
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A4501	21
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A8425	22
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A5285	23
Anthro. Museum, U.B.C.	A5324	24
Milwaukee Public Museum	17361/4615	25
National Museum of Man	VII-E-614	26

APPENDIX D

LIST OF MASK VARIABLES

1. height (6)*
2. width (6)
3. breadth (7)
4. head covering (6)
5. deep lines carved around mouth (2)
6. "cedar bark" lines (2)
7. chin shape (2)
8. chin lines (3)
9. chin color (12)
10. ear type (3)
11. ear color (9)
12. deeply carved eye and cheek area (2)
13. forehead color (13)
14. eye form (3)
15. eye color (4)
16. distance eyebrow ends from mask edge (5)
17. eyebrow color (2)
18. nose position in relation to lips (4)
19. nose color (13)
20. distance nose protrudes from forehead (2)
21. nostril projection (2)
22. nostril color (5)
23. mouth position (5)
24. mouth angle (3)
25. mouth color (3)
26. color of cheek lines (11)
27. primary color of face (7)
28. wear (2)
29. outlines (3)
30. color of teeth (6)
31. color of area around eye (6)
32. adze marks (2)
33. shape of face designs (7)
34. carved ridge between eyebrows (2)
35. shape of ear designs (6)
36. shape of forehead designs (7)

* number in brackets lists the attributes associated with each variable

APPENDIX E

METHODOLOGY

G coefficient of similarity, dendrogram, and multiple scalogram analysis (MSA1) were prepared using the University of Victoria IBM computer.

A. Driver's G Coefficient of Similarity

G was invented by Harold Driver and Alfred Kroeber in 1932 (see Driver 1961) and revised by Ellegard in 1959 to eliminate the d cell of negative agreement of the bivariate table, which reads:

Mask 1

		Present (+)	Absent (-)
Mask 2	Present (+)	a	b
	Absent (-)	c	d

The G coefficient is calculated between each pair of masks for all the variables using the formula:

$$G = \frac{a}{\sqrt{(a + b)(a + c)}}$$

The G coefficients are listed in Appendix F, Table II.

B. Dendrogram

The G coefficients of similarity are indicated in the dendrogram in Figure 2 (p. 48). An advantage of this form of similarity coefficient presentation is that the overall relationship among the masks is revealed immediately, with the vertical axis indicating the bridge values of the masks. The dendrogram is plotted by finding the smallest euclidian space for several points; all the unit pairs in the sample are scanned and the pair with the closest coefficient is joined (see

Jorgensen 1969:123).

C. Multiple Scalogram Analysis 1

MSA1 determines the number of dimensions it takes to adequately represent a body of data. It establishes the smallest space in which points fall into contiguous regions, based on their category scores on all the variables (Bloombaum 1968). The computer printed out a diagram placing the points between masks in two-dimensional space. Each variable was then printed according to the category in which it fell compared to the same variable for all other items.

The outer-point coordinates for a two-dimensional analysis are listed in Appendix G, Table III, page 64, and the scalogram plotting of 21 of the masks (5 were eliminated because of missing data) is reprinted on page 51, Figure 3.

D. Fisher Exact Probability Test

This test is used to analyze data when the two samples are small in size. The scores are represented by their frequency in a 2x2 contingency table. The formula for the exact probability is given as:

$$P = \frac{(A + B)! (C + D)! (A + C)! (B + D)!}{N! A! B! C! D!}$$

To compute the probability the significance levels rather than the exact values of p were used, as compiled by Siegel (1956).

APPENDIX F

MATRICES OF G COEFFICIENTS OF SIMILARITY

TABLE IV. UNORDERED G SCORE MATRIX OF TOTAL MASK SIMILARITY FOR 26 KWAKIUTL BUKWUS MASKS (36 VARIABLES)

GROUP NUMBER	GROUP NUMBER									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	1000	416	388	416	444	500	305	555	444	555
2	416	1000	333	500	416	361	361	361	333	444
3	388	333	1000	388	416	416	444	361	444	388
4	416	500	388	1000	472	444	361	444	333	333
5	444	416	416	472	1000	527	305	611	638	472
6	500	361	416	444	527	1000	277	527	361	527
7	305	361	444	361	305	277	1000	333	305	305
8	555	361	361	444	611	527	333	1000	694	555
9	444	333	444	333	638	361	305	694	1000	500
10	555	444	388	333	472	527	305	555	500	1000
11	444	361	416	416	527	527	333	611	527	527
12	527	361	305	416	611	472	388	722	638	555
13	472	333	472	333	333	305	611	361	333	444
14	444	277	305	388	555	416	305	583	527	444
15	416	416	277	472	611	416	388	638	583	444
16	305	388	500	388	416	416	361	388	277	472
17	371	314	314	342	428	485	285	457	399	428
18	527	305	444	472	527	472	527	555	472	416
19	388	250	388	416	277	250	444	305	250	250
20	371	285	399	285	228	257	399	285	228	257
21	444	305	583	500	416	472	583	444	361	361
22	500	416	333	416	722	444	388	611	611	527
23	285	199	428	285	314	228	457	257	228	314
24	361	277	472	277	333	361	361	333	277	361
25	419	322	580	419	419	290	451	322	322	322
26	642	535	500	464	357	357	357	428	357	500

TABLE IV. (continued)

GROUP NUMBER	GROUP NUMBER								
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	444	527	472	444	416	305	371	527	388
2	361	361	333	277	416	388	314	305	250
3	416	305	472	305	277	500	314	444	388
4	416	416	333	388	472	388	342	472	416
5	527	611	333	555	611	416	428	527	277
6	527	472	305	416	416	416	485	472	250
7	333	388	611	305	388	361	285	527	444
8	611	722	361	583	638	388	457	555	305
9	527	638	333	527	583	277	399	472	250
10	527	555	444	444	444	472	428	416	250
11	1000	611	361	388	555	361	457	500	361
12	611	1000	388	694	805	333	371	500	361
13	361	388	1000	305	305	361	228	583	416
14	388	694	305	1000	555	277	457	361	333
15	555	805	305	555	1000	333	342	500	416
16	361	333	361	277	333	1000	371	388	333
17	457	371	228	457	342	371	1000	342	257
18	500	500	583	361	500	388	342	1000	500
19	361	361	416	333	416	333	257	500	1000
20	171	171	428	199	228	514	205	457	485
21	527	500	555	444	444	444	371	555	555
22	583	805	416	555	750	333	399	500	388
23	285	285	428	257	228	457	314	428	457
24	388	361	416	305	333	416	399	416	472
25	290	322	483	290	354	612	290	580	548
26	285	392	428	357	357	321	296	357	357

TABLE IV (continued)

GROUP NUMBER	GROUP NUMBER						
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1	371	444	500	285	361	419	642
2	285	305	416	199	277	322	535
3	399	583	333	428	472	580	500
4	285	500	416	285	277	419	464
5	228	416	722	314	333	419	357
6	257	472	444	228	361	290	357
7	399	583	388	457	361	451	357
8	285	444	611	257	333	322	428
9	228	361	611	228	277	322	357
10	257	361	527	314	361	322	500
11	171	527	583	285	388	290	285
12	171	500	805	285	361	322	392
13	428	555	416	428	416	483	428
14	199	444	555	257	305	290	357
15	228	444	750	228	333	354	357
16	514	444	333	457	416	612	321
17	205	371	399	314	399	290	296
18	457	555	500	428	416	580	357
19	485	555	388	457	472	548	357
20	1000	342	199	470	399	599	407
21	342	1000	500	514	500	483	392
22	199	500	1000	285	416	354	392
23	470	514	285	1000	657	419	370
24	399	500	416	657	1000	419	357
25	599	483	354	419	419	1000	359
26	407	392	392	370	357	359	1000

APPENDIX G

SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS COORDINATES

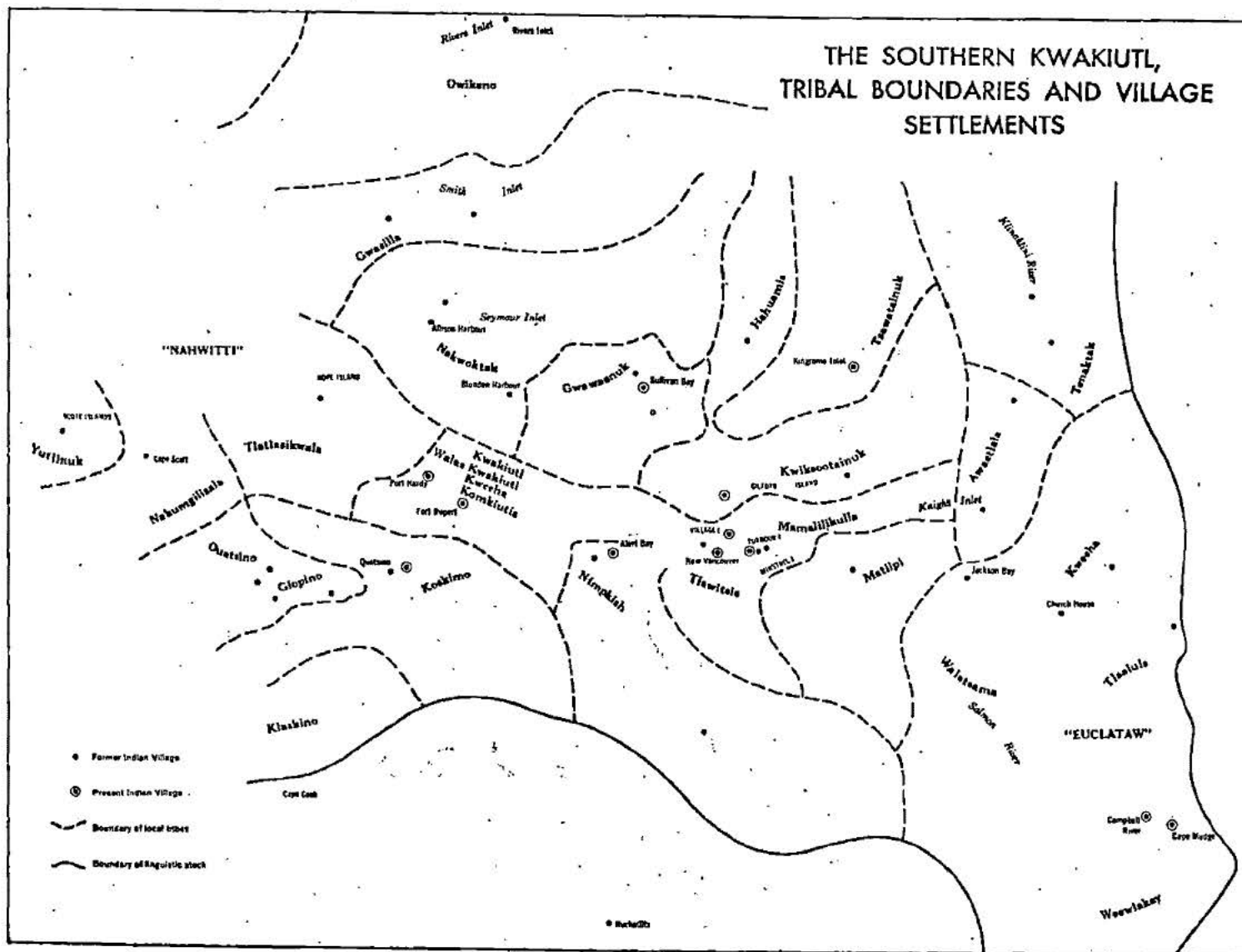
TABLE V. GUTTMAN-LINGOES OUTER-POINT SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS COORDINATES
FOR M=2

MASK	DIMENSION 1	DIMENSION 2
1	-53.085	-3.112
2	-60.093	90.450
3	-5.043	45.810
4	-5.232	47.302
5	-79.664	-21.399
6	-64.748	-2.926
7	54.430	100.000
8	-70.352	-15.807
9	-87.256	-58.421
10	-90.288	-7.576
11	-63.969	-18.982
12	-80.128	-21.552
13	-3.087	44.952
14	-100.000	-23.314
15	-81.368	-21.245
16	-5.798	42.293
18	-7.257	23.343
19	94.151	-100.000
21	-5.147	24.463
22	-79.936	-22.052
24	67.292	-31.024

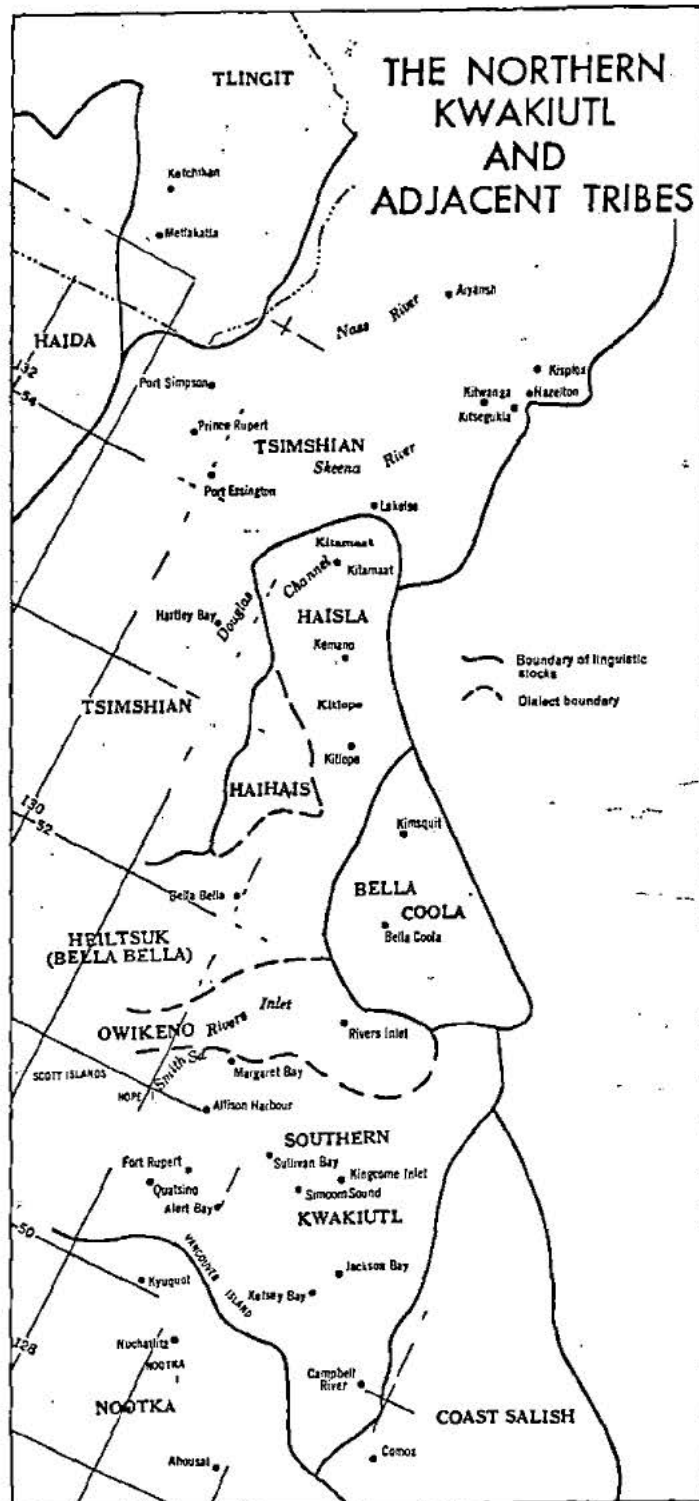
Coefficient of Contiguity 0.912

APPENDIX H

MAPS



Hawthorn 1967:6



Hawthorn 1967:7

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ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

Author



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Diane Persson

Name

30 April, 1974

Date