NUNIVAK ESKIMO PERSONALITY AS REVEALED IN THE MYTHOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

An anthropologist who is well trained in both social anthropology and clinical psychology said to me after reading the myths of the Nunivak Eskimos of Alaska that he could not see the motives of the characters. He said, "Of course, from the symbolism I can guess at the motives but one isn't really told why anybody does anything." As I had myself recorded these stories and had lived with the Nunivak Island people long enough to acquire much of their viewpoint, I was surprised by this statement—the motives seemed so obvious to me. Yet the comment made me see that they are indeed not explicit and further that I had not previously seen much of the motivation because it is so deeply buried. The dynamics of the personality can be seen in the mythology, however, if one examines it carefully. Although the procedures are laborious, their products are rewarding.

Source Material. Nunivak happens to be the area of Alaska best represented in different collections: the Curtis expedition in the 1920's, Himmelheber in 1936-37, myself in 1939-40 and 1946. Even Rasmussen in 1924 got three stories from the part-Eskimo trader on Nunivak Island (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 260-262), but these are not being used here because they were not told by a local person. The three collections present altogether about ninety myths and tales, of which exactly sixty from Himmelheber and Lantis have been analyzed for this paper. It can be said with assurance that the criteria listed by Ruth Benedict for acceptance of a mythology as adequate for intensive study are satisfied: culture is well known; folktales have an important place in tribal life; folklore was still living and functioning when recorded; there is a large body of material, collected over a period (Benedict, 1935, Vol. I, XII).

As part of a study of Nunivak personality, the stories that I had recorded in 1939-40 and published in 1946 in "The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo" were analyzed in 1949 and a paper on them presented at the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists. Curtis's collection had been read about 1937 and not studied thereafter; the Himmelheber collection was not yet available. Because Curtis did not name his storytellers and interpreters for each story but had used, I knew, the immigrant trader from Norton Sound, his folktales were not then and still have not been included in this study since they could not be handled on the same basis as the other collections. For example, stories told by men could not be separated from those told by women, by shamans separated from laymen's. Actually there is reassuring similarity of Curtis's material to the later recording, as one example "The Origin of Nunivak Island" (Curtis, 1930, p. 74; Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 35-37; Lantis, 1946, pp. 265-267).

By comparison with the other sizable northwest Alaskan mythologies (Garber, Nelson, Ostermann-Rasmussen) and by internal evidence of the range of tales in my collection, it seemed representative of the area. Still, nearly two-thirds of the stories had been obtained from one shaman. Since this was a psychological study, it was open to a charge that it presented chiefly one personality. Since 1949, Himmelheber's collection has been published, and it now can be seen that plots, emotional tone, and style of neither collection are aberrant, relative to all available material from the area. Although the number of his published stories is smaller, it adds some that are to be expected in this area but that I did not happen to get, for example the Deceitful Husband motif (Himmelheber, 1951, p. 103; Lantis, 1938, pp. 162-165). We now know enough of Nunivak mythology, therefore, to publish some conclusions about its psychological significance.

Of the Himmelheber collection, nineteen stories have been studied in detail. See Appendix A for notes on *Der gefrorene Pfad* (The Frozen Path) and a list of the nineteen. From my mythology, the only stories not used are "Thunder and Lightning," "A Short Story," "The Sandpiper," and "Bladder Feast Legends," eliminated because too fragmentary or not really stories with a development of plot. Actually, "A Powerful Shaman" and "A Very Powerful Shaman" probably should have been excluded, but in or out they do not change the conclusions. See Table 1 for comparison of sources.

TABLE 1

Number of:	*Himmelheber*	*Lantis*	*Total*
Stories used	19	41	60
Overlapping stories	7		
Stories told by males	17	30	47
Stories told by females	2	11	13
Storytellers	6	7	11
Shared storytellers	2		
Stories by principal informants*			
Kusauyax (M)	0	25	25
Kangalix (Gangelich) (M)	8	2	10
Nusalax (Nusalach) (F)	2	6	8
Alalikax (Alalikach) (M)	5	0	5
Anagakax (F)	0	4	4

*All of these people are now deceased.

The remaining informants each told only one or two stories.

Kusauyax told principally Poor-boy sagas about obtaining magical power and becoming a great hunter or shaman, but also myths of marriage with supernaturals and birth of supernatural children, some tales of revenge, of haughty or deceitful women, war stories, and humorous stories.

Kangalix told Raven myths and tales (Raven the Creator and the Trickster respectively) to both recorders, his others being tales full of conflict, with strong emotional content and usually tragic ending.

The conflict is between two brothers, two sisters, husband and wife, and two shamans.

Alalikax's were traditional Nunivak stories except one about a tree. One cannot generalize about so few tales.

Nusalax told apparently very old, highly symbolized myths on generic themes with cosmogonic character, and also stories of poor boys obtaining power and wealth.

Anagakax's stories were closer to everyday Nunivak life. Some are fragmentary.

For methodological reasons relating to other parts of my study of Nunivak personality and for a reason of practical importance to the reader, namely that unfortunately the Himmelheber and Curtis collections of tales are not so accessible for checking as mine is, it still is presented as a unit without incorporating *Der gefrorene Pfad* stories. For this second writing, however, the latter were analyzed on the same outline as originally applied to my own. Whenever a generalization has been made on his stories or an example taken from them, this is stated. If this is not specified, the Lantis collection and the original conclusions on it are meant. In other words, whatever contradiction or corroboration comes from *Der gefrorene Pfad* is added to, not incorporated into, the original basic study. After the Nunivak mythology is looked at by itself, then it is compared with the Nelson, Garber, and Rasmussen material, and finally with generic Eskimo mythology.

Method of Study. The stories must be studied in detail; for as Himmelheber points out (1951, pp. 24-25), the storyteller inserts some customary activity as an indirect means of letting the hearer know what is happening, for example the competitive Messenger Feast or the ritualized spring seal hunt, and similarly little things that bespeak harmony or hostility between the characters. One must know Eskimo culture in order to understand this symbolic action, just as a spectator must already have an image of castles or ships or drawing-rooms to identify a meager stage setting, just as he must know something of the value system of playwright and actors in order the appreciate figures of speech, jokes, double meanings, and local allusions. The Westerner acknowledges that he cannot understand classical Chinese drama or Javanese dance without interpretation, but many think that they can understand a "primitive" folklore, forgetting that it too has been subject to a long process of symbolization (see Essene, 1953, p. 157). As A. I. Hallowell has said, the problem "is to be able to look behind the scenes of the dramatic action in order to discern what is both culturally significant and relevant to the personality structure of the people" (1947, p. 533).

As paraphrased by Hallowell, Cassirer pointed out how " . . . human experience is articulated through various symbolic means—language, myth, art, religion, science—and the mediative role that such symbolizing activities play in building up a meaningful and objective world for our human species" (Hallowell, 1947, p. 550). Hallowell continues: "Myths and other oral narratives, then, may express

meanings that the native cannot easily translate into discursive forms of speech, if he can express them at all. Yet such meanings may be intelligible to him intuitively, and they are of psychological importance. The oral narratives represent such meanings in a 'dramatic' or 'presentational' form rather than in terms of a discursive intellectual statement" (1947, p. 552). There is intelligibility in any symbol system once its basis has been understood even though it can scarcely be translated into articulate speech, as in the case of higher mathematics, or even though it simply never yet has been so translated—as with intimately shared values and emotions—because no student has tried to. The student must first recognize these meanings, then interpret their psychological significance, then test his inductions by other kinds of data (Hallowell, 1947, p.553).

Having already analyzed Nunivak children's free drawings and mosaic block tests, I adhered to a strict form for the analysis of each tale, to guard so far as possible against impressionistic conclusions influenced by earlier impressions from the other material. The fact that one body of data was from children, who were more subject to new influences, and the other from adults, mostly elderly and traditional, helped prevent confusion. The Rorschach tests were, in 1949, in process of interpretation by experts.

Each of the sixty stories was analyzed for (1) direct portrayal of the material aspects of life, that is, setting and culture; (2) the culturally-idealized personality traits exhibited, male and female; (3) personality, male and female, implicit in characters, situations, and—so far as I could see and understand them—symbols, regardless of explicit code; (4) interpersonal relations, especially in the family, as acted out whether or not in agreement with ideals. See Appendix B for examples.

None of these, frankly, gave quite so much new insight as was hoped for. The missing essential was supplied when it was remembered that these myths are literature and should be considered as such. I then asked regarding each myth the question one would ask when writing a critique of a play or short story: What is the theme, the conflict, or problem, and how is it resolved? (On reading Ruth Benedict's impressive analysis of Zuni mythology after doing this much smaller one, I found that she had set herself two problems: the themes in Zuni folklore and their relation to the culture; the literary problems of the narrator (Vol. 1, xiii.). Seeing the problem-situations and their handling in each story, one can see better the rationale, the self-view and world-view of the group. From the listed problem-situations, interpersonal action, and personality characteristics, I have tried to separate out and state in psychological and social anthropological terms, (1) goals, the desires of the protagonists, (2) the threats confronting them, (3) their defenses. The narrator reveals unwittingly that he is confronted or has seen others confronted consciously or subconsciously by threats, obstacles, conflicts —call them what you will—which may arise either outside or inside himself. Within his picture of the world, we look at his protagonists'

behavior to see how he, the storyteller, handles both the inner emotional dangers and the external dangers of his world, that is, his "defenses."

Finally, to arrive at an integrated statement of personality, there must be further study that is difficult to describe. It seems to require chiefly intuitive and experimental association of aspects of behavior that are not associated consciously by the people under scrutiny, to see where one can secure the "best fit" of the most variables.

Does this personality-construct come from the old indigenous life? From the culture portrayed, there is no doubt that the stories refer to Nunivak life before the coming of school and missionary with their new value systems. References to caribou and wolves, both of which disappeared from the Island about three generations ago, to storehouses on stilts (also gone), clay pots, polyandry, details of ritual, details of home life, the non-material circumstances of life and the characters' reactions to them establish the thoroughly indigenous Eskimo quality of the stories.

CONFLICT-SITUATIONS (THEMES)

Three types are presented:

1) Conflict between the individual and the physical world or between the individual and a combination of natural and social forces.

2) Interpersonal conflicts.

3) Internal conflict, or man against himself.

Conflict Between the Individual and Providence. The most common problem in this category is poverty and the subordinate status of a young person who is orphaned or for some other reason not of his own doing lacks the proper facilities and magic to obtain wealth. Although this individual may be presented as hungry and poorly clothed, this is not a theme of hunger per se. Others in the community have food. Nunivakers live in a sub-arctic environment of generally adequate food.

The Poor Boy does not appear so often in the Himmelheber stories, but there is no question of his importance in the culture (see Lantis, 1946). We must mark the fact that the young hunter, the hero so prominent in other Eskimo mythologies, is here a more pathetic figure, with status disabilities added to the material difficulties of life.

Other, less common themes are the problems of maturation and old age, death of a loved one, war, childlessness, life in physical isolation, and a few others that appear rarely and uncertainly.

If our categorization of these rather miscellaneous themes is correct, they appear in thirty instances, although not necessarily thirty tales since there may be more than one conflict in one story.

Tales of encounters with the larger animals and of storm at sea are generally family-owned, short accounts of ancestors and have no real plot. Also, they usually do not include supernatural elements and symbolism. This type of story has been excluded from the analysis for these reasons and also because it was not included in my published collection (see Introduction and Appendix A herein). Threats from the natural world are not unimportant and are not being disregarded; in fact they contribute to one of the most important aspects of Eskimo personality, as we shall see.

Interpersonal Conflict. There are forty-eight examples of bad personal relationships (see Table 2), although not all are of such importance that they constitute a story theme. There seems to be twenty-one of the latter.

Several of these, such as the conflict between wife and in-laws, between poor and wealthy, obviously mirror real life. Ethnographically, the emphasis should be on "situation" rather than on "conflict," since expression of hostility was well controlled by such devices as tabus on direct speech between virtually all categories of affinal relatives. The stories reveal, though, that despite such cultural devices (and in part because of them?) the suppressed antagonism persisted. Occasionally one sees a real case of marital difficulty or sibling conflict, just as occasionally it appears in the mythology, but on the whole in real life as in story life there are more instances of basically good relations than of basically bad ones.

As Himmelheber commented (1951, p. 10), the grandmother figure, who is a stock character in Nunivak literature, reflects real life in her role of companion and home provider for the orphaned. The stories go even beyond such material assistance: the grandmother is idealized as the source of magical power, especially power to escape from supernaturally aggressive people (see "The Young Man," Appendix B). Unquestionably the grandmother-grandchild relationship (male or female) shows the purest love and altruism of all relationships portrayed. She probably represents the wished-for mother, and her prominence in both collections of stories confirms what has been stated elsewhere: scarcely any Nunivakers reached adulthood in a "normal" family of own father, mother, and children. Many of them needed grandmothers.

The fact that the grandmother companion of Orphan Boy appears widely in other Eskimo mythologies does not deny her local meaning. Actually, in other mythologies, aunts, uncles, and other relatives have the protector role more often than they do here and grandmother less often. Table 2 shows the relative frequency of the various relationships in Nunivak stories.

Most of the kin relationships need no explanation here. However, a few cases of conflict between two unrelated people, male or female, require a reservation. More or less stock characters such as the cannibal woman have been included in the first three brackets of Table 2. The protagonist who encounters her may be a hero or a heroine. Sex apparently does not matter in certain types of situations in which one character is thoroughly evil. The sex of this bad person may be important psychologically as a symbol of threatening men or threatening women (or spirits) but not in the interpersonal relationship.

Even with this reservation, the male-female hostility obtrudes in a record of interpersonal relations that presents indulgent fathers, hardworking and protective mothers, and grandparents who always come to one's rescue. Even co-husbands and co-wives seem to have

TABLE 2

Interpersonal Relations in Nunivak Folklore (41 Stories)

Relationship[1]	*Good*	*Bad (Conflict)*	*Contradictory or Unclear*
Unrelated males[2]	7[3]	5	0
Unrelated females	1	5	0
Unmarried male-female	1	7	0
Husband-wife	16	6	1 (chiefly good)
Father-son	7	0	0
Father-daughter	5	4[4]	0
Father-children	1	0	0
Mother-son	7	0	1 (chiefly good)
Mother-daughter	4	0	0
Mother-children	1	0	0
Grandfather-grandchild	3	1	0
Grandmother-grandchild	16	0	0
Man—in-laws	4	2	0
Woman—in-laws	0	5	1 (chiefly good)
Uncle-nephew	2	2	0
Uncle-niece	0	0	0
Aunt-nephew	1[5]	1	0
Aunt-niece	1	1	0
Brothers	8	2[6]	0
Sisters	2	2[7]	0
Brother-sister	0	0	1 (prob'ly bad)
Wealthy-poor	2	5[8]	0

1. Not including traditional enemies in war stories.
2. Not including Raven's encounters with other animals.
3. In one case, two men and their wives are friends: one entry in table.
4. The relationship in two cases: parents-daughter.
5. This case is complicated by fact that adopted son is husband's nephew.
6. In one case, older brother is good to younger brother while latter is self-centered and disregards older brother or is overtly hostile. In the other case, the roles are reversed.
7. Same situation as with brothers.
8. In two of the five cases, poor boy is treated ill by everyone except the chief's wife.

no conflict (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 93-106). Excluding the wealthy-and-poor relationship, where do we find the highest proportion of conflict? Between unmarried male and female, husband and wife, father and daughter; between unrelated females, a woman and her in-laws, who are usually her mother- and sisters-in-law, and two sisters; finally between unrelated males, uncle and nephew, and a man and his in-laws. One suspects that to these Nunivak narrators it is the women who cause all the conflict. For example, more female than male characters have trouble with their affinal relatives. One might connect this with the fact that most of the tales were told by men, if it were not for the other fact that the women narrators have given the same picture.

The conflict between men and women appears even more frequently in Himmelheber's collection (see Table 3). Probably the combination

of male raconteur, interpreter, and recorder, which he had for nearly all his stories, did affect the selection of themes and description of relationships. Comparison with other mythologies from west Alaska shows, however, that his is sufficiently representative for the present purpose, which is a more or less experimental study.

In this category of themes in the Lantis mythology, the most common plot presents the Haughty Girl: the resistant, independent young woman who rejects all suitors or leaves all husbands or insists on living alone, and who must be overcome. Rarely is the husband shown leaving the wife. Himmelheber did record a good version of the classic Feigned Death, which seems to have been a west Alaskan staple (Lantis, 1938, pp. 162-165; Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 103-106; Nelson, 1899, p. 467; Ostermann, 1952, pp. 185-187). In this, the husband pretends to die but actually goes away to marry a woman in another settlement. This story stands alone, a remarkably stable combination of plot elements. In the pre-settlement and early settlement life, apparently husbands did desert their wives often and easily. Despite this, Haughty Girl appears

TABLE 3

Male-Female Harmony and Conflict in Nunivak Stories
(Himmelheber Collection)

Story, by No.[1]	*Narrator, by Letter*	*Nature of Relationship, for Married Couples and Unmarried Unrelated Couples*		
		Good[2]	*Bad*	*None*
1	A	1	1	
2	B	1	1?	
3	C[3]	1	1	
4	D		1	
5	E		2	
6	A			1
7	A			1
8	A	1		
9	E		1?	
10	B			1
11	A	1	1	
12	C		1	
13	A			1
14	B	1	1	
15	A	1	1	
16	A	1	1?	
17	B	1		
18	B		1	
19	F			1
Total		9	13	5

1. See Appendix A for titles and pages of stories.
2. Not including happy-marriage endings extraneous to plot, as in "And then her children grew up and got married."
3. C was a woman; all other narrators were men. All now deceased.

more often than Deceitful Husband. In Pre-European time when communities were larger and more numerous, the "chief's" wife and daughter may have been attractive but unattainable to the men of his village. The critical question is whether stories of the haughty young woman would still be told generations later unless they still appealed to storytellers and listeners, unless they still expressed some attitude toward or of women. Biographical data from the older Nunivakers suggest why this theme appears so often.

Cultural Evidence: Because men and boys lived a life apart in the men's ceremonial house, spending almost no time in the family home, because of conduct-tabus between brothers and sisters, and because mothers and daughters worked so intimately together, a girl was unprepared emotionally for the usual early, arranged marriage. (Most of this situation persisted to 1940.) Married at eleven, twelve, thirteen years to a strange man twenty to thirty years old, she would run away, weep constantly or, rarely, resist physically. The man would soon give up the fight. From his circumscribed masculine associations in adolescence and self-conscious masculine training for the life of the hunter, he was not well prepared either for life with a creature who not only was resistant but who might be dangerous to his power as a hunter. This does not deny that there were flirtations, but marriage was likely to be difficult.

An earlier deeper experience undoubtedly also contributed to the Rejecting Woman figure. Although for probably the majority of individuals the period of weaning was easy and the child continued to have the mother's affection, nevertheless the ease of marital separation and a high mortality rate made it absolutely necessary for some deserted or widowed mothers to give their children for adoption. Also kinship obligations required that boys especially be given to elderly people who needed them more than the child's parents did. Adoption was traumatic for many of these children, as my Nunivak biographies and autobiographies show.

Even more important was the custom, no longer practiced, of sending all boys to live in the men's house at about five years of age, while girls remained with the mother. This universal experience of males supposedly was accepted with remarkable ease. With the mythology evidence at hand, we can question the Nunivakers' bland assumption that *all* the little boys preferred to leave their mothers and sleep with their older brothers in the kazigi.

One story openly symbolizes the conflict at the level of basic sexual relationship, namely a tale on the Symplegades theme, familiar enough in Europe and northern Asia and widely known among Eskimos (Lantis, 1938, p. 135). Here two brothers, setting out to obtain wives, go in their kayaks between mountains that periodically crash together, killing the wayfarer. The boys manage to go between the cliffs by the customary power of magic songs, which in this case have the special feature of the brothers referring to each other, that is, apparently calling upon the power of their masculine and kin relationship. The stern of the kayak of each is broken off but they manage to go on to a happy conclusion

of their quest. A particularly interesting feature of the symbolic clapping-cliffs is that little people with round mouths dwell between them and bite and kill those who attempt to go through (Lantis, 1946, pp. 281-282). This being the only story with obvious symbolism of sex intercourse (some others refer to intercourse literally and nonchalantly), I suggest that the poor adjustment with females is not merely or initially marital but is deep and started early with mother-symbols. A generic male-female conflict is the basic one rather than merely the sexual relationship, which seems to have been matter-of-fact.

The possible alternative explanation for this Clapping-cliffs image, namely that women and sex intercourse are dangerous to the hunter because of the concept of uncleanness, still does not explain the Rejecting Female.

In other stories, male-female conflict is more diffuse and usually resolved in the case of a married couple by one spouse simply leaving or in the case of unmarried couples by suitor or community overcoming the resistant one. The alternatives of submission or flight are the common Nunivak devices for resolving interpersonal conflict. The story characters almost never are overpowered by open confrontation and physical conquest, only rarely by trickery, but often by supernatural means. The Nunivaker's power is not in himself but is externalized in an amulet or a song.

Although the Hammer-child or Monster-child story (see Appendix B) has sexual elements, it is complicated by punishment for breaking ritual tabus, by father-daughter relationship, in-law conflict, and shaman-community conflict. It is not at the primitive sexual level of the two young men who are avowedly seeking wives. Both stories contain oral aggression, the meaning of which will be discussed later.

In summary, the seeming contradiction between the concept of mothers and grandmothers who are always good and the concept of women who in many other relationships are shown as arrogant (rejecting) or aggressive or otherwise objectionable can be explained by the child's, especially the boy's, loss of a mother, his seeking an ideal mother-wife, and his frequent disappointment in marriage. The sex relationship in the past was further complicated by the not-yet-adequately explained relation of women to the sea mammals. If women observed all the ritual tabus, they could actually bring the animals; if not, women were dangerous to the hunter. The man's world was centered in the kazigi, the woman's in the home, and there were barriers between them. The dichotomy was even objectified in an everyday artifact still in general use in 1940. Men's wooden dishes—each person had his individual ones—were triangular or oblong; women's were square or round.

Internal Conflict. Sometimes involved in the interpersonal or in the individual-versus-the-world conflicts but sometimes appearing alone is the third major type of problem. This is man against himself, of which we find seventeen instances. Many of these are central themes, not just incidents. The internal conflicts are the most significant but

are also the most difficult to identify and to analyze. To understand them, we must reach farther, over more gaps of evidence than in the preceding. So far as literary theme or problem reveals, there are the following: isolation, that is, the need for escaping from isolation into a satisfying social relationship; guilt, which is verbalized as a problem in only two tales (about the String-figure Spirit and "The Dead Wife") but is implicit in many; the dangers and rewards of compulsion; the loss of one's magic power (which can be restated as the loss of a defense system?); and a conflict of loyalties, for example, loyalty of a man to his mother and to his wife, possibly implying a dependency relationship.

In several cases sin and crime are portrayed, with punishment presented not in the form of tortures of guilt but as social punishment. There also are cases of punishment by the supernatural, which we must regard suspiciously as being really a feeling of guilt and a punishment by the superego (conscience), although not so recognized consciously by the Eskimos. The sins thus punished are covetousness, envy, physical aggression, stubbornness, and willfulness, in most of which there is an implication of focused hostility and in all of them inadequate socialization.

The symbolism of certain specific threats from the supernatural reveals many more than the number (17) of occurrences of internal conflict cited above. The symbolic details—apart from the larger themes —must be gathered together by themselves to ascertain, if possible, the intrapersonal conflicts that do not appear at or near the overt level but are deeply embedded in the personality. This will be done in the next section.

Before leaving this section, let us see what Himmelheber's stories can add to it. He was told one having a different and more explicit statement of conflict of loyalties or identification than appears in the same theme in the Lantis collection. In this version of the Haughty Girl (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 45-54), the young woman is at first resentful because her possessive father will not let her marry, later she refuses to marry. She learns to hunt (indicating her identification with her father and other males). She takes a bear-husband but leaves her bear-son because of his odor, and she eludes her husband. She enters a contest with a chief's daughter who is a kind of amazon and destroys her and her father. Finally the young woman marries happily. The contest with a Huntress and the latter's father may be a contest with the heroine's other self, that is, her abnormal self, and her own father. Does the Haughty Girl imply generally a homosexual woman, to whom men are not attractive? Emotional aberration may be suggested by marriage to a dog, as in the famous Dog-husband, or to a bear. On present evidence one can say only that Huntresses do appear in Alaskan Eskimo mythology (Lantis, 1938, pp. 157-159) and such real-life women were described to me on Nunivak Island while womenly men were not, and that a conflict over one's masculine or feminine identification is strongly implied in the above story.

A puzzling and suggestive myth from Himmelheber (1951,

pp. 58-59): A younger brother, who wants to do what his older brother does, disregards the latter's warning not to laugh. According to the narrator, that is the point of the story. What the youth really does is to go into a cave while hunting cormorants, where he encounters little men who use a fire-drill on themselves as a joke. They bore their own hand, ear, eye, finally anus, whereupon the boy laughs. In punishment the younger brother can talk only in imitation of his older brother, thus becomes the Echo. This intriguing myth by Kangalix, who had a strong, yet unhappy identification with his father, is overtly a story of male sibling relations and covertly a more basic story of male competition and male sexuality. For what, really, does the youth get his supernatural punishment? For disobeying the older brother, who is traditionally a substitute father? For being entertained by the fire-drill? Psychological analysis of folklore at times is confusing, at other times enlightening.

THE PERSONALITY

Intelligence. Not much attempt has been made in this study to ascertain thought processes as such or to make any inferences on intelligence. Himmelheber commented that his Nunivak-Kuskokwim tales seemed to him inferior to the West African Negro ones he had collected, in action (plot), logical construction, and wit (but see his story about the wedge, 1951, p. 92). On the other hand, he thought the Eskimo stories more poetic (1951, p. 17). I would add that in his mythology there is a current of strong emotion, of fear and a feeling of the seriousness of the occurrences described. This is not the medium for a show of intelligence—Eskimo technology serves for that—but for the emotion of man's relationship to the natural universe.

The Id. Here "id" is used to indicate basic physical drives, *not* limited to sexuality. Elimination, sex intercourse, and other body functions are referred to casually, and there is little direct portrayal of conflict over id-needs. Raven of course satisfies his hunger by debonairly disregarding others' rights and needs. He is not presented so much a glutton as a lazy creature who, since he does not work, must get his food by trickery. He is everything that a Nunivaker should not be: self-centered and willful, deceitful, without conscience, and lazy. He does not kill people (he introduced death into the world, but this was one of his acts of wisdom in the Creator role), he just robs them. In only one Raven incident is there a sexual element (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 32-33); and lechery, portrayed by either human or animal characters, never is a theme in Nunivak folklore. It does not contain any body of animal stories so extensive and elaborated as those about Blue-jay in the Plateau area, for example. Giving admittedly a value judgment, I would say that Alaskan Eskimo literature is too sophisticated to tolerate many such obvious tales.

Nunivak stories present nothing *explicitly* indicating sex conflict, between the id and either the superego (conscience) or the ego. There is, however, occasional explicit sex frustration by reality: the young man attains an age at which he needs and seeks a wife. After difficulties, he always finally gets one even if he has to steal another man's

wife. In one case, he steals five men's wife, a record in polyandry (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 93-102). There is so little of a "sex problem" that one cannot help wondering whether it is repressed, but I can find little evidence that it is, except in one narrator. As we have seen, the problem of relations between the sexes is more complex and general than mere frustration of sex satisfaction.

One unclear myth presents a conflict between hunger and fear of the supernatural (Lantis, 1946, pp. 291-92). If poor hunting and consequent hunger are interpreted as punishment for breaking tabu or ritual, then we can understand this story in terms of conflict between hunger and conscience. When the villagers in this myth are afraid to admit that they are hungry, probably this is because they feel guilty and have good reason to fear punishment. The one girl who complains of hunger, although the people try to stop her, is transported supernaturally into a good life. There undoubtedly is some assumption here that is obvious to a Nunivaker but that we outsiders do not understand. The best explanation seems to be that the poor young girl knows she is blameless, hence dares to speak out. This myth is reminiscent of "The Two Brothers" (Lantis, 1946, pp. 265-67) in which a person also gets help by doing what he is *not* supposed to do: complain about the weather, the great Sila.

If the concept of id is used broadly to mean self-gratification of any kind—doing whatever one wants regardless of mores—then we have a few examples. Although there are not many out-and-out morality or cautionary stories, we do have "String-figures" (Lantis, 1946, p. 292), "The Dead Wife" (1946, p. 293), "Mayogoyax" (1946, pp. 308-09), and "Where the Echo Comes From" (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 58-59). In these, the conflict with the mores is stated and the wrong-doer is punished by the supernatural, which in each case looks suspiciously like the conscience.

Where the offense is not against the supernatural but against another person, Nunivak protagonists' reactions are not uniform. Sometimes the self-gratifying wrong-doer is punished, sometimes not. In Himmelheber's story (1951, pp. 103-106) of the deceitful man who leaves his wife for another woman, he is punished not by guilt or the supernatural but by the aggrieved wife. Her revenge is excessive, however, and she cannot control it.

In one version of the story of a man who expels his wife in order to take another, the aggrieved woman finally returns and marries him again; in the other version she does not marry him on her return but she does not punish him, either (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 71-91). The two endings may differ because told by different sexes.

Men are shown to be competitive as regards women. A man freely takes the woman he wants and she usually just goes along. "The Little Bird" is unusual in having two love episodes and the wife resisting other men (Lantis, 1946, pp. 293-97). One who does not know the culture probably would suggest at this point that such stories are wishful, indicating a frustrated desire to have extra or different women. The

stories are wishful but not just for a primitive sex satisfaction, rather for wealth and power. In real life, the strong well-to-do men who bossed the men's house took mistresses or abandoned their wives about as they wished. This was a prerogative of power. The community disapproved, envied, and usually tolerated. Whichever one of these three the storyteller felt most strongly seems to have determined his ending of such a story.

Going beyond the explicit into the implicit, repressed, highly symbolized desires, we find two stories told by an unsuccessful shaman, whose autobiography of his childhood was obtained after both these collections of tales were secured. Besides the Echo, already discussed, he told about a shaman contest (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 60-61). The good shamans on their spirit-flight have to overcome the following obstacles presented by the bad shaman: a large "Zauber" lamp surrounded by four beavers that try to burn them; a conical fish-trap (they swim through it); a large dog (in the form of small fish, they swim in through his mouth and out through his anus); an axe, which is really the shaman's wife; live animals serving as stones holding down his skylight. The threat in the last is supposedly the animals' biting the travelers. It is hard to interpret all the symbolism of this rather poorly told story, but there do seem to be some sexual elements. In Freudian terms, the axe would symbolize castration or death or at least a general robbing of power. Certainly here all the obstacles threaten not merely to block the shamans' journey but to entrap them and take away their magic powers. Nunivakers are reluctant to tell their dreams—I obtained a few—but until we have a good amount of dream material, we probably cannot know the common local symbols.

In summary, physical sex and food are not prominent elements in this mythology. However, sex and food—especially the latter, as we shall see—in their social implications and in relation to a general anxiety are important.

The Ego. "Ego" as used here refers to the organized, realistically-functioning self. It is that part of a person that manages to keep his various and often conflicting motivations under control and to turn them into adaptive and adjustive behavior. The world does not see all the ego processes just as it may not see all the desire or all the guilt that the person feels, but the world sees the results. The ego is, however, more public than the other aspects of the personality.

Merely because Nunivak Eskimo protagonists are presented in problem-situations, we must not assume that they continue long in them. The action moves forward. Even though the hero's motives may not be verbalized, still he obviously is motivated somehow to surmount his obstacles. The core of the total personality revealed in action, final resolution of problems, in descriptive as well as narrative detail is that of a *strong ego-ideal.* In other words, Nunivakers have a clear image of what they want to be, as individuals, and a clear picture of themselves in their actual world, realistically striving to be what they desire. With one exception, this ideal is so well defined and so completely accepted

that in the stories it is simply taken for granted. In the one exception, it is stated openly that the unsuccessful hunter *should* be poor. Food should not simply be given to people (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 31-35).

Twenty-seven of the forty-one myths and tales show that men are or try to be excellent hunters, good providers for their families, and generous benefactors of the community. To achieve their goals, the characters are persistent, usually cautious and judicious, observant, rational, willing to admit fear but also striving to overcome it, responsible, diligent and methodical, in most cases finally effective. They are affectionate and properly paternal, although in a few instances ashamed of their children for not meeting social expectations. Thus the ideal is further defined. Men who are poor and dependent are ashamed.

Women take good care of their children and at the grandmother stage are the youths' chief refuge in a difficult world. They are good workers, that is, diligent, remarkably self-sufficient, foresighted, also persistent, sometimes to the point of stubbornness.

All these traits indicate *good orientation to reality*. Except in the Raven tales which must be considered separately, there is little bombast or pretense. In a few tales the hero is in conflict with society and behaves anti-socially in order to forge ahead to his goal of achieving the status of a wealthy man, who in the old days was a sort of chief. After attaining his goal, however, he is pictured as assuming social responsibility by establishing a family and usually also a village, and by distributing the products of the hunt.

Himmelheber has commented with some surprise on these Eskimos' idealization of their physically hard life. He points out that in dance as well as myth they portray daily pursuits, not only all kinds of hunting but women's berry-picking and other tasks, as if glorifying them (1951, pp. 23-24).

People cannot help showing the aspect of their lives in which their intense desire, anxiety, and happiness of attainment are centered. They must express this interest culturally. As Northwest Coast art shows intense concern regarding status, so everything that Rasmussen called "intellectual culture," Eskimo carving and other arts, their religion, and scientific observation of animals, show the importance of man's power over the natural world.

In this literature there is almost nothing on the problems of growing up except, for the boy, the problem of getting magic to make him a good hunter (Lantis, 1946, pp. 272, 275, 277, 278-280, 281, 283, 284, 286, 288) and—less difficult—obtaining a wife. Perhaps the animal-mother motif (bear-mother or dog-mother who is repugnant to her daughter-in-law) contains, besides the young woman's dislike of her mother-in-law, a picture of the son's attachment to his mother and problem of leaving her. It may be, too, a statement of Nunivak morality: the mother should be cared for (Lantis, 1946, pp. 268, 291).

For the girl, there is the problem not of getting a husband but of accepting the husband who wants her, of being a submissive woman.

Probably implied here is her difficulty in leaving her parents and becoming part of her husband's family, all related to the ideal of the good submissive and hard-working wife.

The idealized success story is of course simple wishful thinking, but the characters and even many of the circumstances of their careers are not unreal. In everyday life, Nunivakers did strive as portrayed. Nearly all became self-sufficient; a few in each village were outstanding. Such competition, such demand of effort by everyone required some fantasy success for those not getting real success and for everyone feeling the strain of his own strong ego-ideal. Regarding the strain, in one story when the chief's wife is merely late in entering the kazigi during a festival, the chief gets angry and kicks her out bodily (Lantis, 1946, p. 290).

Competition and contests are prominent in Alaskan Eskimo culture and are presented in these stories as what Himmelheber calls "wager-contests" (1951, p. 22), usually between the hero and an evil aggressive person. This type of wager-contest is a classic struggle of good and evil. On the other hand, in Orphan Boy stories, in some stories of bad feeling and struggle between two brothers or between shamans, and in those about strong chiefs, social competition and shame are implicit. Shame occasionally is verbalized, competition rarely. The heroes in such struggles are not presented as having unusual physical strength although endurance is mentioned, only occasionally presented as being clever, principally in the war stories. Also, except in war stories they do not achieve their goals by organizing community effort, the only cooperation being that of pairs: two brothers, husband and wife, and so forth. How Nunivakers do win their objectives is significant.

The personality is not quite what it seems at first. The readiness to accede to others' desires, the tendency to submissiveness, to allow oneself to be carried along suggest *ego restriction.* In this mythology and culture it means a close limitation on the individual's ability to be aggressive against people in furtherance of his competitive ambition and satisfaction of his other desires. Just how much his view of his own power, his intrinsic strength, is restricted is hard to determine from the mythology. Logically the person might still have a feeling of his own strength, his inherent ability to dominate others which, however, he inhibits for social reasons. Probably this is really the situation.

Part of the ideal and also a real "felt need" is good socialization and social participation. There is a story of two brothers who dislike living alone and in darkness and who seek other people (Lantis, 1946, pp. 270-72). This idea appears elsewhere although less prominently. The common theme of the childless couple's desire for children expresses more than merely need for sons to support one (Lantis, 1946, p. 313).

Although most punishment and destruction come from natural-supernatural agencies, there are a few cases of personal-social punishment. The grandfather is killed in "Dog-husband" (Lantis, 1946, p. 268), sisters-in-law in "Hammer-child" (1946, p. 275), uncle in "Big Eagle" (1946, p. 281). In each case, punishment is given by the injured

person, and the offense is uncontrolled id or ego in an unsocial act. These stories represent a plea for tolerance and acceptance of others: the girl's father should tolerate her dog-husband and dog-children, the young women should not criticize their brother's step-child (and wife) for being peculiar, the uncle should not become angry when his young nephew is mischievous. The ultimate in tolerance is shown by the wife of a man who wants only a daughter and purposely loses his sons. She continues to be his dutiful wife although she knows what has happened and wants her sons (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 118-121).

This laissez-faire attitude would be fine if it did not ultimately show a seeming paradox: a kind of *discretism* among a very well socialized people. Although close, it is not exactly individualism or individuation as these terms are applied to United States life, for example. People not only restrain their aggression but they become restricted, even submissive, not impinging on others. This is explained by other parts of the mythology and the culture.

On close examination, one sees that a person attains his objectives not solely by effort expended directly against the obstacles but by allowing himself to be compelled or manipulated by magic or by acquiring special magical power to compel others. Thus a person satisfies the demands of ambition, of a high ego-ideal, not merely by skill or by working with other people but by submitting to compulsion by supernatural means, thereby getting some magical power—one's own symbolic compulsive, dominating power.

The Nunivak concept of magic and of most other supernatural power presented in the story-life is exactly that on which the people used to operate in real life and still do occasionally. When the heroine, Little Bird, puts a pebble amulet in her mouth in order to escape Tricky Woman (Lantis, 1946, p. 296), she does what any Nunivaker would do when feeling about to be overwhelmed by danger. The many amulets possessed by the typical Eskimo of whatever region are thought to have either protective or compulsive power. To a Nunivaker, songs and *even thoughts* similarly can—or in the old days, could—force others to the fulfillment of one's own desires.

On the assumption that the supernatural agencies are objectifications and personalizations of forces in the individual or real but intangible forces pressing on him from outside, we must analyze most critically these supernatural elements, for example the circumstances under which they appear. The stories illustrate the situations in which the individual submits to supernatural power: (1) When a defense is needed against a feeling of inferiority and against real inferiority. The poor boy or the younger brother who is inexperienced becomes a shaman and uses the greater compulsive powers of the shaman to escape from his low status to a much higher one. Whether or not a shaman, he acquires a magic ear or a song, a special parka, or some other device which *automatically* kills animals without the use of the kayak, harpoons, bow and arrow that he as a poor boy cannot acquire (Lantis, 1946, pp. 272-273, 276-277, 281, 282-284, 284-285, 285-286).

These details, unlike many in European folklore, do not portray escape by mere rescue by supernatural agent but are like some of the other tales familiar to all of us, in which the person escapes permanently from his disability by obtaining his own supra-reality power. The peculiarity in the Nunivak stories, however, is that this is achieved by a kind of wish-for-omnipotence, not real-life domination by maneuver or force but rather by a psychologically basic will-to-power.

This fits the high ambition, the too demanding ego-drives (or ego-needs), the satisfaction of which may be frustrated not only by physical reality but also by the counter demand of social self-restraint or ego restriction. Even though the will-to-power is directed usually toward the sacred food-animals, such as the seals that are the basis of wealth, nevertheless it is possible that people too may be subject to these strong forces. This threat rarely becomes an actuality between ordinary laymen, but is common in shamans' relations with each other and with the community, because shamans have so much more of the essential magic power than have other people. And perhaps they have a stronger power-drive.

(2) The theme in two other stories, "The Young Man" and "The Younger Brother," shows the Eskimo's need to supervene reality generally—a more general insecurity—his need for magic even when not poor. One story presents the problem of retrieving lost personal magic and the other of guarding magic from a covetous man trying to take his younger brother's amulets. The myths show that this power must be held at the risk of life itself.

(3) Another type of story shows the treatment of the haughty girl who will not accept the usual suitors but who must submit finally to unnatural husbands and supernatural power (Lantis, 1946, pp. 267, 273, 277, 288). In "The Chief's Daughter," the girl is magically dismembered by the compulsive song of the young man who undertakes to overpower her. This magic is obtained from the youth's grandfather and with his help the girl is put together again and married by the young man. The same magic power is seen in "Hammer-child." Coupled with the earlier suggestion regarding men's feelings of being rejected by their mothers and of being reluctantly accepted back into the women's house by the young wife, this forcing of women's submission by supernatural means adds evidence that men may feel inferior and frustrated in their relations with women.

In other tales, girls are stolen and carried away by men and women, usually without any statement of physical force. The kidnapper's motives may be implied, but any motivation of the girl's ready submission is scarcely even implied. In one case, possibly she wants children although this never is stated (Lantis, 1946, pp. 276-277). She submits because, without her own magic, she cannot oppose the person who has magic power.

All peoples have some areas of uncertainty, some feelings of inadequacy, and many different devices for reducing the resulting anxiety. The psychological means or device in the present case might

be called submission to the objectified power of the wish. Does the remainder of the culture confirm this and show a basis for it? Why do these people take this particular means of reassuring themselves? Several cultural "determinants" seem to reinforce each other, and altogether they cover virtually the individual life span.

Cultural Contributors. (1) Being carried almost continuously on someone's back, usually inside the parka, the infant travels, watches people, observes the world at large, and participates in nearly all activities at the volition of another with whom he is so intimately associated that the two become almost one body. The infant regards the world over his mother's or sister's shoulder as she moves about her daily tasks, and during the day he sleeps on her back, feeling the other person's movements even while he sleeps. Remarkable responsiveness to the feelings and desires of others is developed early. The intimacy of the child enclosed within the adult's parka goes beyond that of the child on the cradle-board slung on the mother's back, probably equals the mother-child intimacy of the infant carried on the bare hip, and gives greater security. To prevent the child's soiling her, the girl nursemaid or young mother is constantly and subconsciously attentive to the baby's restlessness in order to slip him quickly from the parka. The baby similarly senses irritation when the mother-figure has not been warned. As a result, the infant is trained early, and with little fuss, to kick slightly when he needs attention. But he must not kick too hard. Thus submission and being physically aggressive in only the gentlest way bring satisfying rewards. (In pre-European times moss served as a diaper, but then and now diapers often have been discarded as a nuisance.) Toilet training should not be emphasized. It is only part of a generally permissive, warm, gentle, intimate relationship, which includes also breast-feeding and feeding pre-masticated food to about three years, the age of remembering.

There is ordinarily no startling change from this situation to one of free locomotion and independent action, which may come slowly to the young Nunivaker impeded by bulky fur clothing. If he clamors to be placed again on the back, he almost always is accepted again temporarily. Such experience in infancy is not the sole explanation for inhibition of vigorous self-assertion in adult life, but it sets a trend.

(2) Just as willfulness and aggression are punished or at least disapproved in the stories, so in everyday life aggression against people is severely censured. This is true not only in stated morality, for example in the contempt for the thief, but also in such behavior as children's play, in which there is no sport of boxing. There is strong criticism for slapping, hitting with the fist, or similar bodily aggression. The child thus gets additional training in the proper, that is, unaggressive, physical and emotional relation to others. (Wrestling, finger-pulling, tug o'war and other tugging sports are acceptable.)

(3) At the same time the child, male or female, is honored *individually* by the community for his steps up the ladder of skill:

first bird killed, first seal, first song composed, first dancing in the kazigi. Thus develops a person in many ways strong and self-reliant, in others inhibited, even timid.

(4) That Nunivakers feel the burden of inhibition of aggression is shown by their high admiration of the wealthy men who not only are skillful hunters but who, as the biographies show, formerly displayed greater personal aggression than other people. They ordered others around. They connived to shame less successful men. Sometimes they and the shamans controlled the community in so compelling a fashion that the only recourse of ordinary people was flight: removal to another settlement. (This recourse is illustrated in "The Younger Brother," in which the abused boy simply forgets about his older brother who has sent him away and does not try to return home.) Less often, by common agreement the community would rise against a shaman—seldom against a wealthy man—when no individual dared oppose him. Virtually the only means of aggression available to a Nunivaker in ordinary interpersonal relations was aggressive thinking—with its corollary, gossip—which was endowed with all the accumulated repressed force.

(5) Whether the people were vindictive is not clear from either mythology or real life. Eight, possibly nine stories in the Lantis collection, excluding war legends, contain revenge. It is usually not the main theme, however. Unlike the versions from farther north, the hero's quest to rid the world of monsters is not invariably a revenge expedition. In Nunivak warfare, on the other hand, a common objective was to avenge a relative's death in a previous battle. This does not tell much about the personality, though. People wanted revenge—this seems clear—but we do not know how often they sought it, especially in extreme aggression. Implied in the Orphan Boy's becoming wealthy and distributing goods to the village is revenge achieved through shaming other hunters.

"Inhibition" as it is described here does not have the connotation it often has in the United States. Eskimos, especially males, have not been inhibited in self-expression through the arts. They have inhibited—even repressed into the subconscious—only hostility, the urge to violent action. In consequence, the latter bursts its bonds occasionally.

The Superego. This usually is defined as the internalized and possibly distorted moral code of the individual's culture, that is, the code as he, with his particular life experience and ego-structure, applies it to himself—his conscience.

The mythology shows that these Eskimos recognized the phenomena of repression, subconscious compulsion, and possibly other defenses. Two myths illustrate the operation of abnormal compulsiveness, in both cases by supernaturals, and show that it defeats the aims of these spirits. In one, the wife's ghost pursues the husband who has disobeyed her funeral instructions and has too quickly forgotten her. In a version of the obstacle-flight motif, he throws objects in her path, which she must compulsively stop to count and pierce or burn. He of course escapes,

demonstrating that his self-possession and ingenuity outrun her compulsions (Lantis, 1946, pp. 292-93). In one incident in "The Two Little Birds," an old man who seeks to kill the heroine and her daughter with a long knife is similarly outrun when Little Bird magically places rocks in his path and he, instead of going over or around them, stops to cut each one. Although both stories were told by the same man, their elements are not aberrant and individual.

At the beginning of the story about the ghost wife, the husband is panicked when alone with his wife's corpse and flees in terror, neglecting to carry out her ritual instructions. On arriving at another village, he promptly marries another woman, having completely forgotten the first wife. Later, when he recalls, his conscience forces him to return to the first home, and there ensues the pursuit already described. Here we have a case of genuine repression following trauma and guilt.

Cultural Evidence. Froelich Rainey (1947, pp. 275-76) recorded at Pt. Hope and I (1950) on Nunivak Island—each at the time unaware of the other's information—descriptions of actual experiences as follows: a man meets a supernatural being when out traveling alone, is very frightened, returns home and becomes ill but cannot understand the cause of the illness, having forgotten the whole encounter. Later, when it is recalled and the instructions from the supernatural are carried out, then the man recovers from his illness. A significant detail in these true accounts appears in two Nunivak myths also, namely, that the people who deliberately offend important spirits vomit or lose their appetite. In the action of these stories the operation of the superego is clearly indicated. We can reconstruct the process: id or ego comes in conflict with the superego. The individual cannot face the guilt that develops, so he "forgets" (represses). Finally some mental association breaks through the barriers, and the situation or the focus of the anxiety is recalled. Then after self-punishment and physical release, in most cases satisfactory control of the anxiety-producing situation is achieved by means of ritual and magic.

The link between, on the one hand, story and real-life experience of being overwhelmed and compelled by supernatural agents and, on the other hand, the sensing of compulsions within oneself probably is that the former (supernatural) is an objectification and symbolization of the latter (anxiety and defense). The process is in the same class of psychological mechanisms as projection, but instead of motives being projected into real people, they are projected into extranatural creations. The apparently stupid ghost or giant or dragon who is outwitted by the clever hero—a combination familiar in many mythologies—suggests this hypothesis, which is not new to European culture: these spirits are projections of man's own "blind" compulsions and rigidities, the unreasoning parts of his behavior. The specific storyteller may not always be objectifying his own behavior but the behavior of other types of people whom he has observed. In any case, the Devil is human. Because the Eskimos' malevolent supernaturals are not presented as

beguiling tempters or fire-and-brimstone punishers, as the Devil is presented in Christian folklore, it probably is no less true that some of them at least are projections of human impulses and behavior. We recognize our own devils; we may not recognize other people's.

The submission of a person's physical drives to his ego or occasionally of both to the superego is made into an acceptable, positive value by the concept of individual supernatural power acquired in this process of submission and suppression. The process, further developed and clarified, is familiar in Christianity, where miracle-working power has been obtained by submission to the will of the Deity. In many Nunivak myths, hostility is implicit and it finally finds expression; but it is usually by magical means rather than by physical aggression. In other words, by thinking and wishing hostility rather than by acting in hostile fashion. And in Christianity's earlier days, black magic was not entirely extraneous and foreign to it.

How can a people as realistic as the Eskimos so readily accept this idea of every person actually having the power to counteract reality for good or ill purposes? Going about their work on land or sea, even under hazardous conditions, they have as little specific anticipatory anxiety as an experienced truck driver on a highway. The children are thoroughly prepared in step-by-step education throughout childhood and adolescence for their practical work of securing food and other material necessities. A people highly competent technically, living in an environment that contains adequate resources (in Bering Sea), a people not easily panicked in the face of real dangers such as storms, nevertheless apparently cannot depend on this competence solely. There is a sense of constant threat, and a fatalism about it. It is not merely scarcity of food that threatens. The many supernatural terrors cannot always be personifications of hunger. The mythology gives us some good clues as to what really is threatening the Eskimo.

Emotional Threats to the Individual (Emotional Conflicts). As we saw in discussing problem-situations, various dangers may threaten a person from outside himself, not only from the physical universe but from a clash of the self-interest aims of two or more people. A person may be threatened also by the force of his own poorly controlled emotions. As stated at the beginning, Nunivakers by not being explicit regarding their motives make the personality analyst's task difficult. The responsiveness to others that they show in daily behavior and that the characters of their literature show explains partially why motives are not stated. At the level of consciousness, the motives are so obvious in the culturally formulated and generally accepted personal goals that they usually need not be stated although they can be verbalized. Their other motives the Eskimos dare not admit, and in fact cannot admit them since they almost always are below consciousness. These motives can be figured out only by going into the subconscious, in this case using the symbolism of the mythology as our vehicle.

Our task now becomes a bit gruesome. Himmelheber comments on the bloody element in this mythology (1951, p. 21). It tells a lot to the

TABLE 4
Physical Dangers in Nunivak Mythology

Danger	*Number of Occurrences*	*Danger*	*Number of Occurrences*
Cutting or stabbing[1] (usually both)	21	Falling	4
		Hooking	3
Biting or eating	15	Consumed by mass of worms	2
Dismembering	9	Starvation	2
Burning	5	Physical combat	1
Blow on the head (in two cases, hit by skull)	4	Strangling	0

1. One case is implied, others specific.

clinical detective. The physical dangers that threaten or actually overtake the human characters, including animals that take human form, appear with the following frequency in the forty-one myths (Table 4).

Although in addition there are ten cases of drowning and five of storm or freezing, not all are threats from evil beings. In some cases, these same dangers are used by the hero against these evil beings, but unfortunately the direction of the threat was not always indicated in my original tabulation. Although the hero similarly may stab the bad character or cut off his head—instead of magically causing a river suddenly to swell, in which the evil one drowns, for example— *the table presents only the threats against the hero,* not the cases of their use by him, as with storm and drowning.

Certain other sources of anxiety and conflict are more difficult to classify. There are five episodes in which *possibly* there is a death wish (own death) (Lantis, 1946, pp. 266, 279, 283, 292, 293). This depends on one's interpretation. Any of the above threats of course might be evidence of depression and death wish. As we shall see, however, they probably come from other sources. In fifteen episodes there is trickery of one character by another. Four or five of these, though, are in the two Raven tales. Ten is a remarkably low number of cases of deceit and trickery for all the remaining stories, compared with most Plains Indian mythology, for example.

In contrast, the reader is impressed by the many instances of slashing the throat or cutting off the head, dismembering or cutting off particular parts of the body, stabbing and, most strikingly, biting. One thinks immediately of methods of warfare in this region in which spears, bows and arrows and knives were used, and enemies' heads were cut off (Lantis, 1946, p. 169; Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 127-128). One can understand why there is no barehanded combat in these tables and very little use of blunt implements, these being prohibited in real-life combat. But one cannot so easily account for the peculiar dangers of biting.

In "The Young Man," two old men try to kill the hero with ice chisels which, instead of points, have little live muskrat heads that try to bite him. The hero kills the muskrats by cutting off their heads although for the time being, at least, does not kill the men. Later when he cuts off the heads of wicked opponents, they keep bouncing and trying

to bite him until the eyes are cut, which ends this unusual form of aggression. In still another incident, the hero encounters an evil woman who is cooking a human head with the stated intention of eating it. Her children say that they want to eat the hero's eyes. In another tale, the wicked aunt kills her nephew by cutting his throat, although the threat is actually eating or at least biting since the aunt is described as having a big mouth. (Himmelheber's version is more explicit: the woman is a cannibal, with a mouth from ear to ear, who cuts off people's heads and eats them (1951, pp. 107-109).) In the Lantis version of the same story, another evil woman cooks and eats people (1946, pp. 289-90).

Again, in the cycle about the heroine, Little Bird, a big worm in the sea, a common figure in the art of the region (see Nelson, 1899, fig. 158, p. 446), is described here as having a large mouth on its breast. Again, a willful girl who persists in making string figures when she is not supposed to, is challenged to a cat's cradle contest by the Spirit of String Figures. The one who wins is to eat the other. The girl by deceit and speed of movement wins the contest but later vomits human flesh and dies, having unwittingly eaten the Spirit when she won the contest (Lantis, 1946, p. 293).

A Himmelheber tale shows a switch on the general theme. The aggrieved first wife kills the second wife of the deceitful husband by tricking her into putting her head into boiling water. Then the first wife turns into a bear (1951, pp. 103-06).

How can we account for this element? In the course of my study of Nunivak child development, before noting the common occurrence of these elements in the mythology, I had observed that even though children are nursed at the breast until after all milk teeth have erupted, there still is only the mildest punishment for biting the breast. The child's behavior in this respect is regarded more with amusement than discipline. Also, even though the child spends most of its early life on someone's back inside the parka, there seems to be virtually no biting behavior. It seems unlikely that the dangers to self or others by biting come from this early bodily association.

Kissing is associated with sex intercourse and is inhibited in other intimate contacts, yet there seems to have been little shame and no guilt regarding kissing. Today, in imitation of the newcomers' behavior, children or adolescents may kiss, but the generally Puritanical Christianity that they have acquired does not encourage it. In the old days although kissing was inhibited, other oral behavior was not. Teeth and lips were and are used freely in moistening and working skins, pulling rawhide lines taut, and similar practical behavior. Our concern, moreover, is not merely any oral behavior. This threat is *oral aggression* associated significantly often with eating.

A possible explanation is fear of and guilt regarding cannibalism, which may have occurred in the far past. Real starvation seems to have been rare here, occurring in only a few family traditions and in only two Nunivak myths; and in no case did cannibalism follow. As there is no evidence of cannibalism from other material, one should be cautious

in assuming that it explains the obvious fear of oral aggression—especially cautious when an alternative explanation is at hand.

Although there is not starvation, there is a more general and common insecurity, symbolized by another form of oral aggression. In the stories, it is the mass of worms in a pit or river into which the hero may fall and into which, of course, his evil opponent finally does fall. This is not the same as the large man-worm to which we have already referred, which seems to be a sex symbol (Lantis, 1946, p. 287). The mass of worms is especially significant because it is a common image appearing in the dreams of the youth about to become a shaman. When a lad loses interest in events around him, loses his appetite, has nightmares, and wastes away, he probably will dream of a mass of worms.

These, fortunately, are more easily explained than any of the other symbols. Despite the precaution of placing large coarse mats over drying fish and meat to keep off blow-flies, a person may enter his storehouse one day to find a good part of his winter's food supply all worms. In the old days, when fish were put in pits in the ground more often than in storehouses above ground, this also occurred, so that we have in the tales the image of worms in the fire-pit of a house or in some pool or river. This suggests immediately a food anxiety, which was present although not the dominant and crippling anxiety that it was in more northerly groups. Appearance of this repugnant image in the religious novice's dreams and fantasies suggests that it symbolized an even more general insecurity than literal hunger. The mass of worms may have symbolized loss of support, of a solid foundation, or, more strongly, death.

The final possible explanation appears in the fact that the most highly symbolized examples of oral aggression seem to be associated with masculine symbols, that is, the two are present in the same instrument. This is most vividly portrayed in Hammer-child, a male monster-child in the form of an old-style stone hammer with a wide mouth containing many teeth. Hammer-child kills caribou by biting, and he kills people. Finally he is transformed by his shaman father into a fine boy who becomes a good hunter. Since the male-female antagonism seems to imply fault in the female more than in the male, with masculine aggression justified by feminine recalcitrance, it appears that not sex aggression but another common form of aggression by males is symbolized here. There undoubtedly is guilt and fear of retaliation for killing and eating the animals, which have souls. There may be guilt for eating one's totemic animals, or, more likely, all animals.

The evidence is as follows. (1) There is complete animism. Nunivakers say that the only animal that does not have a soul is the dog, against which they are often brutally aggressive, even their own dog teams. Noticeably, the dog is the only domesticated animal, the only one over which man is sure of control.

(2) There is the concept of interchangeability of human and animal. In the forty-one myths and tales there are fourteen instances

of animal-human conversion and six of human-animal conversion. For example, a man hears two people singing. When he goes to them, he finds the husband singing and the wife dancing. With no apparent motivation, he becomes angry and hits these two little people. They run away and disappear. When he follows, he finds only two fish in a pool and the piece of ice that had been their drum. The implied moral is that one must not be irresponsibly aggressive, for the object may be a food animal (Lantis, 1946, pp. 300-301).

In the stories when animals appear in human form, they are stated much more explicitly as being human than in many North American mythologies. The narrator would explain that the fox really was a man but sometimes he was like a fox; or Raven was a man but had a beak on his forehead.

Himmelheber comments that the number of Nunivak animal stories seems small for a culture in which the hunt dominates religion (1951, p. 26). Nunivakers do not need animal stories since animals in the guise of spirits, human beings, or magic symbols are in nearly all the stories except war legends. When man meets man, he is threatened with real arrows, knives, and firebrand, and trusts in the same weapons. When he goes into the natural-supernatural world, he needs magic and a clear conscience, for the animals have powerful protectors.

(3) In several rather unusual incidents, a human conversely is treated like an animal although retaining human form. For example, the Wicked Aunt who has a big mouth suggesting that she is a predatory animal or a monster is hooked in the ear and pulled up through the skylight by the heroes (Lantis, 1946, p. 289). In another tale the hero drills a hole in the jaw of his deceitful wife and tows her behind his kayak as if towing a seal. Also the man's small magic spears stick in the nostrils of his evil parents-in-law (Lantis, 1946, p. 281). In still another case, the Poor Boy obtains from supernatural beings the power to hook things he desires, even drawing them from far away (Lantis, 1946, p. 272). With his power to steal by hooking, as one draws the floating seal carcass to the kayak, he becomes a shaman.

(4) There are stories of marriages between human beings and animals, usually ending by one or both resuming original form and breaking up the marriage.

(5) In religion, there is a belief in reincarnation in another form, usually as a human being but apparently it may be as another kind of creature. To consume an animal may be to consume a person.

(6) There is the special treatment of both human skulls and animal skulls. Human skulls, up to about fifteen years ago, were taken out of their cairn graves at the edge of the village and put on a high place on the tundra, usually within sight of the village. The heads of bearded seals were set up in the house in a place of honor and were treated with the same tabus and ritual care as human corpses and skulls, finally being buried among the rocks with special little receptacles. The flesh of small seals' heads was eaten, apparently including the eyes. The tabus are revealing, especially tabus on the use of any sharp instrument, such

as sewing needle or sinew shredder, while seal head or human corpse was being honored and its spirit was near (Lantis, 1946, p. 194). Indeed, in one myth a woman kills a man magically with such a tool (Lantis, 1946, p. 266).

(7) In the old days, hunters going out in the highly ritualized spring hunt for seals and walrus *placed a human jawbone in the kayak, the better to catch the animals.* Thus in overt act as in the symbolism of the mythology, the hunter's relationship to the food animals was dramatized.

(8) For the child participants in the Bladder Festival, the emotional climax, strong enough to be called a crisis, occurred when the men *gave the young boys and girls to a seal-spirit to eat.* The spirit did no physical harm to the children but in mauling them and perhaps biting them, he and the other initiates terrified them.

It is not argued here that the mythology comes from this traumatic experience, but rather that both ritual and myth come from the same basic concept of the relationship between man and game animal. The concept is not merely intellectual. The individual puts into it his strongest emotion. This emotional content, this constant fear of the animal turning against man, probably did start (at least for the Nunivakers) when the child was eaten by the seal-spirit, and it was then reinforced by all the hazards of life.

This Eskimo conception of the world still has force. As recently as 1952 or 1953, the following statement was made at Pt. Barrow:

" 'Nature is made up of the hunted and the hunters.' This rather unexpected statement, in English, was made to the writer in the course of the bloody business of butchering some twelve huge walrus carcasses out on one of the moving ice floes of the Arctic Ocean. The speaker, an Eskimo hunter, was not merely voicing a platitude;" (Spencer, 1953).

In the stories it is not man stabbing, slashing, and biting the spirits encountered in his wanderings. The spirits try to cut and bite him. His own type of everyday behavior thus becomes a threat to him.

Religion and mythology show that either the animals themselves or the great spirits that protected them would take revenge on man for not showing respect to the animals, for not observing all the tabus and ritual (Lantis, 1946, p. 199). In one tale a young woman, for example, offends a seal by referring to it as a fox. After she has cooked and eaten the seal, her stomach swells so that she cannot go through the entrance into her house. Her grandmother by magic use of her big needle helps the girl pass through and the latter then vomits whole sealskins. Later the fox, honored by her reference, marries her, but the story ends unhappily (Lantis, 1946, pp. 308-309).

By their acts of not only the usual butchering of animals but also the chewing and lip-moistening of skins, the people always have before themselves images of both men and women cutting and biting some part of the animal. The cannibal women cutting off human heads and boiling them is not hard for a Nunivaker to imagine even though he has never known a case of cannibalism.

It appears that these people who are among the world's most effective hunters, that is, among the greatest human predators against animals, feel continuous guilt for this very effectiveness and so must enter into the myriad small rituals, must observe the tabus, load themselves down with amulets, rush to confess what seem trivial offenses, practice the magic, in order to reduce their anxiety. We who analyze hunting in terms of bird-spears, harpoon-heads, and other cultural forms forget that psychologically it is an act of aggression. When people depended solely on hunting and fishing, the physical need for food, social need for prestige of the great hunter, psychological need to satisfy an ideal of the self, the suspense, competition, excitement of the chase, fear of defectiveness of equipment at the crucial moment, fear of personal injury or death in storm and accident—all this built up a tension that was released, often, in a frenzy of attack on the caribou herd or walrus herd. The hunter must have sensed his own deep hostility against these creatures that so often eluded and frustrated him. The hunter had sound psychological reasons for fearing revenge from them.

In a tale recorded by Himmelheber, the Wolf-people show their resentment against men for injuries received (1951, pp. 55-57). The antagonism between man and animals thus occasionally is even expressed openly.

There is collateral evidence for the anxiety regarding oral aggression and moreover for the hypothesis that this is not a simple fear of aggression from independent outside agents but a projection of the individual's guilt and conflict regarding his own behavior. There is the Iglulik statement, recorded by Rasmussen and quoted by Weyer (1932, p. 333), that *the Eskimos' greatest problem is that their food consists entirely of souls.* By their frequent symbolic presentation of the dangers of biting and eating, Nunivakers show that they agree.

In a situation in which the aggression essential for survival becomes a common threat, one can understand much better the Eskimo's need for compulsive power. A Nunivak man expressed this when he said that in order to be a good hunter one must have the right songs. Songs are the hunter's means of drawing the animals to him willingly. Repeatedly statements were made on the island that the seals were pleased by all the fine entertainmnt in the Bladder Festival and were willing to come back and allow themselves to be killed. If not well treated, they grew vindictive (Lantis, 1946, p. 308). Drawing the animals to oneself by these techniques reduced not just guilt but the source of guilt—the force of the hostile act, the inevitable physical aggression.

Do hostile thoughts arouse as much anxiety as do hostile acts? My answer is based on impression, it is true, but an impression from daily observation: hostile thoughts are accepted more than action. Nunivakers constantly attribute to each other antagonistic attitudes, in projection of their own or in a sophisticated reading of others' attitudes. Yet they will smile at, talk with, and work with the same people.

Another effect of the cultural demand to inhibit aggression is the

occasional sudden, violent and apparently inexplicable act in which one person may kill another with no show of emotion. This type of behavior seems to have been more common on the Arctic Coast where all anxieties apparently were more acute, where the inducement to aggression was greater but at the same time the dangers of it to the self and to survival of the community were much greater. In such instances the aggressor was experiencing a sudden release of repression.

Probably the emotional state was not so different—although the effect was quite different—when a person who apparently was simply traveling along was suddenly confronted with a vision (Himmelheber, 1938). He was experiencing a release of ordinarily repressed drives, now acceptably objectified, usually presented as threatening him, and finally controlled or repelled by him.

The above is summarized as a hypothesis, that these people's efforts by ritual and magic to draw the animals to the hunter—to make them want to come and be killed or at least to overcome their resistance by greater spiritual power than the animal-souls possess—are not only efforts to get food but additionally and importantly to mitigate the hunter's own physical aggression. Being in conflict about it, he must do something to reduce or avoid the conflict. Thus is established the *emotional need* to use and submit to those aspects of religion that have been referred to here as compulsive supernatural power, concentrated in ritual and magic. The latter, endowed with emotions of respect, fear, guilt, dependency, desire to prove oneself, and hope for success, are more than impersonal formulae. The readiness to accept this particular satisfaction of the personal need, instead of some other means, starts from but is not and need not be wholly explained by the infant's prolonged satisfying experience of submitting to the motives and judgment of the one on whose back he dwells. Similarly, by getting such satisfying attention to his own drives and desires, he gets a sense of compelling power within himself. One body behaves virtually as a function of the other.

As stated in the Introduction, one's interpreation must be tested by other kinds of data. Before going on to completely different data such as that from the projective tests, one can profitably examine other parts of the local culture. Accordingly the hypothesis to explain the stabbing-cutting-dismembering-biting symbols was applied to behavior that had not previously been accounted for psychologically.

I could never get from the Nunivakers or my own observations a satisfactory explanation for the sacredness of each individual's everyday dishes from which he eats seal-oil. Although these wooden dishes bear painted designs portraying bird, fish, or mammal, usually with harpoon or spear stuck into it, the design alone does not adequately account for all this: new dishes formerly had to be made ritually at a given time, had to be consecrated, and could not be used between the Bladder Festival in December and the opening of the heavily-ceremonialized spring hunt for sea-mammals. It now appears to me that this and other customs of the routine business of eating were done to demonstrate to

the animal spirits that eating them was not a hostile act but was a ritual act performed with reverence, this in addition to the sheer magic of the design portraying success in the hunt.

Even more clearly, the hypothesis explains the disparity of emotional intensity in the spring and autumn hunts for seals. When one finds that a diligent hunter obtains as many seals by setting nets in the fall as by hunting with kayak and harpoon in the spring, one wonders why people have not carried out all the ritual in the autumn as they did earlier in the year. If hunger were the only motivation, then there would be as great emotional need for assurance of production in both seasons. In the spring, supplies of seal oil are more likely to be exhausted and people are hungry for it even when they still have other foods; in the autumn, they are facing winter when, in this area, they get no seals, hence are anxious to store a supply. My first explanation of disparity in amount of ritual and magic, the latter especially a good evidence of anxiety, between spring and autumn was the higher valuation of the greater skill in hunting with harpoon. Yet hunters said that it took much knowledge and skill, too, to set a seal-net under the ice in just the right place. This realistic motivation, namely, valuation of skill with the harpoon, does operate; but I now suggest that another and more basic difference is in the greater personal aggressiveness required in the spring hunt, the greater emotional build-up, occasional frustration of seeing the animal almost in one's grasp and then get away, the consequent danger, and in the greater physical danger which sometimes is interpreted as retaliation by Nature. In the case of netting, the seal kills himself: he simply blunders into the net and drowns.

Defenses. Not all anxieties and defenses can be given in so much detail, and undoubtedly most do not deserve so much attention. Having obtained in the beginning a fairly good idea of the threats to Nunivak life portrayed in the mythology, we now quickly summarize the defenses.

(1) The following *defenses against external threats* such as hunger appear most commonly:

wish fulfillment, which in the Raven tales, unlike the others, takes the form of easy satisfaction of food needs at others' expense;

altering reality, that is, modifying the environment, for example, in the story in which two youths who live alone in darkness go to find people and sunlight and finally bring the sun to its present regime (Lantis, 1946, pp. 270-272);

avoidance or flight, which the mythic heroes, despite their supposed power, show about as often as the poor scared Nunivakers themselves;

denial of reality, alertness and caution, restriction of the ego, also portrayed although not quite so commonly.

(2) Among *defenses against those threats arising within the individual,* there appear all that Anna Freud mentioned in her well known work on the defenses:

displacement, undoing, isolation, reversal, rarest in this mythology, at any rate the most difficult to recognize;

introjection, identification with the aggressor, sublimation, can be seen but their importance not clear, need more study;

projection, turning against the self (?), reaction formation, repression, the four most common defenses.

This last combination perhaps can be explained as follows. There is a reaction against the individual's own drives that are culturally disapproved. Where possible, as in social relations, he acts the opposite of the way he feels until this behavior becomes a fundamental and habitual part of the personality: reaction formation. Some of the things about which he feels guilt and anxiety, he inhibits and restricts; others he represses. Or, where necessary, he continues the behavior and represses the guilt, as in hunting. The Eskimo friendliness and agreement with others is not just a pose. It often is a subconscious reaction rather than a hypocritical conscious reaction—although the latter is not unknown—against the person's own desire to act alone and to gratify himself, or to dominate others (what he probably wants most), or even to be hostile. His deeper motives then are projected. His desires and judgments on himself are externalized, given form in imaginal creations, the familiar supernatural beings of religion and mythology, and they come back against the individual. Thus he can come face to face with his superego and usually can come away from the encounter with increased power. Nunivakers do not often show the more irrational and devious defenses. This whole psychological complex is adequately adaptive and healthy.

A complex type of defense that is rare in real life is equally rare in the mythology: conversion of an anxiety into an injury or illness. There are not half a dozen instances of sickness in this mythology and no one is struck blind or lame. The few cases of illness that do occur are explained by magical acts of one person against another or by specific punishment for wrong-doing, which may represent either objective occurrences or a socially acceptable phrasing of subjective anxiety-and-defense. In both story and real life, evidently hypochondria was not permitted.

Integration of the Personality. This is not a morbid mythology in which most of the characters die, overcome by the inherent conflict of their situation. Almost always, destructive forces are combatted successfully. Death of a protagonist occurs in only three stories. Only nine of the forty-one stories can be said to have an unhappy ending (see Lantis, 1946, pp. 267, 269, 291, 293, 297, 302, 304, 307, 309). A higher proportion of Himmelheber's stories, seven of the nineteen, end unhappily (1951, pp. 37, 44, 59, 92, 106, 109, 128). Still, in this natural, non-experimental projective system of the mythology, there appears an objective and effective people, much too busy meeting the world to think about the emotional conflicts within themselves. It is for us outsiders to figure out how this happens.

We must see the various pertinent parts of the culture in relation to each other as they focus on the individual. One cannot say that animism alone accounts for the fear of retaliation against man by animals. There are other animistic religions, for example in West Africa; yet there does not seem to be quite the same effect on the personality. Fear of the displeasure and aggression by animal and other spirits is reinforced in the Nunivaker's situation by (1) his material circum-

stances: the fact that without agriculture or an abundance of wild food to be gathered, he is dependent and vulnerable physically. Added to necessity, (2) the culture's remarkable technological development and (3) its ideals of personal performance and self-reliance—what has been called here "high ego ideal"—force the individual to an effectiveness that brings forth the admiration of outsiders but, as the Eskimo knows, may bring the anger of caribou, seals, or even the great deity, Sila. The culture presents dilemmas and it then presents formulae for escape from them—because people are not willing to remain long in a dilemma. For dealing with the animals, there are amulets and tabus; for dealing with Sila, there is self-restraint. Finally, (4) although the boy and girl get good technical training and some preparation of the emotions, they still are usually not well enough prepared emotionally for their adult roles. The unsubmissive women, "chiefs," and shamans, against which Nunivakers sometimes are resentful in fiction and fact, seem to have a common element of poorly socialized power-seeking and independence. These, as well as the resentment against them, are part of the culture and are outlets for different personalities. But these are not the best adjustments, from the standpoint of united community life.

Visitors admire the Eskimo's broad friendly smile, his patience, his permissiveness toward children, his frequent tolerance for the less capable and the aberrant members of the community (although there are limits to this whereas scarcely any limit to the tolerance for child behavior), and his generosity and sharing. Behind this bland exterior is a rich, gruesome, emotion-propelled imagination that projects onto the sky-screen of the mythology what the Eskimo does not look at in his own personality or open up for a direct look by the visitor. In this, we suspect that he is not so different from the remainder of the world.

COMPARISON WITH PERSONALITY AS REVEALED IN RORSCHACH TESTS

It perhaps is unfair to the Rorschach analysts to present this material for the first time not by itself but as an adjunct to the mythology study. However, since there is no plan to publish soon the Rorschach study in its entirety and since it is interesting in the present connection, some results of it are given with the analysts' permission.

There were thirty-two tests, given to twenty-one males and eleven females, ranging in age from nine to forty-five years. Fourteen were under eighteen years, the remaining subjects eighteen years old or older. Interpreters were used with nineteen subjects; the others answered in English. Range in number of responses: 13 to 55. Average: 31 R. Median: 29 R. (This is a good average.) Nunivakers accepted the ink-blot test easily because it operated on the same principle as their old game of trying to see shapes in the clouds. All tests were given by me at Mekoryuk September 6 to November 4, 1946, as a part of field work supported by the Arctic Institute of North America, and all were interpreted in 1949 by Drs. Eugenia Hanfmann and Alice Joseph of the

Harvard Psychological Clinic. Their interpretations were analyzed statistically by the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University. This last part of the study will be given elsewhere.

The Rorschach specialists had read nothing about the Nunivak area and were told nothing about it. Regarding the subjects, they were told only the age and sex of each. They did not communicate with each other regarding the test protocols. Before they saw the tests, they gave individually a free-association commentary on Eskimos which I recorded. As an experiment, each analyst scored each subject on a personality rating sheet prepared by Dr. David Aberle. From my general knowledge of the subjects, I also scored them. When this was done, Dr. Hanfmann and Dr. Joseph, again individually, gave their impressions of Nunivak personality types. Although no two of us agreed well on the exact rating of degree of a trait shown in a test, we agreed quite well on the summaries. It may have been that the rating sheet was a little too complex, requiring a fineness of distinction that neither Rorschach test nor direct observation alone could give, for example between "very," "moderate," "slightly," and "not" persistent, or "marked," "moderate," "slight," and "no" wish to dominate others. Or it may be that we can verabalize oustanding characteristics of people, using big lumping words, but do not have sufficiently objective verbal measures of fine individual differences and especially of degree of a trait. We probably are too subjective in our distinctons between "moderate" and "slight": what is moderate to one person is slight to another. This rating procedure was experimental and no matter what its results it was worthwhile. I am grateful to all participants in the project.

Before giving their free association, Dr. Joseph and Dr. Hanfmann recalled that they had read de Poncins's *Kabloona* (about a group of Central Eskimos) but could not recall any specific articles and in any case had not read much on the American Arctic. They had not read any ethnography on Eskimos. Dr. Hanfmann had seen the movie, *Nanook*. Both mentioned the following impressions, not in this order, of course.

Hard life of the Eskimos; their patience, persistence, endurance.

Hanfmann added: Skill, coordination, strength, self-reliance.

Joseph added: Keen observation. Also surmised that the greatest threat came from nature rather than people.

Permissive treatment of children.

Joseph emphasized the close warm relationship between mother and child. Hanfmann said she had "a fairly idyllic picture" of parent-child relations.

Cooperation and sharing within small groups.

Family the important socio-economic unit.

Joseph added: Probably individual gets greatest security from the family.

Not many inhibitions regarding sex, no guilt about it.

Occasional open fighting, but infrequent.

Joseph added these impressions: Eskimos are shrewd, practical; friendly, outgoing, not sullen; have a contrast: bundled in clothes during outdoor work, naked in the home; gay, relaxed, crowded home; good development of imagination (she recalled ivory carvings but did not know folklore); occasionally impulsive, even to sudden murder or impetuous generosity; leave their old people to die; marriage fairly stable; contrast between wide expanse of the natural environment and the narrow enclosed home; landscape is horizontal, man and the animals the only vertical objects.

Both said they *did not know:*

Amount of illness and injury.

Eskimo religious belief or nature of religious experience, attitudes regarding death and the dead; but Hanfmann speculated that death might be the focus of some other anxiety.

Amount of competition.

Joseph added: Possibly great competition for resources, not for status.

Degree of possessiveness or identification with things and places.

Hanfmann added: Did not know relation to authority.

Joseph added: Did not know sanctions, how people were disciplined; their defenses, except possibly withdrawal at times and open aggression at other times; sibling rivalry; tabus and mores; expression through music; division of labor; adoption, or sharing in training of children.

Dr. Joseph, who had had more experience in studies of non-literate peoples, for example the Saipanese and the Papago Indians, added the following *speculations and guesses.*

Possibly the Eskimos believed that injury or illness was caused by sorcery or loss of soul, probably did not regard it as punishment for wrongdoing.

Shaman had power over others because of laymen's awe of his supernatural power.

Seniority and proficiency in providing would give privilege and status.

Eskimos are cruel to domestic animals while wild animals would be respected more, because of their supernatural power.

Probable attachment to people rather than places. Yet must be stolid, if they can abandon their aged.

Anxiety possibly connected with being alone.

Eskimos probably are not evasive. No place to hide!

Probably have great pleasure in food.

Patriarchal, in sense that man is of more value to the group and has more prestige than woman. Male children probably desired more than female.

Probably not much romantic love.

Having heard of Eskimos who were hysterics, especially the women, Dr. Joseph wondered "why repression ever would appear among them to such an extent that they would become hysterics." She speculated that they might have frustrations, not in sex but in material things.

A very few of the above impressions are not true of Nuniwagamiut or are not so characteristic of them as of other Eskimo groups. They were stated (and repeated here) for methodological reasons. The raters were given no indication of the accuracy of these ideas.

Now we give the specialists' impressions several weeks later after intensive study of the thirty-two Rorschach protocols from Nunivak. Regarding possible influence on my work, this time-table should be noted: I recorded Dr. Hanfmann's observations on the tests when I had just started my analysis of the mythology, but Dr. Joseph's more extensive observations were not recorded until I was just completing the analysis and had formulated my main conclusions. These two (Joseph and Lantis) can be taken as independent lines of evidence on Nunivak personality.

Dr. Alice Joseph's impressions and generalizations of Nunivak personality after intensive study and formal analysis of Rorschach protocols, as dictated to the writer:

They have meticulousness of observation. Extreme specifity and concreteness of observation. A compulsion? Obsessional?

There is free expression of emotion. Great spontaneity, emotionality. More constriction in adolescents.

An emphasis on body parts, human and animal. This may be explained partly by closer elationships with people, but not romantic enduring relations with the same people. There is some transiency of relations. Affection is diffuse, not limited to a few people. (Emphasis on body parts) partly explained by detail of observation, partly explained by aggression—frustrated aggression.

A good deal of dependency.

The emphasis on detail—alertness—sometimes goes with anxiety, shown by "shading" response. It's a kind of defense: escape into reality. Activity, busyness is a defense against anxiety.

Extroverts: probably ninety percent of the subjects.

"Black shock"—they avoided a whole-black response but stayed around the black mass by attention to details. They did not evade, but substituted reality answers for anxiety answers.

Probably some blocking of introversion. Some fear connected with relations with people. These people have imagination but sometimes are afraid to use it.

They're preoccupied with sex, but there is not a conflict and guilt in same sense as in our culture.

Aggression pretty high, but not much smoldering hostility—pretty direct. They're not revengeful. But aggression shows in the detailed critical responses. There is some conflict regarding aggression.

Repression is a fairly common defense.

Anxiety is high in some cases. Of the group as a whole, one can say that it is focused rather than diffuse. Focused on "the world" or on people more often than on own competence. They seem to be a self-confident people.

Some seem to have guilt, but are not driven or torn by guilt. It is not clear whether it's a "shame culture" or a "guilt culture"—I think guilt.

Some fear of coercion. The attitude toward domination is not clear.

I think they're a conforming people, but not submissive, ingratiating. They are quite individual. Individual but not individualistic. Well socialized.

Wish for domination: inquisitive but not bullying. Cognitive domination rather than emotional domination of people.

Fear of physical danger, in some; not general.

Jealousy in a few; may go with acquisitivenss, possessiveness.

High energy. Very persistent. Only a few languid individuals.

Intelligence: some, superior; most, high average; one girl low average; one boy a moron.

Competition: difficult to evaluate. It probably is implicit in aggression and acquisition. Good-natured, not bullying and revengeful. (Competition is) not pervading. It did not run through the whole record. It is not consuming. They can take time out for emotion and expressiveness.

A few people are depressed. Some suicidal tendency in specific people—not general. Manic-depressive, possibly.

It's difficult to get a schizophrenic reaction with these records.

They're impulsive.

Oral aggression—goes with dependency.

One or two cases of hypochondriasis, physical incompetence.

Dr. Hanfmann's comments were, for the most part, of a different order. She discussed the tests themselves and expressed basic questions on them: the fact that the responses were brief, not qualified (possibly due to less than complete translation by the interpreter or inadequate English when no interpreter was used), the kind of "detail" answers, lack of integrated combined "wholes," the seemingly conspicuous lack of "movement" images although the protocols are unclear on this, the many "form" responses indicating to her "a high degree of constriction," and the possible difference between adolescents' and adults' protocols.

Children and adolescents are more productive, somewhat less stereotyped, although still same general pattern. They show more anxiety. Adults in contrast are simply constricted. Children show fear more openly. I don't know whether they are less inhibited.
Children: more records that are similar to our culture.
There may be more sex disturbances in the adolescents.

When the two analysts' total ratings on the group are compared trait by trait, it is found that on most of them the trend is in the same direction although one may have more frequently checked "slight" on a given trait, for example, while the other has checked "no." Since we already have Joseph's summary virtually trait by trait, space will not be taken to list Hanfmann's ratings of the group, too. The only trait, especially pertinent to mythology, that was overlooked in Joseph's summary is this: The quality of subjects' thinking was rated as "practical" most often, next "imaginal," least often "abstract."

The differences were as follows: Joseph saw in the responses more *aggression* and *anxiety.* (Hanfmann in general was more cautious.) Joseph thought the anxiety was "focused," while Hanfmann thought it "diffuse." Joseph saw *dependency as a problem* more often, also *wish to dominate,* marked *concern regarding achievement,* and high *persistence.* Hanfmann, on the other hand, registered more cases of *mood swing.* She said, too, there were "deviants—a few—who are not introverts as in our culture but are neurotics."

Traits that stand out, although not indicated by the raters' previous impressions of Eskimos, are constriction and inhibition, stressed by Hanfmann (regarding pathology, however, she mentioned "inhibited-compulsive and hysterical-impulsive. Both types present."), and conflict regarding aggression, various anxieties, notably anxiety regarding interpersonal relations, and the defense of escape into reality," noted by Joseph. Other traits may be as true and significant in the personality but were more anticipated. The following specific traits, besides the ones just mentioned, seem significant when compared with the personality-construct obtained from the mythology.

"High average" intelligence, good—even meticulous—observation. This concreteness may be compulsive, however.
High energy, persistence.
Extroversion, good socialization.
Conformity but not submission—"quite individual." (Agreement with mythology? There may be a difference of view regarding inhibition and submission.)
Preoccupation with sex, but not conflict and guilt about it as in our culture. (This preoccupation, even disturbance, is probably more characteristic of the adolescents tested, as Hanfmann suggests.)
Emphasis on body parts, human and animal, and the possible sources for it: close relationship with people, detail of observation, frustrated aggression.
Dependency, and its association with oral aggression.
"Repression a fairly common defense," actually in the ratings the most common defense.

The other characteristics, which are less widely shown or are more qualified, would require more detailed discussion of the protocols than is appropriate here. We will not try to push the comparison to its limits. One comment seems in order, however. Apparently the type of response (Form) that has led Hanfmann to say that the subjects are constricted

has been interpreted by Joseph as concreteness and specificity of observation. Probably both are right. I suspect that they are just phrasing differently the same underlying trait.

COMPARISON OF NUNIVAK WITH OTHER ALASKAN ESKIMO MYTHOLOGIES

Three mythologies are being used in this summary comparison. Number and type of stories, their provenience, and other identifying information are given in Table 5. Although Nelson recorded a long creation myth, his collection seems incomplete in other types of myths (see Table 6). One cannot help exclaiming, "What! No Haughty Girl,

TABLE 5

Comparison of Three Collections of Alaskan Eskimo Mythology

Name of Recorder	*E. W. Nelson*	*K. Rasmussen*	*C. M. Garber*
Pages	452-99 514-15 516-17	38-42 151-168 169-253	29-255
Total number of stories	23	29 (39)	31
Date of recording	1877-81	1924	1930's (?)
Locality	Lower Yukon (below Paimiut) Pikmiktalik St. Michael Unalit villages (Norton Sound)	Colville R. Kangianeq (nw. of Colville) Utorqaq R. Nunataq R. (Noatak) Pt. Hope Kotzebue	Wales (Bering Str.)
Number of narrators	6 or more[1]	7	5
Number of stories, by type:			
Raven creation myths	1	2	1
Other creation myths	1		
Other myths and tales	20	26	27
Story-cycle		1 (10 parts)	
War legends	1	0	3
Nature of story ending:			
Happy	5	13	23
Neutral[2]	8	7	2
Unhappy	8	9	6
Unhappy or neutral?[3]	2		

1. Since Nelson mentioned at least six lower Yukon and Norton Sound villages as sources, he must have had this number of narrators.
2. "Neutral" refers to creation myths telling how men, land, etc. were fashioned or to an ending in which a situation is returned to its original state. A few of the latter might be called "happy."
3. The rater could not judge the intent of these.

no Poor Boy, no Monster-child?" Even though our purpose is not to study merely occurrence of plots and characters but to learn as much as possible about the psychology of groups farther north and see whether it resembles the Nunivak, still the other two collections are better. Twenty-three is too small a number of stories for valid generalizations on interpersonal relations and personality.

The few myths that Nelson got from Sledge Island, Bering Strait, and Kotzebue Sound people and the few that Rasmussen obtained from Cape Prince of Wales, King Island, Nunivak Island are not being used here. It seems best to take only those stories in each report that have come from a contiguous area, so that we have greater probability that all good storytellers within a given region knew the same myths or at least that conditions of life were nearly the same. Thus the Bering Strait people could express one type of experience, the people who travel between northwest interior and coast another kind, if there is a basic difference between them.

All three collections agree in showing vivid imagery of animal-human transformations and dealings, and giant or other fabulous animals. Some things that are implied or hinted in Nunivak stories are explicitly described in the others. Perhaps the recorders have assisted this process. Nelson's stories, for example, obviously have been written in his own style, not surprisingly in view of the probable inadequate local knowledge of English at the time of his visit.

In his stories it is explained that the animal characters become human by raising their beak or snout, like raising a mask, or by removing the coat. Rasmussen's narrators said that an animal would raise its hood or remove its coat, meaning its entire hide. This sort of thing is not described so clearly in Garber's stories, but they on the other hand are generally clearer about the way a person turns into an animal. They tell of human characters putting on an animal's skin or putting in the mouth an amulet from the animal, thereby becoming it.

Man's relations with the animals are presented in several ways. " . . . Raven thought that if he did not create something to make men afraid, they would destroy everything he had made to inhabit the earth." So he created a bear (Nelson, 1899, p. 455). Again, later, the first man deplores the excessive killing of animals. Since this idea does not occur in the other books, one wonders whether Nelson, a naturalist, might have suggested it by some means.

Generally the animals, acting either on their own or under the magic control of evil-doers, are killing men. For example, Yukon—Norton Sound (Nelson): Giant eagles kill people (1899, pp. 486-87); a woman creates a bear to tear up people in revenge for mistreatment of her nephew (1899, pp. 485-86). Bering Strait (Garber): A female brown bear kills a woman, then rears her fetus (the boy, after learning his identity and that his bear-mother plans to eat him, tricks her and burns her up) (1940, pp. 216-27); a woman by magic creates a whale that upsets and kills an umiak-load of hunters (1940, pp. 148-53). Northwest Alaska (Rasmussen): An eagle carries off all the women

TABLE 6
Occurrence of Certain Common Elements in Three Collections of Eskimo Mythology

	Source, with Page Reference of Stories		
	Nelson	*Rasmussen*	*Garber*
Common plots:			
Feigned Death (Deceitful Hsuband)	467-70	185-87	0
Haughty Girl (who takes animal or abnormal human husband)	0	157-59 226-28	43-54 115-24 180-88
Sun-sister, Moon-brother	481-83	0	0
Marriage with Moon-man	0	226-28 (unhappy)	67-76 (happy)
Monster-child (who kills grandparents)	0	164-65 194-200	115-24
Giant Eagles Give Ceremonial	486-87[1] 494-97	38-40	102-08
Poor Boy Becomes Wealthy	0	169-71 188-90 201-04	43-48 131-38
Brother(s) Avenge Mistreated Sister and Rescue Her	0	169-71[2]	60-66 115-21 242-55
Younger Brother Avenges Loss of Older Brothers	0	Story-cycle (esp. 229-32)	160-64
Common character types:			
Strong Men, Giants	471-73 499	237-29	125-30 180-88 228-33 242-55
Cannibals	481	232-35 240-46	97-101 160-68
Grandmother-helper	485[3]	169-71 191-92 208-11 212-16	77-85
Childless Couple (who get child by magic)	497-99	204-08	0
Hero Who Becomes a Hawk	490-94	Story-cycle (esp. 252-53)	39-42 180-88 204-15

1. Mythology contains Giant Eagles and Origin of Ceremonial, not combined.
2. Brother grieves for lost sister, and poor orphan boy takes his place in avenging and retrieving girl.
3. An aunt in grandmother role.

of the village (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 169-71); a young seal that a man is trying to take home alive scratches him so that he dies (1952, p. 152). This story shows the bitterness of the contest between man and animals: The hunter's mother, in revenge for his death, flays the seal alive and lets its body slip back in the water. In revenge, it causes an earthquake and the whole settlement sinks into the sea.

There are animal monsters, like the giant mouse with a "long twisting tail" that would bite people to death and eat them (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 154-57). (Dare we point out the association of the masculine symbol with oral aggression?) Some others are referred to only as strange animals that kill people. (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 204-8; Garber, 1940, pp. 160-64).

Sometimes the animals help the human characters, as when an old-woman-wolf in the pack of wolves that has killed a girl and her young brother restores them to life, in caribou form (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 173-79). The pleasantest anecdote tells how the hero makes camp on the edge of a forest, leaves his caribou meat on his sled and lies down by the fire to sleep. He "wishes people will come who would like to eat all his lovely caribou meat and help him to build a kayak." He wakens in the early morning to find that girls are cooking his meat while men are making his boat. Squirrel gathers pine cones and boils resin out of them. Beaver cuts wood and shapes it for the frame. Birds with long bills split spruce roots and stitch the bark cover. All the animals are there, each acting according to his or her nature although in human form. The hero selects the prettiest of the girls, a red fox, and marries her (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 239-40). There are a few other such happy marriages: man and polar bear girl (Garber, 1940, pp. 195-203), a man and owl girl (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 235-37).

With very few exceptions, wolf and bear are symbols of ferocity. The wolf especially has become more than an animal. It is human aggression, too. In Bering Strait war stories, the war cry is a wolf howl (Garber, 1940, pp. 189-94), and here Monster-child is a wolf-boy (1940, pp. 115-24). Another interesting symbol in all three groups of stories is the falcon. The triumphant hero who becomes a great hunter or who kills evil people or monsters is transformed into some member of the hawk family (see Table 6). Here is a local symbol of masculine aggression, not quite an equivalent of lightning and diving airplanes since these falcon-males are heroes and are threatening only to man's enemies. Probably there are other symbols, not so obvious, that could be interpreted with closer study.

The specific association of the hero who undergoes Son-in-law Tests and the hawk occurs also in a Nunivak myth. Instead of his being transformed into a falcon, the hero is warned of danger by his hawk amulet (Lantis, 1946, pp. 280-81). That Nunivakers understood the symbol is doubtful.

Psychologists will find the color symbolism especially interesting. In one case, the magic boy found by a poor childless couple is challenged by his older brother in the sky-world to find the bird so bright that

one cannot look at it. When he finds it, at his mother's direction, it is a bird with beautiful colors (Osterman, 1952, pp. 204-8). Elsewhere, a good woman is described as so shining that only her backbone shows dark, whereas bad women have dark breasts (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 165-67). On the other hand, in a Cape Prince of Wales story there is a many-colored evil man who steals the chief's wife (Garber, 1940, pp. 77-85). Color and brightness probably are an expression of emotionality, here as elsewhere.

In view of the interchangeability of human and animal, the following figures of speech are not surprising. 1) The brother and sister transformed into caribou eat reindeer moss like the others, but "strange to say, the moss was not moss when they got it into their mouths; it was like guts and whale skin and meat and all kinds of tasty food" (Ostermann, 1952, p. 174). 2) Two brothers who have been lost in a fog at sea visit grandparents who are spirits (ghosts? seals?). On their journey home the youths come to a village where the chief murders strangers. A magic ulo (woman's knife) from the grandparents by itself cuts up the bad chief and his son. " . . . it cut them up exactly in the same way as seals are cut up . . . " (Osterman, 1952, p. 211). 3) A strong man who is also a shaman, apparently to make his brothers strong, cuts off their heads and orders his mother to cut them up like seals, put them in a kettle and cook them. Then he restores them to life (Garber, 1940, pp. 242-55). For comparison, see the Nunivak tale about a very strong shaman (Lantis, 1946, p. 308).

In these cases the dismemberment is to good purpose, but that is not the point to be made here. What is most striking is the ease of thinking that man and seal are or can be cut up in the same way—the readiness of the image. (Eskimos' knowledge of anatomy of course aided the identification but only made the psychological and religious threats in dealing with the animals the greater.) All this leads us to say that northwest Alaskan mythology compared with the Nunivak one is basically "the same, only more so." The combinations of elements are expectably different in each mythology, but many of the identifications and projections by themselves are the same. In material so far recorded, Nunivak stories lack the bright color-images. Since Nunivak Islanders had had little experience with wolves and bears, these did not appear so often in the stories, either. But other wide-mouthed biting things can be substituted.

Lower Yukon and Norton Sound. In Nelson's collection of stories, man generally is in a bad state. Besides the usual tragic Feigned Death (1899, pp. 467-70), there is a story in which a man is cruel to his wife; she flees and is helped by a giant; the husband is contrite but then becomes cruel again, and the giant blows hims away. Unusual in this story is the mother's sending away her son who has become a murderer (1899, pp. 471-73). The father of Sun-sister and Moon-brother becomes a cannibal, really a ghoul, finally is bound by shamans (1899, p. 481). Then we have this myth:

There is a close relationship between a mother and son. He will not eat food prepared by anyone else (implying that he will not marry the local women?).

He is regarded as "strange." He sets forth and it is revealed later that he has seen a woman in his dreams and is trying to find her. He says that no one will weep for him if anything happens to him (yet his parents already have wept for him when he left home). His uncle gives him amulets. He enters a contest with an evil shaman and in the form of a gyrfalcon darts through an eagle (the shaman) and, as an ermine, eats his way through it. His anger gives him strength. He kills a brown bear and a polar bear that guard the young woman he seeks, and learns that they are her brothers. He marries her but then decides that she and her parents plan to kill him, so he cuts her throat and returns home. Later he marries a girl in his own village and lives happily (Nelson, 1899, pp. 490-94).

This is given so fully here because it includes elements seen already in Nunivak mythology (going through the body of the evil shaman; killing the deceitful wife and her parents—in the Nunivak myth, by implication they are seals while here they are bears), and adds others that are characteristic in northwest Alaska: the haughty young man, the falcon, eagles, and bears, and the brothers who try to protect their sister.

In another myth, real personal inadequacy and feelings of inadequacy are presented. Depression and desire to die are explicit, and the hero does die (Nelson, 1899, pp. 474-75). Even the myth describing the origin of festivals, a Colville River version of which so pleased Rasmussen that he named his book containing it *Festens Gave*, is here more morbid, containing an episode of a shaman killing his newborn grandchild in order to use its mummy as a powerful charm (Nelson, 1899, pp. 494-97). The mood of this mythology certainly is gloomier than the Nunivak one (see Table 5). Eight or ten sad stories in a total of twenty-three is a notable proportion of tragedy. An interesting question is whether the gloominess reflects the particular conditions of life in this area in the 1870's or simply shows the aboriginal mood better than collections made a generation later. This cannot be answered when we have only twenty-three myths and legends, including the depersonalized creation myths telling how land, grass, and other things were made and the generalized type-stories that Nelson has made by combining local versions. Here is an invitation to further work recording stories in the area.

Bering Strait. When we move on to the village of Wales where Garber was told thirty-one stories by two excellent raconteurs and three moderately good ones (in this writer's opinion), we can feel comfortable with all these familiar elements: In addition to the common plots and characters, there is a lot of magic, for example people rescued from mistreatment by help from the spirits or by magic practiced by human beings; murder more often by witchcraft than by direct personal contact, except in war stories; theft of women, easy marriage and separation; little community activity, good deeds accomplished instead by a single hero or by brothers; and fatalism. A man is afraid but says that one will die anyway, so might as well meet the danger. And in thirty-one stories, there are eleven incidents of evil slashing, biting, and eating, and the Clapping Cliffs too! (Garber, 1940, pp. 115-24).

Evaluation of the Wales mythology by itself: (1) There seems to be greater physical harshness of life than on Nunivak Island. There is a little more

starvation (Garber, 1940, pp. 109-14, 173-88) and more incidents in which animals do harm to people (1940, pp. 216-17, for example). One incident is unusual in west Alaskan mythology outside Raven tales. An evil woman accuses her nephew of gluttony whereas she is the glutton (1940, pp.204-15). Whether this represents a simple food anxiety, disrespect to the food animals, or the general symbol of oral aggression, I would not guess without first-hand knowledge of the group.

(2) A few characteristics probably can be attributed to association with Siberian Eskimos and Chukchee as much as to local experience. There is, for example, Raven the Creator but not Raven the bumbling Trickster, at least not recorded. It is psychologically significant, though, that there are no humorous stories.

(3) There seem to be closer relations between brother and sister than in Nunivak mythology. Anyway, there is a repeated theme of boys going to the rescue of their sister.

(4) The young hunter's relations with affinal relatives generally are good, probably better than in most western Eskimo folklore. But at least one woman has the usual troubles with mother-in-law (1940, pp. 195-203).

(5) There are stories detailing remarkable self-sufficiency, for example the boy in a floating coffin (1940, pp. 204-15). This presents the ego-image of the person alone in the world, maintaining himself by skill (and a little help from his amulets). Both Himmelheber and Lantis recorded such stories on Nunivak, but there the self-sufficient person is noticeably often a woman alone with her infant (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 71-91; Lantis, 1946, pp. 273-75).

(6) There is a well formulated ideal: good hunter, plenty of food, many fine sons, a beautiful wife who is a good seamstress. Along with all the magic, the Wales mythology also has probably more stories of realistic skill and ingenuity used in ridding the word of evil than does the Nunivak (Garber, 1940, pp. 131-47, 165-68, 189-94).

(7) Turning from the ideal, there is considerable hostility between men and women, even a story of a mother trying to kill her son. This occurs in what seems to be a distorted version of the Northwest Coast "Loon's Necklace," yet one cannot assume that this is recently foreign (1940, pp. 33-38).

TABLE 7

Occurrence of Male-Female Hostility in Wales Mythology (Garber Collection)

Relationship among Principal Characters	*Number of Cases*	
	Good	*Hostile*
Father-daughter	1	1
Mother-son	2	1
Brother-sister	3	1 ?
Two or more brothers	4	0
Unmarried, unrelated man and woman	0 ?	4
Husband-wife	8	6

(8) In fifteen of the thirty-one stories there are evil men or women who are not monsters in form, except the strong-men-giants, but who are murderers—monsters in behavior—even toward their spouses in some cases. Some are shamans and chiefs. Others are unexplained. Even though there are so many of these bad characters, there also are so many heroes to kill them that most of the stories end happily.

Still, this category includes men with a compulsion to kill, not always punished. In one case a giant of a man kills people and takes their goods. He cannot stop even though he knows he does wrong and warns his son not to be like him. Finally his own people trap and kill him (1940, pp. 228-33). Such stories are morality tales against murder, which must have been a real threat, both within and outside the individual. It deserves further study.

(9) The moral sometimes is more obvious than in Nunivak myths. A man, for example, murders his good friend to get the latter's wife. The victim's

relatives and friends try to get revenge, but fail. The man murders his wife. Then his conscience drives him out of the village and he never is heard of again. No magic is practiced (1940, pp. 154-59).

(10) The reader is given some insight into kin responsibility and group solidarity by the fact that a relative warns an intended victim, who usually is a bad person, but does nothing materially to save him. In the end, relatives are glad when an evil person is killed (1940, pp. 242-55). Although family pride and solidarity are not lacking (note tales of revenge), here as in some other themes there is shown the separateness of the individual. Perhaps this is literary necessity, to point up the moral that aggression causes one to lose friends and family.

(11) A prominent character in this area is the Strong Man, the Giant. Sometimes he seems to typify just brute strength, at other times the "chief" or shaman. In some stories he is evil, in others he eliminates evil (1940, pp. 125-30, 180-88, 228-33, 242-55). In some cases he seems to be a paranoid projection of the desire to kill or at least dominate and make others afraid, occasionally to kill in a good cause and become a hero. In other cases—or to other narrators and listeners—the figure represents the protector that a dependent person wants. In either case, the image undoubtedly grows out of feelings of dependency and inadequacy.

(12) It should not be surprising that along with the realistic skill and the fantasied power, there is also passivity. Different stories portray different aspects of the personality, or different personalities in the community. As an example, after a little boy's parents die of starvation and freezing, the ghosts of his family bring him food. He is rescued by his aunt. When a youth, he is carried away by an evil man but rescued by a little fish that carries him home. He is taken into a cave by another evil man, then rescued by Raven. He becomes a shaman (1940, pp. 109-14). (There is an interesting question of possible sex symbolism here and its relation to shamanism.)

Long ago, anthropologists became aware that whereas most North American Indians actively sought supernatural assistance, the eastern Siberian peoples were passive recipients. Shamans were elected for the office by the supernatural powers rather than their seeking it. Alaskan Eskimos were closer to this than to the American formulae.

Here is a good example of the relation between history and psychology. What this Bering Strait tale hints is confirmed by real life. A person *subconsciously*, but not overtly, sought the shamans powers because he was dependent in position or poor—or much poorer than he wanted to be— like this orphan. The need, the motivation must have been often the same whether the young man cut off a finger (northern Plains), took sweathbaths until he was lean (northwest California), or merely moped and daydreamed, as did the Alaskan Eskimo youth, to get supernatural aid. Genuine self-pity probably feels the same, no matter how it looks. The culture provided the specific objective and the pattern of behavior to attain it; or, in a less mystical phrasing, the youth had heard of people having many nightmarish dreams in which they flew through the air but never has heard of chopping off one's finger. When in need of recognition, he took that one of the few courses known to him that was compatible with his personality. Finally, the narrator telling of such a person formulates what his audience knows and wants.

More can be learned about the Bering Strait people than the traits noted here. Nelson and Rasmussen each got a few stories from the area, and Curtis recorded folklore in several of the villages. It is hoped that someone will be tempted to compare them.

Northwest Alaska (Kotzebue, Point Hope, and the rivers). Rasmussen got a fuller variety of stories, including one humorous tale (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 167-68). Not only motifs but details show a similarity to Nunivak folklore that is surprising in view of the distance between them. For example, a shaman in a seance goes under the earth, where maggots eat all the flesh from his bones; then he returns to earth (to life) (1952, p. 166). Such death and rebirth may be implied in the Nunivak shaman's visions of maggots, although not acted out.

Rasmussen heard two versions of the Monster-child myth, which also state more clearly what is implied in the Nunivak version, namely, that the infant with broad mouth that bites and kills its grandparents and others is sent as a punishment for tabu-breaking. In the Nunivak case, the aloof girl and her parents disregard certain tabus connected with her puberty. In Garber's Wales version, Monster-child is born to a Haughty Girl, perhaps as punishment for her arrogance. As on Nunivak, the Bering Strait boy is a masculine symbol as well as a symbol of animal aggression, that is, a Wolf-child. This version even includes the Clapping Cliffs. No tabus are mentioned (Garber, 1940, pp. 115-24). In the Colville River story, on the other hand, it is explained that the young mother failed to smear feast food on the baby's mouth (every person in the settlement is supposed to share in the feast), therefore it stretched from ear to ear and had a crowd of sharp teeth with which the infant killed the parents as well as grandparents (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 164-5). In the Noatak version, Monster-child, a spotted hair-seal, is born to a chief's daughter who is married but childless. " . . . people were always talking about it, saying: 'Why haven't you any children?' " (1952, pp. 194-200). If one could get together all the different versions of Monster-child in west Alaska, one probably would have a good catalogue of all the sources of guilt for women. It is remarkable also how other myth elements adhere to the basic motif, until the Noatak, Wales, and Nunivak versions each becomes an epitome of regional mythology.

Another specific reminder of Nunivak is the Kotzebue version of the Clapping Cliffs. The falcon hero and his uncle are drifting down the Yukon River when they hear noises ahead, "and they see two steep cliffs running out into the river on each side, opening and closing like a mouth, like a great mouth chewing, and every time they close, all the water in the river runs back in enormous whirlpools." With the aid of a magic song, Falcon paddles through although of course the stern of his boat is broken (1952, pp. 243-44). The magic song and the association of oral aggression with the cliffs are details lacking in Garber's version.

It would be monotonous to repeat all the concepts, already familiar from the previously discussed mythologies, that also appear in northern Alaska. Another case of an assumption being made plain deserves notice, however. A club-footed boy who is derided and nicknamed Fright is assisted by the Spirit of the Air to become big and strong. He avenges his father, a poor man who has been mocked. But Fright goes too far. With a compulsion to kill, he kills everyone he comes near. Spirit of

the Air comes again, saying that he cannot take any more blood offerings, and "If you kill any more people, I must eat you!" Fright then uses his magic rod for killing caribou instead of people (1952, pp. 188-90).

General characteristics of the Rasmussen collection: (1) There is some male-female hostility, but the pattern is that the hero in his wanderings marries a woman, lives with her until they have a child, then gives her beads or other wealth with which she is well pleased, and moves on to the next episode, the next marriage. Hostility appears in six stories at least (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 185-87, 187-88, 191-92, 212-16, 226-28, 240-46), one of which has the Lorelei motif, complete with foaming river, cliff, beautiful voice singing an enticing song and the traveler's longing. Whether old or whether brought by some whaler or trader, the Eskimos have made it their own: The story ends with the girl, an owl, flying away and the man freezing to death.

Besides girls who will not marry, there are two stories about young men who are haughty. One marries a bear-woman, the other is killed and returned to life by the girl who loves him (1952, pp. 159-64, 191-92).

(2) One of the six stories just referred to (1952, 212-16) contains also the theme of revenge. In both the Rasmussen and Garber mythologies, this is prominent. A woman incites her sons to avenge the death of her father (1952, pp. 38-42). Fright is incited by his father to get revenge for the insult to the latter. The whole Falcon story-cycle is motivated by revenge for the death of Falcon's brothers. Training a child for revenge is not just fantasy; it reflects the old culture (Nelson, 1899, pp. 292-93).

(3) Poor Boy or Orphan Boy is not absent (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 169-71, 188-90, 201-4) but he is not so important as in Nunivak folklore. There are two explanations for the importance to Nunivakers of the Poor Boy character. First, the principal narrators were poor people. Second, Nunivakers had a better formulated concept of wealth and probably also of status than did the people in north Alaska. It is unlikely that the twelve or fifteen year difference in recording had much effect. Probably the biggest difference is that the Nunivak Orphan Boy often seeks simply to become a shaman or a wealthy man, turning the tables on the villagers who had ignored him, whereas in north Alaska he seeks physical revenge.

(4) Regarding the monstrous animals, the wolf and other symbols already mentioned, the emotions that they appeal to are probably no different from those in the Nunivak area. There have been only substitutions in the forms of symbols themselves. However, in the Kotzebue story-cycle the dismemberment of an evil man (1952, pp. 243-44) and several of the other forms of mayhem are already familiar to us. The Nunivak external heart is the only general type of symbol that seems to be absent. Admittedly, the Rasmussen collection has not been—although it should be—combed as carefully as the Nunivak ones have been.

(5) In personal relations, the absence of Sun-sister and Moon-brother incest and the presence of a protective relationship of brother toward sister seem to give the northwestern stories a different stamp. It must be remembered, though, that the Nunivak Sun and Moon myth recorded by Lantis presents aunt-and-nephew incest, while the Himmelheber one has a husband-and-wife quarrel (Himmelheber, 1951, pp. 43-45; Lantis, 1946, pp. 268-69). Nelson did record the familiar brother-and-sister incest theme (Nelson, 1899, p. 481), hence we know that a respect relationship between brother and sister was not always presented in west Alaska.

Parent-child relations generally are good. In one story, parents bring their son back from the dead (Ostermann, 1952, pp. 222-23). There are the familiar son-in-law tests for the hero (1952, pp. 246-51), otherwise few cases of relations between affinal relatives. An unusual tale of adultery concerns a man's conquest of his daughter-in-law while his son is out hunting. The sacred drum reveals this to the husband, who hangs himself. The drum, thrown away, is found later in a whale (1952, pp. 223-24). The affront to the animals by breaking tabus during the hunting season seems to be involved as much as the injury to the husband.

In summary, these northwest Alaskan myths on the whole do not end so cheerfully as Garber's or so tragically as Nelson's. They probably give a good representation of literature and view of life as of the early 19th century. Numerous references to the men's ceremonial house, to caribou hunting and seal hunting (especially the former), meagerness of reference to the specialized activities of whale-hunting, lack of any reference to commercial whaling or trapping, and other allusions suggest that these stories present well embedded cultural and personal values of Eskimo life. The ever-present supernaturalism is further evidence. While Garber's stories include several tales containing no magic, only one in this Rasmussen collection lacks supernaturalism. It is recognized that people may incorporate new ideas into an old plot and an old setting. Rasmussen's principal storytellers were elderly men who in their travels might have picked up a character here, a piece of a plot there. But there is no evidence that they had changed their basic themes, their view of the world. With the possible exception of more epidemic disease (not reflected in the mythology), the threats to happiness and life, the heroic deeds to get rid of them were basically the same in 1924 as they had been in 1824 for the person living the Eskimo way of life in which hunting was important above everything else. Young men who today seek security in wage work and recognition in the new settlers' society probably will change the literature.

The "Eskimo" content and tone of these myths from the great rivers of northwest Alaska are especially noticeable, compared with the changes in material culture that the people have made in adaptation to an inland life. When Falcon-man starts his big trip down the Yukon, he travels in a birchbark canoe, but when he asks his uncle what fine food he desires, the uncle replies "young bearded seal" and one appears in the river. The uncle next wishes for spotted seal, then mountain sheep, goslings, caribou, white whale, but never fish. Yet this story was told by a man from the area where the excellent shee-fish are caught. Although fishing with leister and snaring small animals (by evil men) are referred to, these obviously do not have the value of big-game hunting. At point after point, the experiences and values expressed are typically Eskimo and surprisingly old Eskimo. For example, it is usually stated specifically that the hero is pulling his sled—no dog team. This mythology, like its people, is limited neither to coast nor to interior but encompasses them both.

THEMES AND PERSONALITY TYPES WIDESPREAD IN ESKIMO MYTHOLOGY

A Ph. D. dissertation at the University of California by Frank J. Essene, entitled "A Comparative Study of Eskimo Mythology" (unpublished), gives an excellent opportunity to see which mythic elements that we have been dealing with are generic Eskimo. (I am grateful to Dr. Essene and the University of California Library for the loan of the thesis.) Although Essene's purpose was different from ours, his material can be used easily. He has compared the mythologies of

the different Eskimo regions and the whole of Eskimo mythology with those of interior Canadian Indians, Northwest Coast Indians, and northeast Asian tribes, for presence and type of characters and plots. We shall consider his enumeration of these, disregarding, as outside our objectives, his conclusions regarding historical origins and connections.

Mistreated Wife. In every area; but what usually happens to her and her husband is different in the three major Eskimo regions.

Girl Who Refuses Suitors. "All Eskimos," that is, all areas. If she appears apart from the Dog-husband story, she is killed or otherwise punished.

Mysterious Housekeeper (usually Fox-wife). All major regions, but not all local areas. (In our analysis, this motif has been included in husband-wife relations, not dealt with separately.)

Fools, Incompetents, Gluttons, Tricksters, Liars, Bachelors. Rather rare.

Heroes. "Roughly a third of all Eskimo folklore falls under this heading." About half of the hero tales are about Orphan Boy (Poor Boy). All Eskimos have such stories. He usually lives with a female relative: grandmother, aunt, or sister. If he has no living relative, someone in the village befriends him. In Greenland and the Central Region he often is transformed to an animal. He overcomes his enemies. In Greenland and Alaska, he is a saviour overcoming monsters and/or supplying people with food. The Orphan Boy who takes revenge, then is unable to stop killing is known to all Eskimos. Another type of hero, Strong Man, also is virtually universal. Nearly everywhere he is a savior.

Heroines. Greenland and Alaska. Always successful.

Land of the Dead, Vengeful Ghosts, Malevolent Spirits. Greenland and west Alaska.

Sedna (woman under the sea, who guards sea mammals). All regions from Greenland to Yukon River.

Incest Theme. All Eskimo areas, connected with the origin of sun and/or moon.

Animal Stories (excluding Creation). Dog-husband and Swan-maiden motifs are known in all areas. (In my analysis, the latter was not mentioned by itself. It was included in male-female relationships.) Stories about animal families are west Alaskan.

Shamanistic Contests. Greenland and Alaska.

Artificial Animals. Greenland, west Alaska. Animals made in order to kill enemies, get revenge. Usually successful.

Dwarfs, One-sided People, Child Monsters. Greenland and west Alaska. Dwarfs generally are harmless.

Giants. All major regions but not all local areas. Essene says never malevolent. Probably true of genuine giants who are not merely big strong men, but not always of the latter.

Fabulous Animals. All areas. Generally dangerous.

Transformation of Human to Animal. Greenland, west Alaska.

The "Conclusion" of Essene's recent short article on Eskimo mythology (1953, pp. 154-57) applies well to west Alaska as to other Eskimo regions.

"The preponderance of stories about heroic individuals reflects the small amount of group action. The unsystematic nature of the myths shows that religious beliefs are not complex. The lack of stories of a defintely sacred character correlates with the absence of a priesthood. There is little attention to characterization as opposed to the more careful work with the plot. Action is the keynote to both stories and real life. Finally, the style is terse and stiff, a feature that in most art forms is indicative of great age . . . Eskimo mythology while differing sharply from Indian folklore shows many resemblances to that of certain Siberian peoples. It seems reasonable to assume that most Eskimo mythology was brought from the Old World a long time ago."

Most of the plot synopses that he gives have been taken from Central and Eastern Eskimo myths and tales; and the generalizations that are based directly on them are not fully applicable to the area we have been studying. This is especially true of the animal-spouse stories, which, he says, have considerable erotic detail. He probably is right that as a class these stories have more eroticism than any other; but in west Alaska, for example in Rasmussen's collection, even these have notably little embellishment of detail. His generalization that the Haughty Girl theme represents simply criticism for resisting sexual advances also ignores the fact that in Alaska almost always it is specified that the girl is a chief's daughter. In these larger, more status-and-wealth conscious villages, an additional—if not substitute—explanation is pride and especially the father's pampering of the girl (Lantis, 1946, p. 277).

Generalizing in psychological and social anthropological terms the material on theme distributions that is presented in the thesis, it seems that the percent of stories dealing with interpersonal relations is high. There is remarkably little about the winds, the cold and ice.

Husband-and-wife stories are numerous. (1) There is the animal or supernatural wife who is insulted by her husband's family. Usually the man loses both wife and child. This is the theme of Swan-maiden. (2) There is the good wife who is appreciated (Mysterious or Unknown Housekeeper). (3) Animal-husband implies difficulty between the woman and the community. Either one may reject the other. (4) The Mistreated Wife in the Central and Eastern Eskimo regions generally escapes, while the husband is killed by other people. In Greenland, the wife may return and effect a reconciliation. The Western Eskimo pattern is that she is befriended by a supernatural being. Occasionally she returns to her husband. (5) Moon-man's theft of women is often a means of rescuing a lonely or mistreated woman, occasionally it is to satisfy Moon-man's desire. (From my study of Alaskan mythology, I would add that marriage with Moon-man often is presented as a very happy marriage, giving us one of the rare love stories of this area.)

Animal Foster Child also implies difficulty between family and community. When people try to kill it, the child escapes or is saved. Child-Monster stories state or imply supernatural paternity. A supernatural being or a shaman takes possession of the woman to inflict punishment on her or the community.

As for murder and all other forms of extreme aggression, considered together, there seem to be female aggressors as often as male, and in some areas more often. It would be interesting to see whether in each region there is a consistent association of type of aggression with sex of perpetrator.

There is a notable sparsity of parent-child stories, that is, ones in which conflict or love between parent and child is the central theme. The commonest explicit parent-child stories are those about the childless couple who get a son by magic or by supernatural intervention. This son customarily becomes a great hunter-benefactor or a hero who kills monsters. The hero's origin may represent the need and longing of parents for strong and heroic sons. It may be a device to indicate the magical nature of the hero.

The many stories about brothers imply competition. One brother, often the youngest, has more ingenuity, grows faster, is stronger, is a better hunter, or restores the others to life and avenges their death. Outwardly, there usually are good relations between brothers, although occasionally one covets or insults another's wife.

The courses available to the Orphan Boy vary somewhat from region to region, but every group seemed able to imagine two or more of the following: He demonstrates that the community's judgment is wrong, that is, he gets a socio-psychological but not physical revenge, by becoming successful and wealthy, by saving the community from monsters, or by giving food to the village. Or he takes harsh revenge, killing people until killing becomes an obsession. He almost invariably is himself killed. Or he escapes by transformation to an animal or a supernatural. He overcomes his enemies and sometimes becomes wealthy.

Although Nunivakers did not know Sedna, they had a psychological equivalent in various spirits which made certain that man treated the sea mammals right. No matter where the Sedna character came from, she could not have become so widely accepted if she had not been given a necessary function of personifying and also relieving guilt.

The Nunivak material is not contradictory to the generalizations regarding any major category of Eskimo myths. (We are not considering the Creation myths.) The hero tales must surely represent an ego-ideal, no matter what they additionally mean here and there. Eskimo culture seems organized on a formula of the strong self-reliant hunter who keeps his worst fears well hidden, including fear of his own impulse to kill. The only thing he does not have a formula for controlling is his wife.

CONCLUSION

Types of Stories. For years anthropologists have been trying to distinguish between myths and tales. In one of the most recent statements, Essene says, "Myths are often classified as those stories with a high emotional content, and particularly those having to do with religion. Myths often must be recited in a letter-perfect fashion. [That is, the local people think they must be. The plot may not change, but the wording usually does.] . . . Tales or folklore, while often containing

elements of the supernatural, are generally recognized by the listeners as fiction. Normally, the story-teller is allowed to vary a tale within certain limits . . . the legend, tells the purported history of a people. Though seldom even approximately accurate, it is usually believed to be completely true" (1953, p. 154).

In Nunivak literature, the Raven and other animal anecdotes would be considered tales by almost anyone. They may be improbable but are not mystical. To the listener, the characteristics and intentions of the animal characters are obvious, taken for granted, and he can have fun in identifying with them or in divorcing himself from them, laughing at the other fellow who is stupid. He has fun in the open disregard of mores and sanctions. There is pleasure in avowed exercise of imagination and ingenuity.

Nunivak war stories have no supernaturalism and are clearly legends. There is apparently no symbolism; traits of individuals and villages are portrayed directly. Again there is open identification with the war heroes and rejection of the enemy and the losers. There is, however, another element: horror instead of fun. The narrator says in effect, "We, Nunivakers, have suffered at the hands of these people." The emotional appeal is great, but again not mystical.

Most of the stories can be classified as myths. They deal with the supernatural, the mysterious. There seem to be two principal moods: yearning, wishing; and uneasiness, fear. Here is the best place to look for the unacknowledged identification and projection, for symbolism, for the subconscious. Myths utilize religious concepts and beliefs even when they are not "religious." Probably Essene's statement should be modified slightly: Myths may have no greater emotional appeal than war legends, but they tap different emotions and in a different way.

In the present work, Creation myths perhaps have received less attention than they deserve. A detailed comparative analysis of all Creation myths of Alaskan Eskimos might yield psychologically significant differences, for example, between the concept of the first people coming out of a pea-pod and of First Man being created from clay. I surmise, though, that one would find it hard not to be misled by cultural diffusion. Sacred myths apparently have been learned from other groups and repeated with little change even when they contradict the creation myths from still other sources, repeated locally. It is a poor Alaskan Eskimo mythology that does not have two different accounts of the origin of the world and man. In contrast, Creation myths that have purely local reference or that also present a human theme, such as the story of two brothers that accounts for the origin of Nunivak Island, may be deeply felt (Lantis, 1946, pp. 265-67).

The deep personal meaning of a living mythology at times seems undervalued by many of our folklorists. Perhaps that is the trouble: They have become folklorists rather than philosophers, psychologists, or students of literature. A recent paper by Stith Thompson should not be criticized too harshly since it is admittedly concerned chiefly with collecting and cataloguing. The very wording of references to mythology

shows that folk literature is regarded more in the category of jolly dancing on the green than expression of moral judgment, of desires and fears in the individual's dealings with people and Nature. Religion is scarcely mentioned. Although emphasizing throughout his paper the traditional nature of folklore, Thompson does pose this research question, "What . . . is the relation of the individual to the tradition which he carries on—how compulsive is the tradition of his social group and how much freedom is there for the expression of individuality?" (Thompson, 1953, p. 592). Unless the stories are memorized word for word—they seldom are—they always give freedom to the individual, perhaps not in substitutions of characters or large changes in plots but in phrasing or other minimal differences that psychologists are now learning to interpret. What we must look for now are the *particular local devices for personal expression.* One must not attribute to the kind of mythology dealt with in this paper the formalism and traditionalism of other types of folklore such as riddles, aphorisms, or ritual songs.

Methodology. Just as it has taken many years to learn how to use the various techniques for clinical analysis of personality, so it will take long and wide experience to learn the proper techniques for "field" analysis of it. By this term is meant use of material at hand in the everyday setting of the individual rather than in clinic and laboratory. Margaret Mead, Jules Henry, and a very few others are pioneering in this work, and more will follow. Experience is most important. Until we have it, we must beware of too strict rules of procedure, and we must be both tolerant and cautious, but not derisive, regarding claims and conclusions. For example, the exact number of occurrences of a specific type of relationship or behavior in a mythology probably is not important. Anything that appears twelve, fifteen, seventeen, twenty times in forty-one stories—to take the Nunivak number just dealt with—certainly deserves close attention and probably will yield important insight regarding these people. But only one or two instances of a certain symbol or plot-episode may be important too, in the way that that rare vivid, very disturbing dream is revealing. One story may give the essence of a frequent experience in this culture area or give a cultural value as no other does. Archaeology provides a good analogy. One Plainview spearhead with a mammoth bone will reveal more to the excavator about the history of his site than a dozen arrowheads, all of one type and one recent level that is already well known. The archaeologist, from training and experience, knows how to relate the finds vertically and horizontally. Now we must learn how to interpret folklore in emotional depth as well as in occurrence in different people, groups of people and regions, that is, vertically as well as horizontally.

To get the necessary information, we must do what Viola Garfield has requested in a recent article (1953). It is important to know the circumstances in which stories are or have been told naturally, not artificially at the request of the ethnographer. One should record more of narrator's and listeners' reactions as the description and narration progress, the change of mood as the narrator turns from one kind of

story to another. I have realized since reading her article and since trying to understand the personal meaning of Nunivak mythology that, although I observed it, I did not record enough of the above kind of information. We are looking not just for the spearhead but for the mammoth bone, too.

The Nunivak material provides some examples. The statements on male-female conflict and the suggested reasons for it were not based only on the local examples of the widespread Haughty Girl motif. In this case the important find is not just the story equivalent of the particular spearhead; it is the whole local complex of male-female hostility, shown in other stories as well. Since the elements are combined, repeated, developed differently in each local or perhaps regional mythology, it cannot be assumed, either, that the explanation of the theme which is appropriate for Nunivak can be applied elsewhere. And it certainly cannot be said, "All Eskimo groups tell the story of the girl who refused suitors. That's just something that all Eskimos know." Our reply is that virtually all Eskimos—perhaps all—know how to make a harpoon head but not all are principally dependent on harpooned sea-mammals. We want to know the number, variety, elaboration of harpoon heads compared with arrowheads.

Even when unelaborated, the persistence in repeating an old story, when not required to be told for ceremonial reasons, ind.cates that the story has some local meaning and a function in expressing the people's feelings or suggesting the solution—real or wishful—of a problem. Unless the whole group is neurotic or unless again there are ceremonial reasons, a people do not continue making f shing gear generation after generation when no fishing is available. This particular activity may be relatively unimportant, but not to be ignored.

Of course there are universal human problems, such as the adjustment that the young spouse must make when moving from consanguineal to affinal relatives' home or even to new independent home. In such case we probably look not at number of instances of readjustment or conflict but at the persons involved and the solutions of difficulties. Another example is provided by the Eskimo Orphan Boy stories. Every group has had real orphans and stories about orphans, but what happened in the latter varied from group to group and region to region, as we have seen. Do these d fferent endings of the classic myth — it usually contains supernaturalism — present real "type" responses of the different areas? Does the poor orphaned boy really seek revenge, perhaps not by murdering but by humiliating his enemies? Or does he become dependent upon a stronger person, a benefactor, and merely dream of revenge? After we have decided what the "type" behavior is, then we can study and generalize on the "level" from which it comes.

It must be recognized that not only in the large general differences between tale and myth but within the latter category, some stories may be mainly direct portrayals of individual needs, wishes, strivings, for example the insulted person who seeks revenge, with wishful

supernaturally-obtained successes. Others may be devious well-masked projections, with the wishes and fears themselves expressed in supernatural forms and forces. Others may be a realistic statement of moral judgment, that is, of society's ethic which may not have become a part of the individual's ethic, his superego. Still others may present a cognitive exercise in humor, imagination, logic, like the story of the wedge that Himmelheber heard on Nunivak Island (1951, p. 92). If a wedge thought it was human and tried to behave like a human, what would happen? Well, it would burst its belt and when it sat down on a bench, it would split the wood. Sometimes this exercise that is prominent in tales is extended to myth. If animals are like people, how do they feel when their young ones are killed? Is this murder? Questions on (a) the aspect of personality that is being expressed—and appealed to—and (b) the directness or indirectness of expression must be our guides in methodology.

Use of Material. Turning from the methodological problems which, as the reader can see, will require a lot more work and the best field and clinical judgment, we come to problems of the objective; the formulation of a personality-construct. Several years ago Clyde Kluckhohn, presenting "a general theory of myth and ritual as providing a cultural storehouse of adjustive responses for individuals," said, "To some extent, every society tends to have a type anxiety." " . . . every culture has a type conflict and a type solution" (Kluckhohn, 1942, pp. 65, 71, 78). He noted that myth and ritual allow a discharge of the emotions of individuals in socially accepted channels. Further, there is not just expression of emotion. Myth and ritual gratify most of society by anxiety reduction. They "tend to represent the maximum of fixity," "sanctified habit systems." This is necessary in "those sectors of experience which do not seem amenable to rational control, and hence where human beings can least tolerate insecurity" (Kluckhohn, 1942, p. 68). By these two cultural forms one can predict the future by making it conform to the past. In ritual one does this by action; in myth, by and in imagination. If each society does have its type problems, then folklore can present one or a few solutions that will be helpful to many individuals in that society. We assure Kluckhohn would agree that the solution may be entirely in the imagination; but that can be useful in relieving tension.

Such statements as the above regarding type anxiety approach the concept of "national character," "modal personality," or "basic personality structure." Hallowell has recently phrased it as "the major central tendencies that are characteristic of a series of individuals who belong to a single society, tribal group, or nation . . ." (Hallowell, 1953, p. 606). Was the purpose of this analysis of Nunivak mythology to show the basic personality structure of Nunivakers? The answer is no. We did try to find *some* major central tendencies in emotion, attitude, and behavior and to give a "personality construct" but not "the personality structure." I am not yet convinced that any one kind of production by a group of people, either entirely of their own making or in response to a

test, can show the whole personality of all the central tendencies, in reference to a possible national personality, or can show the whole range of personality-types, in reference to individuals. It may be—though I doubt it—that the essential of basic personality structure is a pool of common attitudes, knowledge, emotions and expectations that can be tapped in the same way that one can get a few cc's of water to test the whole tank-full. Although the Rorschach seems to give a better sample than other projective tests, I prefer to see a variety of natural and manufactured tests. Behavior in sports and other recreation, special aptitudes developed or undeveloped, religious belief and behavior, and several other fields need to be sampled for evidence.

The fundamental question here pertains to the completeness and validity of sampling. Mythology does show more about the people than any other art form in Eskimo culture. The women do not practice most of the graphic arts and some types of dancing and singing, but both men and women can tell the stories. Moreover, on Nunivak, as demonstrated by both Himmelheber and myself, daily activities are described in the myths, often as introduction to the narrative. The art form is not rigid: no two versions of a story are exactly alike, showing that there is good opportunity for individual expression. Fabulous beings, non-natural artifacts, and magic transformations show that the content samples the imaginal as well as the real and objective. (Imagination can be applied to the latter, but the student cannot be so sure of it as when dealing with the obviously imaginary.) Even so, I have not tried to test or demonstrate and so cannot conclude that the personality traits shown in the mythology comprise all the common ones of the group. I have tried to show, however, that what the mythology does portray is valid for real life experience: certain common threats, common ideals and goals, common reactions, even those that are well concealed in daily life. Admittedly this checking against culture and everyday behavior has not been spelled out here rigorously and thoroughly for all conclusions, chiefly to save space. One monograph on the culture already is available for such comparison and further publication on both culture and personality will follow. Finally, I have tried to show here and there how these common tendencies affect each other and can exist together. This provides a construct, a hypothetical personality that can be tested in the future.

Findings, Local and Comparative. Sixty Nunivak myths, tales, and legends, obtained from eleven narrators, were used in the basic analysis. Nineteen were recorded by a man, forty-one by a woman, on different visits to the island. Then eighty-three stories from at least twenty narrators comprised the west and northwest Alaskan mythologies that were compared with the Nunivak, to see whether it contains a sample of typical stories of its region and to see how in totality it resembles or differs from each of the other mythologies. Aside from museum collections of such artifacts as hunting implements and potsherds, no comparably large local production has been studied. No one, for example, has made a detailed study of sixty or eighty masks. The only

comparable body of material that now is being studied is the Eskimo music collection at the University of Alaska. Therefore, while recognizing that sixty dream analyses or autobiographies undoubtedly would show somewhat different facets of the "national character" (in Hallowell's sense) or different proportions of the same traits that the mythology shows, we dare nevertheless to present the latter as one kind of evidence on personality.

In the literary themes that provide a basis for telling a story, for example the man who feigns death so that he can slip away to marry another woman and whose first wife seeks revenge, the *most frequent conflict-situations* are the following.

Poverty, dependence, and aloneness in the world. The haves against the have-nots.

Occasional conflict between husband and wife, frequent conflict between unmarried male and female, between a woman and her husband's relatives, two females, and less frequently two males.

Compulsion and guilt-conflict regarding aggression.

The *commonest personality characteristics* in Nunivak mythology:

Id-needs not repressed. Some stories of self-gratification, of id forcing action contrary to mores, but not frequent or prominent. Punishment not consistent. Sex and other body functions presented naturally.

Strong ego-ideal. Both males and females have clear image of the kind of people they are supposed to be and apparently want to be.

Orientation outward to reality. Activity, skill, and self-reliance emphasized.

Strong restraints on aggression. Evidence of ego restriction, of a conflict regarding dependency. People tend to passive tolerant relationships, at least outwardly. Well socialized, want to be with people, while maintaining the separateness of the individual.

Forced by pressures toward high achievement, yet with aggression inhibited or even repressed, solution is found in magic: compulsive supernatural power. Drives and conflicts highly symbolized.

Principal source of guilt is impulse to extreme domination, to murder or mutilation of either human beings or game animals which, like people, have souls.

Defenses: wish fulfillment, altering reality, avoidance or flight, projection, reaction formation, repression the most common. Denial of reality, alertness and caution, turning against the self, ego restriction also shown.

Personality adequately integrated, strong, and outlook cheerful.

In order not to distort the Rorschach analysts' interpretations by too great condensation, no summary is attempted here. Reference to this separate study of Nunivak personality will show agreement with the conclusions from mythology on several important points. Some things that appeared strongly in the mythology did not show up clearly in the Rorschach Test and other things vice versa. This is to be expected because of the difference in medium.

The three other Alaskan mythologies that were compared with the Nunivak, namely, Lower Yukon—Norton Sound, Cape Prince of Wales, Kotzebue—Point Hope—and—rivers, show:

More examples of typical Eskimo heroes ridding the world of monsters than the Poor Boy seeking wealth and status by becoming a shaman or a great hunter as on Nunivak Island.

Many mythic elements, supernatural forms, the same.

Most common forms of aggression the same: slashing, biting, and eating.

Not quite so much male-female or in-law hostility in Rasmussen's northwest Alaskan collection although most patterns the same.

Brother-sister relations portrayed more often and prominently. Relations are good.
Probably a more threatening physical world. Difference in cheerfulness between Nelson's and Garber's collections of stories—the former with pessimistic, the latter with optimistic endings—may reflect difference in period of recording or difference in narrators' and recorders' personalities.
Same ideal of good hunter and good wife, of self-sufficiency.
Greater paranoid tendency or else a different symbol for the same tendency: more Strong Men and Giants. Some are protectors for mistreated people, others are threatening to the community.
Same dangers of masculine and sometimes feminine aggression in killing people and animals, but some difference in symbols: wolves, bears, and falcons more common than in Nunivak myths.
Revenge a more frequent theme.
Compulsive behavior and its dangers are shown.
Animal-human conversion a prominent element.

It must be understood that such lists distort reality. We are discussing not material artifacts but psychological artifacts of the Eskimos: types of characters, human relationships, and whole plots, which cannot be so easily categorized or summarized. For this reason, no attempt will be made to summarize further than has been done already the characters and themes shared by all Eskimo areas.

No assumption is made regarding the story-personality of any other Eskimo group besides the Nuniwagamiut. All that has been shown is that there are enough similarities in the mythologies so that the Nunivak one cannot be considered abnormal relative to western Eskimo patterns. Emphases, proportions, and total configuration are specific to each mythology. Especially when comparing all Eskimo folklore, one cannot go far in stating the varying subtleties of personality or the subconscious and its projections.

Advantages of Folklore Analysis for Psychology. Despite the limitations, there are good reasons, all related, for undertaking the laborious analysis of folklore. (1) Mythology or the fore inclusive folklore bridges the objective and subjective segments of the world. As reported by Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas said that a central problem of anthropology "'was the relation between the objective world and a man's subjective world as it had taken form in different cultures'" (Hallowell, 1953, p. 599). Hallowell has said further,

"Since perception is fundamental to all human adjustment in the sense that it is made the basis of judgment, decision, and action, to experience the world in common perceptual terms must be considered a prime unifying factor in the integration of culture, society, and the functioning person" (1953, p. 608).

A young person learns about people by being the object of their action, by observing them, by hearing about the behavior of real people, and by hearing and seeing representations of behavior in various art forms, which in Eskimo culture include mimetic dance and song, graphic arts (especially masks and ivory carvings), and the literature. This list of means of perceiving people is progressively social, that is, shared. The more people who hear the same stories told by the same narrators—on Nunivak, such sharing was high—the greater the opportunity for all to perceive human behavior and the natural world in the same way. There always will be difference in perception because of differences

in conditioning experience and in intelligence, vigor, neural sensitivity, etc. But mythology does make the storytellers' subjective view objective, and the objective in turn becomes a common subjective experience.

(2) Mythology shows both culture and personality. It shows not only a culture-pattern, as does any cultural form, but also a larger measure of the individual personality than do such things as stone lamps and fur boots. There is something of the individual in everything he produces; the individual difference of the material artifact is likely to be small, however. No attempt has been made in this study to analyze the personalities of narrators. With a large collection of stories, this could be done.

(3) A function of mythology implied here but not discussed specifically is relief of anxiety. We have been trying to ascertain what the Nunivak people are expressing to us. The reverse question is what does the mythology say to them individually? For example, it conjures up cannibals and other monstrous creatures, then usually slays them, although not always. It is important to find out what these monsters really represent, then one can begin to find out what their eradication means to the audience.

(4) Mythology gives the student opportunity to see a big chunk of the subjective projected into a fairly stereotyped form without his having to use artificial clinical techniques that the subjects may resist. One should use as many different techniques as possible, but there are limits in time, acceptance, and productivity of the various media.

Implications beyond Local Personality Study. The most interesting, it seems to me, pertain to the conception of the animal kingdom. Here, as around the world, one psychological basis of the animal-human interchangeability is the desire to transcend one's limitations, the simple wish for the powers one does not have: the strength and ferocity of the bear, the weasel's ability to escape or to attack viciously and surreptitiously, the bird's speed of travel, ability to see far, and to escape.

This interchangeability has in Eskimo mythology and experience an immediacy and a reality that it lacks in many other parts of the world. Eskimo myths do not always tell of that past time when animals could take human form at will. Very recently shamans could transform themselves into animals or call forth animal spirits in the community's hearing, if not right before their eyes; and even laymen occasionally observed animal behavior that they thought and still think can be explained only by human motives, perhaps direction by a spirit or a witch. Once one has talked to people who have had such experience, one realizes how feeling toward the animals, especially in a hunting culture, becomes basic to much of the individual's behavior.

While psychologists currently say that adults' projection of human emotion and motivation into animals is juvenile behavior and generally evidence of unwillingness to grow up and live entirely in a human world, one must understand that the relation to animals may be different in cultures outside the Euro-American orbit. In these other cultures,

many important animals are not domesticated or under man's control but are free and independent, in a sense coordinate with man. Often they seem not only stronger but cleverer than man.

Then when animals are given their own souls, man is in a dilemma. The Hindu religion has solved the inherent conflict of animism by proscribing the killing of animals. Christianity has avoided the difficulty by denying that animals have souls; therefore it is difficult for Christians to understand the fear of animals and the guilt in killing them. Orthodox Judaism may have a remnant of an ancient attitude in the prescriptions and tabus that make it safe for men to kill and eat animals. It might be well for anthropologists to take a new look at animism, for example in West Africa, from the standpoint of clinical psychology.

The Eskimos, having little food except that to be obtained in undomesticated animals, could not avoid the dilemma. Moreover, the most important food-animals were birds, caribou, sea-mammals, and in a few areas salmon, char, or herring—all of them migratory. In a few areas there were local herds of caribou and musk-oxen and non-migrating fish. However, few peoples in the world in recent times have been so dependent on wandering animals. The beluga will come in large numbers, then there are no beluga. No wonder that when they do appear, there is likely to be an Eskimo frenzy of killing, partly from a realistic understanding of food necessity and partly because the animals' behavior cannot be controlled and regulated. It defies man and challenges him. One would think that domesticated reindeer would be a welcome relief. But they do not provide the test of a man, in a religious as well as a secular sense. Probably Eskimos must have different personalities before they can substitute reindeer herding for hunting and trapping. Someone should study personality-types in West Greenland, with its commercial fishing, sheep-raising, and new religion. And a new folklore in the making?

One can at least speculate on reasons for the Eskimo animism and the guilt for killing animals. These factors seem to contribute to it: (1) A normative view of the world or a straining for a normative concept. If no one does anything wrong, all the spirits will be satisfied and life will proceed normally. (2) An exaggeration of man's effect on the natural world. Not knowing the existence of viruses, submarine eruptions, electron clouds from space, or all the other forces over which man has little or no control, the assumption of his large influence has a corollary: his responsibility for the good and bad that occur. (3) An inadequate understanding of probabilityt. We do not yet know the probability of annual increase or decrease of caribou in Alaska. Although something has been learned about fox cycles of increase, there is still much ignorance about arctic life. For knowledge, we substitute guesses based largely on our knowledge of life elsewhere; the Eskimo substitutes imagination, principally a projection of himself.

The Greeks and Romans helped to make life tolerable by attributing personality, a sense of humor and whimsicality to the gods. The latter acted on their own, not just in response to man's behavior, therefore

he was relieved of considerable responsibility. Jews, Christians, and Eskimos are alike in thinking that deities, Jehovah or Mary or Sila, act in response to human behavior, either good work and sincere pleas or bad deeds, defiance of morality. The result is a large measure of guilt for man.

Eskimos believed that some supernatural beings acted on their own. This concept of independent whimsicality and evil shows up prominently in the mythology. What does not show so openly is man's fault in any deviation from the normal, except as occasionally misfortune is attributed to evil shamans. The guilt is present, however. The sight of people in the Nunivak church in recent years sobbing and convulsed as they recited their sins publicly or of an entire congregation falling on its knees to cry genuine tears for the death of Christ, for which each person must feel guilt, according to the missionary, makes one realize that this part of Christianity has meaning for the people whereas many other parts do not.

Robert Lowie used to give a dramatic ending to his course, "Primitive Religion," by saying, "There will always be religion because there will always be sin in the world." Regarding religion in general, many anthropologists now might want to substitute for "sin" a less subjective and qualitative term. We talk about feelings of inadequacy, fear, and offenses against morality. But for the subjective aspect of Eskimo religion and mythology—and for many others—one can sum it all up in the one word. Not needing preachers to explain the text, Eskimos understand the meaning of their own old testament.

The fascinating unanswered question is this: Do people feel guilty because their religion tells them they are (as many students have assumed) or do they feel guilt from psychologically earlier or deeper sources and then turn to religion, as Professor Lowie implies? This is basically a question of the sequence and interrelationship of influences on the individual from his culture and his natural world, a question that anthropologists probably are not yet ready to answer. Such questions, though, may be an incentive to more study of the apparently bizarre and often frightening supernatural life portrayed in mythology and of its emotional meaning—what the people are trying hard to express—in terms of the culture's own symbol system.

APPENDIX A

Hans Himmelheber's published collection (135 pages) of Nunivak stories, *Der gefrorene Pfad (The Frozen Path)*, 1951, was obtained on a five-months visit to the island in the winter of 1936-37. The stories were told in a natural setting with village listeners. They were recorded in Eskimo, then translated into English by a local youth, finally from English to German by Himmelheber. Before publication of my collection, I had not communicated with him regarding the stories or seen his material, and apparently he had not seen mine before writing his manuscript although he has reported that he saw it before final

publication. He says that more than half of the stories obtained have been omitted to avoid repetition (1951, p. 23). The book obviously is intended for public consumption more than for research.

Our collections agree in these characteristics:

Both contain exclusively stories picturing the old unacculturated life. The only one I might doubt is Himmelheber's story about a tree, which seems to be a morality tale on the evils of smoking (1951, pp. 111-17).

Both show the typical Nunivak story-form, with an introduction, often giving the annual cycle of hunting and ceremonial, and with a formal ending.

There is the same local assumption that the teller must make no mistakes although obviously there is variation from one narrator to another.

All stories were said to be true, yet wunderbar.

Differences between the two collections:

Himmelheber's contains small range of supernatural manifestations, a characteristic on which he comments. My collection probably has more supernaturalism because nearly two-thirds of the stories were told by a shaman, because to all of the old people I probably talked more about religion, and they had a longer time in which to learn my attitudes and come to trust me.

Himmelheber has, in proportion to total collection, a few more Raven tales. Since he got most of his stories from Nash Harbor people, especially Kangalik, while mine came from Mekoryuk, the explanation may be an influence by Kangalik and his family who had lived a few years at St. Michael on the mainland—an interlude in their Nunivak life—where Raven was more prominent in mythology. Also selection for publication might account for the difference.

Himmelheber obtained or at least has published more ancestor stories (Ahnengeschichte). His primary interest in the graphic arts (see his "Eskimokunstler"), in such forms as paintings on drumheads and kayak covers, provided a good introduction to the ancestor exploits thus portrayed. Since most of these are short accounts of bravery or ingenuity in hunting sea-mammals and do not contain any plot or "conflict," I did not include them in my Nunivak mythology and have included only one of Himmelheber's in the present analysis. They were omitted also because in most cases the identity of his narrators of ancestor stories was not recorded.

My collection of stories contains more songs. I do not know why.

Himmelheber divided Nunivak stories into four types: (1) Myths, origin accounts, and legends. (2) Animal stories. (3) Hero journeys or sagas and tales (Märchen). (4) Ancestor stories. Except for the combining of legends and myths, this seems as good as any division. Although the sagas and tales do include heroic righting of wrong, they are, as selected by Himmelheber for this category, stories of very human evil, for example, the Deceitful Husband. This is different from the mysterious evil of beings in animal or monstrous form who kill people without apparent cause. This collection does not contain much of this element of abnormality that can not be explained by the overt story but only by a religious and psychological interpretation.

Of the thirty-four stories in *The Frozen Path,* nineteen have been analyzed for this paper. Others were eliminated because they were obtained in the Kuskokwim River region, were mere hunting incidents, or were "Stűtzer," amusing little jibes, as about the man who sat and let a game-bird fly away. One, "Der Holzkeil," was included because it has a little more of a story. The following are the ones used:

* 1. How Raven Created Nunivak Island.
* 2. How a Woman Came Down from Heaven and Created Nunivak Island.
* 3. How Nunivak Island Was Peopled.

* 4. How the Sun and Moon Originated.
5. About a Girl Who Would Not Marry.
6. The Wolves (That Behaved) as Men.
7. Where the Echo Comes From.
8. A Shaman Story.
* 9. How Raven Tricked Various Animals.
*10. Big Adventures of a Little Mouse.
11. The Wife (Who Was) Driven Out (First Version).
12. The Wife (Who Was) Driven Out (Second Version).
13. The Wood-splitter.
14. The Wife with Five Husbands.
15. About a Man Who Left His Wives.
*16. The Bad Sister.
17. Experiences of a Tree.
18. About a Father Who Wanted Only a Daughter.
19. The Big and the Little Brother.

* Part or all of story in Lantis collection also.

APPENDIX B

As examples of the technique of analysis used on each of the Nunivak stories, two are given here, one told by a woman about a woman and her monster-child, the other told by a man about a young man who has lost his hunting-power.

"Hammer-child" (Lantis, 1946, pp. 273-76).

Setting and culture, in order of appearance.

Characters live where trees grow.
Evidence of abundant life: plenty of wood, food, dances in winter, indulgence of a child.
Menstrual hut. Suggestion that should not hold dances when girl is having first menses. Family pretends not to know about it and has dances.
Mother informs girl in advance regarding menstruation but not pregnancy.
Grandmother makes a fawn parka for baby immediately after birth.
Bodies left in house, sealed up. (Could be just necessity in this case.)
Concept that aggression can be either good or bad: "You killed your grandparents. Now you can kill animals to eat."
Caribou hunting. (Not reindeer.)
People encounter strange visitor when going out at night to relieve themselves. (Is this symbolic?)
Big Village. Large house. Storehouse on piling.
Proper entertainment of a guest: giving her new dishes to eat from, never used before.
Immediate marriage without courtship. (Reflects old culture?)
Poor boy, an orphan, lives with two old women. Pity for poor boy.
Good fortune: woman is loved and married by sons of wealthy families.
Concept that it requires supernatural aid to be an outstanding hunter; amulet kept in secrecy.
Shaman gets very thin "when practicing his medicine."
Fear of shaman, helplessness before his power. By his drumming, shaman's thought and desires become others' compulsive thoughts and actions.
Suitor's mother comes to ask for the girl.
Wealth and hospitality: two kinds of wooden dishes, two oil pots for new daughter-in-law.
Polyandry: layman husband in one village, shaman husband in another.
Infant brought to woman to suckle although it is kept and cared for by others.

Explicit personal traits representing culture-values: male. (These are not always more explicitly portrayed in the stories but are explicitly-stated values outside the stories.)

All male characters are good hunters, except shaman: no statement about his hunting.
Shaman is aggressive.
Men marry for love.

Implicit personality traits: male.

Man (the father) who is good hunter and well-to-do is willful and possessive, but is punished for breaking tabu.
Young men are passive: submission to mother, wife, and shaman.
Masculine aggression is presented symbolically as oral aggression, in Hammer-child himself. Symbols: form of stone hammer; cradled in grandfather's sock; wide mouth, many teeth, killing by biting, blood smeared on the mouth. Only alternative explanation is that Hammer-child represents a seal offended by broken tabu, but he finally is transformed into a boy and seems to be regarded from the first as a boy.

Personality traits representing explicit culture-values: female.

Woman shows forethought even in midst of panic, to provide clothing.
Women love children, make good clothes for them even when no blood-kin.
Mother resents any slur against her child. (Explicit in culture?)
Mother gives up her child when has to for good of community.

Implicit personality traits: female.

Wealthy man's favored daughter is aloof.
Woman submits to intercourse although she fears the strange young man
A woman fears childbirth.
Woman more compassionate than man. Pleads against husband's fear and ire in order to save grief to daughter.
Antagonism between female affinal relatives.
Women are vengeful.
Initial submissiveness of woman, followed by aggression and flight? (Overt explanation is compulsion by shaman who controls her.)
Feminine passivity and submission? Girl infant always is passive except that she will not wear a fur parka, always wears gut-parka. Does this symbolize the internal organs or a smooth feminine skin or a creature of the sea? Probably the last, since she had "something like scales" on her body.

Interpersonal relations.

Father loves daughter: extremely indulgent.
Young girl imitates mother's work and life exactly. Girl's play-life in own play-house constitutes an invitation to man to visit her? Competing with mother?
Girl conceals from mother that man visited her.
Father initially shows more concern than mother for girl's happiness. Later, mother protects her from father's fear and anger.
Hammer-child is put in maternal grandfather's grass sock—symbol of grandson taking grandfather's place or simply done to emphasize size and shape of Hammer-child?
Man disregards his wife's pleas.
Woman upbraids husband, points out that she was right.
Young woman keeps Hammer-child even though he has killed her parents. Apparently he does not symbolize any hostility of hers toward parents. He is a symbol of conflict—which she accepts despite grief and resentment of deed—between her mysterious husband and her father. Hammer-child sent by husband, apparently to punish woman's father for breaking a tabu.
Stranger is treated with friendliness and hospitality.
Young man is attracted to young woman immediately. Marry without ado.
His sisters accept his wife and love his step-daughter but grow resentful when latter dislikes fur clothes they make for her.
Conflict between woman and sister-in-law. She takes revenge by oral aggression (Hammer-child).
Poor boy and grandmother figures are spared the mass revenge.
Great love between husband and wife: he remains with wife instead of

staying in the kazigi; she entrusts her secret supernatural power (Hammerchild) to him; he respects and keeps the secret.
Mother-in-law loves daughter-in-law.
Mother-in-law tells young woman she can decide for herself, then makes decision for her, apparently intended for her good.
Community fears shaman's power although he has not hurt them.
Father makes kayaks for both son and daughter as fine as possible.
No statement of co-husbands' jealousy.

Problem (Theme or Motive)
Shaman's control over laymen; his role as keeper of the mores.
Man's control of woman; the nature of sex.

"The Young Man", (Lantis, 1946, pp. 278-80).

Setting and culture.
Man has house on coast and house inland.
Description of a rich man: clothing of most valuable fur; diligent successful hunter; takes good care of skins; observance of ritual; gives sweatbath in honor of wife's pregnancy; gifts to poor people to secure divination and to get their prayers and good omens; big distribution of gifts in honor of son's birth.
Using caribou antlers as screen when hunting caribou.
Symbolism or religious belief concerning the external heart?
Amulets: mink, grass towel, cotton ("cotton-grass"), rat skin (muskrat?), a stake, grandfather's parka.
Carelessness regarding an amulet is punished by loss of it.

Personality traits representing explicit culture values: male.
Father's pleasure at birth of son.
Boy's eagerness to be a good hunter.
Submission to ritual, magic instruction.
Compliance, obedience of grandfather's and father's instructions.
Young hunter is brave and daring. Goes into strange situations even when encounters supernatural beings.

Implicit personality traits: male.
Young man is careless regarding tabus, does not resist temptation.
Expectation of death. Man expects to die anyway, so risks danger. (Meaning? A rationalization of disobedience? Guilt, expectation of punishment?)
Symbols of male aggression: Evil men try to kill hero with ice-picks that have little muskrats at the end that try to bite him. He kills muskrats by cutting off their heads, cutting eyes, finally (since heads remain alive) kills external heart in an ornament, supposedly by cutting. (Is the heart that continues beating a symbol of tenacity of life? Or tenacity of evil?)
Young man's animal-helper is a mink, an aggressive biting animal. Apparently means that both good an devil show oral aggression.
Ambivalence toward women? Evil cannibal woman, whose children say they want to eat hero's eyes, tries to kill him with big knife. Instead of fighting her, he flees; then sets up magic barrier, river full of worms (locally represents a food anxiety or general anxiety). Woman is carried away on river. He takes her knife.
Ambivalence toward women? Hero is friendly with two girls. Has intercourse with them, then kills them without compunction. (It is understood without saying that everyone whom hero meets is a threat to him?) Accepts food from woman who appears friendly, although her husband is evil; then kills her and her husband.
In the house of an evil person, food turns to worms. Evil ones are man and wife who stole young man's magic parka. Or are they only the agents to punish him for being careless with the parka?
Only by magic can young man escape from threats and win contests. Magic comes from grandparents.
Young man is a tool of others' motives: grandmother has made grandson

kill the people who threatened him, without his knowing that she has done it.

Personality traits representing explicit culture values: female.

Women feed and entertain a stranger even though there is hostility between them.

Implicit personality traits: female.

Although seem friendly, women have hostile motives, are treacherous.

Wish for rejuvenation: grandmother by magic becomes young again and marries grandson. Symbol of identification of alternate generations?

Interpersonal relations.

Boy tries to emulate father. He is instructed by father.

Grandfather loans magic parka to son and grandson for hunting. When it is lost, new parkas are made for grandparents to placate them and get their help.

When young man disobeys father, loses the parka. Does not try to conceal loss. Father does not scold but helps him.

Both grandfather and grandmother help grandson.

Young man repeatedly disobeys rules but grandmother guides him. (Is this intended to show that he is a hero who can behave differently from others?)

Young man eats with and has intercourse with supposedly evil women, with no repugnance. Finally kills them.

Grandmother becomes young again and marries grandson. What happens to grandfather?

Problem (Theme or Motive).

Retrieving lost magic power is necessary for success.

Necessity of eliminating threats to this power: ridding the world of evils.

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