

FORM AS PROCESS IN FOLKTALE NARRATION:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEEP AND SURFACE STRUCTURES

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This study grew out of a concern that current deep structure postulations were all only partially successful because they did not illustrate the complex relationship between all the elements of a tale's deep and surface structures. To illustrate the value of a more complex and discriminating analytical method and the information it can yield, I collected twenty-nine variants of the popular Eskimo story of several girls who were wedded to nonhuman husbands (the most accessible variant is "The Whale and Eagle Husbands," in Thompson's Tales of the North American Indians). The method involved three steps: first, developing a mode of description which would provide accountability for all units and relationships in the surface structure of any variant text; second, constructing a model hypothetical base tale which would reflect in detail the surface structure complexity of the variant texts; and third, expanding a simple deep structure formula to correlate it with the hypothetical base tale. Through these expanded forms I hoped to accurately describe the relationship between the tale's deep and surface structures.

Descriptive Analysis and Surface Structure

Attempting to account for all parts of a tale required rethinking and revision of the common usage definitions for delineating units of surface structure. Alan Dundes, in his morphological study, briefly summarized the history of this ongoing process of revision to which I would contribute the following discussion.

Thompson's motifs do not adequately serve the purpose of accountability since they cover units of narrative action which vary both in size and significance; nor, perhaps, were they intended to. However, I have retained the term "motif" with its widespread connotation of being the nuclear element in folktales, but I have tried to further specify the term with a structural definition. In the Eskimo tale, for instance, a girl is abducted by an animal (usually a whale, but in at least one instance a walrus) to some distant place (there are several alternatives) where in a few variants he builds her a house from his bones. The question, in structural terms, is whether this action is divisible and on what basis. An abduction and abductor are required in every variant, though the type of animal may vary: the other information appears optional. On the basis of occurrence we can isolate the abduction act from the other elements which appear to modify it. I would define Motif, then, as the smallest independent unit of plot capable of isolation and modification.

Smaller than the motif is the Detail, the type of animal, for example. Details are often optional and they always modify a motif or another detail, never occurring apart from such modifying relationships.

There are, of course, levels of size and significance between the motif and the tale. These usually appear as units composed of a series of related actions, a sequence of events. Many of Thompson's motifs are such units, which I would term Incidents. An Incident is a grouping of motifs and details, unified by a persisting set of relationships between the motifs, which occurs in a majority of variants. The climactic incident of the whale husband episode involves four separate actions (motifs) related sequentially in time and causally, and includes two important details and the additional choice of an optional motif.

Further, in narrative tales, there are units larger than incidents but smaller than the tale itself. The most common version of this Eskimo tale, for instance, involves two girls who are separately abducted by a whale and an eagle. However, in two variants a third girl is wed to a stone, and in one a fourth girl is wed to a sea scorpion. While the sea scorpion wedding does not occur separately in any form, indeed even in this tale it is given but a few sentences, the stone husband tale occurs widely as a separate story. Yet unlike the component tales of the trickster cycles, these stories of four husbands are not separate tales embedded or bound together; they are permutations of a basic theme and structure and follow, to a point, a common pattern of specific actions. Such permutations I call Episodes to distinguish them from separate, distinct tales of differing plot patterns which are added together.

In the process of narration each of these structural units--detail, motif, incident, episode--is not simply existent, but occurs in a relationship with other units. Units may occur in a CAUSAL relationship, in the narrowest sense of efficient cause where one action causes an immediate and proximate effect, for instance, copulation with the whale causes the girl to develop rough, whale-like skin. Units may also exist in a LOGICAL relationship, one of final cause where the second action results from an actor's choice (the first action), as in the abducted girl's choice of deception rather than violence to bring about her escape. A THEMATIC relationship is one which is neither the result of choice nor of efficient causation, but is established to further define the theme (formal cause); a good example of this occurs at the end of the whale husband episode where the slain whale is transformed into a bone like that upon which the girl made her fateful wish at the beginning of the story. We have already discussed the fourth kind of relationship, MODIFICATION, where a detail elaborates a motif. The fifth and last relationship is SEQUENTIAL, a simple difference of time and place; it occurs at transitional points in the tale where there are two motifs widely separated in time and place or brought together by apparent circumstance but which follow successively in the narration.

Obviously, all possible motifs do not occur in any one variant. Occurrence then is the third factor in any analysis of surface structure. We may speak of units in three broad classes of occurrence: those which are optional and may or may not appear; and those which are varying, that is, an item must appear but a choice of one or more alternatives seems possible (as in the

choice of locations to which the girl is abducted). It appears that while all units may be necessary or optional, only details may vary.

Surface Structure: The Expanded Tale and Variants

By examining and recording every statement in each variant and noting those repeated at least once, the following expanded version of the tale was constructed. While hypothetical, the expanded version is valuable in determining the range of probable choices the folktale narrator can draw from.

The Eagle and the Whale Husbands

(F) I. Framing Theme Episode

1. A number of children \tilde{a}_1 male playing on (b) beach.
 a_2 female
2. Each wishes for a nonhuman mate \tilde{a}_1 after playing with parts: Bones or pebbles
 a_2 after seeing example

II. The Whale Husband Episode

1. Captive abducted by a_1 whale to \tilde{b}_1 island
 a_2 walrus b_2 beneath the sea
 b_3 whale's innards
(c) where he builds her a house of bones.
2. Whale to man transformation.
3. Whale will not let girl leave house.
4. Girl picks \tilde{a}_1 lice off whale's body.
 a_2 barnacles
5. Girl fed on \tilde{a}_1 whale's food
 a_2 whale's flesh
6. Partial transformation of girl to whale.
7. Attempt(s) by \tilde{a}_1 parents at rescuing girl.
 a_2 girl's proper spouse
 a_3 friends
 a_4 brother(s)
(b) series of boats built to save captive are destroyed until they make one faster than a gull.
8. Girl, aware of rescue attempts, uses excuse that she has to urinate to secure permission to go outside and defecate as well.
9. Whale denies permission.
10. Whale suggests that she urinate in his mouth (a) defecate in hand.
11. Captive misnames rescuers at first but whale names them correctly.
12. Whale relents and lets the girl go outside to urinate.

13. She is, however, tethered to a line which she is instructed to keep taut.
14. She deceives him by tying the line to \tilde{a}_1 post, stake or knife
 - a_2 whale bone or bone
 - a_3 a boat
 - a_4 stone or land
 - a_5 article of clothing
 (b) to which another person has given power to speak.
15. She instructs the post to answer any of the whale's inquiries about her by imitating her voice and saying, "No, I'm not yet done."
16. Whale tries line and/or asks if she is done; tethered object replies, "Not yet."
17. Whale discovers he has been deceived (a) by pulling rope to which girl was tied from ground.
18. Whale gathers up all its bones (a) which had been used for house-- and becomes a whale again (b) forgets certain bones.
19. Whale overtakes girl and rescuers in their \tilde{a}_1 umiak/boat
 - a_2 kayaks
20. Rescuers throw girl to animal to insure their own safety.
21. Rescuers throw over woman's clothes piece-by-piece to distract whale. Articles are named in series. Articles are
 - \tilde{a}_1 coat and/or inner coat and/or outer coat
 - a_2 boots
 - a_3 kamiks together
 - a_4 kamiks separately
 - a_5 breeches
 - a_6 headband
 - a_7 mittens
 - a_8 unnamed piece
 - a_9 eventually all clothes
 (b) breeches especially distract whale.
 (c) whale's anger makes water foam.
22. Whale destroys brother and girl captive in kayak at sea.
23. Boat beaches safely and (a) party journeys inland.
24. Whale destroys empty boat on beach.
25. Whale dies \tilde{a}_1 at sea because it forgot certain bone(s).
 - a_2 on beach
26. Whale beaches and head turns to bone and can't chase them further.
27. Whale meets in-laws who tell whale he will be allowed to marry girl if he turns around. He turns around and he is killed (III 14).
28. Rescuers eat whale but captive would not because she had cohabited with it.
29. Stranded whale is killed.

III. The Eagle Husband Episode.

1. Captive abducted by \tilde{a}_1 eagle to a (b) high mountain top
 - a_2 owl (c) ledge or cliff
 - a_3 giant bird (d) by sea.
 - a_4 falcon
 - a_5 gull

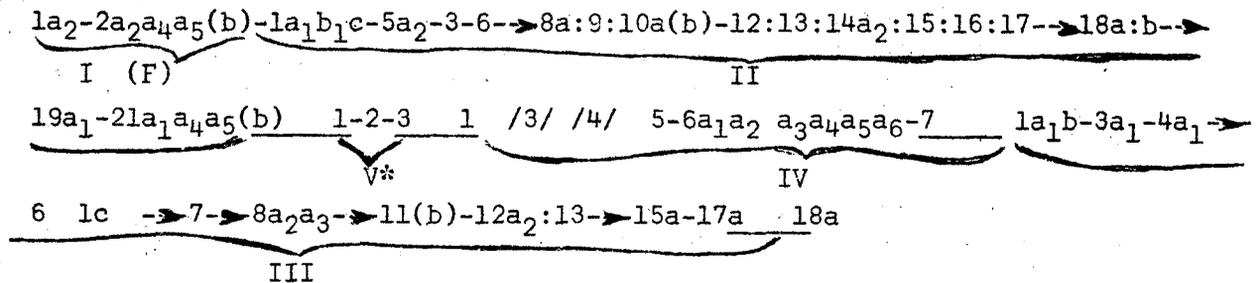
2. Eagle to human transformation.
3. Eagle provides \tilde{a}_1 caribou calves for food/young deer
 - a_2 lemmings
 - a_3 deer/caribou
 - a_4 rabbits
 - a_5 birds
 - a_6 narwhal
 - a_7 walrus
 - a_8 whale meat
4. Girl finds that her relatives are coming in an \tilde{a}_1 umiak
 - a_2 kayaks

IV. The Sea Scorpion Husband (Iglulik A only)

1. Girl marries a sea scorpion.
2. She is buried beneath a stone.
3. She is never found.

This expanded tale provides the basis for a closer examination of the surface structures of individual variants. Using the mode of descriptive analysis mentioned earlier, all elements of the tale were given symbolic descriptions: Episodes (Roman numerals), Incidents (upper case Roman letters), Motifs (Arabic numerals) and Details (lower case Roman letters). Relationships were similarly coded: Causal (arrow), Logical (colon), Thematic (underline), Sequential (hyphen) and Modification (no sign). Optional elements were indicated by parentheses and varying elements by a tilde and/or subscript number; implied elements were marked by square brackets, interpolated elements by curved brackets, and novel plot inventions by asterisks.

Each variant was then described in these symbols. Iglulik A, for example, was the most expansive version of the tale.



This variant had two unusual features. The first is the inclusion of the Sea Scorpion episode, V*, which occurs in no other variant. The episode is followed by the Stone Husband episode, IV, in which most of the motifs of the common prose version have been transformed into a song inserted into the text. The tale concludes with a curious interpolation of lc after lb in the Eagle Husband episode, III. The tale ends with a thematic reinforcement, 18a.

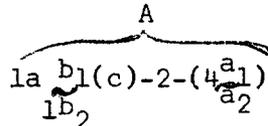
The twenty-nine variants, with source and page, are listed below.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Greenland A, Thalbitzer, 259 | Netsilik A, Rasmussen G, 386 |
| Greenland B, Rasmussen B, 130 | Netsilik B, Rasmussen G, 409 |
| Greenland C, Rink, 126 | |
| Polar A, Kroeber, 172 | Copper A, Jenness, 74A |
| Polar B, Kroeber, 175 | Copper B, Jenness, 77A |
| Polar C, Rasmussen, H, 180 | Copper C, Jenness, 78A |
| | Copper D, Rasmussen D, 221 |
| | Copper E, Rasmussen D, 221 |
| Baffinland, Boas B, 217 | |
| | Mackenzie A, Jenness, 59A |
| Labrador A, Hawkes, 155 | Mackenzie B, Rasmussen F, 117 |
| Labrador B, Smith, 210 | Mackenzie C, Rasmussen F, 125 |
| | |
| Iglulik A, Rasmussen E, 281 | Ten'a (Ingalik), Chapman, 28 |
| Iglulik B, Rasmussen E, 302 | |
| | Chukchee, Bogoras A, 436 |
| Caribou A, Rasmussen C, 96 | |
| Caribou B, Rasmussen C, 94 | Koryak, Jochelson, 206 |
| Caribou C, Rasmussen C, 16 | |
| Caribou D, Rasmussen C, 109 | |
| Caribou E, Boas B, 317 | |

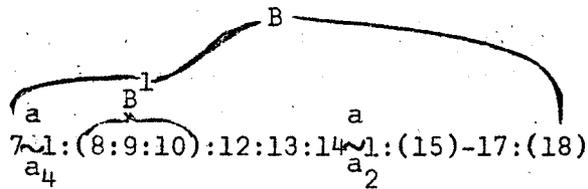
The Hypothetical Base Tale

A composite chart of all the variants of the tale encompassing every motif and detail is then constructed. This chart is similar to those typically used in the Finnish method except that the definitions of all the structural units have been radically altered to provide accountability for every narrative element in the tale. On this chart, recurrent groupings of motifs and details become apparent and from these groupings the incidents are determined. The division of the tale into episodes, often clear from simply reading the text, is confirmed by the chart. From the detailed information on this chart, a hypothetical base tale is constructed which accounts for all necessary elements and predictable variances.

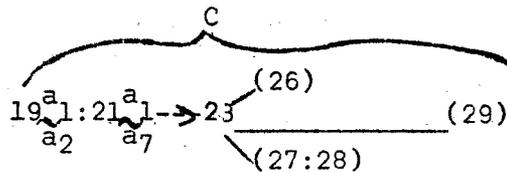
The whale episode is composed of three clearly definable, necessary incidents and one optional incident, B¹. The abduction and captivity incident, A, is described as:



The detailed motif $\overbrace{\text{7}^{\text{a}_1}}$ provides motivation for the deception incident, B. This incident may itself be enlarged by the interpolation of one or more elements from the optional attempted escape incident, B¹. The entire second incident can be described:

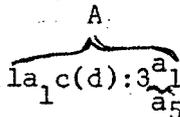


The third and final incident in the episode is the magic flight and resolution. Three alternate resolutions are possible; this variety is sustained by the persistence of motif 23 (boat and crew reach shore safely) which appears throughout almost all of the tales as a partial resolution. With the audience's concern for the girl and her rescuers taken care of by 23, the narrator can then dispose of the whale and complete the episode in a number of ways

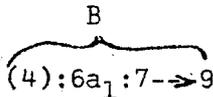


There is no transition to the next episode.

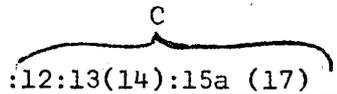
The eagle episode is also composed of three incidents. The abduction and captivity incident, A, invariably requires the mention of the captured food, 3^a_1 ; since it is this that will provide the sinew for the means of escape. a_5



Incident B, the descent and escape, is also simple.

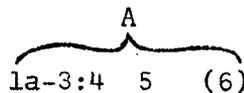


Incident C closes the episode with the central motif, 13, providing the focus for the last incident:



Again there is no transition to the next episode.

The stone husband episode has but one incident of related actions:



The action-motivating motif is 1a, the girl's rejection of/by men; the resolution is her transformation to stone, 5. Motif 6, the detailed description of her transformation, is optional. The stone husband episode presents an interesting contrast to the others in that the girl is not saved from the curse of her or another's choice.

The sea scorpion husband of Iglulik A is the only instance of that episode and is probably an invention of the narrator. It offers the same contrast to the first two episodes as does the stone husband.

By combining these instances, we can arrive at a complete and accurate model of the hypothetical base tale. At this point, we may define surface structure as the unique combination of structural units in a relationship defined by an individual narrator as a particular permutation of a hypothetical base tale. I say permutation because changes in the narrative, even one so radical as the inclusion of the sea scorpion episode, are limited by the boundaries of possibility fixed by the tale's deep structure and communicated to the individual variant by the hypothetical base tale.

Deep Structure and The Concept of Valence

Current deep structure formulations express a static constancy in their definitions of term and function and until recently could account for only one pattern of narrative development, inversion. Here the work of the Marandas has been of assistance in refining the method and increasing the number of models to account for other patterns. However, even in their work the terms and functions remain constant identities in an equilibrous relationship to each other. By "equilibrous" I mean that term A can only be function x or function y; it cannot be more or less y, more or less good, for example. Term A must somehow, suddenly, in a single moment of action, become wholly good or wholly evil. This does not appear to consistent with the nature of man or the nature of the folktale, for we know that both involve growth and development. The folktale possesses a continuing regard for the character's actions as reflections of appropriate or inappropriate behavior judged against a set of norms which are universal as well as cultural. This developing relationship, which elsewhere has always been called plot, is structurally expressed by the term-function interactions. The static nature of current term-function formulations, however, does not describe this growth.

After a detailed description of the surface features and their incorporation into a complex hypothetical base tale, this then was the third step: to derive an explicit deep structure formulation, more elaborate than the simpler ones to which we are accustomed, which could be correlated in its individual terms and functions with the individual motifs and details of the hypothetical base tale. Such a term-function correlation with surface features would draw a clear picture of the developing tale and the way in which the deep structure is manifested in particular variants.

A review of the tale reveals that the essential polarity is between human and non-human, as terms:

a = girl, c = human community
b = non-human

and as functions

x = civilized (human) behavior
y = uncivilized (inhuman) behavior

One might be tempted to narrow the opposing functions further into weddable and non-weddable, but an examination of the tale will reveal its purpose to be that of defining community, not by specific behavior but by identity or nature. In this regard it is interesting to note that while copulation with animals is not unknown among Eskimos (Rasmussen D, 51; Rasmussen E, 197-98), there is no tradition of trickster tales whose central figure shares human and animal characteristics. Some taboos are also aimed at avoiding such confusion (Rasmussen E, 196). These factors, I think, endorse the wider definition of the functions.

Reversing the symbolic descriptions (but not the relationships) of the terms and functions,

x = human → x = inhuman
y = inhuman → y = human

a = girl → a = animal
b = animal → b = girl

such terms and functions can enter into a description of the tale according to Levi-Strauss' formula:

$$f_x(a):f_y(b)::f_x(b):f_{a-1}(Y)$$

This is also the Marandas' Model IV (Successful Mediation: Nullification of Initial Impact as a Means of Increasing on the Initial State). But such a description of the tale would be inaccurate on several counts.

First, there are not two but three terms in this tale: animal, individual human (girl), and human community. The latter two are not reducible because of their contrasting roles; the difference between them is more than number. Current formulations try very hard to overlook such factors and reduce them to a neat polarity; it doesn't work. Secondly, unlike the Levi-Strauss formula which the Marandas rightly see as an improvement upon the initial condition, the tale only restores the original boundary between the animal and human kingdoms; the boundary is not rendered permanently shut. This difference of interpretation can best be resolved, I think, by considering the tale as an embedding of several Model IV formulations which are working towards a Model III (Nullification of Initial Impact) resolution. How this is worked out depends not so much on the functions or the terms themselves as on the relation-

ships between them. Such relationships, I contend, are marked by those very aspects of the surface structure which have been previously overlooked because they were not "gross constituent units."

Functions occur in several relationships to terms. Most all function-term relationships are equilibrating. Characters (terms) and actions (functions) are developed and elaborated throughout the tale to further define the theme. One might say in fact that the full definition of a term or a function is not completely constituted until the tale is ended. This is perhaps why a deep structure formula never tells the tale, but only the reconstituted elements. It is a statement after the fact, a sum expressing the resolution of all the tendencies that preceded it in the tale.

I have adopted Osgood's term "valence" to express the unstable and developing nature of a function-term relationship. In the Eskimo tale, for instance, the human girl, $f_x(a)$, dreams of a nonhuman husband, $f_y(b)$, symbolized by a bone. She is abducted to the animal world, $f_y(a)$, where the whale begins to adopt human characteristics, $f_x+(b)$. Note that in adopting some human characteristics the whale is undergoing a change which cannot be expressed as either $f_x(b)$ or $f_y(b)$. He is neither wholly whale nor wholly human in his behavior. Because it is through such changes that tales are developed it is important that they be described. The "valence"--this movement of terms towards or away from their initial functional definition--I have signified by a plus or minus sign. Here the positive valence, $f_x+(b)$, indicates that the function x, civilized behavior, is overriding b's original animal character; no longer is he simply $f_y(b)$, but he is in the process of becoming $f_x(b)$.

Since the reality of what I am describing is that of a tendency rather than an entity, these tendencies are without mass (quantity) but express only the energy and direction of the tale at the moment. Consequently, though the added elements may be several, because we are summing tendencies or directions, the result will always be simply one valence or another, plus or minus, for the incident. This additional information will affect our analysis of the tale's structure.

The tale is a series of embeddings (Diagram A) in which the last two units of each embedded formula become the first two units of the succeeding formula; this recurs three times until the imbalance is resolved. The framing section (F I) provides the motivating relationship between the terms: a girl, $f_x(a)$, dreams for an animal husband who is either symbolized by bone or appears in the flesh, $f_y(b)$. The opening action of the first incident, the abduction of the girl and her entry into the animal world, $f_y(a)$, mediates the terms so that the tale can unfold. This may explain why the abductions of all the girls are sometimes brought together before the telling of the episodes as in the Greenland variants. So that we have:

$f_x(a): f_y(b)::f_y(a):f_x+(b)$

valence (+)

The final term is a transitional term, the whale adopting human characteristics (2, 4^a₁), which creates an imbalance, $f_x+(b)$, yeilding a total valence of (+) and requiring another formulation in its search for resolution.

The balance is only partially restored by the girl's adoption of animal characteristics, which is in effect a diminishment of her human qualities, $f_x-(a)$. The ambiguity of the food in the eagle episode, the fact that it is proper food for both eagles and humans, permits the motif to serve in both places. The temporary balance resulting from countering tendencies (+,-)

$$f_y(a):f_x+(b)::f_x-(a)$$

is offset, however, by a reversal on the part of the whale to cruelty and inhumanity in tethering the girl, $f_y+(b)$; this cruelty is comparable to the maltreatment of the girl in several versions of the eagle episode:

$$f_y(a):f_x+(b)::f_x-(a):f_y+(b) \qquad \text{valence (+)}$$

This again results in an unbalanced valence (+), requiring yet another formulation. In fact, since we have moved two steps away from neutrality by creating two incidents with positive valences, we can foresee the necessity, should we want to return to neutrality, of two incidents with negative valences.

The girl expresses her desire to return to her human community through her deception of the whale (14, 15), and this diminishes her animal identity, $f_y-(a)$,

$$f_x-(a):f_y+(b)::f_y-(a)$$

The whale as well diminishes his human function, $f_x-(b)$, transforming himself back into a whale and pursuing her (17, 18).

$$f_x-(a):f_y+(b)::f_y-(a):f_x-(b) \qquad \text{valence (-)}$$

We have now a total valence of (-) for the incident, indicating a reversal in the direction of the tale, emphasized stylistically but not altered quantitatively by the fact that the sum of (-,-) = (-). In the eagle episode the pursuit by the eagle is only suggested or mentioned briefly through a number of options (10, 11, 12ab) but nonetheless occurs; its weakness indicates, however, that it is the quality of the change, not the quantity, which is the point of the incident.

Left now with an imbalance in the valence of the incidents to this point (+,+,-) we seek further for resolution, and it is at this point that a new term is introduced:

$$f_y^-(a):f_x^-(b)::f_x^+(c)$$

In the heroic act of the rescuers, the relatives in the whale episode (19, 21) and the villagers in the eagle episode (13, 14), the human community exceeds its norm, $f_x^+(c)$, which is the nature of heroism. Why then does the tale not end there? Why must the girl give up her garments to delay the whale? It is an act that can be interpreted two ways. As a heroic gesture, $f_x^+(a)$, it has meaning in itself and indeed would nicely resolve the imbalance of valence in the incident so:

$$f_y^-(a):f_x^-(b)::f_x^+(c):\underline{f_x^+(a)}$$

It would not, however, fit the tale which requires some disposition of the animal term and the overall imbalance of incidents for resolution.

There is an element of sacrifice which is a part of heroism, and if it is emphasized the valence then becomes negative: term yields to function. In this sense we may see the magic flight as such a sacrifice--the reduction to nakedness, a purification through partial identification with the animal. Hence this incident would now properly be described as:

$$f_y^-(a):f_x^-(b)::f_x^+(c):f_y^-(a) \qquad \text{valence (-)}$$

This leaves the incidents of the tale balanced (+,+,-,-) and the outcome is not in doubt. The final incidents of the whale episode (23, 25, 26, 29) compose a denouement and the final disposition of the imbalance inherent in the (-) valence of the last unit.

$$f_x^+(c):f_y^-(a)::f_y^-(b):f_x^-(\bar{a})$$

The two moves toward the animal community are negated by the two moves back to the human community (Chart B). The whale is killed; the animal's death is sometimes symbolized by a transformation to bone, a symmetrical touch which confirms the restoration of the balance that preceded the story's motivating action.

The stone husband episode which occurs in three variants offers a contrastive incident to the eagle and whale husband episodes. Using the same terms and functions we can describe the initial action of the incident as:

$$f_x^+(a):f_y^-(b)::f_y^-(a):f_x^-(c)$$

Because she rejects men, a girl, $f_x^+(a)$, chooses (or has chosen for her) a husband of stone, $f_y^-(b)$, and she becomes partially transformed into stone, $f_y^-(a)$. Men appear as alternative husbands. Unlike the relatives of the whale's wife or the villagers in the eagle episode, they reject her, a failure on the part of the human community, $f_x^-(c)$:

This introductory narrative interpolation does not seem to condition the order of episodes which follow a constant pattern in Greenland and Baffinland of F, III, II, but occur in Labrador as F, II, III. Interpolation, not always this radical, is the major form of variation in the order of motifs.

The order of motifs can also be altered through transposition, which is the removal of a motif or motifs from one episode and placing them in another episode. In Netsilik B the magic flight is transposed from the whale episode to the eagle episode. Such transposition seems to be done with regard for inserting the transposed element into an appropriate context in the new episode. In this, it may be related to adaptation.

Adaptation, a variation in material, is the introduction of new material to complement a previous motif. The most vivid example of this is the symmetrical ending of the whale episode in the Greenland A, B, C, Baffinland and Labrador A variants. Here motif 26 (whale turns into skull or bones) complements the initial transformation from bone (F 2a₁) to whale (II 1a₁). In the Baffinland and Labrador B variants, this adaptation is carried over to the eagle episode where motif 17 provides the symmetrical ending. While this process, with these motifs, occurs elsewhere (Iglulik A) it is primarily an eastern variation.

Another variation in material is amalgamation, the joining of the parts of two or more motifs from the base tale into one new motif in the variant. This occurs in Copper D, which is an eagle episode variant. Here motifs 13 and 14 are combined (13/14): the animal is asked to both spread its wings (but not complimented on them) and to turn to the sun (but not dance). Normally these motifs are mutually exclusive, and they are also deprived of the flattery motivation in this case. This is the only variant in which such an amalgamation takes place.

A third form of variation in material is implication. Usually this involves a suggestion of an earlier cause through the statement of a later effect; in this way, one avoids the pitfall of reading something into the text which it will not support. For example, though no whale-to-man transformation, motif 2, is explicitly mentioned in Iglulik A or Caribou E, the overt mention of a man-to-whale transformation, motif 18, implies motif 2 in those tales. Such implications are bracketed, /2/. Conversely, in the same situation in the Chukchee variant, the overt mention of motif 2 implies motif /18/ before motif 21 occurs.

Innovative material, marked with an asterisk, is often appended by individual narrators and usually provides a local setting for the tale or an explanation of local customs; they are obviously independent of the tale itself. However, in other cases (Chukchee, Iglulik A), elaborate plot variations are woven inextricably into the tales themselves.

Conclusion

In this study of "The Whale and the Eagle Husbands" we have illustrated that the terms and functions of the deep structure are intimately linked to the

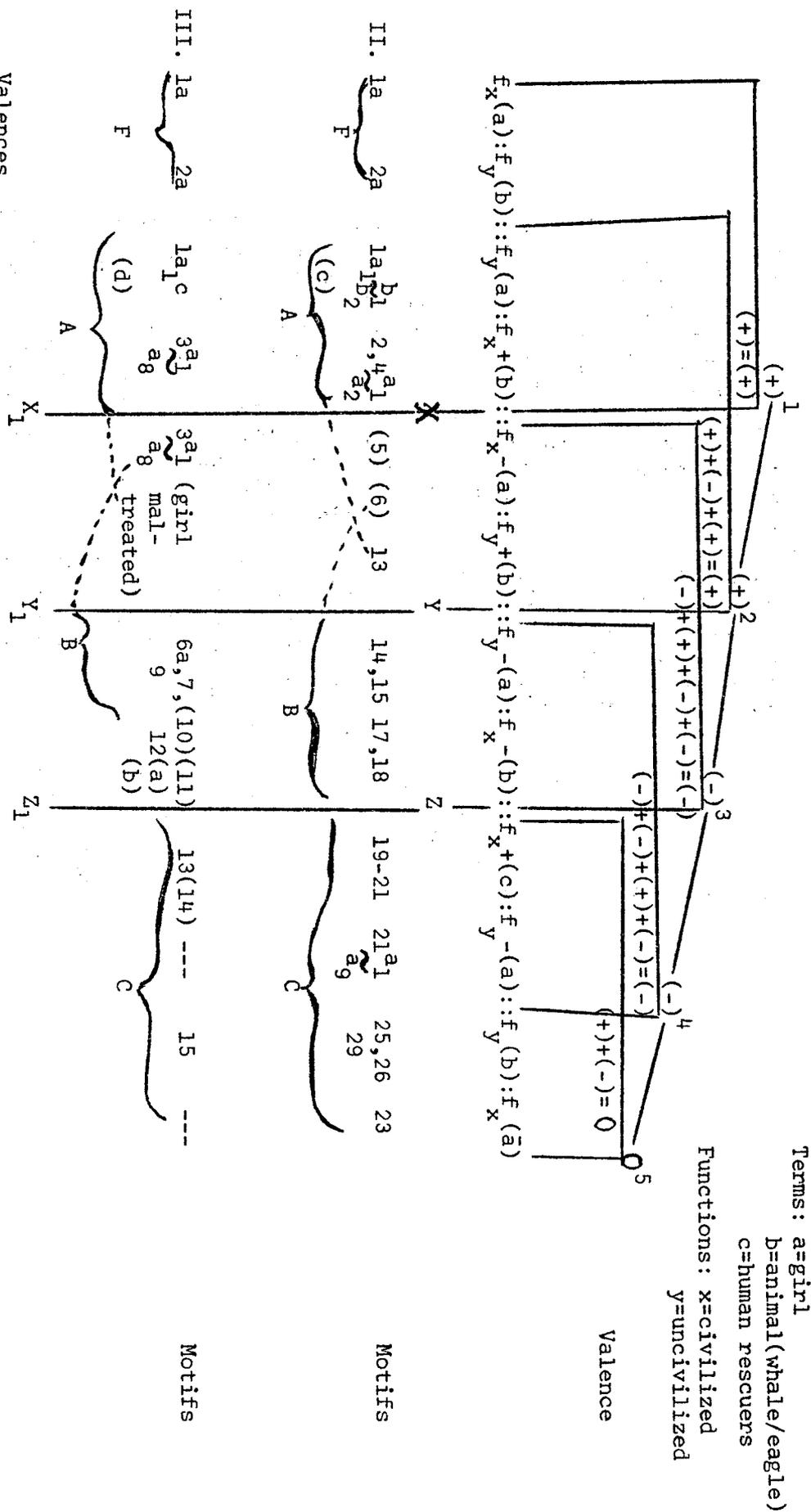
episodes, incidents, motifs and details of the surface structure. The tale itself is composed of several episodes, each episode being composed of several deep-structure embeddings which the reader can intuit as fairly well defined incidents in the surface structure. Each incident and each important action generates a valence; that is, a movement towards or away from the point of balance, which precipitates further action. The whale and eagle husband episodes of the tale are resolved when all valences are balanced and the equilibrium between the animal and the human worlds is restored. In the stone husband episode the balance is not restored because of the failure of society to intervene in favor of the individual; this episode, and the sea scorpion episode of Iglulik A, may have been included to provide an effective contrast to the whale and eagle husband episodes.

Such detailed description as proposed here has additional benefits in providing us with a fine enough comb to sift out and describe narrative techniques such as complex interpolations, transpositions, adaptations, and so on, which were previously passed over. These variations can be used to more accurately define the routes along which the tale was disseminated and the types of modification that occur in transmission. The test of these further benefits will be found in cross-cultural studies.

Further work is necessary in applying this methodology to other tales, perhaps to those such as "The Star Husband" which have been the subject of established studies. Such work would indicate areas in which the method needs to be refined, as it inevitably will, and at the same time secure new information about the structure of tales and the art of narration.

CHART A

The Whale(II) and the Eagle(III) Husbands

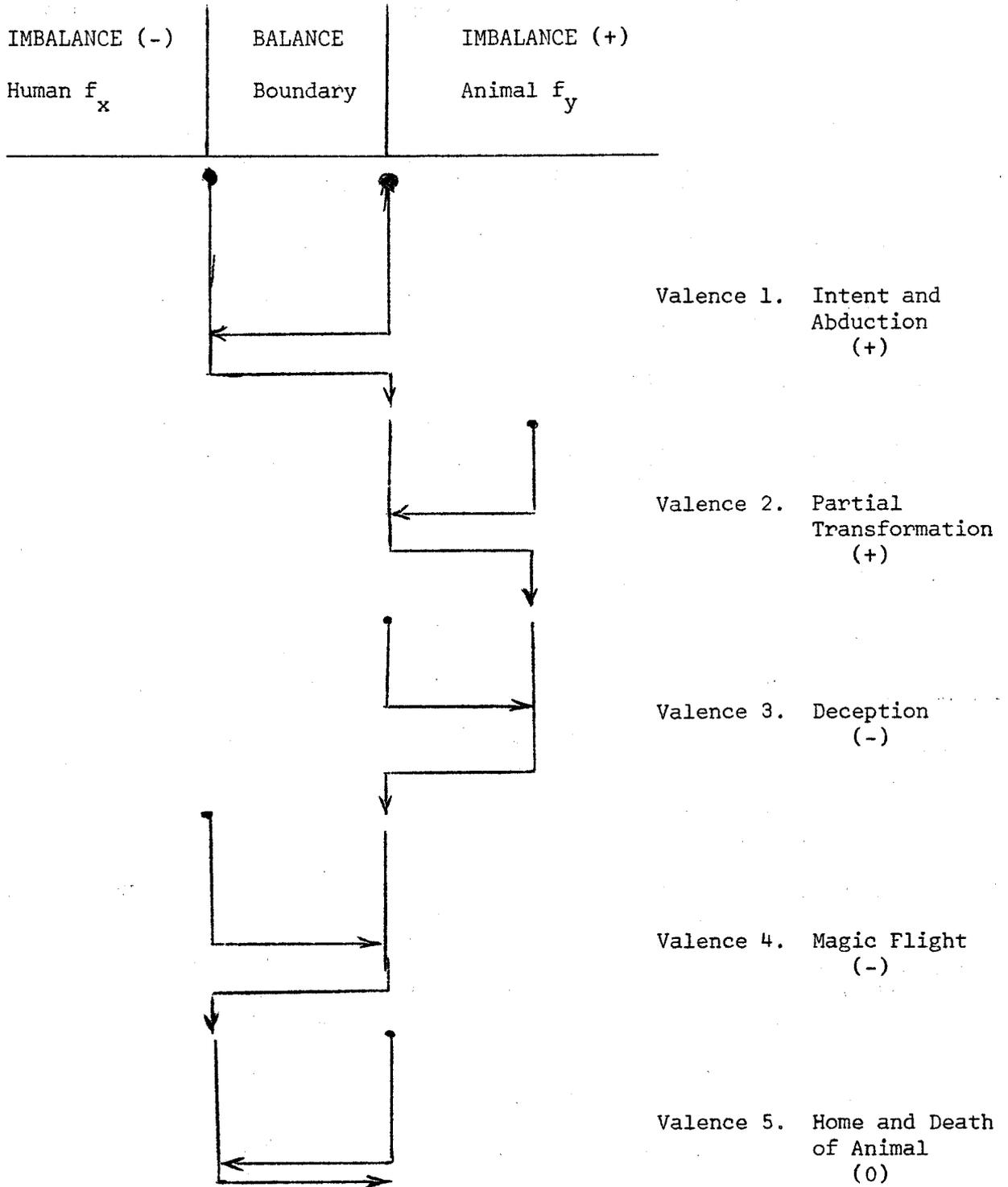


- 1 First Imbalance
- 2 Second Imbalance
- 3 First Disposition
- 4 Second Disposition
- 5 Resolution

Valences
 $(X, Y, Z), (X_1, Y_1, Z_1) =$
 Embedding boundaries
 $(A, B, C), (A_1, B_1, C_1) =$
 Incidents

CHART B

The Whale and the Eagle Husbands: Structural Diagram



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