"Discoverer-of-the-Sun": Mythology as a Reflection of Culture
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"Discoverer-of-the-Sun"

Mythology as a Reflection of Culture

Myth does not reveal the whole of a people's culture and design for living, though what is embedded in tradition often leads to knowledge and truth lost to the conscious mind of a people.

ALMOST ANYONE except the actual collector of a non-Western folktale—and sometimes even he—has experienced boredom and frustration in trying to comprehend its content or warm up to its style. The collector himself may develop an appreciation of the tale only after he has studied it carefully and related it to its cultural milieu. The native listener need not be looked upon with incredulity if he reacts with anxiety, sadness, or mirth upon hearing what may seem to the uninitiated to be an insipid and confusing narrative, for the raconteur galvanizes his hearer's cultural reflexes with verbal and visual stimuli well known to all from generations of storytelling. The outsider understandably needs an exegesis by someone in a position to analyze the tale, and it is gratifying that at long last anthropologists have aroused themselves sufficiently to reduce some of the skepticism and disinterest experienced by folklorists whose principal interests may lie elsewhere. It is my modest hope that my analysis of a certain body of folktales, principally through the study of one story, will contribute toward the lifting of the pall.

"Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is a narrative I collected on Ulithi Atoll, where I have pursued ethnological research on four separate occasions beginning two years after the end of World War II. It is one of forty-two tales recorded in 1960, and thus does not belong to a previous collection of twenty-four stories gathered earlier, in 1948–1949. The latter collection has already been published,[1] but the new collection is here examined for the first time, albeit fragmentarily and only as incidental to the analysis of the one story under consideration. Before dealing with Ulithian oral tradition as such, and more particularly with this specific tale, it seems appropriate to look into the culture from which it emanates.

I.

Ulithi is a seagirt land consisting of many islands arranged around a central lagoon of great expanse. The atoll is located in the Carolinian archipelago in the doldrum belt of the western Pacific, where typhoons often incubate. It lies ten degrees north of the equator. The people are Micronesians, having close affinities

with the natives of such places as Yap, Truk, and Ponape, as well as (to a lesser extent) Palau, the Marianas, the Marshalls, and the Gilberts. They practice a simple agriculture and do much fishing. Pigs and chickens are raised to supplement the basic foods, which consist mostly of coconut and taro. The coralline nature of the soil restricts the food supply, but in addition the land surface is tiny so that the population has usually averaged only about five hundred persons, who live in small villages bordering the lagoon.

Material possessions are meager but well adapted to the environment. The people live in elongated, hexagonal-shaped huts whose interiors are divided by partitions into compartments. They make use of the true loom, with which they weave garments out of banana and hibiscus-bark fibers. Perhaps their chief pride is in their extraordinarily fast outrigger sailing canoes, in which they crisscross the lagoon for local transportation or set out for more distant islands for visits, trade, and other business.

The division of labor is relatively simple, with men doing the more arduous and dangerous tasks and women for the most part working in the garden plots and the home. The specialists are all men and carry on their skills part time, particularly in canoe building, house building, navigation, divination, and magic. Money is not used and goods circulate primarily through gift and ceremonial exchanges. People perform services for friends and relatives, keeping close account of their work so that they can call on their obligees when occasion demands. A good deal of labor is carried on cooperatively and communally.

The people do not live exclusively in either nuclear or extended family groups, but they have a strong sense of kinship solidarity and obligations. Marriage is monogamous, even though in theory polygyny is permissible. The prevailing rule of residence is not clear-cut but may be described as essentially patrilocal, with frequent and regular domiciliation with the wife's family for the chief purpose of working the garden plots of her group.

Matrilineal lineages constitute a strong organizing principle of social relations, entering into the ownership of land, canoes, and other property, and the regulation of work, marriage, and religion. A man cannot change his lineage affiliation, even though he may be adopted by someone in another lineage, a very common practice. There are some totemic macro-clans which appear intrusive and have affiliations with distant places several hundreds of miles away. They do not enter seriously into the local society.

The natives are permissive in matters of sex, with premarital relations common and extramarital relations not unusual for married individuals. Divorce is simple and especially resorted to when the couple is still young and childless. Various tabus surround sex and reproduction, placing limits on the activities of new parents, specialists in magic, and others. During their menstrual period women are particularly subject to proscriptions and must live apart in special huts provided for them near the shore. Abortion and infanticide are unknown; children are greatly desired, and are treated with kindness and tolerance.

Political organization has a twofold character. Internally, there is a system of district chiefs in which a so-called king is dominant. Each of the villages of the atoll has a council of male elders which decides its everyday problems and directs its communal activities. Externally, there is a highly complex linkage with Yap,

which maintains a suzerainty over Ulithi, as well as over a string of other islands extending hundreds of miles to the east. Ulithi is considered to be low caste with reference to Yap, but it in turn has a superior status over the other islands of the Yapese domain.[2]

Social control is effected through the the usual channels of gossip, ridicule, and "enlightened self-interest," with kinsmen playing a strong role in keeping the individual in line. Sanctions for the punishment of delicts are fairly diffuse and in any event are administered on a private basis with virtually no intervention by the king or territorial chiefs.

Before the pagan religion began to crumble, it was a mixture of ancestor worship, animism, and polytheism, with belief in a dualistic afterworld located in Lang, the Sky. The keeper of the lineage ancestral shrines was the closest approach to a priest that the society provided for. Other specialists in the supernatural were essentially magicians who concerned themselves with the typical anxieties of their clients, particularly illness and the hazards of wind and sea. Sorcery provided an outlet for aggression without becoming too disruptive and was especially attributed to the natives of Yap, who punished their Ulithian underlings for failure to show proper deference or to send sufficient tribute.

The first possible contacts that Ulithi had with the Western world may have occurred in 1526, when Diogo da Rocha was in the vicinity, or later, in 1543, when it may have been discovered by Ruy López de Villalobos. The first undisputed visit to the atoll was made in 1712 by the Spaniard Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga. Father Antonio Cantova set up a small Catholic mission there in 1731 but he was soon assassinated and the outside world shunned Ulithi for almost a century. After that there were occasional visits by European explorers and traders. In 1899 the Spaniards transferred the Caroline Islands to the Germans, so that from then until 1914, when the Japanese took over the German possessions in Micronesia, there was a period of moderate outside control and influence over the islands. The Japanese were interested in exploiting the atoll for copra but did little to affect the native way of life. When in 1944 the Americans took over the islands, they set in motion a process of acculturation that at first was moderately slow but has now begun to accelerate.

The culture as described above is essentially what it was just before World War II. The pagan religion had already been largely supplanted by Christianity. Nowadays the society is becoming particularly altered in the economic sphere, moving toward a cash economy.

II.

After this excursion into the cultural and historical background of the atoll we may return to its folklore. This material is a conglomerate with indisputable affinities not only with the rest of Micronesia but with Polynesia, Melanesia, and Malaysia as well. It shows a wide range in type and content, dealing with gods and mortals, lovers and lunatics, ogres and children, animals and fish. It does not especially serve to support magical ritual, though sometimes it indeed acts as a "charter" for certain procedures. Occasionally it explains origins without being unduly etiological. Sometimes but not often it purports to be a chronicle of actual events outside the mythological realm. Many of the tales are lamentably truncated; others

are fairly full. The people do not appear to classify the narratives. Informally they are said to deal with the *musuwe,* or times bygone. Often, specific ones are called *fiung,* a label I find difficult to define but which does not apply to purportedly historical events. Others are called *kaptal,* or story, again hard to interpret consistently.

The sixty-six tales in the complete collection were obtained from twelve informants, four of whom were women. Their ages at the time of telling ranged from twenty to seventy-two, averaging forty-seven years. Unfortunately, I did not record the native texts but took down translations with the aid of an interpreter, occasionally utilizing my own limited knowledge of the language or a direct translation by the narrator himself if he knew sufficient English. The tales were not gathered in a living context, which is not often feasible anyway, but I encouraged the narrators to deliver them as much as possible as if a native audience were listening. Most of the stories were first heard by their narrators when they were young, sometimes in early adolescence, and then again several more times, often as adults. They were learned mostly from relatives, male and female, and not only on Ulithi but on neighboring islands as well. Ulithian storytellers are monologists of a sort, much of their presentation being given in the form of a dialogue in which actors in the story are imitated by varying the voice. They do not constitute a special class, although I am willing to believe that in the past some of them may have been members of an elite group for the preservation and handing down of the more sacred of the narratives.

The narrator of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is Taiethau, a young man of twenty-nine who was one of my chief informants, being surpassed quantitatively only by another and much older man who had helped me in collecting both my first group of stories and my second as well. Taiethau is generally conceded to be one of the more indolent members of the community but is endowed with a flair for entertaining. He was the only Ulithian I ever encountered who had a driving desire to learn and recount as many tales as he possibly could. His manner of presentation was easily the most animated and perhaps the most skilled, and one could see that he was endowed with a vivid imagination. How much he may have superimposed his own embellishments I cannot say, although I am convinced that his materials bear the stamp of age and authenticity.

He first heard "Discoverer-in-the-Sun" when he was about thirteen years of age from an old man on Ulithi named Iungal. He heard it many times thereafter from many old men, but the parts of the narrative varied with the teller. Taiethau does not know whether his present version is as he first heard it or is a synthesis of several versions. I consider it to be as well connected and consistent as any I have heard, always remembering that in Ulithi longer tales are usually episodic in structure and therefore do not flow onward in an unbroken stream.

The text of the tale "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" that follows herewith is freely translated.

Discoverer-of-the-Sun

There were two sisters. The older sister married a man from earth. The younger sister one day went out to collect some *iuth* flowers for a head wreath, and a man from Lang came down and saw her. They agreed to get married—she said "Yes." So the man from Lang told her to wait for him until he should come and get her. But he used to

come down and see her and she became pregnant. He went to Lang waiting until she would have a baby. When it had grown a little the man wanted to take the baby up to Lang and take its mother too, but the older sister knew this and asked the young sister if she would not leave her child with her saying she would take care of it in memory of her. So she [the younger sister] left her child and went to Lang with her husband.

The older sister had told her sister a lie. She never took care of the baby but gave it bad food and did not let the baby sleep beside her; she put the baby in her small firewood shed. The baby became thin and she always hit the child. When she took her own child for a bath in the sea, the child of the younger sister followed them to the beach. There was an orange tree near their house and the woman took a fruit from the tree and she took off the skin and gave her own child the orange and the other child the skin. After the child had eaten the orange, she took her child to the sea and gave it a bath and told her sister's child to go and take a bath himself. They came back from taking a bath and the boy went to his shed and stayed there.

The next morning the woman took her child to the beach and gave it a bath, and the husband came from cutting *hachi* and saw the boy in the shed. He did not know what had been happening to the boy—that his wife was not taking care of him. He told the boy to come and drink *hachi*, and the boy came out and drank all the *hachi* in the coconut shell. After he had drunk the *hachi*, the woman and her child came from the beach and looked in the coconut shell and saw there was no *hachi* in it. She asked the boy and he said that he had drunk all the *hachi* by himself. She took a sprouting coconut and hit the boy with it in his shed, and hit him so hard he could not get up. She told the boy, "Why did you do this? Didn't you know that your mother left you here and went to Lang and has never come back?" The boy heard for the first time that he had a real mother somewhere. When he had had trouble there he had thought that it was with his real mother.

He lay down and stayed in his house and watched the woman. When she was not looking he went out from his shed and crawled to the place where his mother used to go and collect *iuth* flowers. He came to the *iuth* tree and climbed it and went to Lang. He reached there and came to the menstrual house and walked near there, and there were lots of children playing around the house. His mother had had many children after she had gone to Lang. The women who were in the menstrual house looked at him and they said, "Let us run away from the house, there is a *ialus* coming near us!" His hair was very long and his body was all dirty. His mother was there with a newly born child and she heard what the women said, so she came out of the house and looked for the boy. When she looked at the boy she knew that it was her own child. She ran to the boy and called him and she told the women not to run out of the house, because this was her first child. The mother of the child had married an important man from Lang. The women came and took him and gave him a bath and cut his hair and he became a handsome boy. His mother asked the boy what had happened to make him come up to Lang from earth, and he told her what had happened to him—that her sister had not taken care of him and that is why he left earth and went to Lang. She told him that it was better for him not to go back but to stay with her because her husband was his real father and he should stay with them there. They took care of him and fed him for three days.

Iolofath came the third day for recreation around the houses in the village. He happened to look in the menstrual house and saw a lot of children in and around the house, and he asked the people in the village where the children came from and who was their father and mother. The people told Iolofath that the children belonged to that man from Lang and his wife. Iolofath went to the menstrual house to see if she would give him a child to adopt. She gave him the boy who came from earth. Iolofath asked his mother the child's name and she told him that they had no name for the boy. "We just call him Seugau, or Baby Boy." So Iolofath took him and called him just Seugau.

When they reached home his wife asked him where he got the boy, and Iolofath told

her to be quiet and go ahead and make food for him because they were lucky to get this boy that he had adopted from somebody. She made food ready and fed some of it to the boy. When they were through eating they went to sleep.

The next morning Iolofath made *bwongbwong* over him, and when he was finished with the spell he threw him over the house. When the child fell to the other side of the house he grew bigger than he had been before. Iolofath performed the spell again and threw the boy over the house, and he got a little bigger again. He did this to him many times and he became a youth. Iolofath told him that from then on he must go and take a bath every morning in the sea. The youth did what Iolofath had told him.

After a year Iolofath told him that he should change his place for taking his bath, and to go and take a bath where he [Iolofath] used to take a bath. The boy asked him where the place was, and Iolofath told him it was at the end of the island. He told him he must also change the time for taking his bath, and that from now on he must take his bath early, before sunrise.

The lad was anxious to take the bath the next day. That night they slept and the next morning the boy got up early and was walking outside the house and saw a spirit standing outside there. His name was Limichikh [Smart, Wise, or Intelligent]. He seized the boy and swallowed him, but after a few minutes he took him out of his mouth. The boy became a *limichikh*, too. The *ialus* told the boy to go ahead and do what his father had told him. All the while that the spirit was doing this and talking to the boy, Iolofath knew everything that was going on.

The boy went to the end of the island and scraped some coconut meat and rubbed himself with it for the oil. While he was doing this he looked at some sand bars and saw a spirit come from the sand bars. The spirit came to the boy and asked him who he was and why he had come here, for people were not allowed to bathe here. "If you are a strong man you will see what I will do to you." He took some spears made from coconut trunks—the spears are called *kei*. The boy answered, "I am ready for a fight. If you want to fight I am ready." The boy did not feel any fear of him. The *ialus* took a spear and threw it at the boy and hit him in the abdomen. The boy fell down dead and the spirit came and took the spear out of him and made him alive again. He told the boy that he should not come here again because he was a weak man, and only strong and able men could come here. He did this to try to make the youth angry—to feel bad. He told the boy that now he knew that the boy wanted to learn what he knew, so he gave the boy some of the spears and took some himself. He taught him how to throw spears and fight, and the boy learned very fast, because he was a *limichikh*. After practicing these things he knew everything about fighting. All this happened before the sun came up. The spirit was in a hurry because he had to get back before sunrise. He asked the boy his name, and the boy told him his name was Seugau. The *ialus* laughed at him and asked him why, since he was a big man, they called him Seugau. "You are not a baby. I will make a new name for you." He gave him the name Thilefial, or Discoverer-of-the-Sun. He told him to remember his name and not forget it, and to tell his father. He also told him that now he was going to leave him, and that the next morning he should come to see him at the same time so they could have some fun there.

The boy went home and when he was close to his house he forgot the name the spirit had given him. He did not tell his father what had happened. Iolofath waited and waited for him to tell him, because he knew. Iolofath asked him, "Did something happen to you when you were there?" Then he told Iolofath that he had met a spirit there and he had given him a name, but he had forgotten it. Iolofath told him that the next morning early he should go and ask the spirit what name he had given him because he knew that he would give the best of names.

The next morning the boy woke up early and went to the end of the island on the sand and started to make some coconut oil to bathe himself, and he saw the spirit coming. The

spirit told the boy, "Are you ready?" and he answered, "Yes," and the spirit took some spears and threw them at the boy and the boy dodged them. When the *ialus* was through throwing all the spears he had not succeeded in hitting the boy. The boy said, "All right. Are you ready? It is now my time to throw the spears back to you." He threw the spears at the spirit but he did not strike him. When he was through, the spirit was tired from jumping around because the boy was more skillful in throwing the spears. The spirit took the spears and brought them to him, and they sat down and took a rest. The spirit asked him, "Did you tell your father your name?" and he answered, "I did not, because I forgot it." The spirit said that he should go back home now and while he was going he should keep calling out his name over and over again so that he would not forget it. The spirit told him that now he was going to leave him because soon the sun would come up. He said to him, "I am the sun. Walk back to your house and if you forget your name turn around and look at the sun. Then you will know that your name is Thilefial, because you are the man who discovered the sun."

The boy walked along, and whenever he forgot his name he would turn around and look at the sun and remember his name. Then he went on again, and every time he forgot his name he would turn around and remember. He reached his house and his father Iolofath was waiting for him. He shouted, "My name is Thilefial!" His father told him that from now on he could go and take a bath any place he wanted, because the reason he had told him to go there was that he had to learn things.

One day he got up early in the morning and went to that place and took a bath there. This was just before the sun came up. He looked and saw some islands. He had a *khuru-khur* stick. He took it and pointed it to the islands, and the sea became firm. He walked on it to one of the islands. There were some people on the island. He took a coconut leaf and whisked it over his hair to dry it. Some women saw him and wondered who this handsome man could be, and if one could become his wife. They went and told the people on the island that there was a handsome man on the island. The men became jealous hearing about him. The men said, "Let us kill him."

There was a man on the island who was the best warrior there. He was a deputy for Iolofath, and his name was Rasim. Another man, Solal, who lived under the earth, was another deputy for Iolofath, like Rasim. Rasim and the people decided to kill the man. Rasim told the people to go ahead and kill him themselves, that he could not go with them because he was the best warrior and could not stoop to do the deed himself.

They took many spears and went to the youth. They threw them but he dodged them all, jumping farther and farther back. When the last spear came at him he was at the tip of the island, and he caught it and threw it at the men. He picked up one spear after another and kept throwing them until he came to the place where they had started. Some of the men died, and some were wounded, and the rest ran back to the village. They told the people that they could not kill him. A man with yaws all over his body was staying in the *metalefal*. He told the men they had better not try to kill him because no one could come on the island except the son of Iolofath. The men answered by telling him to be quiet, because they knew that Iolofath's wife had never been pregnant. Rasim told the men he would go with them and they would try again.

They started fighting against him and the youth did the same as before, jumping back from the spears so they would not strike him. He took the last spear, and as Rasim came in front of the men, he threw it at him. Rasim was frightened and ran away. The men went back to the village and Rasim told the men they must trick the youth to kill him. The man who had yaws all over him told them, "You had better stop fighting him, because we know that only the son of Iolofath can come here."

They did not listen to the man and tried again. They fought him and he kept jumping back and back until he reached the end of the beach. While they were fighting, Rasim hid behind a coconut trunk. When the youth caught the last spear he hurled it at the men,

and they ran away, some having been killed. When he got near Rasim, he did not see him, and as he walked past the tree Rasim threw a spear at his back. He fell down dead and Rasim and the men took him and buried him.

Three days after they had buried him, Iolofath, who knew what had been happening, came to the island looking for him. The old man with yaws said, "Now we are in trouble, because if Iolofath comes what are we going to tell him?" The men were very angry at him and told him to stop saying that or else they would kill him, because they knew that Iolofath's wife had never been pregnant and they had no son. Iolofath came and sat in front of the *metalefal*. The people did not talk to him [they knew who he was]. He sat until noontime and then he talked to them. He told them, "I have a man who came to my island before and he fought against people on my island and I tried to kill him but could not. And he ran away. I have come here to ask you if you have seen that man or not." Rasim smiled and said, "Do not worry, *tamol*. The man you are worrying about we have already killed." Iolofath told the men they should show him the place where they had buried him, and they showed him the spot. He told them to dig up the man and put him in a basket, but the youth had started to rot. Iolofath took the basket and put it on a pole and put him on his back. He told the people, "This is my son." He took his son and went back to his island.

The men went to the *metalefal* and the old man with yaws told them, "Now you see what I had told you—not to kill the man and you did it." The men answered him, "We did not know that he was the son of a chief. Iolofath is not angry with us because he knows we did not know."

Iolofath reached home and took his son into his house and wrapped him in a mat. He told a man named Machokhochokh to go and bring back breath to his son. The man asked him where he should go and find breath. Iolofath told him to go down to Solal. Machokhochokh went down to Solal. He told him what Iolofath had told him. Solal told him, "You have come here now but I do not have anything to give you to eat. Go and take that sprouting coconut to eat." Machokhochokh took the coconut but did not have a husking stick, and he asked Solal what he should do with the coconut. Solal told him to go to the swordfish and use its mouth to husk the coconut. When he was through taking off the husk he asked Solal, "What should I use to open the coconut shell?" He told him, "Go and break it on that turtle's back." The man ate the coconut meat and when he was finished he asked Solal where he should go to put the shells. Solal told him to put the two pieces together and place them in an Alocasia plant, and he told him to climb a certain coconut tree and hold his breath as he climbed. The coconut tree was very high, and he told him that when he reached the top and had climbed the *ubwoth*, or growing leaves, he should look to see which way the *ubwoth* pointed and to jump in that direction. "When you fall down to the ground, take the coconut shell and go back with it to Iolofath. The youth's breath is in the shell." He did what he was told and climbed the tree and jumped in the direction in which the *ubwoth* pointed. When he fell and reached the bottom he took the shell and it [the breath] back to Iolofath.

As he was returning, Iolofath's son's body began gradually to be restored. He grew better and better. When he reached Iolofath's house the body was as it had been before. He was alive again. The son got up from the mat and when he looked around him he saw some maggots around him on his body, and he asked his father why he had put him in the midst of all the maggots. His father told him they had put him there because he was not a strong man and then went and told him what had happened to him on the island. His son felt bad about this and wanted to go to the island sometime to fight again, but he did not tell his father how he felt.

One day early in the morning he went to the tip of the island and he took a bath there and did what he had done before—he took his stick and pointed it to the island, and the water became firm. He went to the island and took a coconut leaf and brushed his hair.

The women said, "The handsome man has come back again!" The men had a meeting and said they should kill him again. The man with yaws said, "Why do you want to kill him? You know that Iolofath told us it was his son. Why should you want to kill him again?" The men paid no attention to him. They wanted to fight the youth. They fought and Iolofath knew that they were fighting. He turned himself into the fruit of a Barringtonia and floated on the sea to the shore of the island and watched the men and his son fighting. They could not beat him, and Rasim hid behind a coconut tree as he had done before. While he was hiding, Iolofath turned himself back into a man and stood up on the beach. He said to Rasim, "Do not hide! Come out and fight with me! The boy is too young for you. You and I are about the same age and skill." Rasim came out but he did not try to fight. He gave in, but Iolofath did not forgive him. Iolofath took a spear. He told Rasim that now he would throw it at him. "Even if you run away or turn your back to me my spear will strike you in the abdomen [just below the ensiform process]. He threw the spear at that place and Rasim died. Iolofath then told his son, "Go ahead and do what you want. If you wish to kill all the people on the island, that will be all right. Do what you want because the men on the island are of the same age and skill as you. Except for the man with yaws."

The son went to the village and killed everyone in the village except the old man in the men's clubhouse. He went to see him and told him that from now on he was the chief of the island and that if anyone came to live there he was their chief. The youth then went back to his own island. He already knew that Iolofath had adopted him and he told him he was going to visit his real mother and father. He went to visit them and he lived there for about half a month. While he was living with them he recalled what had happened to him when he was a little boy, and he went down to earth and killed his mother's sister.

Then he returned to Iolofath and lived with him.

III.

The content of this story is less recondite than that of most Ulithian narratives, yet for the uninitiated it poses many questions that can be answered only with a substantial amount of exposition.

I have reduced native words to a minimum in order to spare discomfort to the reader but a few of them seemed sufficiently appropriate to be retained.

The *iuth* is a shrub or small tree known to botanists as *Guettarda speciosa* and is used not only to make leis but for medicines, amulets, lumber, and firewood as well. *Hachi* is palm toddy, and to "cut *hachi*" is the native's way of saying in English that one is cutting the stalk which normally bears the inflorescence of the tree so that the sap will bleed more readily into the waiting cup tied below it. A *ialus* is any kind of a spirit, evil or benevolent, trivial or lofty, terrestrial or celestial. *Bwongbwong* is white magic, distinguished from black magic or sorcery. The *khurukhur* stick which Thilefial uses to cause the sea to become firm is literally "orange wood," although not actually made of this substance, being made instead of any of a number of woods, such as *hangi* (*Pemphis acidula*) or *iar* (*Premna integrifolia*). Normally it is a walking staff with a slight bulge in the middle and a flare at each end. Occasionally it is used in dances. But in this story it takes on the character of a magical wand. It appears in other tales, and always has a magical meaning. It is mentioned in songs called *hachuchu,* which are sung by an audience when a medium is being possessed, it being said that the singing will not only induce a spirit to enter the medium but will keep him content during possession. A

tamol is a chief. Literally, the word means "my father," and is a kin term of basic importance, being applied both to one's real and classificatory fathers. A *metalefal* is a large house for men, being used for meetings, lounging, idling, and sleeping. Each village has one, and it occupies a central place in the settlement. *Ubwoth* is the whitish growing leaf of the coconut palm before it begins to unfold. It has usefulness in decorating the body as well as in imparting a certain magical potency to anything or anyone to which its leaflets are tied.

We may now deal briefly with the locale of the hero's adventures. Lang is of course the Sky or the Sky World, the abode of the celestial deities, particularly the three great ones—Ialulep, his son Lugeilang, and the latter's son Iolofath. At the same time it is the home of all the dead. Those souls who come to it for admittance are interrogated, and the good are sent to that part of Lang which is reserved for them. The landscape, the mode of life, and the social relations of this portion are much the same as on earth. Bad souls are condemned to either Gum Well, in which they wallow endlessly, attacked by animals, or to Garbage Pit, filled with a horrible stench. Lang has various levels, but it is never clear to Ulithians how each differs from the other, though the lower levels seem to be essentially stages that must be traversed before reaching the top. Thirteen of the stories in my Ulithian collection either wholly or partially involve Lang as a locale, although in a few of them there is no action there; instead, characters leave the Sky World and have their experiences on earth.

There is two-way traffic between Lang and earth, and the passage is traversed by both deities and mortals. The occasional mating of a god with a human is not rare; we have seen one sample of it in our story.

Cosmic pillars by means of which men ascend to or descend from the sky are found widespread in the mythology of the world, and in Ulithi there are some references to it. In "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" the young hero climbs a *iuth* tree to reach his mother in Lang. Asked to comment on the nature of an unspecified tree called Sur Lang, or Pillar of the Sky, which in another myth a hero named Haluwai climbs, an elderly informant who had not, however, narrated the myth offered the opinion that in reality the pillar is made of stone, rising upwards out of a distant place in the sea. The divergence of opinion may reflect the varying provenances of myths, for the narrator of this particular story expressed his belief that the tale came from Yap. On the other hand, in another tale from Ulithi, again of probable Yapese source, which tells how disk money came to Yap, we find that some men use a bamboo to climb to the Sky World. Perhaps the exact nature of the pillar is unimportant, and in any event the pillar itself seems of no special consequence in Carolinian mythology. If the truth be told, the hero is more apt to make his ascent on a cloud of smoke, a method especially associated with Olofat.

Who is Iolofath? Only his name and his ability to transform himself into the fruit of the Barringtonia betray him as Iolofath or Olofat, the trickster of the Caroline Islands. How changed is the wild youth of yesterday who walked alone in an unfriendly world and strove so hard to be recognized! Now he is married and staid, filled with paternal affection and responsibility.

Other Ulithian tales have chronicled his early life. In "Iolofath and Lugeilang" we learn of his birth. His father was the great celestial god, Lugeilang, who had a mortal mistress named Thilpelap. Lugeilang's wife in the sky learned of his love

affair and tried to explore the matter by descending to earth, but each time she was thwarted by the magic of a dance gesture performed by Thilpelap's mother, Octopus. Nature eventually took its customary course and Thilpelap became pregnant. Her celestial lover wanted to hasten to her side but was prevented from doing so because he was obligated to help in the building of the House of the Gods. Filled with solicitude he dispatched a messenger instead, instructing the girl to make an object of coconut and hibiscus fibers intertwined with a coconut leaflet. This she was to twist in a lock of her hair, and when the moment of delivery drew near she was to give the thing a pull, causing the baby to be born from her head. He also instructed her to name the infant Iolofath. When the time came she did as she was bidden. The boy was already somewhat mature when he issued forth, and to say the least he was precocious. For reasons never disclosed but apparently not connected with any rejection of his child, Lugeilang did not want the boy to go up to the Sky World to visit him. However, the irrepressible lad discovered who his father was and where he lived. His mother had dutifully done her best to keep him in ignorance and when he learned the truth she was unable to dissuade him from his single-minded determination to ascend to the Sky World. He made his way up on a cloud of smoke. In each of the several levels of the Carolinian otherworld the boy had adventures, always encountering hostile children who would not play with him. At the first level, in retaliation, he caused a scorpion fish with which the children were playing to develop spines that pricked their fingers. Their angry parents beat him. At the next level he caused a shark to bite some boys who had scorned him. Again he was beaten. At the third level he caused a sting ray to develop a stinger and jab some boys who had hit him. Their parents too smote him. When the young Iolofath finally reached the fourth and highest level he again was repulsed, this time by some men who were digging a posthole for the House of the Gods. No one knew that he was the son of the god, Lugeilang; they were antagonistic merely because he was a stranger. Filled with deceit, they had the lad go down into a posthole, into which they then rammed a great post. The lad escaped all injury by having already constructed a small pocket off to the side of the hole, and in order to throw his would-be murderers off the track he spewed up some green and red substances he had secreted in his mouth. Thinking these were his viscera the men left the scene, confident they had rid themselves of the brash young stranger. Iolofath enlisted the aid of some termites to eat a hole upward through the post, enabling him to climb up out of his intended grave. A yellow ant, following his bidding, brought him a small morsel of coconut meat, which he caused magically to grow into a full-sized coconut. The ant fetched him a piece of taro, and the lad magically brought it to full bulk. Finally, he had the ant fetch him a grain of sand. He caused this to grow to the size of a rock. He bashed the coconut against the rock and cried out "Soro!"—the word used by inferiors when they crawl before a chief. The workmen below were startled, and after discovering he was the son of the god they in turn became frightened. The boy sat at the side of his father. After the great house was completed, preparations were made for a feast. The workmen caught turtles for the event, but Iolofath stealthily stole all the meat from them and stuffed it into a small crustacean he had caught. The men discovered their loss. Iolofath invited them to kill his little crustacean, and when they did all the turtle meat spilled out. Iolofath was assigned the chore of

delivering the meat to the people. He went from house to house. When eventually he arrived at the home of Halfbeak, he found him away but his wife was there. He made love to her. Caught in *flagrante delicto,* he was killed by Halfbeak. Lugeilang conducted a search for his son and eventually found him when he noticed that a plant was trembling in the ground. He found the lad underneath and upbraided him—for not having beat Halfbeak. Then he restored him to life. After that he seized a branch and struck Halfbeak, breaking off his upper jaw and leaving only the lower jaw. Then he and Iolofath returned to the House of the Gods.

The meanness of the youthful Iolofath is brought out in a sequel to the above. I have given the story the title, "Iolofath and Khiou." The trickster did not know that he had a half brother living in the third level of the Sky World named Khiou, who was treated solicitously by his people and not permitted to exert himself. He had suspected he might have a brother when he noticed that some men from the third level always came at night with fish for his father. He demanded to know if he had a brother, but his father always laughed off the suggestion. But one day Iolofath turned himself into a lizard and discovered the unpalatable truth. He was so jealously enraged at discovering he had a sibling that the following night he descended to the third level and cut off Khiou's head, which he proceeded to place in the House of the Gods, where his father slept. In the morning the old man discovered his favored son's head and was horrified. He surmised that the guilt lay with Iolofath, and when he angrily denounced him the young man denied that he knew that he had killed a brother. After all, had not his father adamantly refused to admit he had another son? Lugeilang brought his son back to life. One day Khiou and Iolofath started to swim to a nearby island for recreation. Khiou caused a strong current to come up, endangering Iolofath, who struggled in vain. At the last moment Khiou caused the current to ease up, letting his half brother know by this action that he could outpower him if he wanted.

These two myths of the cycle bear enough testimony to Iolofath's youthful personality to reveal him as an earthling who strove mightily to take his place alongside his celestial father in the Sky World. He was rebuffed at every turn by haughty children and callous men, and even his father seemed to be less than cheered by his presence. He was bold and aggressive. He was cunning. And he was unscrupulous; he thought nothing of seducing another person's wife.

Throughout the Carolines this portrait is essentially substantiated by other native biographers. His precocity is documented by an account from Woleai which tells how as soon as he was born he ran away, all covered with blood, and would not allow himself to be caught. He shouted that he needed no one's help in removing the blood, which he proceeded to do by rubbing himself against the trunks of trees. When he got to the last level of the Sky World he became angry with the workmen for not giving him an implement to cut the leaves of the coconut tree for the roofing of the great house, so he unceremoniously turned them all into statues. After turning himself into a bird he was warned not to enter the house because his superiors would be bothered by his presence, but he defied everyone and sat down inside.[3] This particular tale varies his adventures with Halfbeak the fish, and with other characters to whom he is ordered by the gods to bring food, but essentially he remains the bold and unwelcome intruder. His adulterous exploits are mentioned time and again, and on Namoluk there is a version in which the adolescent

dares make love to the wife of the greatest of all the gods, Anulap.[4] On Truk, where he has been termed the most unsympathetic of all the gods, disliked by both deities and men, he is remembered for his tricks. Once he tricked a woman into giving birth to him by causing her to drink some water in which he had concealed himself as a mosquito larva. He did not endear himself to the gods when he used trickery to beat them in all their canoe races. He would build his canoe out in the open, not secretly, and during the rest period would hide and spy on the other gods as they stood looking at his canoe and criticizing it. Afterward, he would correct the mistakes he had overheard them point out. He had a penchant for appearing as an old man with ringworm, and then, when a woman would laugh at him, he would throw his ugliness upon her as a punishment.[5] On Elato and Ifaluk, he is said to have sadistically decapitated his brother and displayed his head.[6]

It is by now obvious that the Iolofath of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" has undergone a reformation. He is married but childless, so he eagerly adopts Baby Boy and impresses on his wife how lucky they are. He solicitously feeds the tot and performs magic to cause him to grow up rapidly. He secretly arranges for the boy to be made a *limichikh*. When the young man is killed by Rasim, he does not go into a blind rage or wreak vengeance on his murderers. He methodically sets about having the breath of life brought to Thilefial. Here then is a man who commands others and controls himself. Only when his foster son is again killed by the formidable Rasim does he hurl a spear at the warrior and bring about his death. When he then invites the young man to go ahead and do away with all the men of the island who had harassed him, he is not shrill or sadistic. He is merely suggesting an act of justifiable vengeance. He points out that the boy's adversaries are of the same age and skill as he, although, to be sure, we know that Thilefial has had special traits bestowed on him. He thoughtfully lets him visit his true parents on earth and then upon his return has the boy live with him.

Iolofath's metamorphosis, fortunately, need not be left as tenuous as this, for we have other folkloristic records from Ulithi attesting to his adult personality. In the last of a trilogy centering about him there is a tale I have called "The Handsome Spouses," in which the central plot revolves around a young man who has stupidly alienated his beautiful wife. At one time he becomes so violent that Iolofath is summoned to pacify him. Imagine the young trickster ever being called on for that! Iolofath contrives to bring the separated spouses together by an elaborate plot in which he has them meet at a dance competition. There, through the judicious use of some special oil and turmeric he had earlier stolen from the house of a woman, he magically causes the lovely estranged wife to fall in love with her desperate husband. Altruistic deeds of this sort would have been utterly incongruous for the younger Iolofath. However, the trickster never loses his capacity to transform himself into a bird or coconut leaf, and he remains capable of much cleverness, but he acts out of a sense of responsibility rather than mischievousness or deceit. He has put the erratic ways of youth behind him.

If just one more bit of evidence of his mellowing may be proffered, I wish to show him as he is in "The Beginning of Disk Money on Yap," a myth I collected on Ulithi. In this tale he spares the life of a man who has climbed up into heaven and is being threatened there by some men whose food he has stolen. He goes further, becoming chummy with the man, who has something to contribute. The

mortal teaches a very grateful Iolofath how to cut up his fish with a bamboo knife rather than pound it with a pestle before eating. Iolofath makes more than one gesture of compassion. When the man becomes homesick for Yap he gives him a triton-shell horn to aid him to return. If in the end he causes the man to be killed by being dropped from a great height, he can hardly be blamed, for he had been tricked by the ingrate into thinking he could sharpen his bamboo knife by placing it in a fire. After all a demigod must maintain face.

It is proper to ask if Iolofath's change of personality is not actual but merely the result of the transference of his name from one character to another. This question is proper because it is not unusual in folklore for names to be juggled about with little regard for the characters who bear them. I concede that this is a possibility.

Another possibility has already been suggested: Iolofath has merely grown older and secure. He is now accepted and need not struggle for the recognition he feels due him on account of his semidivinity.

Most likely, the answer to the difference between the one personality and the other is a combination of these two possibilities. There is enough in the literature to indicate that the new Iolofath retains some trickster traits and cleverness. At the same time, the new man conceivably could exist entirely independently of the old, to whom he owes very little in the way of personal traits. The thread of connection is there, but it is thin and weak. The transition is probably the result of an effort to retain the use and prestige of an already established mythical personage. Name dropping need not be any more alien to a primitive people than to a more sophisticated one.

There is an unmistakable resemblance between Iolofath and such other Oceanic tricksters as the Polynesian Maui, the Gilbertese Nareau, and the Melanesian Qat, Ambat, and Tagaro. In fact, some genetic connection is easily implied. Almost all of them are high born, experience a strange birth, manifest developmental precocity, and are parties to strong sibling rivalry. And of course all of them have universal trickster traits. The one important attribute lacking in our Ulithian hero is that he is not the originator of culture traits nor the benefactor of mankind; he is not a culture hero. Maui fished up islands, slowed the sun in its course so women had more time for their work, wrested fire from the fire god, introduced cooked food, and even tried to conquer Death. Other Oceanic tricksters too have in some way aided humanity. It is true that in some Caroline islands Iolofath succeeds in giving fire to mankind and decrees that man shall be immortal, but credit for these deeds is given in utterly inadequate fashion, as if their authenticity were not beyond debate. The strange thing is that in Micronesia the Polynesian Maui is in fact depicted by two heroes, for in addition to the tricksterism of Iolofath we have the benefactory deeds of another personage, whose name is Motikitik. Obviously, Motikitik is the same as Maui-tikitiki, as he is often known in Polynesia. But Motikitik, while he fishes up an island and goes down beneath the surface of the earth, where he finds food, is a colorless conformist who knows no deceit, guile, malevolence, or adulterousness. He is fair-minded and sensible, and shows strong loyalty toward his dear dead mother, whom his two brothers have scorned. Even though he is confronted with the jealousy of his siblings, he cannot be aroused to retaliate. No, it is Iolofath and not Motikitik who shares Maui's colorful temperament.

Who is Discoverer-of-the-Sun's adversary, Rasim? He is a relatively obscure character whose name appears every so often in Carolinian tales. In general he is powerful and combative, but he is not a consistent character, suggesting that the name transference associated with Iolofath may be more extreme here.

I first learned of Rasim in an Oedipal tale from Ulithi which I have called "Sikhalol and His Mother." Rasim is a chief who discovers an abandoned baby in his fish trap and raises him as his own. He performs magic to make the boy grow rapidly. One day the lad is playing with his canoe when a woman, his mother, sees him and becomes so smitten by his comeliness that she seduces him. Her husband finally suspects that her protracted lingering at the menustrual house can only be for illicit reasons and sets out to discover who is her lover. The lad is the last one to be subjected to an identity test, consisting of the matching of fingernail scratches on the wife's face with the fingers of her lover. Rasim, who has already revealed to the boy that he has been dallying with his own mother, now prepares him in the art of self-defense. When the real father confronts the boy with the evidence of his guilt—the scratches made by his own hand—the lad resists and slays him. We do not in truth learn much about Rasim in this tale, but it is obvious that he knows something about combat.

The Rasim of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is less kindly than this, but even more the knowledgeable warrior. He must have had some virtues to become a deputy for Iolofath. We are not completely sure of his motivation in wishing to harm the young Thilefial. Mention is made of the men's jealousy of the youth, but what spurs Rasim to take a hand himself in the effort to murder him is the boy's skill in overcoming the men's attack, killing some and putting the others to rout. Rasim may have been additionally incensed at the audacity of a stranger in becoming Iolofath's son. It is notable that despite his own talent for fighting, Rasim finds that escape is the better part of valor. It is only when he has had a chance to recoup that he decides on the use of guile instead of a frontal assault. He kills Thilefial from behind, and then smugly assures the boy's adoptive father that he no longer has to worry about the young stranger. Later, when Thilefial comes back to life and again engages the men of the village, Rasim gets set to repeat his previous tactic, signifying a rebellion of a sort against his superior, Iolofath, who he now knows is indeed the "father" of the youth. The demigod finds it necessary to step in and take a direct hand, throwing a well-placed spear into his body. Thus, it appears that Rasim was too stubborn to compromise with reality. It was more important for him to follow his combative instincts than to yield to his master's will.

Of course the Rasim of the patricidal tale of Sikhalol is a mortal, whereas the Rasim of our immediate story is a being in the Sky World, although the difference between these two realms, it must be conceded, is often vague. One way to explain the use of a common name for two such disparate characters is that in the course of narration a character may have his traits and millieu considerably altered. Another way is to assume that an already known name has been transferred from one character to another one.

At any rate, the Rasim of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is probably the same as a certain Resim of Truk, a god who takes the form of the rainbow, a meteorological phenomenon which the people do not view sentimentally; indeed, it is especially feared by seafarers because they consider it to be a sign of death. In my collection

of Ulithian tales I have an account of the killing of a woman by the rainbow (no name mentioned), and though the event occurs on earth, the rainbow is alluded to as a spirit, apparently malevolent, at least toward this woman. This would seem to confirm that we are dealing with the same god. Substantiation of this assumption comes from another Ulithian tale in which Iolofath orders Rainbow, Tornado, and Gale to kill a man from Yap who has played a trick on him. A further clue is provided by the traits of a god on Namoluk named Rasim, who hates women and will not permit men to have relations with them during time of war. Should a man violate this interdict, Rasim will pierce him with his spear. Men pray to him before going into battle. Surely this must be the same minor god as the aggressive warrior in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun." On Namoluk he is even referred to, if I am correct in equating *Anu en marasi* with him, as the rainbow sent down by the highest god, Luk, to destroy an island when he is angry. This would make him a kind of deputy, as in our own Ulithian story.

Who is Solal? On Ulithi he is considered to be the god of the underworld and therefore the opposite number of Ialulep, the highest deity of the Sky World. But he seems to lack the authority of his counterpart. Indeed he is usually thought of as a benevolent sea spirit who has become the patron of fish magicians. Details concerning him are scanty, and there is little to go by in assembling a personality portrait. Solal is known throughout the west central Carolines. Generally he is said to be half fish and half human, neither male nor female, and to have created heaven and earth by rolling a grain of sand from one hand to another. He is recognized as the god of the underworld. Sometimes he is said to control the supply of fish. The literature gives few details of his personality or life history. Certainly in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" Solal is cooperative in giving breath to Machokhochokh to take back for the resuscitation of the hero, and in addition he gives indication of being conversant with the skills of his position.

The marvelous and miraculous are commonly encountered in Ulithian folklore. A hero ascends to the upper world on smoke, another hero can hold his breath and travel great distances under water, and still another hero descends to a world beneath the sea. There are people who sprout twigs from their bodies from having hidden so long in the woods, and porpoises which by removing their tails become transformed into girls. A spirit causes a woman to see him in a vision and demands that she give him her yellow skirt, while another spirit swallows a girl by inhaling her through his mouth.

It is in this climate of fantasy that much of the plot of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" unfolds itself. A man from Lang descends to earth, an earth woman ascends to Lang with him. Later, their child also ascends to the Sky World. By a device known to folklorists as "recognition by the force of nature," his mother immediately and magically recognizes him (just as in another myth Lugeilang recognizes the adolescent Iolofath, his son). The hero grows rapidly through treatment by magic applied by his adoptive father. A spirit swallows Thilefial, who then emerges transformed into a *limichikh*. Another spirit kills him and restores him to life. Thilefial twice causes the sea to become firm enough for him to walk upon. Iolofath brings him back to life after he again has been killed, sending Machokhochokh down to the nether regions to fetch his life breath. Iolofath turns himself into a fruit. Anything can happen in a world of miracles, and it is noteworthy that none

of these things happen in the several tales in my collection that are narrated as historically true.

The performance of magic has strong and ample representation elsewhere in Ulithian folklore. By means of an Open Sesame formula a hero causes the sea to open up, permitting him to descend to the underworld. Blowing on a shell trumpet, a spirit brings into play an irresistible countergravitational force that pulls a man on Yap upwards to the sky, even though he tries to cling to firmly rooted objects. Our trickster, Iolofath, after he had escaped from the posthole where some men tried to kill him, recited an incantation while performing a bouncing gesture with his palm to cause a bit of coconut to become a full-sized nut, and a morsel of an aroid to become a full root. Again, three women from Lang sing a song and dance a dance to cause an aroid to become a girl. Two parents teach their son a song which allows him to make his toy canoe go fast. A spirit recites some magical words and a tree that has been felled by a youth to make a canoe becomes whole again.

The source of the magical power is not always clear and it is necessary to invoke a very broad definition of the term if one is to include the numerous instances in which supernatural power is tapped through some inner capacity rather than a ritual. Iolofath's ability to transform himself at will into a child or a bird falls into this category. So does the power that some characters have to make food or drink inexhaustible simply by willing it. Another example is that of a man who constructs a wooden bird that flies off with him inside.

The magic in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" partakes of both the orthodox type involving ritual and the looser type involving inner capacity. When the hero is thrown over a house to make him grow, a ritual comes into play. Probably the transformation of the youth into a *limichikh* by swallowing involves contact magic, although further details would be desirable. The source of power when Thilefial firms the sea is not clear, especially since he uses a kind of a "wand" to help him. Is the power in him, in the wand, in the gesture, or in a combination of all three? All those baths he takes are not explained, but the implication is clear that they have something to do with his conversion into a superman. I have been unable to fathom the magic behind the spear thrown at Rasim by Iolofath. It is a spear that hits the warrior in the abdomen when he is in flight, so we presume it was able to take a reverse course through the air.

Physical aggression, including battles, murders, and cannibalism, constitutes a noticeable ingredient of Ulithian folklore, occurring in greater and lesser degrees of importance in almost three fourths of the tales in my collection. The nature of aggression in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is varied, for there is not only the blow struck against the young hero by his mother's sister wielding a coconut, but also the attack on him with spears by the *ialus* (regardless of his intent) which killed him for the time being, the attack by the jealous men prodded by Rasim, the second attack by the men, the killing of the hero by Rasim himself, the third attack on the resuscitated hero by the man, and finally the killing of everybody in the village except the old man. True, goriness and horror are not much elaborated upon but it is inescapably obvious that some concession to aggression is considered an important part of storytelling. While most of the violence is between persons, in some instances it is between a human and an animal or spirit, occurring fre-

quently, as one might suppose, in tales involving ogres. It seems permissible for me to include also as aggression the killing of an eel by some birds because the personae act somewhat like humans. I have, however, not included an act of violence toward himself by a man who is so chagrined when his wife returns to her proper husband that he kills himself by striking his penis with a paddle. My criterion is that of interpersonal violence as well as group violence, including battles, which are abundant in these tales. The number of decapitations, which are usually unembellished, is small. In a few instances there is sadism, as when an ogre's intestines are pulled out of his anus by two little girls.

One might have cause to wonder if Ulithians are themselves a violent people. The answer is not simple. Certainly today they are most gentle, and one could with justice assert either that the tales are not entirely of their own creation, or even that, original or borrowed, they are a kind of outlet for repressions. Psychologists may be able to fathom these puzzles according to their own favorite theories, but I deem it advisable that we drop the matter here.

Deception, trickery, and prevarication are amply represented in Ulithian folklore, although only weakly so in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," as when the older sister tells the younger one that she will take care of her child, when Rasim hides behind a tree to kill the hero, and when Iolofath pretends while searching for the youth that he does not know the men have killed him.

In other Ulithian stories the deception and cunning is more obvious, being used by two brothers in a humorous tale in which they dupe their sister into becoming their sex partner by pretending that their dead parents have commanded her from the grave to submit to one of the brothers in order to save him from death as he hangs by one arm from a tree. Oceanic animal tricksters always have an abundance of guile, and here we see it applied by an ungrateful rat who has been rescued at sea by a turtle. The rat repays this act of mercy by first convincing the turtle he should allow himself to be deloused, and after he has put the turtle to sleep by this stratagem he strikes him on the head with a tridacna shell and kills him. Flagrant cheating occurs in a tale in which a man removes a claim stick made with fresh coconut leaves left on a piece of land by the man who first discovered it. In its place he puts a marker made of old coconut leaves, and this convinces people that his marker is older.

Craftiness is one of Iolofath's traits as a trickster and there is no better instance of it than the ruse he employs to escape death when some men ram a post into the hole they have asked him to dig. Less distinguished heroes are also capable of cleverness. To save himself from a pursuing ogre a man uses the ruse of releasing rats to divert the ogre's attention. The same Atalanta trick is used by a girl pursued by a cannibalistic spirit. She casts behind her some head hair, pubic hair, and spittle from the kindly mother of the spirit. An old standby, "Wait till I get fat," is used by two captive men not only to gain time but to hoodwink an ogre into giving them fat birds to eat while he is left with the lean ones.

Cunningness directed toward honest or justifiable ends is adequately represented. Thus, a girl puts coconut oil on the trunk of a banana plant to prevent an ogre from climbing up to seize her. He later catches her by imitating her younger sister's voice, and then swallows her. The younger sister then schemes to take away the fruits of his deception. She puts two barnacle shells underneath her tongue, and

every time the ogre, who has been holding her captive, speaks to her she answers him word for word in echolalic fashion. Enraged, he seizes and swallows her too, but this is what she wants. Joining her sister in his stomach she gives her one of the shells and keeps the other. Together they cut through his stomach to freedom. In another tale a young hero kills nine ogres, one a day, each time putting back their severed heads and propping them up at the beach so that when their surviving brothers come up to the corpses they think they are alive and foolishly render to them the formal account required on Ulithi of men coming ashore in a canoe.

Cleverness in Ulithian folktales is manifested in a dispute over ownership of two mahogany trees. Two boys are beginning to chop them down to build a canoe when a man comes up and claims them as his own. The boys tell him that underneath each is a shell put there by their mother when she planted the trees long ago. The man is convinced of their claim when they fell the trees and the shells beneath them are revealed.

Humor is obviously an important ingredient of Ulithian folklore. Sometimes it is grim, sometimes subtle, and often blatant. It cannot always be detected in a cold text narrated without an audience of natives. The narrator who does not use his voice and body to express himself and arouse response may be incapable of imparting a sense of the comic to the interviewer. Yet even the relatively lifeless accounts appearing in writing are often patently sprinkled with the laughable, and by adding to them the fuller contexts that I was able to perceive, I feel that I have been able to extract a good deal more than appears on the surface.

In this respect "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" does not help us much, for it is almost devoid of humor. The *ialus* laughs when he learns that the hero is called Baby Boy, so perhaps this is an instance that needs to be recorded. The hero's inability to remember his new name has laughable overtones. Machokhochokh's use of a swordfish to husk a coconut is amusing. Little else is. But abundant illustrations are provided by other tales in my repertoire. However, I wish to defer consideration of them until we consider matters of folkloristic style, for I am more interested in the devices of humor than in its content.

Up to this point I have considered the content of Ulithian folklore without much deliberate reference to the question of cultural reflection, and it is to this old anthropological problem that we may now address ourselves. It should be obvious to even the most casual reader that there is not much to be learned about the cultural and social life of Ulithians from the one story under consideration. It tells us a little bit about the Sky World, certain deities, magic, the belief in spirits, chieftainship, adoption, palm toddy, council houses, menstrual houses, spears, mats, and taro and coconut used as food. The uninformed person, however, would have no way of knowing the importance of these things in the culture, nor would he without further information know much about their characteristics. Nothing is left but to concede that any inquiry into cultural reflection demands access to a wider collection of tales, so the question then becomes one of the adequacy of a given body of folklore in supplying an "ethnography" of a people who may or may not already have been studied by the ethnographer. Sixty-six is certainly not a large number of tales to go by but it is all that I have and all that I could obtain, although I concede that greater persistence would likely have turned up some more.

The human organism of course does not fall under the rubric of "cultural re-

flection," but it is tempting to reconstruct the appearance of a Ulithian individual from the folklore. "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is of no help. Neither are the other tales. If one were completely gullible, which no one of course is, the inhabitants of both the earthly world and the celestial one would be variously constituted of many-headed monsters, beings ranging in stature from one span to ten, men with stars on their heads, men limping on one leg, men possessed of enormous weight, and so on. These are the unusual beings, and it is taken for granted that a listener knows what an ordinary human being looks like. Still, we have no way of knowing from the stories anything about a Ulithian's hair form, hair color, skin color, eye color, nose shape, cephalic index, and all the other anthropomorphic details so cherished not only by the physical anthropologist but by the nonspecialist as well.

"Discoverer-of-the-Sun" tells us that yaws is present, and this is substantiated in many other tales, where the disease is used to describe people who are usually in pitiful or repulsive situations. But no other ailments—elephantiasis, ringworm, influenza, asthma, poliomyelitis—to name a few of many recognized and described by the natives—are given notice. One could be misled into thinking that the Ulithians are immune to illness, which they certainly are not, even though they impress one as being unusually healthy. Health simply does not have dramatic expression in their story plots.

Let us digress further by considering the habitat, which because of what man does to it has some cultural implications. Would a person knowing nothing about Ulithi be able to tell from the folklore the nature of the environment?

"Discoverer-of-the-Sun" lets one know that the land is insular and lies in the tropics. It mentions coconuts and a few other species of plants but omits mention of over one hundred other kinds of species and varieties that have some economic usefulness. It says nothing of fish, birds, or other animals. It tells us nothing about rainfall, which is abundant, or storms, which are devastating enough to constitute a central concern in the lives of the people. We have no way of knowing if the topography is flat or hilly. It is too much to ask of one tale, however, that it give such details. If the whole repertoire is examined it ought to be possible to derive a fairly extensive notion of the natural environment, and so in all fairness we turn to them for the answer to our question.

The clue that Ulithi is insular, made up of many islands surrounding a central lagoon, and has an encircling reef broken here and there by channels, is brought out in some of the narratives. Sand and coral are often mentioned. Economically useful trees of seventeen kinds are given notice.[7] Although the list of trees is far from complete it at least has the virtue of including those that are the most vital economically. Orange trees are mentioned in a tale or two but always in a non-Ulithian locale, though I think that they, like lemon trees, are capable of growing on the atoll. The principal cultigens and cultivars receive mention.[8] Although reference is made to bamboo and yams, one must bear in mind that these are not referred to as growing on Ulithi, as indeed they do not, for they cannot be cultivated successfully there. Three bushes or shrubs growing wild are named.[9]

Surprisingly there is only one reference to domesticated food animals in all sixty-six tales. To be sure, the only such animals are the pig and the chicken, and each may be a relatively recent introduction, even though known for some time elsewhere on the high islands of Micronesia. The chicken is mentioned only once

in the tales, and the pig never. Just a few years ago two carabao were brought to Ulithi, but for obvious reasons they have not been incorporated into the stories, although they could have been mentioned in connection with Yap, where they have been much longer. Dogs are never once referred to. In an explanatory ending to a tale which has widespread occurrence in Malaysia and may have an ultimate source in ancient India, mention is made of a cat. Cats are few in Ulithi and are not well thought of. Birds are mentioned in proportionately greater abundance than are any other faunal species, for despite their general paucity they enter as actors into many tales.[10] None however appear in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun." Fifteen kinds of fish are named.[11] Although this may seem to be a large number, one should bear in mind that Ulithians can readily identify between two and three hundred species and varieties of fish. Sea mammals that gain attention are the whale, porpoise, and dugong. Various other animals are named, some of them only incidentally but others as important characters in the narratives.[12]

I have been tempted by the thought that Ulithian narrators are prone to specify the particular nature of a tree or plant—or animal species, for that matter—because of the connotative value it may have. In magic, romantic songs, and folktales repeated reference is made to this plant or that, or to one fish or another. However, on serious consideration of this possibility I cannot stand by my hypothesis. For one thing, on Ulithi nearly everything in the universe can at one time or another be the object of folkloristic attention, whether it is a millipede, octopus, frigate bird, or blue coral. Or it may be a coconut tree, spider lily, taro, or pandanus. No consistent symbolism is attributed to any of these, except for a rare few such as the *iar* tree (*Premna integrifolia*), which is often associated with lovers, and *ubwoth* or young coconut leaves, which are associated with things religious or magical. One is forced to conclude that probably the frequency of specificity is an aspect of the great concreteness manifested by Ulithians.

Exploitative activities, barely hinted at in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," are given much more attention elsewhere but always superficially. Horticulture is occasionally referred to directly but is more often implied. While fishing is mentioned time and again, it is not treated in a manner that sheds much light on how it is done. Occasionally the use of hooks, traps of various types, and nets are referred to, and the materials employed are often specified. The hunting of birds, now abandoned on the atoll, is the object of attention in more than one tale, and we are told that it is effected through snaring.

Economic exchange is only dimly revealed in Ulithian folklore. In real life it is mostly effected on a personal basis involving either relatives or friends, although not infrequently it is accomplished as part of the sharing of foods and other goods that have been acquired through common effort. Some customs pertaining to gift exchange are alluded to in the tales, as in "The Poor Lizard Girl," but for the most part they are omitted. Notably slighted are first-fruit rites, ostensibly for the benefit of the king but in effect involving a redistribution of foods to the whole community. Other distributive mechanisms, such as the feasts given on certain occasions by women to men, and by men to women, are not mentioned. Trade between Ulithi and Yap, as well as such other islands as Fais, Woleai, Sorol, Ifaluk, and Lamotrek, is not mentioned except indirectly in a tale or two involving the sending of tribute to Yap.

We would learn nothing of native technology if we had to rely on the single tale, "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," except for such meager details as the use of a sharply pointed object (in this instance, a swordfish's mouth!) to husk a coconut and the shredding of coconut preparatory to extracting oil from it. Elsewhere, however, we find out more, but not much more. In "Two Creative Girls and Their Lazy Sister" some statements are made regarding the drying of pandanus leaves and the plaiting of them into mats, and the weaving of garments from the inner bark of the hibiscus tree. Here too we are informed that sails are made of pandanus mats. Other tales tell us something about the looms that are used and the digging stick is mentioned. Certainly this is little to go by. Technology does not seem to impart excitement or interest to a Ulithian folktale.

Items of material culture are moderately well covered. Some of them have already been mentioned, such as fish traps, fish hooks, men's houses, menstrual houses, and canoes. Beverages, cordage, clothing, ornaments, food vessels, weapons, earth ovens, and fire-making implements draw passing attention but the list is not long. The two special types of houses mentioned above, and the canoes, are given so much attention that it seems useful to look into them in more detail.

The *metalefal*, a combination of meeting house, clubhouse, and dormitory for unmarried men and visitors, is referred to in more than a fifth of the tales. It is always the nucleus of activity in any village, so this is not unexpected. Often, however, in the folktales the *metalefal* is put to some strange use, such as allowing women to stay there with their husbands. Dances occasionally are depicted as taking place in such houses, which is not at all unreasonable, but I never heard of their occurrence in real life.

The menstrual houses or menstruation are frequently referred to. No emphasis is placed on the tabus surrounding either the place or the condition. We are able to learn that children are born in these houses, and that while male adults are excluded, boys are not. An Oepidal tale has a youth make love incestuously to his mother in such a place, but no reference is made to the improbability that such trespass could be permitted, let alone that the couple would carry on their affair even after mutually discovering their identities. The use of a menstrual house for a rendezvous also occurs in "The Girl in the Swinging Bed."

As one might expect, frequent mention is made of canoes, and their types and various component parts are sometimes mentioned. Small model canoes used for sport by adolescent boys figure importantly more than once in the tales. A surprisingly large number of times canoes are paddled rather than sailed, and this may possibly reflect the more common recourse to the paddle in former times. The most explicit reference to the various types of canoes occurs in a myth involving Ialulwe, patron of navigators. Two of these types, the *chukhpel* used to catch flying fish and the *hawel* with its trident-shaped pieces at each end of the hull, are no longer used on Ulithi, but the *popo*, selected by the young god as his preferred choice, is the type now exclusively found on the atoll. Specific mention is made of the two types of platforms found on the *popo*, and of certain of its other parts, especially the outrigger complex.

No adequate portrayal of the Ulithian community and community life is provided in the folklore, possibly because of the inherent nature of the folktale with its unreal spatial qualities. We know the people live in villages, which contain

men's houses, menstrual houses, cook houses, ordinary dwellings, and firewood sheds. We assume that the *metalefal* is located geographically in the middle. But we have no way of knowing that the menstrual houses in the atoll are always built at right angles to other houses, and therefore parallel to the shore, near which they are located. We feel that there must be a good deal of community activity and responsibility arising out of territoriality rather than kinship but there is no way of documenting the cooperative obligations necessary to maintain the village. The size of the village is never revealed, although one gains the impression it is fairly small, which would reflect existing conditions. We know that dances often take place in the village. But we do not know what economic activities occur. We do not know that the village is divided, as it always is, into plots and other kinds of subdivisions. Most likely these matters are so taken for granted by narrators that it seems superfluous to include them. Although once in a while specific places are named, it is perhaps considered best to give a timeless and spaceless character to the settings.

Kinship and the family are given moderately adequate attention in the tales, but only a person already familiar with their forms and functions could make much sense out of the references that are made. "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" of course is fairly silent on these matters, but not entirely so. Other tales, however, are necessary to round out even a simple picture. They tell us that marriage is essentially monogamous, families are both nuclear and extended, divorce easy, adoption common, descent matrilineal, and residence usually patrilocal.

Kin terms are greatly obscured through translation but the native rendition of such terms in the original narration covers all the ones that are employed in daily use: *tomai* for father, *silei* for mother, *bwisi* for sibling of ego's sex, *mwangai* for sibling of the opposite sex to ego, *lai* for child, *ri* for spouse, and *ochemai* for sibling-in-law of ego's sex. All these terms have extensions, and by studying them in the original language one could detect their classificatory character. However, it would not be possible except in a general way to know the extent to which they refer to one's own or one's father's lineage. One would be hard put to identify them as conforming to the Crow system of terminology, but the experienced anthropologist might make a close reconstruction, not only by analyzing the terms but by the unilineal descent groups that sometimes receive mention. The frequent application of some kinship terms to nonrelatives is often reflected in stories, although this might be confusing to the unalerted novice. The collective term *ieramatai* is sometimes used, and it designates all relatives—maternal and paternal, consaguineal and affinal—serving to remind us that bilaterality is not a neglected principle of kinship structure and function. The rights and obligations that kinsmen possess are not, however, adequately revealed in the folklore, and one gets only a confused picture of brother-sister avoidance, joking relationships, funeral obligations, and economic exchange.

In adopting Baby Boy, Iolofath is acting in accordance with a widespread practice in Ulithi and the rest of the Carolines. Field research indicates that in 1949 the number of people who had been formally adopted in the atoll was forty-five per cent. An adoption must take place while the mother of the child is still pregnant, so Iolofath's adopting of the boy after his birth is not strictly proper; nevertheless, this kind of adoption, which of course is the type one usually en-

counters throughout the world, is found even on Ulithi, but the formal term, *fam*, does not apply. My informants, pressed on this matter, held their ground in insisting that a prepartal adoption was the only "legal" kind. The motivations for adoption are not at all clear, and it is useless to try to get informants to analyze their reasons, which anyhow are complex enough to defy definitive pronouncements. In any event, people seek adoptions rather than have them thrust on them, and it is not incongruent for Iolofath to tell his wife to be quiet and go ahead and make food for their boy because they were lucky to get him. The storyteller is here really expressing a human rather than a divine reaction. It seems a little sad, incidentally, that the god should be in the position of having to ask for a child to adopt; but that only goes to show how changed he has become.

An instance of child marriage occurs in one Ulithian narrative and it is not inconsistent with custom. Such marriages were never common but were permitted, and one of them took place during my early days in the field.

It is proper to ask if significance should be attached to the relative age of siblings. On Ulithi age differences are accorded some formal distinctions throughout the society as a whole and within the lineage in particular. Birth order between siblings is not ordinarily important, except that an older sibling has a certain degree of authority over a younger one. As one might expect, age has its prerogatives in this respect, as when an older person has priority in the succession to various titles, rights, and privileges. Older-younger relationships in the folklore reveal no consistent pattern. Younger siblings are usually more precocious and older ones more protective, although sometimes jealous. Two great heroes, Motikitik and Ialulwe, were last-born. The humble heroine of "The Poor Lizard Girl" was the last of eleven children. But usually no birth order is specified.

The freedom with which Ulithians view sex is not reflected in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" but has ample expression elsewhere. In one tale a young man sleeps night after night with five sisters. In another, a great god comes down from Lang and causes his mortal mistress to become pregnant. It is not unusual in the folklore for married men and women to have extramarital lovers.

But also given attention are some sexual forms that are in reality emphatically forbidden in Ulithian society. In real life incest is looked upon with horror; not, however, in folklore. Two brothers, as we have already noted, trick a gullible sister into becoming their mistress. Two fond but vain parents promote the incestuous marriage of their unusually attractive son and daughter on the grounds that no suitably handsome mates are available to them. A mother and son delight in their incest and then marry one another. These things happen with impunity in the lore. Rape does not occur on Ulithi, yet it is mentioned in a tale, purportedly historical, involving trouble between Ponape and Kusaie, the rapists being nephews of the ravished woman's dead husband. They choose this means of angering her new husband, who through sorcery has brought about her previous husband's death.

Ulithians resort to euphemisms when discussing sex and elimination in mixed company. In many cases they must use complete circumlocutions. Thus, one does not use the word *haloloi,* to urinate; instead one says *suchol,* "to stand water." One does not say *leweth,* anus, but *metal tagorom,* "end of the back." There are scores of avoided words, sometimes without any euphemism. Many words are avoided also in the company of elders and sometimes when religious specialists are pres-

ent. Yet many of the tales I collected use words that are subject to tabu, even though they were told by a parent to a child of different sex. For example, "The Feces Girl" was learned by Taiethau from an adult woman when he was still in his teens, and I am sure that she could not have used a euphemism for *piakh*, or excrement, when she related it, for the comic effect would thus have been destroyed. I regret that I have not looked into this matter explicitly in order to see, when stories of erotic or obscene nature are told in mixed company, whether euphemisms are used and certain words altogether circumvented. My feeling is that in these instances the barriers are let down.

Greater stratification than actually exists on Ulithi is portrayed in various ways. The reason for the stronger depiction of class differences as well as status differences is probably twofold. A good number of the stories have a provenance in which stratification is marked, as in Yap, Ponape, and Kusaie. In addition, dominance of the political system by foreign countries has diminished the power of traditional kings and chiefs. In the tale "Haluwai" mention is made of low-caste Yapese known as *res fach*, but otherwise no reference is made to this important and complex social differentiation, which has direct and important linkages with Ulithi even today.[13]

It is possible to make inferences about the political system. Obviously, there are chiefs, with one chief apparently acting as a paramount who has strong authority. Iolofath, for instance, is one of the latter in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," and has deputies who obey his wishes. He is a god, however, and not altogether characteristic, except to the extent that the Carolinian pantheon is an invention of actual human beings and therefore reflects conditions on earth. But there are many kinds of chiefs in Ulithi whose specific traits are not revealed through folklore. For instance, the political authority of lineage chiefs receives no expression, nor does the authority of district chiefs. But the *malkaweiach,* or council elders, and their *metalefal,* or meeting place, gain adequate attention throughout. Within the atoll the system of authority and the chain of command is stratified but receives no reflection in the folklore. There are definite rules of succession for the various kinds of chiefs, yet we get a distorted picture of the manner in which people become chiefs. Often they are designated, whether male or female, to be village heads as a reward for services such as killing off ogres or repelling an enemy. Most likely such accession is possible, but in modern times it violates the strictly hereditary character of chiefly succession.

The complex tributary and religious relationship of Ulithi to Yap gains some attention in the folklore (collected as well by others on both Yap and Ulithi), being explicitly expressed in "Why Ulithians Take Offerings to Yap," a fragmentary account.

If one is to be guided by the implications of Iolofath's revenge for the murder of his adoptive son, justice is private and informal. Admittedly, one might argue that Iolofath, being the superordinate person of the community, would be the logical person to punish the chief conspirator, Rasim, but this argument dissolves if one bears in mind that the father is not acting as the surrogate of the society. He has not been selected to carry out justice. His act is private and highly personal, and of course exerted in his role as kinsman. Law in the true sense, implying code, procedure, and court, is absent.

Everywhere else in Ulithian folklore we find confirmation of the diffuse nature

of sanctions and the absence of impersonal force exerted on behalf of the society. A man has been killed by sorcery, so his sister's sons lead an expedition to avenge him. A widow kills eight of her ten children, leaving two very young ones who escape her and survive on their own, without benefit of the state or a children's aid society. After they grow up they take some food to her, but to punish her they scornfully refuse to give her any of their affection. A newly married couple has great difficulty warding off a chief who has designs on the beautiful wife, but in the end he is slain by a spirit who is friendly to her.

Ingroup conflict receives only faint expression in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," taking the form of a woman's neglect of her absent sister's child and a community's resentment against a stranger mostly because he is a stranger. Neither of these two instances truly expresses a condition of internal strife but they may nevertheless be examined for typicality.

The mistreatment of a child is not consonant with actual practice, for in Ulithi children are treated permissively and kindly, in evidence whereof I hasten to make mention that in all my time on the atoll I saw a child struck only twice. I am not naive enough to think that I saw everything, but the whole atmosphere is one in which a child could never be subjected to much abuse. Yet the oral literature of Ulithi does make mention of other instances of child neglect or chastisement. A poignant example is one recorded in my tale, "The Selfish Mother," in which a widow with ten children greedily forbids them to touch the fruit of a tree outside their house. Hungry, the first child, a girl, eats a fruit, and her mother beats her to death. The same thing happens with all the other children except the two youngest, a girl of five and her brother of three. The little girl is very protective and tries to see that the boy does not endanger himself by eating any of the fruit. But he does, while she is asleep. They flee and eventually grow up in the midst of much food. One day they return to visit their mother, who is old and weak from having nothing to eat but her fruit. They give her food but refuse to live with her, promising, however, to keep her supplied. She is at long last filled with remorse for her foul deeds.

There is another clear-cut narrative of child mistreatment in "A Story of Iol and Iath," in which Iol's second wife, without her husband's knowledge, shamefully feeds his little boy nothing but bad food. The child's mother in the form of a *hangau* bird tries pitifully and vainly to help her son until finally Iol suspects something is wrong and uncovers his wife's nefarious actions. However, she turns out to be not a true woman but an evil spirit, and Iol kills her.

Other Ulithian samples are not entirely clear-cut, and in any event are poorly portrayed. In one, a father becomes angry with his two girls, and in a huff one of them turns herself into a fish, leaving us without enough information to know whether or not she was justified. In another, a typhoon has so devastated an island that a married couple with many children drive off the youngest, a girl, because they have insufficient food. She meets up with another girl similarly driven away. The age of the girls is not specified, but one gathers that they are not so young, the first one having already become a mother when she meets the second. In still another tale, a woman about to have a baby is left to her own devices by her husband, but it is hard to say that this represents mistreatment of a child, the child being unborn. We cannot seriously entertain an instance in which a girl is convinced by a

malicious spirit that she is not liked by her parents, when the fact of the matter is that they have rather spoiled her. Nor another instance, in which a grandmother takes out all the eyes of her grandchildren and kills the youngsters, for she is not altogether normal, being a wicked spirit.

I conclude that in reality Ulithians are always preoccupied with the welfare of young children, and that stories depicting their mistreatment have the function of holding up such dastardliness to disapprobation by society. Certainly the overwhelming bulk of the tales depict nothing but fondness and consideration for youngsters, an attitude frequently remarked upon by Oceanic ethnographers working with real people.

Strangers in Ulithian folklore are almost invariably suspect and greeted with commensurate action, usually violence. Our hero, Thilefial, finds this all too true. Likewise, in a myth concerning his younger days, Iolofath is scorned and beaten at every level of the Sky World which he visits, although he was admittedly brash enough to compound the provocation caused by his foreignness. In a purportedly historical tale (contradicted, significantly, by other versions) a sailor visiting Mogmog takes a drink of palm toddy and is decapitated by the owner of the house from which he took the drink. An exception to this sort of treatment concerns Furabwai, who arrives on the scene blind and commences to build a canoe. The people of the community do not know who he is, but they do ask him to forecast the weather. Because he repeatedly prognosticates that it will be unfavorable for sailing they become angry; however, they have by then ascertained that he is the long-lost son of the head of their village. In actual life today a stranger arriving alone on Ulithi or even in a group would be the object of compassion, if he arrived shipwrecked. Should a stranger arrive on a ship he would be treated courteously as a guest. In precontact days the situation of course would have been different. An example of a hostile expedition of strangers is given in "Mogmog's Battle with the Eastern Warriors," where the visitors make their hostility immediately evident by not observing the amenities.

The causes of quarrels in Ulithian folktales approximate those in actual life. Men quarrel over women, women quarrel over men. Boys fight over playthings. A woman becomes angered because she is given the flippers of a turtle to eat instead of the better portions. A young girl petulantly leaves her parents because she avers they do not treat her right. A young man (Iolofath) tries to kill his half brother out of sheer jealousy over the affections of their father. Two men dispute over land—one of the most common sources of ingroup conflict on the atoll, but inadequately reflected in the tales. In a tragic story a poor family is given a bad share of coconuts following a typhoon, and after the mother has taught her son magically to procure carapaces from afar she refuses to let the rest of the community in on their secret.

No warfare appears in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," unless one chooses to think of the hero's single-handed fight against his numerous enemies as an expression of warfare. But frequent depiction of war occurs in other tales, some of whose titles give us a glimpse into the matter: "An Attack on a Ship at Ulithi," "The Fight between Kusaie and Ponape," "Mogmog's Battle with the Eastern Warriors," and "Mogmog's defeat by Losiep." The weapons employed, especially the spear and sling, are faithfully depicted, and the tactics of battle, to judge from ethnohistori-

cal accounts which I have extensively examined for the Carolines, are as portrayed.[14]

The training of the hero in the art of fighting is consistent with Carolinian practice. I have some brief field information on the subject, particularly with regard to close-fighting, known on Ulithi as *bwang*. The term is also used to express attack against one's opponent, whereas defense is referred to as *pelet*. Training may be given by a relative or a friend, who receives gifts for his services. A religious element is involved, for an obscure deity named Ialulmes is considered to be the patron of fighters. Religious offerings are not made to him, according to an informant, but are given to the trainer if he is a relative. There are fifteen named positions in attacks with a combination staff-spear and five in an attack with a knife. I mention these details because until 1960 I did not know that Ulithians had a formal training in fighting (only a few men in the atoll knew anything about it). Therefore, when the *ialus* in the story teaches Thilefial how to fight we can take it for granted that it was not a vague unsystematic kind of instruction. Similarly, in another tale when Rasim teaches his adopted boy to protect himself against his real father we can assume that something like *bwang* was used. Another example falls into the spirit of things if nothing else. Two brothers train themselves in dexterity by darting about so quickly in the rain that no raindrops fall on them.

Myths being the sacred tales that they are, it comes as no surprise that more is reflected in Ulithian folklore about religion than almost any other facet of their way of life. We learn something about ancestor worship, the names and attributes of the gods, the nature of magic and divination, the kinds of religious personnel, the origins of tabus, and all the many beliefs and practices that are embodied in narrative form. "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," as we have had occasion to see, tells us something about Lang and the beings who live there. Much more informative in this respect, however, are such myths as "Iolofath and Lugeilang," "Iolofath and Khiou," "Iolofath and the Handsome Spouses," and " 'Palulop' and His Family." All these are supplemented in one way or another by a whole series of minor stories dealing with spirits, ogres, cultural origins, and adventures that morals have in the Sky World.

To some extent the tales give the mythological basis for ritual. "How Men Were Taught Fish Magic" explains the lengthy procedures to be followed by the fish-magician in his annual effort to assure an abundance of fish for the people of the atoll. Other stories are only slightly less a ritual fountainhead than this, as in a narrative explaining how divination with knots in palm leaves came to Ulithi; another explaining why certain religious offerings must be sent to Yap, where the people of Gagil district keep the magical fishhook by which the island of Fais was raised up out of the sea; and still another explaining the practice of trap fishermen of sending two fish to a spirit named Libwongongo on the island of Potangeras.

Tabus are occasionally given expression, sometimes reflecting sacred prohibitions still extant in Ulithian culture, as in a myth listing the fish that may not be eaten by a godling named Furabwai because, apparently, these are reserved for his brother, Ialulwe, the patron of navigators. Similarly, another story specifies the tabus to be observed by palm-leaf knot diviners. Sometimes, however, the tabus do not reflect specific interdicts practiced on the atoll, as when a mother in a myth says it is tabu for her son Motikitik to follow her when she sets out each day for

the world beneath the sea. Punishments for the breaking of tabus are not always forthcoming, and it is startling to find that in one tale a brother and a sister at first hesitatingly and then enthusiastically commit incest, ending by living as man and wife without disapprobation on the part of their parents. In a jocular vignette two brothers trick their sister into becoming their paramour. In an Oedipal tale a youth who has killed his father goes on to live with his mother, to whom he has been making love right along; presumably they live happily ever after.

In "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" no mention is made of tabus, but an actual interdict is broken when Iolofath goes to the menstrual house in search of a child to adopt. On Ulithi in real life males, except small children, are forbidden to trespass on the grounds bordering the hut where women go at the time of their periods or parturitions. An exception is made only under dire circumstances, as when a typhoon threatens the safety of the women and they must be evacuated to a safer spot. Iolofath may have been excluded from the tabu because of his special nature, but somehow this does not seem to be the reason. It is a pity that our story is not better illustrative of tabus, but enough has been said to indicate that they do find ample expression in the wider body of narrative.

IV.

Any analysis of Ulithian folkloristic style must recognize that the traditional narrative is involved with a world in which a wooden bird flies carrying a man inside, a woman appears from out of the ashes of a fire, a chicken's ordure turns into yams, a taro plant becomes a girl, and a spirit sweetheart turns to bones in her lover's embrace. The fantastic and preposterous are not so predominant that they make it impossible to follow the plot or "believe" in its contents, but they are always there and must be kept in the back of one's mind as having much to do with dominating the distinguishing traits of traditional narrative. Some of these traits will not appear foreign to Western thought, yet others may seem meaningless and unreasonable.

We may make a beginning in analysis by studying the structural aspects of the stories. The lack of a native title for our tale, to which I have given the name "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" only for purposes of convenience, is characteristic of Ulithian narratives. The people themselves require no more than some catch phrase or name to enable them to identify a tale, and if more is required, then a brief introductory synopsis is offered.

Stylized introductions are characteristic of Ulithian stories. They are brief and almost compulsively insistent on opening the tale with a statement regarding the main or initial characters. The statement may be fairly minimal, but ideally it names the actors and gives their number, sex, relative age, marital state, idiosyncrasies, and place of residence. Ninety per cent of the stories open in this fashion, and those that do not so begin either have a very special nature or were influenced by interview conditions. In the ensuing examples the rigidity of the opening words is sometimes diminished by the free translations I have sometimes seen fit to provide. The perspicacious reader will be able to see through this, particularly by ignoring the punctuation that for better or worse I felt called upon to furnish. He will also notice that the settings have a certain timelessness.

"Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is a modest illustration. "There were two sisters," it

begins, and continues with "The older sister married a man from earth." Missing are the names of the sisters, which never appear even in the subsequent portion of the narrative, but we know the sex and number of the actors. Shortly after but not within the formal opening we learn of their marital condition, relative age, and mortal nature. A glaring omission is the lack of mention of the place of residence or even the particular locale where the sisters reside. Names of actors in the opening statement are, however, more often supplied than omitted: "Iongolap and Filtei were brother and sister and they were living on Yap." "There was a woman named Lokhsiel." "Haluwai and a woman lived on Yap and wanted to get married." Once omitted, however, the name is usually never supplied in the subsequent narrative.

Two puzzling names, Iol and Iath, are recurrent in the stylized introductions. Either or both appear in the openings of ten tales, a not inconsiderable number, and mention of Iol as a half spirit is made in still another story, but not in the opening portion. In six instances, Iol and Iath are married and have children, while in a seventh they are married but childless. Once we find Iol without Iath or any other mate. Twice we find Iath married to another spouse, the name of one being Hatamaichifel and the other Hurekhrafur. The names of their offspring are never the same from one tale to the other. Nothing I have been able to do has revealed the ultimate identity of Iol and Iath and I can only conclude that they are prototypes, found also in the folklore of other Carolinians. They are fairly humble and colorless persons, and it is their children rather than they who emerge as the central personae. I have briefly toyed with the notion that Iol may be Iolofath—Ulithians usually address one another by the first syllables of their names—but this cannot be, for Iolofath is a powerful personality of semidivine origin, and however much he may seem objectionable we cannot demean him by taking away his talent for creating excitement.

Names sometimes follow a formulistic number—ten. Thus, "Chemchem Seou [One], Chemchem Ruoa [Two], Chemchem Solu [Three] . . . Chemchem Seg [Ten] were *legaselep* who ate people from island to island in the west." Similarly, "A woman had ten sons, called Sangaf, Rungaf, Solngaf . . . and Sekh." In another introduction we are told: "There was a man and a woman. They were married. They had ten children—the first a girl, the next a boy, the next a girl, and so on, the last being a boy. They lived on an island that was divided into two parts . . ." Here the children are not named, not even in the subsequent narration.

Locales are specified in all but nine of the tales that have formal introductions. In another nine no name is specified for the island or locale, although a feeble gesture is nevertheless made to link people with places. As one might expect, Ulithi is by far the most favored place, being designated about forty per cent of the time, especially in the homelier and less consequential narratives. Fairly often a place outside of Ulithi but still within the Carolines is mentioned, particularly nearby Yap, where many of the folktales find their origins or counterparts. The Sky World, or Lang, is specified in only four introductions but is later designated as a scene of action in five more tales, with two additional references of weak character.

Stylized epilogues are not as consistent or clear-cut in Ulithian stories as are the introductions, but they are present. If one includes some examples that are weak,

one finds that over half the tales end either by making mention of someone going to a place, or by explaining that this is the origin of such and such a practice, belief, saying, or the like. The "place" epilogues far outnumber the etiological ones, although they sometimes occur in combination, in which event the place ending always occupies a penultimate position relative to the etiological epilogue.

All stylized epilogues are informally expressed and some may be diffuse as to place. Thus, "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" ends with "Then he returned to Iolofath and lived with him." Examples of other place endings both specific and vague are "Thus, they went to the atoll to stay for good," "He then got in his canoe and returned to Potangeras," "He then removed her from the spirit's belly and took her home," "They went back to Thowalu," "The girls then emerged from the bamboo and went back to their father and mother," "Sikhalol then took Lisor back to his village and they lived together from then on," and "So Iol returned to his island to his family." In an unaccustomed spirit of thoroughness one epilogue makes sure that no one is overlooked: "The spirit returned and killed the chief and went back to the island and took the wife and husband back. The young man's helpers returned in canoes. The husband and wife and the men then stayed on Ulithi."

Wherever etiological epilogues are found they always occupy a completely terminal position. Fifteen such clearly stated endings occur, with a few more of weak character, and in most cases they are not preceded by mention of someone going somewhere. Where the epilogues are composite (in that they combine place and explanation), no pattern of subject matter emerges. Some examples of explanatory terminations may be of interest: ". . . that is the beginning of why people eat fish, and that is also why the eel is mad at us and when we go out it bites us," "That is why the people of Ulithi, when somebody is lazy, say, 'You are lazy just like Furtal'," "That is why Marespa became our *tuthup*," and "That is why cats always try to catch rats." In passing, it may be of interest to know that some tales contain explanatory elements mentioned only in passing and not accentuated in a terminal statement.

Ending formulas are not found in Ulithian tales. To be sure, an informant might terminate his story with "Sasi!" meaning "Finished!" but this seems to have been a signal to me rather than a potential audience of natives. Direct questioning on the use of the word elicited the response that it was not an integral part of the style of narration.

Emotions are expressed through action and situation rather than verablization or the raconteur's commentary on the inner feelings of an actor. The narrator may substitute for this by altering his voice or moving his body, but he does not communicate emotions with words laden with affect. We learn of the deceitful and sadistic nature of Thilefial's mother's sister not through pronouncements on her personality but through the following acts: she tells her sister that she will take care of the baby in memory of her but gives him bad food, has him do his own bathing, fells him with a coconut for drinking palm toddy, and then announces that after all his real mother has gone away and left him behind. The listener can construct for himself his own image of her emotional makeup. The hero himself is not probed inwardly by the storyteller. If we know what manner of man he is—compliant, educible, trusting, perseverant, moderately enterprising, courageous without histrionics, restrained, methodical, and nobly vindictive—it is because we

infer this from what he does and why he does it. Only once does the narrator make a suggestion of his inner state: "[He] felt bad about this and felt he must go to the island sometime to fight again, but he did not tell his father how he felt."

A search through all sixty-six of my stories shows that one is hard put to discover any further mention of inner feeling, and, even when it is hinted at, one cannot be entirely sure that it is not a concession to the anthropologist in an interview situation. In "The Separated Lovers" we are told more than in many other tales put together about the feelings of actors—of this or that person feeling sad, sorry, reluctant, and remorseful—but all told there are only about six such references, and certainly they are minimally expressed. Ulithian folklore is steadfast in its reluctance to verbalize emotional states.

The penuriousness with which important details are conveyed is scarcely atypical of primitive folklore but it is nevertheless disconcerting for the Western mind to encounter it. Take the younger sister in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun." She goes out to collect some flowers. A man from the Sky World comes down and sees her. They agree without any ado to get married. The narrator must feel that the essence of his tale lies elsewhere and that it is needless to develop this byplay. The romantically oriented listener may perhaps be expected to fill in the details if he is so inclined. A similarly quick assent to a brusque proposal of marriage takes place in a "swan maiden" tale I gathered on the atoll. In fact, courtships are so rarely indicated that there is nothing to conclude but that they are not appropriate material for stories; however, it should be related that they are amply described in the numerous love songs of the atoll. Perhaps there is a conventional division of expression, especially since love songs are intimate and reserved especially for segregated dancing, when they are sung to the accompaniment of erotic gyrations and thrusts. Still, it cannot be the fitness of things alone that demands brevity of detail. Who is "that man from Lang" who fathers our young hero? We are not only never told his name but virtually nothing else about him. His wife gives up their child for adoption but nothing is said about his feelings in the matter. One must conclude that such feelings are well known to Ulithians, but they are not germane to the plot.

A stylistic trait of folktales to which Ulithi remains faithful is the dyadic nature of interpersonal activity. At any given time an actor is in interaction with only one other. Events between individuals are paired rather than participated in by three or more actors. True, more than two characters may be present but only two are in real interaction. This rule may seem to be violated occasionally but close scrutiny shows that contradictions are more apparent than real. In "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" there are approximately fifty interactions and all of them involve paired action. The first ones, covering only that portion of the story up to the acquiring of the hero's name from the spirit, are as follows: hero's mother—man from Lang; hero—hero's mother; hero's mother—hero's mother's sister; hero's mother—man from Lang; hero—hero's mother's sister; hero—husband of mother's sister; hero—hero's mother's sister; hero—hero's mother; hero—women collectively; hero—hero's mother; Iolofath—people collectively; Iolofath—hero's mother; Iolofath—Iolofath's wife; hero—Iolofath's wife; hero—Iolofath; hero—Limichekh; hero—the Sun. The remaining interactions in the tale are similarly dyadic. Sometimes more than two people are mentioned, but either they are gen-

eralized ("the men had a meeting") or one party is collective ("a man with yaws all over his body . . . told the men"), or they are passive ("there were lots of children playing around the house"). There are thus no triadic conversations, making it simpler for the listener to follow the narrative, especially when it is carried on by means of direct discourse in which the narrator does not designate the participants except through change in voice.

The strain towards simplicity is further seen in the lack of embellishment for creating atmosphere or mood. The landscape is not described unless it has a bearing on the plot, as when in a ghost story a narrator, in order to signal that time is running out on a cad who fears the arrival of spirits when darkness falls, tells the listener that the sun is setting. The physiognomy of the characters is not mentioned unless it similarly affects the tale in some way, so that if an ogre is depicted as having ten heads it is only in order for him to be the tenth victim of a young giant slayer. Parsimony similarly demands that if porpoises are leaping up and down in the waters near an island they do something other than supply picturesqueness; consequently, it is not surprising to see one of them soon put to use as a "swan maiden" who will be captured, mated with, and delivered of a daughter who becomes a totemic ancestress. Therefore when in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" an orange tree is mentioned as growing outside the house in which the young hero is living, it is in order to provide oranges—and thus orange skins for mistreating the little boy. Child abuse is an important dynamism of the plot and is not introduced merely to provide the listener with local color. In the same story mention is made of a *iuth* tree, but only because this is the cosmic pillar by which the hero ascends to the Sky World. If the hero is described as arriving there with dirty body and long hair it is to express the neglect shown him by his mother's sister. If an old man is depicted as having yaws all over his body it is to portray him as a man despised. The lesson of all this for the scholar is that when he sees a seeming departure from penuriousness in Ulithian tales he should be alerted from past experience to explore the discrepancy until he is satisfied that he understands its true role.

The reversal of fortune by heroes who conquer the odds and emerge triumphant constitutes an important stylistic theme in Ulithian stories. The winners are tender-aged, deformed, insane, poor, low-caste, scorned, or otherwise without apparent prospect of success. It will be recalled that the general plot of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is that of a maltreated boy who arrives in Lang dirty and unkempt, but succeeds in overcoming his enemies and is made chief of his island.

Out of my original collection of twenty-four tales I have ascertained that almost half have as their dominant idea the triumph of the handicapped underdog. In one of them the rejected trickster, Iolofath, finally succeeds in gaining recognition as the son of a god, although in a sequel to this there is an episode in which the seemingly unstoppable trickster is bested by his modest half brother. In a tale of Motikitik, the youngest of three brothers is spurned by the two older ones, but when they go out fishing he is more successful than they; in fact, he even fishes up an island. A mild version of the rags-to-riches device has a low-caste man without even a canoe of his own discover an island, where he is permitted to settle with his wife and establish a colony. One of the classic stories of Melanesia, found also in Micronesia, is represented on Ulithi by a narrative in which a one-legged lad kills

ten ogres, and he and his mother are made chiefs of the island by the very inhabitants who had tricked the poor woman into being left behind alone. Ogre tales are likely to give us the happy news that this or that apparently hopeless individual succeeds eventually in overcoming a monster. A madman laughed at by others succeeds by cleverness in ridding an island of an evil spirit, although all others have failed. Two small girls, whom one would suppose to be doomed, succeed through guile in killing an evil spirit who has pursued and caught up with them. Another weak version of the motif is found in a tale in which some birds succeed in tying up a dangerous eel even though the rest of the birds have warned them that their ropes were not strong enough to do so. A double reversal of fortune occurs when a poor woman and her two children, who have been scorned because of their poverty, succeed through the use of magic in gaining valuable carapaces from a distant place; but alas, a happy ending is denied when, rather than yield to the pressure of the villagers for their secret, all three jump into a blazing fire. A Ulithian version of a favorite Melanesian tale relates that the youngest of eleven daughters turns out to be an unwelcome lizard whose daughter marries a young suitor, but although the lizard pathetically hides herself from everyone except her child so that she can help the marriage, in the end she is discovered and paid honor by her son-in-law and the rest of the village.

In my new collection of tales only a little more than a fourth have the reversal of the underdog's fortune as a major theme, although six more tales have it in weak form. But there are some good examples deserving mention. In "The Very Old Wives" a handsome young man desiring a wife is assigned an old hag because all the younger women have been married off. The old woman and he become the objects of ill-concealed laughter, but he gives no sign whatsoever that he is unhappy with the arrangement. The woman works hard for him and is grieved that she has been inflicted on him, yet he treats her with utmost kindness and solicitude and even pretends to the people that he is in love with her. One day at first light she pleads with him to cut off her head, and only after her constant demands and with a heavy heart does he consent. Her skin falls off and she stands as the most beautiful woman of the island.

Three of the stories in this later collection present a happy reversal in the tide of fortune, but it does not last. One tale tells of Feces Girl, who for some unexplained reason is selected by the son of a chief to be his wife in preference to all the other girls who were beautiful, but after this initial triumph she angers a heap of excrement by failing to say good-bye to it, and in revenge the heap magically causes her to turn into feces herself. I was informed that this odoriferous tale is told for the amusement of children. In "The Magical Earth Oven" a girl who during a famine has been driven away by her parents succeeds in magically creating some cooked fish, but when the hungry villagers try to imitate her deed they end only in bringing about the death of a child, so in anger they kill the girl. Another short-lived success is related in "The Story of Lokhsiel," wherein an ugly woman with only two hairs on her head marries the son of the chief; however, in jealousy the women of the island drown her.

A plot device almost ubiquitous throughout Oceania (except for the isolated continent of Australia) is the supernatural growth of the hero, and it is abundantly represented in Ulithi. It will be recalled that before Baby Boy became Thilefial he underwent special treatment at the hands of Iolofath to make him grow rapidly.

And as we have seen, Iolofath himself had a quick growth. Additionally, in a Ulithian tale, "The Deserted Woman and Her Ogre-Killing Son," a woman hiding from some ogres delivers a boy who rapidly attains the size of an adolescent. In the Oedipal "Sikhalol and His Mother," the hero starts life as a discarded fetus and yet grows to young manhood in a single month as the result of magic administered to him by Rasim. Another Ulithian story, "How Men Were Taught Fish Magic," relates how a woman visited by a kindly spirit gives birth to a boy who attains rapid growth and then she gives birth to a second son who grows rapidly. Finally, if one may be permitted to stretch the notion of supernatural growth to include precocious development extending beyond physical growth alone, we can include " 'Palulop' and His Family," for here an as yet unborn deity listens to some important conversations while he is still in his mother's womb, and later attains rapid growth.

I have made a fairly extensive study of supernatural growth, broadly defined so as to include children who talk at birth or speak from their mother's wombs, children who are already full-sized or nearly so when they emerge from the uterus, and children who become enormously strong in short order. In much of Oceania it is almost an automatic attribute of the child that he be heroic in character, be conceived in some miraculous or unusual manner, experience an exaggeratedly short or long gestation, and be delivered in a strange manner. Not all Oceanic heroes can boast of all these criteria, but for the most part the really important ones can. Olofat, Lugeilang, and Ialulwe of the Carolines qualify, and so do Maui and Ru of Polynesia, Tangaro, Qat, Sido, To Kabinana, and To Korvuvu of Melanesia, and Ibonia of Madagascar. This is only a sample out of a long list. Among the unusual kinds of conception are impregnation from drinking some substance, eating an animal, making contact with an object, ingesting orally a larva or a homunculus-like, previously born creature, intercourse with an animal, and exposure of the pudenda to the wind. The term of pregnancy may be as long as ten years or as short as a single night. Micronesians, it should be noted, are more apt to favor short gestations for their heroes than long ones. Among the unusual Oceanic parturitions are delivery from a person's head, nose, or elbow; delivery from a fruit, stone, or flower; and delivery from a dead mother. The distant Malagasy favor a birth in which the enterprising hero cuts his way out of his mother's belly.

A distinction can be made between precocious development resulting from an innate capacity and an acquired capacity. Our hero Baby Boy, as he was known at the time, was not endowed with the capacity to grow rapidly; he was favored by white magic employed by his adoptive father, Iolofath. True, I have not been able to fathom the symbolic significance of his being tossed many times over a house, but one cannot always understand the rationale behind a magical rite unless given some clue. Baby Boy became a *limichikh* in short order when a spirit swallowed him and then after a few minutes removed him from its mouth. I suppose that Frazer has some rubric for the classification of this procedure but I fear that I do not know what it is. At any rate, it is not important that we know it. The point I wish to make is that our hero falls in the tradition of many great Oceanic figures, inasmuch as he undergoes a developmental precocity that simple mortals can never achieve. He had the uncommon good luck of being high born, then later adopted by a demigod and trained by a spirit.

The prophet without honor, as it were, is encountered not only here in "Dis-

coverer-of-the-Sun," where a man covered with yaws warns the people that they are threatening the son of Iolofath, but in an important myth which I have called " 'Palulop' and His Family." A blind stranger is at the beach making a canoe. People go up to him to ask him to forecast the weather because they are eager to embark on an important journey. They do not recognize him as the son of a certain deity, for they believe him to have been lost long ago at sea. Day after day he warns that the weather will be unfavorable. Indignant and impatient they finally decide to ignore his warning and embark anyway in their canoe, only to meet up with a fierce typhoon that destroys all of them except a young woman and a man. Just as Iolofath knew about his son's difficulties with the men who set out to kill him but did not intervene, so the father of the blind canoe builder is a great navigator god who does not reveal to the people, whom he himself has sent down to the beach to ask the man for his forecast, that he is his father. In fact the god embarks with the others, knowing they will meet disaster, and perishes with them. All he need have done was intervene with a few well-placed words.

We can speculate on the role of such ignored admonishers. They seem to constitute a literary device for heightening tension by exposing the truth to men who will not hear. The two above-mentioned gods, who have the power of near-omniscience, do not interfere because intervention would spoil the bold events in store for the listeners. We have something approximating the inexorable denouements that the Greeks loved so well.

The resuscitation of the dead is a common stylistic device in Ulithian folklore, and is so much expected that the listener knows his slain hero will be restored to life just as surely as American television viewers know the men with the white hats will triumph over those with the black. So Thilefial is in good company when Iolofath restores him after Rasim has succeeded in driving a spear into him. Iolofath himself as a youth had had the benefit of a resuscitation after he had been killed by the halfbeak whose wife he had seduced. When Iolofath's father found him buried beneath a shaking plant which had grown out of the trickster's wreath, and pulled up on the plant, young Iolofath complained that he wanted his father to stop tugging because he was sleepy.

Elsewhere the revived person in Ulithian tales shows similar reluctance about the whole thing. Thus, in a tale about an ogre who had eaten Iol's daughter, the father cuts off the head of the spirit, and after opening the ogre's belly and proceding to remove his daughter, she says, "Do not pull me because I am sleepy." Iol replies, "Are you sleepy or are you lazy?" This is not the only time when such a question is asked. Thus in a tale I have luridly entitled "The Island in the Blood-Red Sea" a young hero goes through great dangers to kill numerous spirits who have cooked his father over a fire, and after he has magically restored his father to his former self the son is rewarded with the remark, "Don't move me, because I am sleepy." The son counters with, "Are you sleepy or are you a lazy man? Get up and come with me."

Although "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is almost barren of pattern numbers, such numbers have stylistic importance in Ulithian narratives. This tale makes use of a formulistic number, three, when it is indicated that the hero was fed for three days, fought three times with Rasim's men, and lay buried for three days. However, the most common formulistic number in Ulithian folklore is ten, examples of this having been offered in our preceding analysis of the names that occur in

stylized introductions. In no instance is a formulistic number at the same time a sacred number in Ulithian stories; in fact, I have not been able to ascertain that there are any sacred numbers at all in the culture.

Looking upon formulistic numbers as those attached to a prescribed or set form and assigned to elements of plot and action in a narrative, we see that they obviously can be exploited in a variety of ways. A number may be what I call "static" in nature because it is passive in the structure and action of the plot. In our story the number three embraces this character. Passive references may be multiple, as when the formulistic number is exploited more than once in a given story, or they may be single, without any reiteration. Passive formulistic numbers lack functional force in that they are mentioned without implementation. Thus, a dynamic quality is lacking in Thilefial's being fed three days and being buried the same length of time.

The naming of children in order of birth is a common Oceanic trait and to some extent occurs in reality as well as in lore. In Ulithian instances birth order may be only implied, the emphasis being placed instead on size, as One Span, Two Span, and so on up to ten; or on number, as One Head, Two Head, and so on, again up to ten. The formulistic number here is incremental. A decremental version of a formulistic number occurs in a Ulithian tale which has an important counterpart in Polynesian mythology as well. A blind woman is counting her yams, and each time as she counts she finds one more missing. In the Ulithian tale the number is twenty, or two times ten, instead of the customary Polynesian ten.

The formulistic number may thus be looked upon as a pattern number when it involves the stylized repetition of names or actions, these two usually being combined, especially in ogre tales. Pattern numbers are not static but rather dynamic, especially when involving repetitions of acts. Tenfold repetitions are characteristic of Ulithian plots, but they are not at all common in occurrence. Three-pattern and seven-pattern are absent, and if present would suggest influence from the Old World, where such numbers are very common.

Some formulistic numbers in folklore can be attributed to a sacred or mystic significance, such as the number four has among North American Indians, but we have already dismissed this possibility for Ulithi. The system of counting may have an influence, the Carolinian being decimal, and that may be why ten, or two times ten, has importance. Obviously, the higher the pattern number the more drawn out a tale will be. It can serve the function of teaching children to count. My impression is that, in the main, pattern numbers occur in tales designed for entertainment. In the myth type of Ulithian narrative there is an absence of such repetitions, except in "Haluwai," actually more yarn than myth, involving as it does the counting of taro. I suggest that as a stylistic device repetition is not considered necessary in myths.

The repeated effort to come out with a name, seen in Thilefial's ludicrous inability to remember the new name given him, may be regarded as a stylistic means of providing listeners with some degree of amusement and suspense. No other function occurs to me. Only one other instance occurs in my Ulithian collection, and it also has a drawn-out character. Our hero, Haluwai, returns to earth after a sojourn in the Sky World:

> All the people came to look at him, and they asked him, "Who are you? What is your name?" He told them, "My name is Haluwai." The people ran to the chief of Guror and

said, "His name is Halu." They made a mistake. The chief said, "I do not know him. I do not know that name. Go back and ask him his name again." They went back and asked him his name and he told them the same thing. They went to the chief and said, "His name is Lowei." He told them, "Go back and make sure. If he says his name is So-and-So, then shout out his name so you will be sure." They came back and asked him and he said, "I am Haluwai." Then they shouted, *"Haluwai mele we!* His name is Haluwai!"

Of course, the name here has some importance, for at this point the people now identify the hero, and they greet him enthusiastically. But this does not explain why at first they could not remember it, even for a few moments.

Other stylistic means for drawing out a story in order to provide action and suspense occur in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun." Common sense would seem to dictate that after Iolofath has told Thilefial's slayers about his identity they would desist in their murderous intent. They do not. The result is that it gives the hero a chance at retaliation for his previous murder, but now instead of merely defending himself against their unwarranted aggression he has the added incentive of revenge. The listener is a little startled, perhaps, and even filled with some apprehension when it is disclosed that Rasim is again capable of besting the young man, but these emotions are banished with a sigh of relief when Iolofath steps in and takes a hand. Even an audience that had heard the tale previously must have felt some recurrence of the original emotions experienced at that time. Other delays in the progress of the main action of the story are effected through the repeated throwing of the hero over the house and his training in spear fighting.

Violation of common sense for dramatic purposes is seen in "The Girl in the Swinging Bed." A young man marries a beautiful girl who has descended from Lang in a swinging bed. A chief covets her and sends the husband off on a difficult mission to another island so that the coast will be clear. The husband pines away and refuses to move about or eat. His loyal young wife seeks to join him after repelling her would-be lover by changing temporarily into a lizard. A demispirit has told her that her husband is going to die. She reaches the island. For undisclosed reasons she prepares food for the young man but does not make her presence known, although her husband recognizes that the food is the same kind she used to prepare for him. A lei is brought to him and he knows that this was the type she used to make for him. He searches for her but cannot find her. The wife sends a friend with some food for the young man, putting on her forearm some telltale bracelets she has brought from home, and instructs the companion to make sure the husband sees them as she places the food before him. The friend even wears the wife's wraparound skirt. The husband follows the friend upon her departure and she leads him to his wife. Why she had not gone directly to him or sent a message is never divulged, but had she done so the narrator would have lost a chance to build up suspense. The listener knows the husband was deeply in love and wasting away, and there is much suspense as to whether the prediction of his death will come true. Happily, it does not. I found this a moving romance which evoked considerable empathy on my part, and I am sure that my reaction was intensified by this and other stylistic techniques.

Other plot devices which I shall merely mention without elaborating upon are the creation of islands from objects thrown upon the waters; the fishing up of islands by a demigod; the transformation of a man into a bird or animal; the trans-

formation of a bird or animal into a woman; the employment of a magical object to answer for a fugitive; the inexhaustible object; the journey to the lower world; the acquiring of wisdom or knowledge through a dream.[15]

Humor is a part of Ulithian stylistic tradition in folklore, even though it may not always be apparent to a person studying it in written form. Narrators obviously know how to use the ludicrous to arouse a feeling of mirth. An example in which it is combined with another device, the unexpected transition, comes from "The Ghost of the Woman with Yaws." In this grim story a sudden moment of relief comes when a young wife talks to her mother-in-law, who, unknown to her, has died and become an evil spirit.

As they were talking, the mother of the boy, when she knew his wife was not looking at her, lifted off her head to frighten her. Then she put it on her lap and began to delouse it. When the wife looked at her she saw she had no head and asked, "Why did you take off your head?" She answered, "I always do this because I am very weak and cannot do much moving."

The old woman puts back her head but later decides to take out her eyes in order to clean them, offering as a reason that she is too weak to clean them in any other way. As they are walking along, the wife looks at the woman and notices her body is facing the village to which they are going, while her face is turned back.

The wife asked her, "What is wrong with your head?" And she answered, "I want to be able to see you wherever you go."

This comes as close as anything to a joke in Ulithian humor.

The sexual and the scatological give relief from the daily compulsion to observe the amenities. One tale almost wallows in excrement, the central actor being known as Feces Girl. Here there is recourse to the use of repetition to heighten laughter, for she goes up to one pile of ordure after another and bids each goodbye as she prepares to go away with her intended husband. The narrator repeats each farewell with joyous redundancy, and every time includes the Ulithian word for feces, *piakh*. The allegedly historical tale, "The Wooden Phallus at Ifaluk," opens with the hero lying unconscious in a refuse pit, where he has been thrown and beaten by some men, and a woman comes there in the night and urinates on him, thus bringing him back to consciousness. Later, he finds a curious means of informing his people where they are to go to do battle against the men who beat him up. He causes his penis slowly to become erect, and as the people watch, they see that it points in the direction of Woleai. In one of the ogre tales a father sees his daughter protruding from the anus of an ogre who had swallowed her. In another ogre tale a woman gives a girl some of her spittle and pubic hair to cast behind her to delay a pursuing spirit; I must confess however that when this story was related to me in an interview situation I was not aware that humor was intended, but now I think it very well might have been.

Laughter is often elicited through the discomfiture of others. Usually the targets of frustration are the dull-witted ogres of Ulithian folklore, who always begin by instilling some degree of apprehension in the listener and then finally succumb to their own naiveté and stupidity. Relief from the burden of anxiety comes to the audience when the ogres are tricked, teased, and tortured by their intended victims, who may be mere children or, as in one instance, a madman. The emotion

these acts release in the listener is almost sadistic, and no sympathy is held out to ogres when they are thrown into confusion and terror by the blowing of shell trumpets, decapitated with a fingernail, or burned to death. Repetition is sometimes used to intensify the humor, so that a hero may first kill the one-headed ogre, then the two-headed ogre, then the three-headed ogre, and so on until all ten of them have been slain by the dreadnaught.

Amusement-provoking frustration can be seen in two lugubrious story endings. The youthful husband of an old woman bathes her and cuts off her head in order to transform her into a beautiful girl, as his companion has succeeded in doing with his own aged spouse; but there, standing in her place, is an even more ugly and ancient hag, who is so weak he has to carry her back to the village while his neighbors laugh. Another instance involves a man who has just had taken from him a woman he had stolen from another man. In a rage he kills himself by striking his penis with a paddle.

Tricks and stratagems employed by actors may invoke mirth, as in the tale of the two brothers who seduce their sister by pretending that she has been ordered to submit to them by the spirits of her parents. In an ogre tale two sisters dress up two banana-plant trunks in their "grass" skirts and deceive the ogre into eating the trunks instead of the girls. One can imagine his chagrin when a woman lets him know his mistake. Imagine, too, the chagrin of the ogre who has been tricked into fattening up two men who escape him before he can eat them. And how humiliating it must have been for Iolofath to follow the advice of a man who told him to sharpen his bamboo knife by leaving it in a fire!

A stylistic omission in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" is the failure to utilize songs to express the action of the story. In many Ulithian narratives at appropriate times the narrator will stop to render a song which forms not a mere adjunct but an integral aspect of the sequence. Almost thirty per cent of the tales contain such forms, and I am confident that the figure would be higher if native texts rather than translations had been recorded. The songs are rather brief, and there may be from one to several in a given tale. They employ a vocabulary that is not often understood by the narrator, even though he may comprehend the general import of the sentences. The reason for this is not clear but may reflect either borrowing from some other Carolinian language or purposeful distortion for alliterative, rhythmic, or dramatic effect. In some instances no real translation is possible, but in others it is, so that I can make a few general observations. For one thing, words and syllables may be so broken up or grouped together for vocal effect that regular continuity and intelligibility are impaired. For another, much poetic symbolism is involved, so that what one hears on the surface may require reinterpretation. There is some comparability with the verbiage of magic; indeed, some of the songs are magical spells in themselves. Sometimes the songs constitute a dialogue between two actors. In all instances, regardless of their content, they are sung in a monotonous, languid fashion.

V.

I have in my files a collection of 1,485 responses to TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) cards prepared especially for Ulithi in conjunction with a personality study that I made some years ago.[16] The responses are spontaneous

"stories" provoked by showing Ulithians fifteen cards, fourteen of which depict native people and scenes and one of which is blank. Ninety-nine persons of both sexes and various ages, from five to over forty, were administered the tests in 1948–1949, being told simply that they were to look at the cards and tell what they thought each of them portrayed in terms of the present situation, the events leading up to it, and the outcome. The TAT is a projective technique designed to stimulate the imagination and to cause each individual to react in accordance with his own personality. It of course reflects cultural conditioning as well as individual temperament. The protocols were analyzed according to manifest content rather than depth psychology and were treated quantitatively. It occurs to me that some comparison of the TAT responses with the folktales would be interesting and rewarding, as long as the limitations of the comparison are kept in mind.

Needless to say, there is by no means strict comparability between each of the two bodies of narratives. For every folktale there are over twenty-two TAT responses. The tales were told by adults, mostly males, whereas the TAT responses were given by persons of all ages, almost equally distributed between males and females. The tales differ of course from the protocols in a very important respect; they are traditional in form, content, and style rather than individually and spontaneously created. The TAT responses were influenced to a large extent by the directions given by the testers, who structured them in advance by telling the subjects to narrate the plot in terms of the present, past, and future. Even more than that, they were influenced by the very content of the test cards, which contained figures of people, animals, landscape, and so on.

We can nevertheless assume that the TAT responses were greatly influenced by cultural factors, among them being the folkloristic tradition to which the persons tested had been exposed. By ignoring the personality features of the tests, we should be able to ascertain the extent to which the artificially induced stories resemble or differ from the others. I have made an impressionistic analysis of these resemblances and differences without trying to quantify them, and I think the tentative results are worth revealing.

More or less equal portrayal of certain aspects of Ulithian life is contained in both the tales and the protocols. The importance of the family and kinsmen is clearly brought out, and so are the terms of relationship. The *metalefal* as a center of political and social activity for men is made evident. Frequent mention is made of the menstrual house and its functions, and while the exclusion of men from the area of the house is either taken for granted or implied in some way, in two instances young men go there to visit their girl friends. Filled with curiosity over this impossible situation I looked up the identity of the test subjects involved and discovered that one of them was Taiethau, the raconteur of "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," whose virtuosity as a storyteller had not then been revealed, for he was only eighteen years of age when he was administered the test. The other subject was also a young man of eighteen, who had spent a little time on Guam; but I cannot say he had the potential for virtuosity in storytelling. These two atypical responses, therefore, cannot be taken seriously as relating to an actual practice of tabu violation. Brother-sister avoidance after siblings have approached maturation is strong in Ulithian society but in the tales this avoidance is occasionally disregarded, as it is once in the TAT responses, although here the situation is innocuous, with

the siblings merely gathering food to take to their father. The tales and the protocols make some reference to suicide, but only occasionally, which is as it ought to be, for there has not been a suicide in Ulithi for about six decades.

Another similarity between tale and protocol is in the emphasis on food and eating. In the TAT responses the references to food and drink constitute the second most frequent category. Since no serious attempt at quantification was made for the tales, statistical comparability is lacking, but a crude count does reveal mention of food and eating, or potential eating, in two thirds of the stories. In a society in which nutriments must be constantly sought after because of the limited resources of the atoll, it is small wonder that alimentation is a major concern of the people. The soil yields neither plentiful nor varied crops. Fishing in tropical waters is not as rewarding as one might imagine. Not only are fish just moderately abundant, but considerable time and effort are required to procure them with the technological means in the natives' possession. Bad weather often prevents efforts at catching fish beyond the reefs. Food is not easily stored or preserved on the atoll, so that while on some occasions food is in great abundance, such as after a particularly successful catch of fish or the seasonal gathering of breadfruit, on other occasions there is a dearth of rapidly available foodstuffs.

The TAT responses do not usually show a direct concern about food but some of them do. One of the test cards, which to all purposes and intents implies a potential rape scene, was usually interpreted as depicting a woman and her husband out gathering plant foods, which were then taken home and eaten. In some responses the man attacks the woman—but only in order to steal her food! Another card depicts a typhoon with great waves rolling ashore, yet one subject saw the waves as pigs. Another card ostensibly shows a family, and no suggestion of food is present. Most Americans would interpret the scene as depicting an act of aggression by a father against two sons, while the mother and a child look on with apprehension, but Ulithians usually interpreted the scene as portraying a man teaching his sons to dance. Even then, however, some subjects injected food and eating into the story, and one young man talked about taro, sugar cane, coconuts, the swamp garden, cooking, eating, and everything else suggestive of gorging that he could get into his response. One response to the blank card that formed part of the test series begins, "People must have food to eat because we get hungry," and it goes on from there to explore this thesis. Another response to the blank card begins, "This is a blank piece of paper. There is nothing on it, but there is something on it because we will put something on it." The subject then proceeds verbally to put food on it. Finally, another example involves a shipwreck scene at sea, which was widely interpreted as depicting men engaged in fishing.

It is possible to conjecture that the frequent mention of food and eating reflects more of the simple daily routine than it does of anxiety, but this argument is not persuasive if we recall that matters of the daily round of life are not usually the subject matter of Ulithian folktales, possibly being taken for granted.

The TAT protocols contain a good deal of cultural and social content and it is important to compare them in this respect with the sixty-six stories. On the whole, the TAT protocols give a much more accurate and complete picture of Ulithian life than do the tales. They more satisfactorily depict the habitat, exploitative activities, technology, and material culture. They better portray the everyday routine

and the daily problems of living. They do not show social interaction in the oversimplified dyadic fashion of the tales. Their lesser stress on ingroup conflict, which is usually confined to stealing, and their failure to stress internal stratification, are more true to life than are the tales. Their portrayal of children as being treated with affection, even though occasionally chastised for the customary missteps of childhood, is much more faithful than the impression imparted by the stories of the folklore. The causes of quarreling among children and adults are truer to life. The main thing is that the tests reveal prosaic human beings rather than the artificial figures of fantasy. These are ordinary mortals who cut their fingers, burn their hands, have toothaches and sundry illnesses, cry, suffer from the cold, and are blind or lame.

The TAT's do not depict physical aggression to the extent that the stories of folklore do, although this is not to imply that there is no conflict. Indeed, I found it portrayed in about a score of protocols, more than I would have expected from my knowledge of the society, where such aggression is limited to children. Warfare is often referred to, but in view of the fact that one of the test cards shows an aircraft carrier and some planes, and that Ulithi was an advance base for the invasion of Okinawa and the Philippines, this is understandable, especially since only one battle referred to was not between Japanese and Americans. Amusingly, the exception comes from a response by Taiethau, who depicted a folkloristic-type battle between the people of two islands.

Not unexpectedly, even though the TAT's were administered before the arrival in the atoll of a resident Catholic missionary, the responses contain numerous evidences of acculturation, a process that had begun before the war under the German and Japanese administrations.

Whereas the tales have a mere reference to a gun and another reference to a piece of paper with writing on it, the protocols have many indications of contact with and knowledge of the outside world beyond the native isles. Japanese are occasionally mentioned, usually in connection with a picture depicting an aircraft carrier and some airborne planes. Americans are mentioned far more often, which is not at all surprising when one considers that between one and two million men made stopovers in Ulithi during the war, even though few of them came within sight of the people. The Americans are usually depicted as taking photographs of the natives, as they did so often in real life, when regular "excursion" boats were allowed to take selected officers and dignitaries to the island of Falalop, where the people had been assembled to keep them from being overrun by the military. American women are occasionally given brief identification (erroneously) in the test cards, the natives already having seen them as nurses and government officials during the war, which, it should be recalled, had ended only three years before the tests were administered. On three occasions men and women from Hawaii are perceived to be present in the drawings. Strangely, mention is made of five Chinese women, this possibly being inspired not only by some general knowledge about Chinese acquired from the Japanese and the Americans, but also because of the presence in 1948 of Chinese vessels that had come to Ulithi to pick up military materials left behind by the American armed forces. Occasionally, reference is made to nurses, teachers, policemen, piers, merchant ships, motor boats, money, ladders, matches, lanterns, cigarettes, beer, soap, guns, gasoline, crackers, corned

beef, stores, and "a big city in a big country." Some places outside Micronesia are referred to, examples being New Guinea and Manila (synonymous with the Philippines). Imaginary places, depicted in a few instances by name, are Nakachabwa and Nubitigia, creations of the fertile imagination of Taiethau. Within Micronesia, in addition to Fais, Woleai, and the Marianas, there is frequent mention of the Yapese, who are occasionally seen to be present in the picture. The island of Saipan is expectedly spoken of, since several Ulithian families once resided in a Carolinian colony on the island.

At least five times the TAT's provoked an expression of inebriety, a condition never mentioned in the tales, probably because they originated in a period not at all remote in Ulithian history, when fermented palm toddy and beer were unknown. The natives maintain that alcoholic fermentation was introduced by the Japanese.

The TAT protocols allude about half a dozen times to psychotics, and refer to them fairly realistically. The tests are superior in this respect to the folktales.

The TAT protocols seem to portray some things, such as sex and sexuality, less satisfactorily and completely than do the tales, even though the latter often indulge in outright fantasy. Sex is not hushed up in the responses; it seems for the most part simply to be ignored. The psychologist analyzing the test results was impressed by the low frequency of this category and thought it might be due to the fact that Ulithians do not find the satisfying of sexual desire to be very much of a problem. Setting aside psychological implications, however, I nevertheless feel that for the outsider the tales give a closer approximation of the extent to which sexual activity and sexual freedom actually prevail on the atoll.

The one great content gap in the TAT protocols is in religion and magic. There is a fleeting reference to magic, three or so references to ghosts, and a few to Christmas and going to church on Sunday. Thus, both the pagan and the Christian systems of supernaturalism are neglected, whereas in the folktales the former, at least, has of course a prominent place. When the TAT's were administered, the present resident missionary had not yet established himself on the atoll, although missionization had begun over two decades before. A current administering of the tests would undoubtedly show a stronger Christian influence.

Related in part to the omission of religion and other aspects of the supernatural from the TAT responses is the rare reference to tabu of any sort, though tabus are often mentioned and constantly observed in daily life, even with the advent of Christianization. The folktales are more useful in reflecting their importance.

Stylistic similarities are not numerous, but some are basic and important, overriding the constricting nature of each type of expression. It will be recalled that in the openings of the tales there is usually a statement regarding the basic personal facts concerning the early actors. This is likewise true of the TAT responses, but only as part of a wider tendency toward concreteness, which manifests itself chiefly in counting and identifying the people and objects portrayed in the pictures. Typical of many hundred opening statements in the protocols are the following: "There is a long island. On the island there are six people who live on it. They have only three canoes. One of the canoes has no sail and two of the canoes have sails on them." Again, "A tree is near a house. Some people are living in this house. A man with his wife and his children—a boy and two girls."

This kind of concreteness and enumeration continues beyond the opening statements and would appear almost compulsive, unless we bear in mind that much of this is provoked by the nature of the tests themselves, which are conceived of by the natives as offering something of a challenge to them to identify the contents of the anthropologist's cards. In real life Ulithians do not indulge in verbal elaboration, expressing themselves fairly minimally without much justification or explanation. This trait extends not only to the folktales but to the TAT responses as well.

One aspect of this similarity is to be seen in the lack of verbalized emotion. The psychologist who interpreted the TAT protocols worked "blind" in that he knew nothing about the people or culture with whom he was dealing; yet he immediately remarked that while Ulithians experience the full gamut of emotions, there is a lack of particularly high frequencies, suggesting that emotion is not openly displayed. This corresponds to the facts. He also remarked on the relative dominance of the dysphoric emotions, such as anger, depression, and pain, over the euphoric ones, such as affection, excitement, and pleasure. Anger is the category with the highest frequency, with verbal and physical affection the smallest category. How accurately the tests, as well as the folktales, which generally support them, indicate Ulithian emotionality is a matter of conjecture. Lack of verbalization of the pleasant emotions may be counteracted by frequent depiction of or reference to amusement of various forms.

The warning I would therefore raise in interpreting the manifest content of tales and protocols is that stylistic features must be carefully considered before arriving at conclusions. If one is overdependent on the direct verbalization of the emotions and does not properly take into consideration the indirect and situational portrayal of feelings, one may arrive at a distorted picture of the actual situation. In the following example, representing a complete response to one of the test cards, the narrator does not state the internal feelings of the characters, but nevertheless portrays in unequivocal fashion a highly emotional scene.

This is a wife and husband. They have two children. They have quarreled and the wife has gone off and sat down. The husband and two children have come to see her and are saying, "Let us go back"—to the place where they had the quarrel. The husband and wife are both crying. The woman says she will not go back.

Both tales and protocols show stress on amusement. The word *kokum,* meaning to "play" or "amuse oneself," is mentioned time and again in each type of narrative. At the same time it is used often in daily conversation, for Ulithians frequently talk about dancing, singing, swimming, racing, flirting, joking, and other forms of levity and amusement. Indeed they do more than talk about them, indulging in them not only at night after work has been set aside but during the day while lounging or working at chores. Children, who do not take on economic tasks until they have entered well into their teens, seem to spend most of their time amusing themselves, and it is to them that many of the tales and protocols refer.

With fantasy neither provided ready-made nor given free rein in the TAT's, the stylistic features of the two collections of stories must show differences. The differences are, in fact, more noticeable than the resemblances.

No songs are utilized by the TAT subjects and perhaps, given the test condi-

tions, none should be expected. A native confronted with strange pictures or a blank piece of paper can hardly be relaxed enough to break into song.

Also missing from the TAT responses are formulistic numbers, etiological motifs, jokes and other forms of humor, and ending formulas, the last of course being absent also in the tales.

Further missing in the protocols are the stylized epilogues present in the tales. There is indeed some tendency to say something in a kind of fade-out to the effect that then so-and-so did such-and-such, but this might easily have been due to the instructions given the subjects by the tester.

The urge to enumerate and identify is so strong in the TAT responses that there is a corresponding tendency in them to dispense with plot. Despite the directions given to the subjects, they notably failed for the most part to develop real stories. Much of this lack can be attributed to the nature of the test cards themselves, whose challenge was incorrectly interpreted by the subjects as asking them to identify what they saw rather than to construct something they did not see and had to imagine. How much of this is due to a lack of creative fantasy is hard to say, but the fact is that the pool of folktales known to Ulithians is relatively static and innovation in any form is not at all encouraged by the culture. If the folktales have plots, which sometimes they do not, it is because at some time and some place, perhaps remote in both respects, they were devised by people not bound by the confining mold of tradition. Analysis of Ulithian tales indicates that their constituent motifs are often found throughout the whole of Oceania, as well as in many other places throughout the world. The synthesizing of these motifs into story systems may similarly have occurred long ago in some other place, even though some have been altered to fit a Ulithian locale. The point I wish to make is that the common tendency for tales as well as tests to display enumeration and concreteness is not coincidental and stems from a prevailing lack of imaginative freedom.

Plots being minimal in the TAT responses, as contrasted with the tales, it comes as no surprise to discover a dearth of devices for creating suspense or otherwise developing action and plot continuity. The prophet without honor does not appear, nor does the dead man who is restored to life. Indeed, in only one series of responses is there an apparent folkloristic influence, and it stood out so disconcertingly that I decided to look up the name of the subject, only to discover that it was our storyteller, young Taiethau.

VI.

The intention of this study has been to stress that the outsider must be provided with exegetic assistance to gain as much as a minimal understanding of a tale from a culture even as simple of that of Ulithi. Most stories transferred out of their native setting and recorded on paper obviously lose much of their charm and virility when stripped, not only of their narrator's use of gesture and intonation, but, more seriously still, of their cultural meaning as well. "Discoverer-of-the-Sun," the sample selected for analysis, is more lucid than most Ulithian tales, and yet demands as much from an audience as it gives to it. As a yarn it has elements which almost anyone can respond to with interest; but when a reader lacks adequate comprehension of the many little understandings needed to transform the skeleton of its plot into a live and vibrant story, his appreciation is greatly reduced.

In considering the extent to which culture is reflected in "Discoverer-of-the-Sun" and other Ulithian narratives, it is at once obvious that some aspects are more favored than others, many being given no attention at all. It is fortunately possible, owing to the availability of an ethnographic study of the atoll, to contrast folkloristic content with cultural reality. Whatever may be the merits of other bodies of folklore, it cannot be said that Ulithian tales are an adequate source on which to rely for a reconstruction of the native culture. They omit or slight many of the important details of ordinary life, at the same time incorporating practices that are either alien or obviously in the realm of fantasy. Nor can they be regarded, except for a few tentative accounts, as reliable records of historical events. Speaking of folktales in general, it is always puzzling to know why certain real happenings, documented by written records, fail to gain inclusion into a corpus of folklore, and it will perhaps never become clear why Ulithians fail to include in their stories historical episodes of dramatic and severe impact, such as the massacre of Father Cantova's missionary party in 1731. If major episodes disappear without leaving a trace in contemporary tales, there is even less reason to believe that the trivial ones will have been preserved, at least in recognizable form.

Part of the dilemma of both historicity and cultural reflection is indubitably linked with the problem of provenance. Many, perhaps most, Ulithian tales are from sources elsewhere in the Carolinian archipelago and beyond. Of course, diffusion characterizes folklore anywhere, yet we know that in the transference there is sufficient recasting and adjustment of the details so as to fashion the tales in the direction of local values and forms. Another source of difficulty lies in the probability that the body of Ulithian tales which has here been considered represents only a diminished corpus of the original, either because of deterioration of the folklore tradition or failure to collect all that is actually extant. Notwithstanding this possible lack of completeness, it is likely that there is something inherent in all bodies of folktales which renders them inadequate—even though useful—as sources of cultural content. If only we could detect the principles operating to incorporate or reject cultural elements, it would be possible to make more useful assessments of any given set of tales, especially in instances where the ethnographic materials are wholly or partially deficient. A vast assault on these problems through cross-cultural analysis might shed light on the suitability or nonsuitability of cultural and historical facts for incorporation into a society's traditional narrative. Unevenness of acceptance may disclose that fundamental differences in function and values may be operative, in one setting as compared with another, although at the same time it may be demonstrated that some mechanisms of selection are universal.

More recognizable style is contained in Ulithian folktales than immediately meets the eye. Features of structure, characterization, humor, and so on, become obvious only upon analysis, after which they are clearly apparent, even though not as formalized as in the tales of many other peoples. Except for certain of the myths, Ulithian narratives have the same stripped-down character as typical European tales. Simplicity is seen particularly in noncomplexity of plot, paucity of personal details, dyadic interaction between characters, placelessness of locale, and timelessness of action.

A sidelight of the present study has been the comparison of responses to Thematic Apperception Tests, and while this was done without recourse to rigorous

methodology, it seems to indicate many points of agreement with the tales, especially in the common emphasis on food. However, the test results are more faithful reflectors of the real life and culture of the atoll than are the tales. Comparison with the stylistic features of the TAT responses showed that certain features are common to both the test stories and the folktales, especially in the matter of concreteness, specificity, and simplicity. The test responses, however, are impoverished in plot, and, without the cruelty, guile, violence, and extravagances of the tales, they are fairly bland. One misses in them the marvelous and the miraculous; they do not compete at all with the folktales as story systems, largely because they fail to release themselves from the laws of nature and society. The respondents to the tests cannot, however, be blamed for this, since most of them were not narrators of tales nor even sufficiently aware of their own traditional lore to be able to project folkloristic fantasy into their responses.

NOTES

1. William A. Lessa, *Tales from Ulithi Atoll: A Comparative Study in Oceanic Folklore,* University of California Publications: Folklore Studies, XIII (1961).

2. This system is explained in some detail in my articles "Ulithi and the Outer Native World," *American Anthropologist,* LII (1950), 27–52, and "The Place of Ulithi in the Yap Empire," *Human Organization,* IX (1950), 16–18.

3. Louis C. D. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde . . . Executé sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820 . . . Historique,* 2 volumes in 4 parts (Paris: Pilet Âiné, 1825–1839), I(2), 108–111.

4. Max Girschner, "Die Karolineninsel Namoluk und ihre Bewohner," *Baessler Archiv,* II (1912), 188–192.

5. Paul Hambruch, *Südseemärchen aus Australien, Neu-Guinea, Fidji, Karolinen, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, Neu-Seeland, u.a.,* "Die Märchen det Weltliteratur," XIX (1922), 180–196.

6. Melford E. Spiro, "Some Ifaluk Myths and Folk Tales," JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE, LXIV (1961), 291.

7. They are the coconut, breadfruit, pandanus, papaya, Indian almond, Barringtonia, *Hibiscus tiliaceous, Ficus carolinensis, Morinda citrifolia, Allophyllus* sp., *Melochia odorata, Pemphis acidula, Premna integrifolia, Pisonia grandis, Calophyllum inophyllum, Jambosa malaccensis,* and *Guettarda speciosa.* A *khumar* tree is referred to, but this grows on Yap, not Ulithi, and I have not tried to identify it botanically.

8. These are three aroids—*Alocasia macrorhiza, Cyrtosperma chamissonis,* and *Colocasia esculenta*—as well as bananas, sugar cane, papayas, tobacco, and *Crinum asiaticum.* No mention is made of sweet potatoes, squash, chile pepper, or watermelons, possibly because they are new enough to have had insufficient time to become imbedded in tradition.

9. *Ocimum sanctum, Curcuma domestica,* or turmeric, and *Scaevola frutescens.* A grass called *fathil* is specified but it grows on Yap, not Ulithi.

10. Those that I have been able to identify are the frigate bird, brown booby, red-footed booby, wedge-tailed shearwater, noddy tern, ruddy turnstone, and American golden plover. Others are known to me only by their native names—*harbar, hihi, horoi, rakhui* (hawk?), and *moli.*

11. Mentioned are the shark, eel, swellfish, halfbeak, scorpion fish, sting ray, porcupine fish, needle fish, and several others that are tabu under certain circumstances: crevally or jack fish, hound fish, surgeon fish, rudder fish, trigger fish, *likh* (unidentified), and *hathekh* (snake eel?).

12. Of the crustaceans we hear of the lobster, land crab, and *Emerita pacifica,* a small burrower. The myriopods are represented by the centipede. The cephalopods are represented by the octopus. The only shellfish mentioned are the tridacna, the Pinctada oyster, the Triton, the barnacle *Lepas anatifera* Linnaeus, a prosobranch known locally as an *ung,* and a clam known locally as a *thokh.* Lizards and sea turtles are often referred to but are alone among the reptiles, which in any event are few. The insects to gain attention are the termite, common ant, yellow ant, and black ant. A diplopod, *Certithium echinatum* Lamarck, is given recognition, and so is a red coral, locally called *halebwakh.*

13. See note 2 above.

14. "An Evaluation of Early Descriptions of Carolinian Culture," *Ethnohistory,* IX (1962), 313–403.

15. More plot devices are listed in my *Tales from Ulithi Atoll,* 458–462.

16. William A. Lessa and Marvin Spiegelman, *Ulithian Personality As Seen through Ethnological Materials and Thematic Test Analysis*, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, II, No. 2 (1954), 243–301.

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