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Author

Wiget, Andrew O.

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Sayatasha's Night Chant: A Literary Textual Analysis of A Zuni Ritual Poem

ANDREW O. WIGET

When Coronado turned his back from Cibola, he left behind not only the pueblos of Zuni but his dreams of fame and wealth. There was no gold. No one ever saw the wealth within, in the dark, subterranean circular rooms known as kivas, where the splendidly-costumed kachinas in elaborate, week-long ceremonials maintained a complex ritual calendar and danced life and prosperity into Zuni. Probably these rituals, or rumors of them, communicated to subsistence cultures further south, formed the basis of reports to Coronado of great wealth further north. But it was a wealth perhaps only a Zuni could appreciate, for to be a "poor man" there means to lack any ritual knowledge or position.¹ Though the multi-storied pueblo of Coronado's time has been almost entirely supplanted by single story dwellings, Zuni still is the "other," alien culture. Not only Anglos, but most neighboring Indians as well, are forbidden access to kiva rituals. The Zuni language remains classified as a linguistic isolate, genetically unallied to any other in North America.² And more than at any other pueblo, the old way, the kachina way, is kept in spite of the "civilizing" forces working for its destruction. That we have a text of "Sayatasha's Night Chant" is itself unusual, for it was given to the transcriber, Ruth Bunzel, "by a man who had never impersonated Sayataca and never expected to. They were verified after the informant's death by the Sayataca *wo' le* [preserver of the true text] who wondered how and why the informant learned them. I myself heard the

Andrew O. Wiget is an assistant professor in the Native American Studies and English Departments, Dartmouth College.

actual chant twice after recording the text and know it to be accurate."³

This essay proposes to examine the literary form and merit of this single Zuni ritual poem. Recognizing the limits imposed upon us by using a "received text"—that much of its literary significance undoubtedly derives from dimensions of performance unavailable to us—it is nevertheless valuable to study the work for what it can communicate to us as literature. This is especially true since, as "received text," it is so typical of what is being studied as oral-traditional literature in college and university courses in Native American literature.⁴ For this reason it seems legitimate to explore a single work as thoroughly as possible with all the literary and folkloristic tools available to us, though ever mindful of how far short of full understanding and appreciation we shall surely fall.

Cultural Dimensions of the Poem

"Sayatasha's Night Chant" is an integral part of the extensive Shalako ceremonies of the midwinter solstice. Over 750 lines long, the chant is the longest single piece of ritual narrative poetry recorded at Zuni. It is chanted in unison by the Shalako priests, a section at a time with breaks in between, over the course of the evening of the eighth day before the end of Shalako.⁵ The entire performance and accompanying rituals take six hours.⁶

Sayatasha is one of the *kachinas*, the masked gods, who function as intermediaries between the Zuni and the higher order of spirits.⁷ He leads them at the Shalako ceremonies, inaugurating the annual parade of *kachina* and society dances that fills the ritual calendar.⁸ Shalako itself is a metonymic epithet for *lok'wa'wia*, "the coming of the gods,"⁹ because the Shalako are the most prominent of all the masked dancers who appear at this time. Fully ten feet-tall, their costume includes a cape-like body carried on a shoulder-mounted subframe, as well as a mask. Though the Shalako are not mentioned in the "Night Chant," Sayatasha does mention other members of his party, the two Yamuhakto and Shulawitsi. Sayatasha's bow priest, Huututu, like the Shalako, is left unsung.

Pautiwa is the most important personage mentioned in the "Chant." He is the first intermediary between the Zuni and the rest of the *kachinas*. In this role, he communicates the requests of the people to the *kachinas* and is unfailingly generous, kind, and dignified. It is to Pautiwa and Sayatasha, as intermediaries, that the Zuni appeal in times of stress or need. Pautiwa comes to Zuni during the winter solstice, several days before the New Year, to distribute sacred corn meal to the *kivas*; after

Shalako he leads the Corn Maidens into the village. His third appearance is at the New Year when he appoints impersonators for the next feast of the Shalako a year hence by leaving staffs of office at the entrance to their kivas. It is this last event which is narrated in the opening of the "Chant."¹⁰

In dealing with the masked gods, what is required is not a suspension, but an assertion of belief. Fiction here is not opposed to reality, but merges with it in an archetypal world which is the common ground between the sacred and the profane. There is little sense that the ritual world is a fictional one; rather, it is the one that has become real. The Zuni speak of Pautiwa and the other masked gods as assuming human form when their impersonators remove their masks, and the impersonators express real fear that if they are untrustworthy the masks will not come off, and their identities will be lost in those of the gods forever.¹¹ Through the masks, the kachina "makes himself into a person," *ho'i yaake a*. In ritual narrative poetry, the participant is not simply involved; he incarnates and so becomes the other.

An adequate understanding of the forms and symbolisms of Zuni poetry requires knowledge of the larger cultural context in which it occurs. The mimetic principle through which Zuni kachina ritual establishes relationship with reality follows world patterns. In his *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Mircea Eliade succinctly expresses this principle:

Men cannot do better than imitate the example of the gods, particularly, if the prosperity of the whole world and above all, the course of animal and vegetable life depend on their doing so.¹²

However, the enormous gravity of the situation impressed upon Zuni ritual the need for Apollonian formality rather than Dionysiac excess. Indeed, the pervading calm of this fertility ritual does not lead to excess. Moreover, the Sky Father/Earth Mother sexual metaphor of agricultural fertility, a potential focus for such excess, is a concept not fully integrated into Zuni life and ritual, occurring only in fragmentary though frequent expressions. The ritual foci of the Zuni chant are symbol clusters, symbolisms whose meanings are expanded by their elaboration in other poems and in Zuni myth.

The act of ritual inhaling recurs three times in the "Night Chant" (see outline below: IID2, IIIC, IVC). Through the language of the ritual, the act of inhaling is allied with the act of creation. Frank Cushing summarizes that portion of the origin myth as follows:

In the beginning of the new-made Awonawilona conceived within himself and thought outward in space, whereby mists of increase, steams potent of growth, were evolved and uplifted.¹³

The myth links fertility with divine intentionality through the agency of mist. The inhaling ritual, obviously mimetic of this event, turns on the Zuni world for mist, *shipololonne*, which occurs only in this ritual context, and is the ceremonial world for tobacco smoke; the word for smoke in every day usage at Zuni is *likalanne*. The intentionality and the fertility aspects of the ritual are comprehended in the metaphor, "He added to their hearts (or breath)." Allusions coded to the entire ritual occur throughout the poem in the repetition of this short phrase. The act of ritual inhaling, which constitutes a ritual climax, occurs in three instances in the poem: shortly before Sayatasha's investiture, as part of the ceremony of his visitation of each spring, and finally, just before he leaves his seed bundle in the house.

The baptism with prayer meal is a natural and effective union of water and fertility symbolisms. Sprinkling with prayer meal is a ritual blessing for fertility which occurs continually throughout Zuni poetry. The sacred meal, like pollen, fertilizes that on which it lands. By linking it with the baptism by immersion at each of the sacred springs, Sayatasha, through his consecration, personifies not only fertility, but the ancestral water spirits (*alicinaawe*) through whose agency he will communicate abundance and prosperity to the people.

In his ceremonial investiture, the Sayatasha impersonator catalogues the vegetation, wild and domestic, upon which the survival of the people depends and whose seeds he brings to them annually to renew the earth. He receives these bundles of seeds in an "eternal space," a shrine near the Pueblo where two mounds of corn meal are made to symbolize the two mountains at *Koľuwalaawa*.

Where the gray mountain stands
And the blue mountain,
Where rain always falls,
Where seeds are renewed,
Where life is renewed,
Where no one ever falls down,
At the abiding place . . .

As Mircea Eliade points out, the association of seeds with the ancestral dead is not unusual. But in other cultures, such as those of China and the Aegean area, the association was established through burial.¹⁴ At Zuni the symbolic relationship is established not through burial, but through water, the basic necessity for agriculture, the common denominator of life, and the essential contribution of *alicinaawe*, the ancestral dead who reside in the clouds.

The reenactment of the epic migration journey from Emergence Place to Itiwanna (Section III) occupies a major portion of the central section of the "Night Chant." It consists of twenty-eight repetitions of a ritual formula of over 125 lines. This repetition of the sacred journey occurs elsewhere in North American mythology, most extensively in southern California. The journey is primarily an extension of the symbolism of the "Sacred Place," "the Center of the world." Itiwanna, the Middle Place, is sacred, and the process of journeying to reach it defines the sacred space about Zuni against the profane. Shrines are places made sacred, and the origin myth recalls that at these places men interacted with the supernatural. To reenact this journey is to renew, through participation, contact with the supernatural in the dimension of space in a repetitive mode similar to that by which the ceremony renews the world in the dimension of time.¹⁵ Pautiwa's circumambulation of Zuni (IE), repeated the four ritual times, assimilates the concept of defining sacred space against the profane. That ritual inhaling is the focal point of this reenactment, and is central to the sanctification of space, coheres perfectly with the origin myth's definition of the spatial form of the universe as that created by the mistclouds of thought emanating from Awonawilona. Further, through the myth of emergence, the Zuni come to identify sacred space with man's becoming, an element of the mythic pattern allied to the *omphalos*, or navel stone, symbolism. By extension, "the Center," the point of union between heaven and earth, the sacred and the profane, alone can be the place at which highest creation, that of man, can be completed.¹⁶ Here alone is fulfillment and ultimately meaningful reality. Only at the Center is profane time abolished and eternity preserved in the calm of the Eternal Now. And it is this sanctification which is sought in each revisitation to a sacred place in the retelling of the migration narrative.

Understanding the cultural references for these symbols, one begins to see clearly that they form a mimetic pattern that has as its object the insurance of fertility. By returning mythically to the original time and place of creation, identifying one's self with the intentionality of the First Being, Awonawilona, the bisexual Creator,¹⁷ and in that context ritually duplicating the act of creation, the Sayatasha impersonator and his party bring about the renewal of the world.

The Shape and Structure of the Narrative

The chant participates in two structural forms, ritual and narrative. Its ritual divisions, like those of all their prayers, are three-fold, and,

according to Bunzel, "always appear in the same order: A statement of the occasion, a description of the offering, and the request."¹⁸ The recapitulation of the performance of ritual obligations which occupies so much of the chant (I-III) marks the statement of occasion, the offerings of tobacco smoke and meal throughout II and III fulfill the second prescription, and the request is given in IV and V. The narrative structure of the chant, however, has five clear divisions: (I) an extended flashback to the events of the previous New Year when Pautiwa chose and consecrated the present Sayatasha narrator; (II) a more limited flashback in which Sayatasha recounts his formal investiture and preparation which began forty-nine days before the present moment; (III) Sayatasha's recount of retracing the Zuni migration, visits to the sacred shrines, and contacts with the ancestors, i.e., his fulfillment of the ritual obligations of his office; (IV) the eighth night of Shalako, the present moment of narration, Sayatasha's blessing on all of Zuni life, especially the corn; (V) Sayatasha's conclusion of his eighth night ceremony and chant with a litany of ritual blessings. The chant can be outlined as follows:

- I. Pautiwa Ordains This Year's Participants at Last Winter's Solstice
 - A. Setting in time
 - B. Gathering and Consecrating Prayer Sticks
 - C. Making Prayer Sticks
 - D1. Pautiwa brings sacred wands of ordination to Zuni
 - D2. while Pekwin prepares altar and receives him.
 - E. Pautiwa makes sacred tour around Zuni (4X) and leaves wands of office.
- II. Sayatasha's Commission
 - A. Sayatasha recalls his appointment by Pautiwa.
 - B. Sayatasha says that he has fulfilled ritual obligations throughout the year.
 - C. Shalako preparations begin, forty-nine days before solstice; knotted string day count; first shrine visit to Ants-go-in, and prayer.
 - D1. Sayatasha visits Kofuwalaawa, kachina village.
 - D2. ritual inhaling formula; baptism with meal
 - D3. Sayatasha becomes bearer of fertility and plenty.
 - E. Sayatasha commissioned and sent forth, with promise that kachinas and rain will follow.
- III. Retracing the Emergence (A-E Repeated 28X, Each Time Naming A Different Spring)

- A. Transition and Orientation; journey to first shrine
- B. "Great Lake" a spring; baptism with meal (fertility)
- C. Ritual inhaling (rain)
- D. Ancestors, moved by his attention to his ritual obligations, promise to follow him with rain.
- E. Sayatasha leaves them.
- F. Emergence toward Center; reorientation.

IV. The Eighth Night of Shalako

- A. Sayatasha's Ceremonial Entrance to Kiva; consecration with meal
- B. The house blessing
- C. Ritual inhaling
- D. Pekwin pronounces the Fitness of the Time.
- E. Sayatasha's Gift of Seeds to Zuni
- F. Instructions of planting and the Gift of Water
- G. Renewal of game animals
- H. Renewal of the people
- I. Adds his spiritual Life (Breath) to the people.
- J. Reminds them of their obligations to each other.

V. Litany of Ritual Blessings

Looking more closely at the chant, we can describe it as a unique manifestation of a more basic pattern recurrent throughout the world, especially in Native America. This basic pattern becomes clear as we first describe the chant at the level of the intermediate structure using the methodologies of Propp and Thompson, and then at the deep-structural level using the models of Lévi-Strauss and the Marandas.¹⁹

Section I of the chant is particularly important. Here using the codes and units of action identified by Propp (P) and by Thompson (T) we can discern the motivating impulse of the chant.²⁰ We see that the motivation for the chant and ritual is a Lack, expressed in the pekwin's desire for "the waters, the seeds of his father." Prayer stick offerings are made, and the consent of the kachinas to counter the Lack is signalled by the dispatch of Pautiwa, their chief. His offering of the wand of ordination to the Sayatasha impersonator (Propp would call it a "magical agent") sets in motion a train of events which will lead to the eventual elimination of want. In Thompson's terms, a "quest" has been assigned. Now Pautiwa departs and our attention is turned to the Sayatasha impersonator.

Because this is a flashback narrative, the Sayatasha impersonator understands that his acceptance of office and his fulfillment of ritual obligations is bringing to pass the solution to the problems ($P:{}_9-N^*$). Taken then to Kołuwalaawa (T:F 420.2.2) in his underworld journey (P: G; T: F 80) for power. There he is transformed into the kachina Sayatasha (T: D 40, 50) and invested (T: D 530). The power of the kachina spirit is transferred to his human incarnation during this investiture (P: F_1, T_1, T_3). The impersonator has exchanged his offerings of meal and tobacco for a share in spiritual power (T: 420.4.4, 420.5.1.4). Section III tells how this transformation is enhanced and spiritual power accumulated (P: E_7) by visits to other sacred places. Each time he returns from the kachina village orienting himself toward Zuni (F 101).

All of sections IV and V constitute a transference of sacred power accumulated by the Sayatasha impersonator to the people of Zuni, thus eliminating their want (P: KF_1). But the exact nature of this transference becomes clear using Thompson's motifs. Here we see that while the ritual occurs in historical time, the power calls us back to the beginning of things. Section IV, E and F, are about the acquisition of vegetable foods (T: A 1423), G is about the release of animal foods (T: A 1421-22); even the human reproductive order is affirmed and renewed (T: A 1300). This plenty stems from the mediating experience of the Sayatasha impersonator (T: A 2620), and experience which is not a singular one, but a renewal or return to the beginning, effected through the mediation of the impersonator who can enter and make contact with the spirit world in his kachina aspect and bring it back to the people precisely because he is also human. How this is done becomes clearer by looking at the deep structure of the chant.

The Propp-Thompson study reveals the ritual chant to be a quest for power, positing both human (b) and spiritual (a) worlds each represented by an individual. The human world desires the "waters, the seeds" of life; where the human world is in need (f_y), the spirit world has the power of fertility (f_x).

The setting is the time of the winter solstice, the ending of the year, when the human community finds itself virtually impoverished in contrast to the spiritual world.

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

Pautiwa, the chief of the kachinas, through his first impersonator, imparts some of his spiritual power, $f_{a-1}(y)$, to the man he has chosen to be the new impersonator of Pautiwa, bearer of fertility, so that,

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

The flashback to the Sayatasha's impersonator's ordination then reveals an impoverishment of the spiritual power for the benefit of man. But this is an unstable situation, as indicated by the single valence mark (-) on one side of the statement.²¹ The Sayatasha impersonator is the key here; since he is both kachina (a) and man (b) he can mediate between the two realms.

To compensate for the loss of the kachina's supernatural power that transformed him into the kachina impersonator, $f_{a-1}(y) f_x(b)$, the Sayatasha impersonator impoverishes himself, $f_{b-1}(y)$, in his human aspect by fulfilling his ritual obligations.

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

This restores the balance of power. Nothing more clearly indicates this exchange than the ritual inhaling formula in which each "adds to the other's breath." The Sayatasha impersonator's offering of tobacco is compensated by the baptism with meal, which restores to him lost power, so that

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

That this sequence of obligation, inhaling and baptism is central is signalled by its recurrence at moments when power is transferred. It occurs first in that sequence (II C-D2) which culminates in the investiture of the Sayatasha impersonator by the kachina chief (II D3). His obligation now includes retracing the steps of the Emergence migration (III A-B) and at each point participating in the ritual inhaling and baptism in order to share life and receive power from the other kachinas. Finally when he pours out his received spiritual power on the human community (IV-V), he shares life through the ritual inhaling (IV-C), baptizing the house with meal (IV-B); both activities indicating that he as spirit now shares with man those powers which he as man received through the same activities from the spirits. He impoverishes himself, $f_{a-1}(y)$, so that man may secure life, $f_x(b)$. Then,

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

Because each transformation ends in instability, an equation marked by a valence sign, the process must be repeated, and not just once but continually, since it is a closed system of exchange, set in motion by an outside force which can only be terminated by an outside force as yet unforeseen. There is no point of rest in such an exchange system, no equilibrium, nowhere to stop. This is the proper definition of a ritual pattern of world renewal that underlies seasonal, restorative chants.

The poem, then, speaks to us of man's need for order and for rebirth, revealing a universal perception: without renewal and rebirth, the initially vitalized order of Life sickens and dies; without harmony and order, the generative dynamism of Life leads to chaos and conflict. But it would be simplistic to understand "Sayatasha's Night Chant" solely in terms of such a basic opposition. Although the poem begins with this duality as a basic premise, the renewal which is the heart of Shalako is not only generative but restorative, and mediates this apparent dualism by insisting that the only way the power of life can be brought into the world is through a return to order. So that in the end, Order and Generation are finally held in the necessary pose of creative tension only in the ritual language of the poem itself which announces, "Let it be here . . . Let it be now."

Distinctions can be made between predominantly narrative and predominantly ritualistic elements in the "Night Chant." More than half of the poem involves the texts of and formulaic directions for ritual actions (IB, C, C; IId2, D3; III B, C; all of IV and V). The most obvious repeated elements are the ritual inhaling formula, the sprinkling with prayer meal, the Sacred Migration Journey, and the ceremonial investiture of the Sayatasha impersonator described in the first chapter. Such ritual acts are an integral part of the semantic field of the ritual poem whose meaning is not limited only to words, but encompasses those symbolic actions signified by the words.

The remainder is essentially narrative (IA, C; II A-D1, E; III A, D, E). The narrative is chronological in form and linear in development, without diversion. Since only sections I to III constitute an elaborate flashback, Sections II and III to a time about seven weeks prior to narration, Section I to the previous January. The management of narrative threads and the use of dialogue and description, however conventionalized, exhibit flexibility and style. For example, early in the introductory section (IC, D) of the poem, the narrator frames the pekwin's preparation of the altar with two incidents involving Pautiwa. He first remarks on Pautiwa's assuming human form and coming to Itiwanna before shifting our attention to the pekwin's preparations for the kachina's arrival. He then unites the two narrative threads at the reception of Pautiwa into the kiva of the pekwin, and later dissolves the bond by focusing upon Pautiwa's ceremonial tour of the pueblo. Characterization is sacrificed here to maintain the narrative thread. The essential purpose of the narrative is ritual, and in ritual character is less important than function or activity. The events alone are important in this poem, and in this section the narrator reveals a dexterity in the handling of simultaneous and sequential events.

Ritual's formal tone commends itself to symmetry of structure, like that found in the previously noted episode involving the pekwin's reception for Pautiwa. In this instance, the kiva and altar are a central focus (ID) for Pautiwa's journey to Itiwanna (IC), the ceremonial tour a departure from it (IE). It is a simple device, but one which is effective when used in conjunction with parallelism and formula, such as "Perpetuating what had been since the first beginning Pautiwa again assumed human form." On a scale grander yet, the symmetrical placement of the baptisms with meal and the acts of ritual inhaling which occur at three regularly spaced intervals should not be overlooked as a stylistic device as well as a structural form.

Required to combine two structural patterns, the functional organization of prayer and the narrative organization of event, the Zuni integrated both through the symmetrical placement of detailed rituals, prayerful events, which themselves cohere through sharing in a common, mythic context of elaborate symbolism.

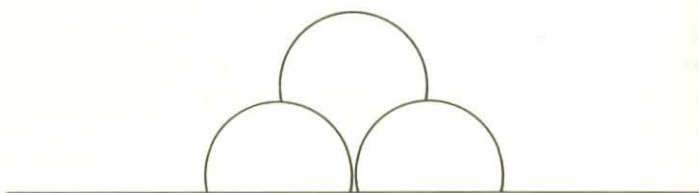
Language and Style

The impact of a ritual, rather than a theological religious tradition upon the literature it produces, is felt heavily at Zuni. One finds an evenness of tone and formality fully in keeping with the ritual occasion. The strict regulation of content creates a formulaic, almost a "modular poetry," given to the preservation of archaisms. Yet even within these strict limitations the Zuni illustrate that brilliantly imaginative poetry can be created.

The symbolism which is the foundation for structural coherence in any Zuni poem begins at the level of the individual word. Many words occur in the chant which are obviously freighted with meaning, yet these words frequently do not occur in everyday Zuni speech. Some of these are metaphorical, as in the description of the altar layout.

a'wełuyan	kä'kwen	ya'kāna
<i>cumulus</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>having made</i>
<i>cloud</i>		
ci'pololon	pe'wuna	
<i>mist</i>	<i>blanket having spread out</i>	
o'naya'nakä	o'nealan	a'kāna
<i>life-giving</i>	<i>road</i>	<i>sending out</i>
kä'nakwai'inan	ya'na	ye'lete ukātekwi
<i>spring</i>	<i>complete</i>	<i>he made ready when</i> ²²

These four are in effect double metaphors; they signify not only the painting of and the implements upon the sand altar, but the symbolic world of which the words and physical objects are linguistically and physically mimetic. *Ci'pololon* has already been treated elsewhere, but the "blanket" image alludes to the rain seats (*Ka'cima pai'yan*)²³ employed later in the ceremony. These are rectangles indicated on the ground by colored corn meal to symbolize clouds. The "mist blanket" also refers to the two-dimensional aspect of the ceremonial painting on the altar, while "cloud house" enlarges the image into the third dimension of space. The drawing below approximates this figure.

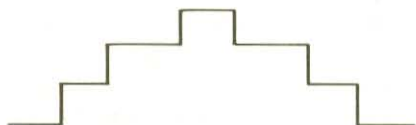


The spring in which the kachinas live (*kä'nakwai'inan*) is another linguistically and physically mimetic image; in ceremonial practice it is a bowl of medicine water placed upon the altar.²⁴ It is also related to the cloud house (*a'weluyan kä'kwen*) through root derivation; *ka* ["water"] and *kwai* ["place"] in "spring" carry the same meaning as *ka* and *kwen* in "house." As the altar is built, then, so is the symbolic equivalent of the worldspace of the rain-makers reconstructed. Since mythically the Zuni kachinas live in a sacred village at the bottom of springs, in the poem the bowl and the Kiva itself become the temporal, architectural equivalents of that sacred space.

The "life-giving road" (*o'naya·nakä o'nealan*), another multi-dimensional metaphor, refers to a line of prayer meal drawn on the ground from the base of the central ladder to the altar at the periphery of the kiva. It is the road of life, the straight path, the course of events, the intentionality of nature, and individual destiny. Along with "daylight people" and "ladder-descending children," it is perhaps the most common metaphor in Zuni poetry. More importantly, though, it exemplifies the inherently metaphorical character of Zuni ceremonial language, which differs considerably in vocabulary from utilitarian Zuni. The central image, "road," is expressed in Zuni as *o'neal* or *o'nealan*, both of which are direct developments of the root form, *o'nea*, which does not mean "road," but pollen, the agent of corn germination. It does not refer to ceremonial corn meal, such as that

used in the ritual sprinklings, though that is the material of which the "road" is made; the term for prayer meal is *ha'lawootinanne*.

Certain of these sacred words and phrases recur throughout the "chant." The utilitarian word for house, *hecotana*, is used in the "Night Chant" only when referring to its human ownership,²⁵ such as in the blessing of plenitude (IV H); instead we have more frequently seen *ka kwen* (water place) for "house." A similar instance is found in the archaism *ka'cima ta'pelakwi*, "watery woodpile,"²⁶ which originally defined a "load of firewood made by laying short sticks across to long poles." Yet in context it refers to the kiva ladder by which Sayatasha enters, and by extension of the bundle of prayer sticks arranged in a terraced form, and also "the steps by which the rain gods descend from heaven."²⁷ The common visual interpretation of this idea,



though angular in form, recalls the "cloud house" in its terraced symmetry.

Ceremonial language may be another dimension of this concept. In several of the pueblos, including Zuni, a sacred level of usage appears in which elaborate circumlocutions or simple one-word substitutions replace selected items of everyday vocabulary which might occur in the sacred context of a ceremonial.²⁸ *Ka'kwen* or *kacima te liitona*, "water-filled inner room," replaces not only "house," but *kiwijzi*, "kiva."²⁹ The substitution of *cipololonne*, "mist," for *likalanne*, "tobacco smoke," has already been mentioned. In his *Zuni Grammar*, Newman notes that specialized constructions for ceremonial purposes can be morphologically distinguished from compounds.

Songs and prayers, in particular, employ specialized constructions, which sometimes show considerable syntactic elaboration: thus, in songs, frogs are *wolie tinan K?ayapa*, literally They-are-in-a-shallow-container-they-sitting-they-are-floating-in-water. . . . Though displaying some superficial similarities to compounds, constructions of this kind are to be differentiated from compounds, which can be formally identified by the presence of a first-position Cv- or CCv- stem and a single heavy stress.³⁰

While these words may be archaisms, that alone does not account for their ritual usage. It is clear that some of the substitutions made result from the allusions to the origin myth found in the sacred-usage word that

cannot be derived from the conversational-usage word. Even in the instance of Newman's "frog" example, it is possible that the circumlocution is designed to allude to the frog spirit, embodied in the rain priest's (*shiwanni*) fetish, which is contained in a sacred container (the *Kai`ettonne*) brought up from the underworld at the time of the emergence.³¹

This phenomenon necessarily prompts a recall of the Parry-Lord definition of formula which both men applied to Homeric and Yugoslav oral narrative poetry. Parry defined a formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed *under the same metrical conditions* to express a given essential idea" (emphasis mine).³² Lord discussed the origin, structure and uses of formulae in Yugoslav oral epic.³³ One cannot be certain, however, that formulae as Lord defined them consistently occur "under the same metrical conditions" in Zuni and other Native American poetry because we know so little about oral traditional prosody in North America. Even so, any reader of the "Chant" will recognize recurring units, which I choose to call formulae, though clearly distinguished from the Parry-Lord definition. The Zuni use of formula is most likely deeply rooted in the necessity for preserving ritual forms in ceremonial language.³⁴ This language, restricted to ritual usage, bridges the sacred and profane universes. The formulae which this language constructs are manipulated in a poetry of almost modular form.³⁵ Phrase formulae ("four times," "daylight children," "rain-filled inner room") and line formulae ("perpetuating what has been since the first beginning," "I add to your [breath, hearts]") abound throughout the text.

Considerably larger portions of the text, whole groups of lines, are also found to be formulae, and these we call block formulae. Lord noticed a similar occurrence among the Yugoslav.³⁶ Two frequent examples from the "Night Chant" are the "Living waters" block formula,

From wherever you abide permanently
Send forth your misty breath;
You little wind blown clouds.
You thin wisps of cloud,
You black streaks of cloud.
Your masses replete with living waters
You will send forth to stay with us . . .

and the directional formula for making the prayer stick offerings,

Breaking off the young straight shoots
Of the male willow, female willow,
In our hands we held them fast.
With them we gave our plume wands human form.
With the striped cloud wing
The one who is our father,
Male turkey,
We gave our plume wands human form.

With flesh of our mother,
Cotton Woman,
Even a poorly made cotton thread,
With this four times encircling the plume wands;
And tying it about their bodies
We finished our plume wands.

Block formulae are subject to some alteration, usually through the addition and subtraction of material.

Several of these alterations occur frequently enough to suggest that manipulating block formulae may be a conscious, legitimate artistic technique. *Distension* occurs when elements of a formula which are normally continuous are interrupted by non-formulaic material. *Compression* is the reduction of a block formula to a considerably fewer number of lines through the elimination of repetition and the use of coding. *Coding* is the use of a word or phrase to remind the reader/listener of the larger formula with which the code word is associated. Some code words are "living waters," which cues the reader to the formula mentioned above, and "add to your heart (breath)," which cues the reader to the ritual inhaling formula. *Incorporation* is the insertion of one formula within another. *Fragmentation*, which may not be a legitimate artistic device though it occurs frequently, is the shortening of formula by omitting the opening or closing line.

Dialogue, too, is handled in a sophisticated manner. Though it is highly formalized in character, the extent of direct quotation in Zuni poetry sets it apart. In that portion of the "Chant" where Sayatasha visits the springs, the ancestral dead inquire of his purpose. He responds, reminding them that he has fulfilled all his ritual obligations to that point, and they reply in a manner which indicates not only a forthright appreciation of his sense of purpose, but also of their own anxiety in waiting for him to come.

'Is that so. With plain words you have come to us.
 We are clothed with your prayer sticks;
 We hold your prayer meal;
 With your prayer plumes in our hair we
 are sitting in here waiting.
 Here where we are just standing around,
 Where we are just sitting on our haunches,
 You have come to us.' (III D)

All conditions having been met and all obligations having been discharged, they assure Sayatasha that they will follow him with their rain wherever he goes. What is striking about the passage is the freshness of both the language and the characterization of the dead. Formality of tone, the parallel structure, try vainly to disguise that intensely human characteristic, he desire to be needed, and the boredom of inoccupation.

In the same section of the poem, the ancestral dead give an extremely vivid and human portrait of their group which, notwithstanding the conventionalized forms for signifying age, is an extremely moving characterization.

All together we shall come to you.
 All the men,
 Those with snow upon their heads, with moss
 upon their faces
 No longer upright but leaning on canes;
 And the women,
 Even those who are with child,
 Carrying one upon the back,
 Holding another on the cradle board,
 Leading one by the hand,
 With yet another going before . . . (III D)

Although Zuni poetry is characterized by formality of tone and ritualization, it is obviously not a poetry of abstractions.

Confronting the source-language text is extremely important, then, for an adequate appreciation of figurative language. Such root metaphors, for instance, are not discernible in translation where both *ka kwen* and *hecotana* appear as "house." This range of symbolic reference and extension is impossible to translate. Besides the metaphorical phrase and the root metaphors, the Zuni have developed the extended metaphor.

The first occurrence of an extended metaphor in the "Night Chant" is anchored around the *ka'kwen* equation of spring and kachina house

(III B). The second occurs after Sayatasha leaves his seed bundle with the host of the kiva; he looks forward to the springtime (IV F), when

These, with which you will renew yourselves,
Your mothers,
All the different kinds of corn,
Within your earth mother
You will lay down.
With our earth mother's living waters,
They will once more become living beings.
Into the daylight of our sun father
They will come out standing.
They will stand holding out their hands to
 all the directions,
Calling for water.
And from somewhere,
Our father with their fresh water
Will come to them.
Their fresh waters
They will drink in.
They will clasp their children in their arms;
Their young will finish their roads.

Here the pattern of life is made mutually applicable to the corn and to the Zuni. It is an entirely human view, with the personified corn raised up as a family, the young ears clasped as children by the leaves which are the mother's green hands. The ears and leaves extend outward from the stalks for suppliant corn like hands upraised, calling for rain. Drinking in their fresh waters, they will be fulfilled in maturity and "finish their roads."

Image, allusion and personification, cataloging and invocation occur regularly, often in the same structure, such as a list of gods addressed. Allied with this ritual invocation are numerous fixed forms of address, formulae really, which are epithets for the person called upon. The pekwin, speaker for the sun and announcer of the solstices, is frequently identified with the phrase, "all the birds of summer," or "water bringing birds," since these birds which sing before the summer rain are believed to announce its coming. Similarly, though Bunzel testifies that neither the World Parent myth nor the sexual metaphor for agricultural activity are fully developed among the Zuni,³⁷ fragments indicating consciousness of those myths at an earlier time have been preserved in many formulae, most specifically in fixed forms of address such as "sun father,"

"moon mother," "earth mother," and "our mother the corn."

Parallelism of a type made familiar to us by Dennis Tedlock³⁸ is another distinctive feature of "Sayatasha's Night Chant." In this augmentative parallelism, the key verb which anchors the preceding periodic sentence is used in a dependent clause, frequently as a present participle, in the succeeding sentence.

Where my father's road comes out
 I stood in the doorway.
 That which formed by belt,
 My prayer meal,
 Four times sprinkling prayer meal inside
 Standing I came in.
 When I came in standing
 My father
 Hurrying without delay
 Where he had prepared his rain seat,
 His prayer meal
 Four times he sprinkled
 On the top of my head
 His prayer meal
 Four times he sprinkled.
 After him
 Four times sprinkling my prayer meal,
 My father's rain seat
 I stood beside. (III B)

Such augmentative parallelism, when combined with recurring imagery and symbolism, creates a profound stylistic unity throughout this lengthy poem.

By contrast, rhyme is not a distinctive feature of Zuni ritual poetry. Most Zuni words end in vowels, since the words are almost exclusively built through the suffixation of morphemes which themselves end in vowels.³⁹ Also, Zuni sentence structure is uniformly periodic, the verb of the dependent clause being marked inflectionally with a suffix, terminating in a vowel, to show its relationship to the verb of the independent clause.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, despite these potentialities inherent in Zuni grammar, rhyme seems to be a haphazard occurrence at best.

Paralinguistically, Zuni has three pitch levels, which can be manipulated for artistic purposes as Tedlock has illustrated.⁴¹ Though normally an utterance ends on a low pitch (1) after beginning on a middle pitch (2), Newman, substantiating an earlier observation made by Bunzel, notes a

"rhetorical device in storytelling . . . the steep rise in pitch located on the last syllable of the utterance, accompanied by an exaggerated lengthening of the vowel (1-3...)." ⁴² This pitch rise-length phenomena serves an additional and valuable function in the recording of Zuni oral literature by providing the transcriber with a clear definition of line and utterance boundaries, though Bunzel does not tell us if these markers are reflected in the line divisions of her printed text.

Though there is no requirement fixing the number of syllables in any Zuni poetic line, the initial first syllable stress of the first word and the poetic stress and lengthening of the last syllable seem to be manipulated as equalizers. Bunzel notes that,

The short lines are declaimed slowly and with marked emphasis, the long lines are spoken rapidly, unaccented syllables slurred or elided, and the word accents pile up on each other. The two types of lines are like the booming of the surf and the rushing of the brook. ⁴³

Together with the frequency of parallelism and the formality of tone, the powerful, stately rhythm of the long, complex periodic sentences gives Zuni ritual poetry an almost epic dimension.

Much of what is grand in Zuni poetry is due to this skillful handling of the language. In long, rolling rhythms the Zuni took the measure of the power of life and the heartbeat of the earth. Adept at word play and sensitive to possible allusions in the word stems of his vocabulary, the Zuni bound his ritual literature into an indissoluble unity of the mythic and the physically real, so that in the end the poetry is the ultimate metaphor for existence. That much of the conventional adornment of Western poetry, rhyme, alliteration, and similar devices, is not consciously employed at Zuni did not hamper the power of expression, but seemed to open its disciplined form to greater freedom.

"Sayatasha's Night Chant" is a superior verbal creation. It possesses a dignity and formality of tone appropriate to its ritual purpose and the sacredness of the occasion. Though lengthy, it is not fragmented but intensely unified through the symmetrical arrangement and linear development of the narrative, augmentive parallel style, and recurrent symbolism. Formulae, both block and phrase types, are managed well, so that there is an effective integration of the formal elements of that chant into a coherent narrative which accurately projects the totality of the ritual experience. Figurative language, metaphor and allusion carry the burden of meaning and successfully advance the narrative while maintaining the timelessness of the ritual orientation of the work.

In comparison with "Sayatasha's Night Chant" the poems of the Zuni

War Cult (of the Prey Gods) appear fragmented and have a considerably weaker narrative line, while the poems of the Medicine Cult (of the Beast Gods), though strongly narrative and less fragmented than those of the War Cult, are also more direct and contain less striking figurative language. With "Sayatasha's Night Chant" the Zuni achieved an excellence in the creation of ritual narrative poetry.

SAYATACA'S NIGHT CHANT

- I A And now indeed it has come to pass.
 When the sun who is our father
 Had yet a little ways to go to reach his left-hand altar,
- I B Our daylight father,
 Pekwin of the Dogwood clan,
 Desired the waters, the seeds
 Of his fathers,
 Priests of the masked gods.
 Then our fathers,
 Sharing one another's desire, sat down together
 In the rain-filled room
 Of those that first came into being.
 Yonder following all the springs,
 They sought those ordained to bring long life to man,
 Those that stand upright,
 But (like the waters of the world),
 Springing from one root, are joined together fast.
 At the feet of some fortunate one
 Offering prayer meal,
 Turquoise, corn pollen,
 Breaking the straight young shoots,
 With their warm human hands
 They held them fast.
- I C Taking the massed cloud robe of their grandfather, turkey
 man,
 Eagle's mist garment,
 The thin cloud wings and massed cloud tails
 Of all the birds of summer,
 With these four times clothing their plume wands,

They made the plume wands into living beings.
With the flesh of their mother,
Cotton woman,
Even a thread badly made,
A soiled cotton thread,
Four times encircling their wand they made their belts;
With rain-bringing prayer feathers
They made them into living beings.
With the flesh of their two mothers,
Black paint woman,
Clay woman,
Clothing their plume wands with flesh,
They made them into living beings.
When they said, "Let it be now,"
The ones who are our fathers
Commissioned with prayers
The prayer wands that they had fashioned.

I D1

When the sun who is our father,
Had gone in to sit down at his ancient place,
Then over toward the south,
Whence the earth is clothed anew,
Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa,
Perpetuating what had been since the first beginning
Again assumed human form.
Carrying his fathers' finished plume wands
He made his road come hither.
Wherever he thought, "Let it be here,"
Into his fathers' rain-filled room,
He made his road to enter.

I D2

And when our sun father,
Had yet a little ways to go
To go in to sit down at his ancient place,
Yonder from all sides
Rain-bringing birds,
Pekwin, priest
From where he stays quietly,
Made his road come forth.
Making his road come hither,
Into his fathers' rain-filled room,

He made his road to enter.
With his wings,
His fathers' cloud house he fashioned,
Their bed of mist he spread out,
Their life-giving road of meal he sent forth
Their precious spring he prepared.
When all was ready,
Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa
Reaching his house chiefs,
His pekwin
His bow priests,
He made his road to go in.
Following one road,
Sitting down quietly
A blessed night
The divine ones
With us, their children, came to day.

I E Next day, when our sun father
Had come out standing to his sacred place,
Saying, "Let it be now."
Over there to the south,
Whence the earth is clothed anew,
Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa,
Perpetuating what had been since the first beginning,
Again assumed human form.
Carrying his waters,
Carrying his seeds,
Carrying his fathers' precious plume wands,
He made his road come forth.
He made his road come hither.
The country of the Corn priests,
Four times he made his road encircle.
Yonder wherever all his kiva children's rain-filled roads
 come out
His precious plume wands
He laid down.
Then turning he went back to his own country.

II A My father picked up the prayer plume,
And with the precious prayer plume
Me he appointed.

The moon, who is our mother,
Yonder in the west waxed large;
And when standing fully grown against the eastern sky,
She made her days,
For my fathers,
Rain maker priests,
Priests of the masked gods.

II B I fashioned prayer plumes into living beings.
My own common prayer plume,
I fastened to the precious prayer plume of my fathers.
At the place since the first beginning called cotton hanging,
I brought my fathers prayer plumes.
Drawing my prayer plumes toward them,
They spoke to those inside the place of our first beginning.
Yonder following all the springs,
On all the mossy mountains,
In all the wooded places,
At the encircling ocean,
With my prayer plumes,
With my sacred meal,
With my sacred words,
They talked to those within.
Winter,
Summer,
Through the cycle of the months,
Though my prayer plumes were but poor ones,
There toward the south,
Wherever my fathers' roads come out
I continued to give them prayer plumes.

II C And when the cycle of months was at an end
My fathers made their rain roads come in
To their fathers,
Their mothers,
Those that first came into being.
Sharing one another's desire, they sat down together.
With the flesh of their mother,
Cotton woman,
Even a cord badly made,
A soiled cotton cord,

With this four times
They made the day counts into living beings.
Saying, "Let it be now,"
They sent for me.
I came to my fathers,
Where they were waiting for me.
With their day count
They took hold of me fast.
Carrying their day count
I came back to my house.
Saying, "Let it be now,"
And carrying the prayer plumes which I had prepared,
Yonder to the south
With prayers, I made my road go forth.
To the place ever since the first beginning called "Ants go
in,"
My road reached.
There where my fathers' water-filled roads come out,
I gave them plume wands;
I gave them prayer feathers;
There I asked for light for you.
That you may grow old,
That you may have corn,
That you may have beans,
That you may have squash,
That you may have wheat,
That you may kill game,
That you may be blessed with riches,
For all this I asked.

Then over toward the west
Where the road of my fathers comes in,
I gave them plume wands.

II D1

And now, when all of their days were past,
Over toward the west,
Where the gray mountain stands,
And the blue mountain,
Where rain always falls,
Where seeds are renewed,
Where life is renewed,

Where no one ever falls down,
At the abiding place
Of those who are our children,
There I met them on their roads.

II D2

There where the one who is my father
Had prepared my seat
Four times my father sprinkled prayer meal.
On the crown of my head
Four times he sprinkled prayer meal.
And after he had sprinkled prayer meal on his rain seat,
Following him,
My prayer meal
Four times I sprinkled.
My father's rain seat
I stood beside.
My father took hold of me.
Presenting me to all the directions, he made me sit down.
When I had sat down,
My father
Took his grandson,
Reed youth.
Within his body,
He bored a hole going through him.
Four times drawing toward him his bag of native tobacco,
Into the palm of his hand
He measured out the tobacco.
Within his body
He placed mist.
He took his grandmother by the hand,
And made her sit down in the doorway.
Having made her sit in the doorway,
Four times inhaling, he drew the mist through.
With the mist
He added to the hearts
Of the rain maker priests of all directions.
It is well;
Praying that the rain makers
Might not withhold their misty breath,
With his prayers
He added to their hearts.

He handed it to me.
Four times inhaling,
Into my body
I made the mist pass through.
Then with the mist,
I added to the hearts of my fathers of all the directions.
When this was at an end,
We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
Father,
Son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew;
grandfather, grandson; ancestor, descendant.
With this many words we greeted one another.
When all this was at an end,
My father questioned me:
"Yes, now indeed
You have passed us on our roads.
Surely you will have something to say, some words that
are not too long."
Thus he spoke to me.

"Yes, indeed it is so.
Back at the New Year,
All my fathers
Desiring something,
With their precious prayer plume
Appointed me.
Yonder toward the south,
At all the places where the roads of the rain makers come
out,
I have continued to offer you prayer plumes.
Now that the cycle of your months is at an end,
Now that the counted number of your days has been told
off
Now that this many days
Anxiously we have awaited your day,
Now this day,
We have reached the appointed time.
Now I have passed you on your roads."
Thus I spoke to them.

II D3

When I had spoken thus,
Hurriedly, without delay,
My father took hold of me.
From the very soles of my feet
Even to the crown of my head
He clothed me all over with all things needful.
When all this was at an end,
Then also with that which is called my belt,
His prayer meal,
He covered my navel.
With his bundle that covered it all over.
He took hold of me,
His bundle reached all around my body.
When all this was at an end,
Then also the different kinds of seeds four times he placed
over my navel.
All different kinds of seeds his bundle contained:
The seeds of the yellow corn,
The seeds of the blue corn,
The seeds of the red corn,
The seeds of the white corn,
The seeds of the speckled corn,
The seeds of the black corn,
And also that by means of which you may have firm flesh,
Namely, the seeds of the sweet corn;
And also those which will be your sweet tasting delicacies,
Namely, all the clans of beans—
The yellow beans,
The blue beans
The red beans,
The white beans,
The spotted beans,
The black beans,
The large beans,
The small beans,
The little gray beans,
The round beans,
The string beans,
Then also those that are called the ancient round things—
The striped squash,
The crooked-neck squash,

The watermelons,
The sweet melons,
And also those which you will use to dip up your clear
water,
Namely, the gourds;
And then also the seeds of the piñon tree,

The seeds of the juniper tree,
The seeds of the oak tree,
The seeds of the peach tree,
The seeds of the black wood shrub,
The seeds of the first flowering shrub,
The seeds of the kapuli shrub.
The seeds of the large yucca,
The seeds of the small yucca,
The seeds of the branched cactus,
The seeds of the brown cactus,
The seeds of the small cactus;
And then also the seeds of all the wild grasses—
The evil smelling weeds,
The little grass,
Tecukta,
Kucutsi,
O'co,
Apitalu,
Sutoķa,
Mololoķa,
Piculiya
Small piculiya,
Hamato
Mitaliko;
And then also the seeds of those that stand in their
doorways,
Namely the cat-tails,
The tall flags,
The water weeds
The water cress,
The round-leafed weed;
Across my navel
His bundle reached.
And then also, the yellow clothing bundle of the priest of
the north,

The blue clothing bundle of the priest of the west,
The red clothing bundle of the priest of the south,
The white clothing bundle of the priest of the east,
The many colored bundle of the priest of the above,
The dark colored bundle of the priest of the below;
Across my navel
His bundle reached.

II E

When all this was at an end,
My father spoke to me:
"Thus you will go.
Your daylight fathers,
Your daylight mothers,
Your daylight children
You will pass on their roads.
And wherever you come to rest,
We shall come to you.
Assuredly none of us shall be left behind—
All the men,
Those with snow upon their heads,
With moss on their faces,
With skinny knees, no longer upright, and leaning on
canes,
Even all of these;
And furthermore the women,
Even those who are with child,
Carrying one child on the back,
Holding another on a cradle board,
Leading one by the hand,
With yet another going before,
Even all of us,
Our daylight fathers,
Our daylight mothers,
Our children,
We shall pass on their roads."

Thus my father said.
Having spoken thus,
He took hold of me.
Presenting me to all the directions he made me arise.
With his prayer meal
Four times he sprinkled his water-filled ladder.

After him,
Four times I sprinkled my prayer meal.
Taking four steps,
Four times striding forward,
Standing, I came out.

III A Having come out standing,
Yonder to all directions I looked;
I looked toward the north,
I looked toward the west,
I looked toward the south,
I looked toward the east.
Hither, toward the place of dawn,
I saw four roads going side by side.
Along the middle road,
Four times my prayer meal I sprinkled.
There I made the sound of the water-filled breath of the
priest of the north.
Taking four steps,
Four times striding forward,
To the place known since the first beginning as Great
Lake,
My road came.

III B Where my father's road comes out
I stood in the doorway.
That which formed my belt,
My prayer meal,
Four times sprinkling inside,
I opened their curtain of scum.
After that,
Four times sprinkling prayer meal inside
Standing I came in.
When I came in standing,
My father
Hurrying without delay
Where he had prepared his rain seat,
His prayer meal
Four times he sprinkled.
On the top of my head
His prayer meal
Four times he sprinkled.

After him
Four times sprinkling my prayer meal,
My father's rain seat
I stood beside.
As I stood up beside it
My father took hold of me,
Yonder to all the directions presenting me,
He made me sit down.

III C

Having seated me
The one who is my father
Took the water bringing cigarettes which he had prepared.
Four times drawing it toward him,
He took his grandmother by the hand
And made her sit down in the doorway,
Four times inhaling, he drew the mist through
With the mist
He added to the hearts of fathers,
Rain maker priests.
Thus it is well;
In order that the rain makers may not withhold their
misty breath.
With mist he added to their hearts.
When all this was at an end,
My father handed it to me.
Four times inhaling, I drew the mist through.

Into my body drawing the misty breath,
With the mist
I added to the hearts of my fathers.
This is well;
In order that the rain makers may not withhold their
misty breath,
With mist I added to their hearts.
When all this was at an end,
We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
Father,
Son; elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew;
grandfather, grandson; ancestor, descendant.
With these words we greeted one another.

III D

When all this was at an end
My father questioned me:
"Yes, now at this time
You have passed us on our roads.
Surely you will have something to say, some word that is
not too long,
If you let us know that,
I shall know it for all time."
Thus my father spoke.
When he had spoken thus, (I answered)
"Yes, indeed it is so.
Yonder to the south,
Following wherever your roads come out,
I have been bringing you prayer sticks,
I have been bringing you prayer feathers.
Now this day,
Having reached the appointed time,
I have passed you on your roads."
"Is that so. With plain words you have come to us.
We are clothed with your prayer sticks;
We hold your prayer meal;
With your prayer plumes in our hair we are sitting in here
waiting.
Here where we are just standing around,
Where we are just sitting on our haunches,
You have come to us.
When the sun who is our father
Has yet a little ways to go,
Before he goes in to sit down at his sacred place,
Nearby your daylight fathers,
Your daylight mothers,
Your children,
You will pass on their roads.
Wherever you come to rest,
All together we shall come to you.
All the men,
Those with snow upon their heads, with moss upon their
faces,
With skinny knees,
No longer upright but leaning on canes;
And the women,
Even those who are with child,

Carrying one upon the back,
Holding another on the cradle board,
Leading one by the hand,
With yet another going before.
Yes, with all of these,
Your daylight fathers,
Your daylight mothers,
Your children,
You will pass on their roads,
And wherever you come to rest
We shall come to you."
Thus my father spoke.

III E

When he had spoke thus,
He took hold of me.
Yonder to all the directions
Presenting me
He made me arise.
After he had made me arise
With his prayer meal
His water-filled ladder
He sprinkled.
After him sprinkling my prayer meal
Standing, I came out.]

* * *

III F

Coming out standing
Yonder to all directions I looked.
I looked to the north,
I looked to the west,
I looked to the south,
I looked to the east,
Hither toward Itiwana I saw four roads going side by side.
Along the middle road,
My prayer meal
Four times I sprinkled before me.
Then I made the sound of the rain-filled breath of the
rain maker priest of the below.

IV A Taking four steps,
Four times striding forward,
Where descends the watery road.
Of my daylight fathers,
My daylight mothers,
I stood.
Then I consecrated the place
Where my father's watery road descends.
That none of his children might fall from the ladder,
Having still one rung left to go,
Having still two rungs left to go,
Having still three rungs left to go,
Having still four rungs left to go;
In order that none of his children should fall down
I consecrated the place where his watery road descends.
When all this was at an end
The one who is my father
On the crown of my head
Four times sprinkled prayer meal.
On his watery wood pile
Four times he threw prayer meal upward.
Then after him,
My prayer meal
Sprinkling before me,
Where my father's water-filled road ascends
I made my road ascend.
The one who is my father
Four times sprinkled prayer meal before him.
After him
Four times sprinkling prayer meal before me,
Standing, I came in.
As standing I came in
I could scarcely see all my fathers,
So full was his house.

IV B Then my father's rain-filled room
I rooted at the north,
I rooted at the west,
I rooted at the south,
I rooted at the east,
I rooted above,

Then in the middle of my father's roof,
With two plume wands joined together,
I consecrated his roof.
This is well;
In order that my father's offspring may increase,
I consecrated the center of his roof.
And then also, the center of my father's floor,
With seeds of all kinds,
I consecrated the center of his floor.
This is well;
In order that my father's fourth room
May be bursting with corn,
That even in his doorway,
The shelled corn may be scattered before the door,
The beans may be scattered before the door,
That his house may be full of little boys,
And little girls,
And people grown to maturity;
That in his house
Children may jostle one another in the doorway,
In order that it may be thus,
I have consecrated the rain-filled room
Of my daylight father,
My daylight mother.

IV C

When all this was at an end,
The one who is my father
Four times sprinkled prayer meal
Where he had prepared my seat.
Following him,
Four times sprinkling prayer meal before me,
Where my father had prepared my seat,
I stood beside it.
My father took hold of me.
Presenting me to all the directions, he made me sit down.
After my father had seated me,
The rain invoking cigarette which he had prepared
My father drew toward him.
He took his grandmother by the hand
And made her sit in the doorway.
Having seated her in the doorway,

Four times inhaling he made the mist pass through;
Into his body
He drew the misty breath.
With the mist he added to the hearts of his fathers.
This is well:
That the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
With mist
He added to the hearts of his fathers.
He handed it to me.
Four times inhaling I made the mist pass through;
Into my warm body
I drew the misty breath.
With mist I added to the hearts of my fathers.
This is well:
That the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath,
With mist I added to their hearts.
When all this was at an end,
We greeted one another with terms of kinship:
Father,
Son, elder brother, younger brother; uncle, nephew;
grandfather, grandson; ancestor, descendant.
With this many words we greeted one another.

IV D

When all this was at an end,
My daylight father questioned me:
"Yes, now indeed
You have passed us on our roads,
The one whom all our fathers,
Desiring something,
Appointed at the New Year.
Yonder to the south
Wherever emerge the precious roads of our fathers,
Rain maker priests,
Rain maker Pekwins,
Rain maker bow priests.
With your prayer plumes—poorly made though they were,
You have asked for light for us.
Now this day, the appointed time has come."
Thus my father said to me.

IV E

Now our fathers,
Cula-witsi, pekwin priest,
Sayataca, bow priest,
Hututu, bow priest,
The two Yamuhakto, bow priests,
Perpetuating their rite,
Have once more assumed human form.
Their seeds,
Their riches,
Their fecundity,
The seeds of the yellow corn,
The seeds of the blue corn,
The seeds of the red corn,
The seeds of the white corn,
The seeds of the speckled corn,
The seeds of the black corn,
The seeds of the sweet corn,
All the clans of beans,
All the ancient round things,
The seeds of all the different trees,
The seeds of all the wild weeds,
I carry over my navel.
Those which we brought,
These seeds we now leave here
In the rain-filled rooms
Of our daylight fathers,
Our daylight mothers.

IV F

When in the spring,
Your earth mother is enriched with living waters,
Then in all your water-filled fields,
These, with which you will renew yourselves,
Your mothers,
All the different kinds of corn,
Within your earth mother
You will lay down.
With our earth mother's living waters,
They will once more become living beings.
Into the daylight of our sun father
They will come out standing.
They will stand holding out their hands to all the
directions,

Calling for water.
And from somewhere,
Our fathers with their fresh water
Will come to them.
Their fresh waters
They will drink in.
They will clasp their children in their arms;
Their young will finish their roads.
Into your house,
You will bring them,
To be your beloved ones.
In order that you may live thus,
In the rain-filled rooms
Of our daylight fathers,
Our daylight mothers,
Our daylight children,
The seeds which we brought tied about our waists
We leave here now.

IV G

This is well;
That going but a little ways from their house
Our fathers may meet their children;
That going about, as they say,
With your water-filled breath
(You may meet) antelope,
Mountain goats.
Does,
Bucks,
Jack rabbits,
Cottontails,
Wood rats,
Small game—even little bugs;
So that thus going out from your houses,
With the flesh of these
You may satisfy your hunger.

IV H

This is well;
In order that my daylight father's rain-filled rooms,
May be filled with all kinds of clothing,
That their house may have a heart,
That even in his doorway

The shelled corn may be spilled before his door,
That beans may be spilled before his door,
That wheat may be spilled outside the door,
(That the house may be full of) little boys,
And little girls,
And men and women grown to maturity,
That in his house
Children may jostle one another in the doorway,
In order that it may be thus,
With two plume wands joined together,
I have consecrated the center of his roof.
Praying for whatever you wished,
Through the winter,
Through the summer,
Throughout the cycle of the months,
I have prayed for light for you.
Now this day,
I have fulfilled their thoughts.
Perpetuating the rite of our father,
Sayataca, bow priest,
And giving him human form
I have passed you on your roads.
My divine father's life-giving breath,
His breath of old age,
His breath of waters,
His breath of seeds,
His breath of riches,
His breath of fecundity,
His breath of power,
His breath of strong spirit,
His breath of all good fortune whatsoever,
Asking for his breath,
And into my warm body
Drawing his breath,
I add to your breath now.

IV J

Let no one despise the breath of his fathers,
But into your bodies,
Draw their breath.
That yonder to where the road of our sun father comes
out,
Your roads may reach;

That clasping hands,
Holding one another fast,
You may finish your roads,

V To this end, I add to your breath now.
Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of day
May we greet one another with love;
Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of day
May we wish one another well,
Verily may we pray for one another.
To this end, my fathers,
My mothers,
My children:
May you be blessed with light;
May your roads be fulfilled;
May you grow old;
May you be blessed in the chase;
To where the life-giving road of your sun father comes out
May your roads reach;
May your roads all be fulfilled.

NOTES

1. Ruth Bunzel, "Zuni Ritual Poetry," *47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1930), p. 617, n.1.

2. Harry Hoijer, "Introduction," *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 6 (1946), p. 23.

3. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 617. Bunzel's linguistic /c/ has been replaced with the more usable /sh/ throughout this paper, except in direct quotation; hence, "Sayatasha" instead of Bunzel's "Sayataca."

4. See Dell Hymes' similar argument from necessity in "Discovering Oral Performance and Measured Verse in American Indian Narrative," *New Literary History* 8 (1977): 452.

5. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 703.

6. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 704.

7. Ruth Bunzel, "Zuni Katcinas," *47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1930), p. 965.

8. Bunzel, "Kadcinas," p. 965.

9. Bunzel, "Kadcinas," p. 941.

10. Bunzel, "Katcinas," p. 909; "Poetry," p. 711.
11. Bunzel, "Katcinas," pp. 845-47; "Poetry," pp. 517, 710.
12. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Cleveland: World-Meridian, 1958), p. 356.
13. Frank Hamilton Cushing, "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths," *13th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1892), pp. 379 ff.
14. Eliade, pp. 352-54.
15. Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1959); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* Chs. I and II (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1959).
16. Eliade, *Patterns*, pp. 231-33.
17. Matilde Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni," *23rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, (1904), p. 51.
18. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 617.
19. Vladimir Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. L. Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, Folklore Fellow Communications, Nos. 106-09, 116, 117 (Helsinki, 1932-36); Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (1955): 428-44; Pierre and Elli Köngäs Maranda, *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*, Approaches to Semiotics, 10 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).
20. Thompson's *Motif-Index* parenthetically noted as (T: motif number) and Propp as (P: function).
21. I have adapted Charles Osgood's term "valence" to characterize the disposition of the developing function-term relationship at any particular moment in the narrative. For Osgood's original definition see his essay, "The Representational Model and Relevant Research Methods," in Ithiel de Sola Pool, *Trends in Content Analysis* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1959). For the first use of this term in its altered definition, see my essay, "Form as Process in Folktale Narration: The Relationship between Deep and Surface Structures," *Folklore Forum*, Bibliographic and Special Series, 9, (15), (March 1976): 83-101.
22. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 724.
23. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 730.
24. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 711 n.
25. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 752.
26. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 717 n.
27. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 699 n.
28. Leslie White, "A Ceremonial Vocabulary Among the Pueblos," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 10 (1944): 161-67. Stanley Newman, "Vocabulary Levels: Zuni Sacred and Slang Usage," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11 (1955): 345-54; rpt. in Dell Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 397-402.
29. Stanley Newman, *Zuni Dictionary*, Publication Six, Indiana University Research Center for Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 75.

30. Stanley Newman, *Zuni Grammar*, University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 14 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1965) p. 33.
31. Stevenson, p. 163, Fig. 4.
32. Milman Parry, "Studies in the Technique of Oral Verse-Making: Homer and the Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930).
33. Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), Chapter 3.
34. Lord, cf. pp. 66-7, for possible religious origins of some Yugoslav formulae.
35. Here the Zuni differ from the Yugoslav, for whom the formula is really only a pattern of expression (Lord, pp. 37, 54-55), rather than a fixed wording. Lord, too, sees longer Yugoslav poems developing an almost modular structure (Lord, 94).
36. Lord, p. 58.
37. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 639 n.; Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism," *47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1930), p. 488.
38. Dennis Tedlock, "On the Translation of Style in Oral Literature," *Journal of American Folklore* 84 (1971): 119, 130.
39. For Zuni suffixation, see Newman, *Grammar*, pp. 45-46.
40. Newman, *Grammar*, p. 69.
41. Tedlock, p. 122.
42. Newman, *Grammar*, p. 15.
43. Bunzel, "Poetry," p. 751.