



## Native Oral Traditions

Long ago, they say, when the earth was not yet finished, darkness lay upon the water and they rubbed each other. The sound they made was like the sound at the edge of a pond. There, on the water, in the darkness, in the noise, and in a very strong wind, a child was born.

—from a Papago narrative

First Born made the earth.  
First Born made the earth.  
Go along, go along, go along.  
It's going along. Now all will remain as it is.

—a Papago song<sup>1</sup>

**I**F WE ARE to speak of the literature of the American West, we must speak first of the native American literatures, for each of the two or three hundred tribal communities living in the West has invested this land with traditions of story and song. The reciprocal relationship between man and the land is a common denominator for all native literature. The land is our source, and here, in Mary Austin's phrase, "the land sets the limit."<sup>2</sup> Within the limits the land sets, it remains for man to imagine ways of seeing and talking about it, ways of knowing it. First Born emerges from the land only to turn back and create it with story and song. The Papago communities who join together to tell of First Born invest the land with meaning. They make the land into a cultural landscape.

Cultural landscapes are social and cumulative. They are the natural result of a process which has been carried on for centuries in native communities on this continent. Cultural landscapes are made whenever communities of people join words to place. They enable man to feel a sense of place, to hear the darkness rub the water.

The remarkable thing about the cultural landscape that whites call the "American West" is that it was created in absolute ignorance of the cultural landscapes of the native communities it displaced. The explorers, missionaries, trappers, ranchers, and settlers who flooded the West saw it as had Lewis and Clark, "a void to be imagined." It was only in the late nineteenth century, when most native American peoples were safely confined on reser-

vations, that we began to recognize the achievement of native verbal artists and to realize the intimate imaginative relations their stories and songs shared with the earth.

To speak of these native verbal arts as literature has certain dangers. In a few significant cases, they were literally so: the Toltec and Mayan glyphic systems of Mesoamerica and the pictographic systems of the north Pacific coast, Plains and Southwest. More commonly, they were preserved wholly in the memory of those who performed them, each performance being at once a kind of publication and reading. Traditional native American literatures are thus predominantly oral and aural, not literal. So to speak of a native American literature might have two meanings. First and most significantly, native American literature consists of stories and songs as they are performed in natural contexts in the communities which support them. Secondly, native American literature might be said to refer to those transcriptions of story and song from native American communities which record in print the oral performances of native people. It is the latter, of course, that academics usually think of when they speak of native American literature.

There is a connotative problem as well. In the Euro-American tradition, we tend to think of literature, indeed all the arts, as something associated with marginal misfits and the discontented.<sup>3</sup> These are associations to leave aside in approaching native literatures. In native communities stories and songs count, they make a difference, and those who make and perform them are among the most valued members of the community. They remind the people of who and what they are, why they are in this particular place, and how they should continue to live here. A Navajo singer recently told us: "When one has even one song, he will live for a long time. He will live by it. He will guide his children by it. He will guide his people by it."<sup>4</sup> Literature in native American communities has always been central to man's existence.

It is not possible here to discuss all the native literatures of the American West. Both space and experience limit this discussion to some thematic and generic similarities among them. To an explication of these is added a brief review of the history of collecting, translating, and studying native oral literatures, as well as a final comment on the continuing presence of native literatures in the West.

#### FORMS

Despite their diversity, there are striking generic similarities among the native American literatures. Most native traditions distinguish between narrative and song, and many consider prayer as a separate category of ver-

bal expression as well. Contemporary Navajo singer Andrew Natonabah, for example, speaks of how “the stories, the songs, and the prayers come together to form a literature.”

## NARRATIVES

Anyone who glances at native American narratives must be struck by their high level of organization. And one who troubles to inquire into native thought on the subject will discover important insights regarding form and genre in native American tradition. Narratives tend to be divided into those thought to be literally true and those thought to be fictional. While these distinctions resemble the European distinction between “myth” and “folktale,” it is very important to recognize that native American people have long had their own ways of talking about the distinctions. Winnebago, for example, distinguishes between *waikan*, what-is-sacred, and *worak*, what-is-recounted; Zuni between stories of the *chimiky’ana’kowa*, the Beginning, which are regarded as true historically, and *telapnaawe*, “tales,” which are considered fictional. In Hopi society, *tuuwutsi*, stories about make-believe things, are distinguished from stories which are *ka’atsa*, “not false,” that is to say the events of Hopi history.<sup>5</sup>

Taken together, “true” narratives often form a kind of Bible for native peoples, a collection of central religious texts which furnishes an allusive background for other native literary forms. The core story is of the origin or emergence of life, and a wide range of other narratives generally branches off from the origin narrative like so many limbs from the trunk of a tree. These may tell of the migration of ancestors, detail the adventures of culture heroes and account for the origin of specific ceremonies, customs, and rituals. “True” stories of this sort are set in real time and real space but before the world is as it is now. It is common for them to be filled with place names, to be lengthy, to be told to initiates in ritual settings, to contain esoteric language, and to be the subject of endless allusion, discussion, and interpretation. Hopi Albert Yava tells of discussing and debating the Hopi tradition that Hopi people climbed into this world from a lower world through a bamboo reed:

One night we were talking about it (in the kiva) and someone said: “Now how in the world could all those people come through a bamboo? How could they get in? How could it hold their weight? How could they get through the joints?”<sup>6</sup>

Such questions indicate that there exists a tradition of native critical inquiry based on oral literary texts which has largely gone unremarked by scholars.

Stylistically, “true” narratives show enormous variation throughout the West. Consider, for example, the expansive accumulative quality of this portion of a Papago narrative told over four consecutive nights by medicine man Frank Lopez. “Ñe:” marks the narrative into stanzas and has no direct translation in English.

Ñe: his heart felt very bad, from thinking of it, after he heard how his father was killed;

Ñe: that is what happened; when it was morning they tried to feed him, but he would not eat, and then he went outside and just sort of walked around, the way one does when one does not feel right, perhaps when one hears of a relative dying and one feels like walking somewhere and lying down; that is what happened to the boy, and that is why he did not think of eating anything, of drinking any water; in the morning he went out and walked toward the north where the cactus was standing; then when the sun was a bit this way and made a shade, he walked over and laid in the shade; he laid down; he laid face down; and it happened that his mother was missing him, so she followed him; she found him and saw the way he was and was also that way; she understood what he was seeing and why he was that way.

Ñe: after she saw him, she went back.

Ñe: after he was like that for a while, it became noon and the shade moved the way it does in the afternoon. . . .<sup>7</sup>

In this way, the narrative continues to describe how a young man is able to make a personal connection with the supernatural through the slow ritualized process of grieving. By contrast, the following portion of a Western Apache narrative details how an Apache community was able to contact the supernatural while grieving for one who was lost. The spare, compact, repetitive quality of this passage is typical of the whole narrative which was told in less than an hour by Rudolph Kane of Cedar Creek:

Lone time ago,  
at nighttime,  
They all started dancing.  
They were all singing.  
They said the *gaans* were coming to them,  
and they came to them,  
at *etso goheyo* [yellow place called].  
There were four of them:  
black,  
blue/green,

yellow,  
 white.  
 They all,  
 all the *gaans* came down.<sup>8</sup>

A second kind of narrative is generally regarded as “fictional” in native American communities. “Fictional” narratives are usually told during the winter at night by grandparents to delight and instruct their grandchildren, but they may be told at other times and in other circumstances as well. These narratives are often set off from normal discourse by special phrases which serve as formulaic openings and closings for the story. Somewhat in the manner of the European “once upon a time . . .” they signal listeners that the tale teller is moving from the world of literal truth into the fictional world of the tale. In Hopi communities, for example, where these stories are called *tuuwutsi*, a storyteller will begin with “*Aliksaii . . .*,” and close with “*Pai yuk polo*” (Now to here it ends). In between, the audience must also respond with the formulaic expression “oo” after each sentence, for, as one teller puts it, “the storyteller is touchy, if you do not respond she may pout and not tell a story.”<sup>9</sup>

Formulaic endings among the Lakota demonstrate the type of story being told. *He ha yela owihake* (that is all; that is the end) is used at the end of those stories whose main purpose is to entertain rather than *skee* (it is said) and *keya pie* (they say) which signify that the story is true. Among the Western Apache, the closing formula is vivid: *shi goshk’ dash jaa* (That’s the way my yucca fruit hangs).<sup>10</sup> The yucca fruit resembles a cluster of bananas and is a particularly apt image for the kinds of stories which the teller encloses between the opening and closing formulae.

“Fictional” narratives of this sort are often episodic or cyclical, and cluster around the adventures of a conventional character. The *cante fable* is common, and narrators of fictional tales often embellish and embroider their narrations with vocal tone change and gesture.

Probably the most popular character type for these stories is the trickster figure, so labeled because he deceives and is deceived himself again and again in stories. He appears in a wide variety of guises throughout the native West: Raven, Rabbit, Fox, and most commonly Coyote. The trickster is pictured as a humorous character who never learns from his mistakes but continually entertains through his absurd antics. At the same time, the trickster tales often teach the listeners the outcome of inappropriate actions. The trickster often embodies qualities such as lust, greed, envy, and avarice. The adventures attributed to him in a single telling might range from an historical narrative about how he stole fire with his tail for the People, to a satirical one in which he tricks an Anglo farmer.

Like his real life counterpart, the coyote, the trickster has proved to be remarkably adaptable and well-suited to the twentieth century. In “fictional” stories about him, we see the beginnings of social protest as a theme in a native literature of the West. Consider the following episode from a cycle of trickster tales collected among the Minnesota Ojibway by Coleman. The Trickster/Hero Nanabozho is addressing a council meeting:

You’re not the only one who’s puzzled. Long ago there was plenty of deer. There was enough meat for food, hides for clothing, sinew for thread, hoofs for little baskets. I used to soak the brains and rub them on the deer hide to soften it. I hung up the deer hide on racks before a slow fire to dry it. I cut up the deer meat and put it into a clean cloth sack and then later I used it for making soup. I sliced it and chopped it fine for soup and other dishes.

Now I can’t do this. There are game wardens. The new laws affect me too. I go fishing and turn around, the game warden tells me I’m over my limit. I want rabbit and I set my snares, and the game warden tells me I can’t do that either.

My brother I am troubled. But I feel sorry for you. I have two dollars in the bank. You can have it. (Imagine Nanabozho having money in the bank.)

“Not long ago,” Nanabozho said, “I controlled everything. Now there are big officials. Tell me how to get on WPA.”<sup>11</sup>

#### SONGS

Songs pervade every part of life in native American communities from such ordinary daily activities as corn grinding, working in the fields, traveling, and child care to more extraordinary ritualistic occasions. Songs are both ceremonial and non-ceremonial.

Ceremonial songs are often regarded as a kind of special speech in native communities, a speech which distorts the regular cadences and sounds of everyday conversation at the same time as it stretches language semantically to accommodate poetic, religious realities. Such special speech may be regarded as an esoteric language in some communities. In others, it may give voice to the supernatural. The Yaqui deer singer, for example, considers his songs to be the voice of the deer who “does not speak, but speaks in an enchanted way.”<sup>12</sup>

Ceremonial songs show considerable range in length and complexity throughout the American West. The Navajo Nightway Ceremony, for example, fills nine days and eight nights with some four hundred songs such as the following:

Tsegih!
   
House made of dawn.
   
House made of evening light.
   
House made of the dark cloud.
   
House made of male rain.
   
House made of dark mist.
   
House made of female mist.
   
House made of female rain.
   
House made of pollen.
   
House made of grasshoppers.
   
Dark cloud is at the door.
   
The trail out of it is dark cloud.
   
The zigzag lightning stands high up on it.
   
Male deity!
   
Your offering I make.
   
I have prepared a smoke for you.
   
Restore my feet for me.
   
Restore my legs for me.
   
Restore my body for me.
   
Restore my mind for me.
   
Restore my voice for me.
   
This very day take out your spell for me.
   
Your spell remove for me.
   
You have taken it away for me.
   
Far off it has gone.
   
Happily I recover.
   
Happily my interior becomes cool.
   
Happily I go forth.
   
My interior feeling cool, may I walk.
   
No longer sore, may I walk.
   
Impervious to pain, may I walk.
   
With lively feelings, may I walk.
   
As it used to be long ago, may I walk.
   
Happily may I walk.
   
Happily with abundant dark clouds may I walk.
   
Happily with abundant showers may I walk.
   
Happily with abundant plants may I walk.
   
Happily on a trail of pollen may I walk.
   
Happily may I walk.
   
Being as it used to be long ago, may I walk.
   
May it be beautiful before me.

May it be beautiful behind me.  
May it be beautiful below me.  
May it be beautiful above me.  
May it be beautiful all around me.  
In beauty it is finished.  
In beauty it is finished.<sup>13</sup>

By contrast, a Yaqui fiesta might consist of singing a dozen short compressed and highly imagistic songs such as the following:

These three like enchanted night buzzards  
hover above me.  
These three like enchanted night buzzards  
hover above me.

As they are coming with the light before dawn,  
here from the enchanted light before dawn,  
on top, on the highest point where the mountain sits,  
they are swinging.  
These three like enchanted night buzzards  
hover above me.<sup>14</sup>

Understanding and appreciation of native American song depends upon a knowledge of the religion and way of life it springs from. Papago singer Maria Chona's famous comment "our song is short because we know so much" suggests a depth of allusion which is present in virtually all native American song regardless of length or use.

Non-ceremonial songs accompany nearly all the ordinary motions of native American life. It is not uncommon for songs used in a ceremonial context to be sung outside the ceremony for other purposes. Thus songs from the Navajo Nightway Chant might be used as traveling songs, or a Yaqui deer song might be sung to accompany house work, or a Blackfoot ceremonial song might find its way into the repertory of social dance singers. There are many songs which are created for non-ceremonial purposes as well: lullabies, grinding songs, and the like. This is a Hopi lullaby for example:

Owl, owl, burrowing owl with their eyes each other relishing.  
Owl, owl, burrowing owl with their eyes each other relishing.  
Whomever's child is a crybaby, we will eat.  
Not you while crying, then go to sleep, not you will I eat.  
Then you while crying go to sleep, you will I eat.

a-a-a-ya-a-ay, hu'hu'hu'hu'  
 aaha iihiihi  
 aahaaha iihiihi<sup>15</sup>

Another type of non-ceremonial song which has become popular with many contemporary native Americans is the "49." These "49s" are often sung at the end of a powwow or more formal dance occasion or "after the party is over." They combine English lyrics and native vocables into some strikingly ironic love songs:

o-oo-o-o-oo  
 oh yes, I love you honey  
 iya hana yo  
 I don't care if you married sixteen times  
 I'll get you yet  
 hay-ha-a-a<sup>16</sup>

#### PERSONAL NARRATIVES

During the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth, there arose a new type of literature based on the oral tradition. This was a form of autobiography in which an intermediary wrote down the life story of an elderly Indian. In many cases, the autobiography becomes a vehicle for telling the history of the tribe during the person's life and for explaining native American philosophy. Perhaps the most popular example of the "as-told-to" narrative is *Black Elk Speaks*. In this work, the poet John G. Neihardt recorded the experiences of the Sioux holy man, Black Elk. The work traces Black Elk's spiritual quest and that of his people from the time of Custer and the exploitation of the Black Hills. Black Elk offers a unique native American view of the events as a counter to accepted American history. He also offers to all his "listeners" a picture of the power and the beauty of his native tradition.

A number of other works also relate the perceptions of native Americans in a rapidly changing milieu. Among the more important ones are Maria Chona's *Autobiography of a Papago Woman*; *Crushing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago*; *Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian*; and *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*. Common to most of these works is a description of the traditional world view of the tribal peoples before European contact. Some, such as *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*, also offer acute criticism of the materialism and lack of spirituality in American culture.

THEMES

Despite their diversity of language and literary form, there are striking thematic similarities among the native literatures of the West. Four major themes are the sense of the sacred, the sense of the beautiful, the sense of place and the sense of community.<sup>17</sup> Each of these elements is closely interwoven with the others since the native philosophies from which the literature proceeds are unitive and holistic.

*The Sacred.* Religion permeates all of native American life. There is probably no aspect of it that could be called non-religious. Religion more often than not centers on the concept of a power or a set of powers which inform all things and which need to be contacted through words and acts if the world is to continue. So it is that words in native American communities make a difference. They matter, for they are used to contact the sacred. The sacred in turn gives language meaning; it gives words power. The sacred has the quality of balance and harmony when all is well. It celebrates a relationship among all things, a relationship in which harmony and balance are key notions.

*The Beautiful.* Man expresses this balance and harmony of life in the patterned beauty of story and song. The form and style of story and song suggest the shape of the sacred. Thus we find symmetry, repetition, and balance (antithesis) present and valued aesthetically in traditional native American literature.

When the sacred is expressed in story and song, it links the individual to his community and religion through aesthetic perceptions. Thus when a member of a Yaqui audience hears a deer song, he might say, "When I hear the songs, it takes my mind to the East, to the *seyewailo*." The beautiful is thus experienced as something very personal throughout native American communities. Acoma writer Simon Ortiz speaks of the importance of situation in feeling the beauty of the song:

My father tells me, "This song is a hunting song, listen." He sings and I listen. He may sing it again, and I hear it again. The feeling that I perceive is not only contained in the words but there is something surrounding those words, surrounding the song, and it includes us. It is the relationship that we share with each other and with everything else. And that's the feeling that makes the song real and meaningful and which makes his singing and my listening more than just a teaching and learning situation.<sup>18</sup>

*Place.* The beautiful and the sacred are always linked to particular places. Mountains, lakes, rivers, and other natural phenomena define the relationship of the individual to his environment. This connection with the land is essential to native American thought. Many stories recount the

birth or migration of tribes, which feel a sense of well-being, of harmony when they are within sight of a sacred spot. The land offers both power and security to the People. For example, the Lakota revere the Black Hills, and the Navajo and Hopi view many southwestern mountains as the dwelling place of the gods. In some cases, an area is connected with the mythic beginnings of a tribe in the place, as with the lake of emergence for the Taos people. In other cases, the land is a representation of an event which ties the very blood of the people to their environment, as with the tribes of the Upper Midwest and the pipestone area in Minnesota. A sense of place gives meaning and continuity to the People.

*Community.* Yet another central theme is the idea of community. Among such diverse groups as the Haida of the Pacific Northwest, the Pawnee of the Plains and the Zuni of the Southwest, there resides an abiding and pervasive sense of community. This community often extends beyond the human to encompass everything in the animate and “inanimate” realms. The individual is constantly reminded that he is part of the whole, not any more important than any creature around him. This radical sense of community requires respect and concern for all of creation. Thus, many of the mythic tales are concerned with the time when every being was an integral part of the tribe. Even though there may be a difference in the physical appearance of things, the spirit which informs all life is the same.

#### COLLECTION, TRANSLATION, INTERPRETATION

Patterns of interest in American Indian story and song as literature have been cyclic. Just as American interest in anything about the American Indian ebbs and crests about once a generation so, too, does interest in American Indian literature. These generational cycles are reflected in the publications of anthologies of American Indian oral literature. Natalie Curtis's *The Indians' Book* (1907) marks the crest of a first cycle of interest; the publication of George Cronyn's *The Path on the Rainbow* (1918), a second; the appearance of two anthologies around mid-century—Margot Astrov's *The Winged Serpent* (1946) and A. Grove Day's *The Sky Clears* (1951), a third; and the flood of anthologies which arrived in bookstores in the late sixties and early seventies, epitomized by Jerome Rothenberg's *Shaking the Pumpkin* (1972) and William Brandon's *The Magic World* (1971), suggest a fourth.<sup>19</sup> That the most recent cycle has only begun to ebb, and that during its course some fifteen new anthologies of American Indian literature appeared, suggests that the total force of these cycles of interest is cumulative and has shown quantitative growth.

Beginning in earnest in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the present, collection, translation, and interpretation of native American literature has had a similar cyclical character. Throughout these cycles,

the issues and arguments among scholars as to how native American literature should be translated and interpreted have remained surprisingly the same. In one sense then, the cycles early in this century set the tone for almost everything which has followed. It was during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth that Washington Matthews, Alice Fletcher, Jeremiah Curtin, Frank Cushing, Franz Boas, and many other ethnologists and folklorists gathered enormous numbers of narratives and songs from tribal peoples throughout the American West. Printed in limited scholarly editions, these translations quickly attracted the attentions of many non-Indian poets and writers. Almost immediately an adversary relation was established between the anthropologists who strove to represent the stories and songs of Indian people in interlinear word-for-word translations of purported scientific accuracy and the poets who reached for the emotional core of the stories and songs they read. Comments such as the following one from Washington Matthews's *Navaho Legends* are indicative.

Stephen Powers, in his "Tribes of California," gives in simple and direct language, the story of how fire came to the Karok nation. A few years after he wrote, someone worked his story into a "Poem," which appeared most artistically illustrated, in one of our leading magazines. In this poem, the Coyote, in a quandary, is represented as "stroking his goatee." Coyotes have no goatees; Indians have no goatees. The act of stroking the goatee, in thought or perplexity, is the special mannerism of a nervous American. No allusion could be more out of place in an Indian legend. Should the poet referred to ever select any of the tales in this book to be tortured into a poem, I beg that he will not, even for the sake of making a faulty rhyme, put a beard on the chin of the Navaho Coyote God.<sup>20</sup>

Matthews and Boas and the other ethnologists and folklorists in their tradition have tried to represent the words of American Indian story and song as accurately and scientifically as they could in their translations.

An early spokeswoman for the poetic interpretation of texts was Mary Hunter Austin. She argued that the letter was less important than the spirit. Working just after Matthews, early in the present century, she remarked that she was so interested in "primitive concept" that she did not bother to record the original form of the songs she encountered among native people. Rather she "[stripped] them off as so much husk to get at the kernel of the experience."<sup>21</sup> Indeed Austin preferred not to regard her work as translation at all. In *The American Rhythm* she writes, "If forced to affix a title to my work I would prefer to call it not translation, but re-expression."<sup>22</sup>

Mary Austin and those poets who have attempted to translate, “retranslate” or “re-express” native American story and song have all been far more concerned with communicating the emotional core, the spirit, of the text than with rendering an accurate transliteration of it.

The tension between these two views of translating American Indian oral literature continues throughout all the cycles and is with us in the present. Each view is associated with interpretive styles as well. The ethnologists have through the years tended to stress the necessity for viewing native American story and song against the backdrop of native American culture. They argue that it is virtually impossible to reach an understanding of native American literature without a knowledge of native American culture. Moreover, they have often placed considerable stress on native American interpretations of native American literature, internal rather than external interpretations—what has lately been called *metafolklore*. At the same time, the thrust of their efforts has been in the main preservationist, many times resembling the verbal equivalent of salvage archaeology. By contrast, the poets have placed a far greater emphasis on incorporating the content and style of native American story and song into their own creative work. They argue that this is the only way one may really understand American Indian verbal expression, by making it one’s own. In this way, they hope to introduce the native American tradition into American literature generally, and, in Austin’s phrase, redirect “the ultimate literary destiny of America.”

#### CONTINUITY

One of the constant features of writing about native American story and song is the statement or implication that it is dead or dying. Commonly an editor or collector reports that but for his efforts these “dying whispers” would be lost. If the American West is any indication, nothing could be further from the truth. In many communities, traditions of story and song continue and flourish. Revivalist movements are well under way as well. Spurred on by the move to teach and/or recognize native cultures in the public school system and by a growing network of community controlled and operated schools on the reservations, Indian people are bringing back, maintaining, and preserving large parts of their heritage that seemed to be slipping away from them in the years after the Second World War. Then, too, there are the efforts of such linguists as Dell Hymes, who is attempting to “restore” native American story and songs to communities along the north Pacific coast through his linguistic work with texts collected earlier in this century.<sup>23</sup> Finally, there has appeared in the decade or so since N. Scott Momaday’s *House Made of Dawn* (1968) a generation of Indian writers who seek in their own work to represent the content and style of the oral tradi-

tions out of which they come. Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Ortiz's *A Good Journey* and Silko's *Storyteller* are each in a significant way collections of materials from oral tradition with informed inside commentary.<sup>24</sup> They provide us with the most accurate, authentic and accessible approaches to native American oral traditions presently available.

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## Notes

1. Dean and Lucille Saxton, *O' o thham Hoho' ok A' agitha: Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), pp. 1-2, 8.
2. Mary Austin, *The Land of Little Rain* (1903; rpt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), p. 3.
3. See Gary Witherspoon's discussion of this idea in *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977).
4. Andrew Natonabah, recorded on the videotape *By This Song I Walk*, produced by Larry Evers (Tucson: University of Arizona Division of Media and Institutional Services, 1979). Distributor: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1995 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.
5. Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (1956; rpt. New York: Schocken, 1972), p. 118; Dennis Tedlock, *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians* (1972; rpt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. xvi; Ekkehart Malotki, *Hopitutuwutsi: Hopi Tales* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona Press, 1978), p. xiii.
6. Albert Yava, *Big Falling Snow: A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History of Traditions of His People*, ed. Harold Courlander (New York: Crown Publishers, 1978), p. 41.
7. "Al Wiapoi," trans. Ofelia Zepeda, in *The South Corner of Time: Hopi, Navajo*,

- Papago, and Yaqui Tribal Literature*, ed. Larry Evers (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), pp. 132–33.
8. Rudolph Kane recorded on the videotape *The Origin of the Crown Dance: An Apache Narrative*, produced by Larry Evers (University of Arizona Division of Media and Institutional Services, 1979). Distributor: Clearwater Publishing Company.
  9. Helen Sekaquaptewa, recorded on the videotape *Iisaw: Hopi Coyote Stories*, produced by Larry Evers (University of Arizona Division of Media and Institutional Services, 1979). Distributor: Clearwater Publishing Company.
  10. Ella Deloria, *Dakota Texts* (1932; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1974), pp. ix-x; Grenville Goodwin, *Myths and Tales of the white Mountain Apache* (1939; rpt. New York: Kraus, 1969), p. ix.
  11. Sr. Bernard Coleman, Ellen Frogner and Estelle Eich, *Ojibway Myths and Legends* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1961), pp. 98–99.
  12. Larry Evers, personal interview with Lorenzo Salvatierra, 21 October 1976.
  13. Translation by Washington Matthews (1907) quoted from *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature*, ed. John Bierhorst (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974), pp. 307–308.
  14. Lorenzo Salvatierra, singer, Felipe Molina and Larry Evers translators, recorded on the videotape *Seyewailo: The Flower World: Yaqui Deer Songs*, produced by Larry Evers (University of Arizona Division of Media and Instructional Services, 1979). Distributor: Clearwater Publishing Company.
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  16. Barre Toelken, *Instructor’s Manual, The Dynamics of Folklore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p. 6.
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22. *The American Rhythm*, p. 38.
23. See "Folklore's Nature and the Sun's Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 88 (1975):345-369.
24. N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Simon J. Ortiz, *A Good Journey* (Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1977); Leslie Marmon Silko, *Storyteller* (New York: Seaver Books, 1981).

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*The Journal of American Folklore*

The Bulletins and Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology  
Papers and Memoirs from the American Museum of Natural History

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