QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

Rosaleen E. Howard-Malverde

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QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

ABSTRACT

The thesis comprises a classification and analysis of 64 tales told by Indian inhabitants of the rural communities around the highland town of Cañar, Southern Central Ecuador. The informants all had Quichua as their mother tongue and, with the exception of 4 texts, used it in the telling of the tales. These were tape-recorded, transcribed with the help of a Quichua assistant, and are presented in full together with English translations.

The classification of texts is based largely upon criteria of content, although both genre and tale structure are also taken into account, all three considerations being closely interrelated. Classification according to content owes something of theory and method to the Finnish-American school led by Aarne and Thompson (Thompson 1955-58, Aarne and Thompson 1961). The discussion of genre definition takes Bascom's article (1965) as a starting point, and also takes into account more recent statements on the subject. The consideration of structure as a criterion at the classification stage is in accordance with the arguments of Propp (1968) and Dundes (1962b, 1964).

The classification scheme resulted in a breakdown of the tales into four sections (A-D). The largest of these is Section A, whose 32 tales will be shown to adhere to a common structural framework, whilst the sub-sections into which they are divided reflect their differences in surface content. Sections B and C are both examples of tale cycles, bound by this definition to be grouped together. Section D comprises humorous tales, largely borrowings from mestizo culture, with little in common on grounds of structure.

The analysis seeks to examine the relationship between tales within the sections, at the levels of both structure and content if this is appropriate; where it is not, remarks are confined to content alone. The analysis of both structure and content calls for some comparisons to be drawn with material from elsewhere. Such comparisons are confined to the Ecuadorian highlands,
to a lesser extent Peru, and incidental reference is made to other geographical areas, especially where borrowings are concerned.

Structural analysis was most applicable to Section A, an apparently heterogeneous group of legends and folktales which, it is argued, are bound together by common underlying features of structure. These features appear to derive from the local legends of the area, and have then encouraged the adoption and development of certain folktales whose structure was compatible with such already existing forms. The theoretical basis for this approach is to be found in Dundes (cit.), Maranda and Kongas Maranda (1971), and Hymes (1971). The breakdown of texts to reveal their structure takes both the 'syntagmatic' and the 'paradigmatic' aspects of the latter into account (see Dundes's intro. to Propp 1968:xi-xii). In order to reveal more clearly the paradigmatic characteristics of the texts, and the structural affinities that exist between tales at this level, use is made of Lévi-Straussian terminology and the methods he uses for the schematic cross-comparison of tales have been adapted (Lévi-Strauss 1970, 1972).

Analysis of content follows two main lines: in the case of the legendary material it is particularly appropriate to examine the relationship that apparently exists between the local belief system and oral narrative. In the case of folktales, it is relevant to consider content on comparative lines, examining the nature and/or distribution of episodes as they occur in Cañar and as they are found elsewhere in Andean narrative tradition. The works of Morote Best were particularly useful for this purpose (1950b, 1953b, 1954, 1957, 1958a, 1958b).

The main aim of the thesis is therefore to analyse the structure and content of the tales in order to show the underlying relationships that bind them within a coherent system of narrative tradition. Some connections at both these levels are also to be seen between sections as well as within them, and these are pointed out. Material introduced from outside was adopted, it is suggested, for its compatibility with that which was already there.
addition to this, possible social and cultural reasons for the appeal of particular kinds of tale in the area are discussed as relevant.

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Candidate: Rosaleen E. Howard-Malverde, Thesis to be submitted for degree of Ph.D, in the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, St. Andrews University, May 1979
QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

BY

ROSALIEEN E. HOWARD-MALVERDE
I declare that this thesis has been composed by me on the basis of work done by me in St. Andrews and Ecuador, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted under General Ordinance No. 12 in October 1975.

Candidate

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations relating to the Degree of Ph.D. have been fulfilled.

Supervisor
Preface and acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the following bodies, whose financial support made the research for this thesis possible: The Department of Education and Science, The Horniman Trust, The Richard Stapley Educational Trust, The Russell Trust. Thanks for advice and encouragement from the beginning go to my supervisor, Prof. Douglas Gifford, and invaluable help came from Mr. Leslie Hoggarth also of St. Andrews, who first taught me Quechua.

Library work prior and subsequent to the period of fieldwork was carried out in the St. Andrews University library, the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and the British Library. Work in Ecuador took place between January 1976 and March 1977; some eleven months were spent in Cañar carrying out the fieldwork, and an additional three months in libraries in Quito; those of the Universidad Católica, the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Biblioteca Espinosa Polít at Cotocollao. In Cuenca the library of the Casa de la Cultura was very helpful, and many of the people mentioned below allowed me invaluable access to their private collections.

Whilst in Ecuador I had nothing but help, support and hospitality from institutions and individuals alike. I should like to extend my thanks to the following in particular: Arq. Hernán Crespo Toral of the Museo del Banco Central in Quito, Dr. Arturo Crespo Toral and his family of Quito, Sr. Olaf Holm of the Museo del Banco Central in Guayaquil, Drs. Jacinto Cordero, Manuel A. Landivar and Carlos Ramírez of the Casa de la Cultura in Cuenca, and Sr. Jaime Idrovo and his colleagues of the University of Cuenca. During my stay in Cañar, the Madres Dominicanas of the Hospital de Cañar gave me board, lodging and great hospitality, and I received advice and assistance.
from Dr. Ezequiel Clavijo, Dr. Mario Bermúdez, Sr. Luis Verdugo, P. Angel Iglesias, and the Padres Esculapios of the Colegio Agrícola. Thanks go to Prof. Louisa Stark of the University of Wisconsin-Madison for her support, both in Ecuador and in Madison. Unpublished comparative material to which she gave me access has greatly helped the thesis, and I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge those compilers of that material whom I have not yet been able to thank in person, namely: Mr. Hugh Dufner and Mr. Gunter Schulze. Others who offered me material from their own collections were: Mr. Pieter Muysken, Ms. Sharon Galambos, and Mrs. Livie Drange.

The period March-May 1977, prior to my return to Scotland, was spent visiting the Department of Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where discussions with students and staff members involved in Quichua studies were very helpful. A second visit was made in April 1978. My thanks especially to Louisa Stark and Rosalind Gow, whose hospitality and encouragement would be hard to reciprocate in true Andean fashion! While in Madison I also made use of the various university libraries which afforded me valuable material.

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MAPS

ECUADOR

- Limits of Sierra

Ag: Agato
Sa: Salasaca
Ch: Chibulco
Co: Colta
Sg: Saraguro

MAPS

CAÑAR

- Panamericanana
- Minor Roads
- Footpaths

Juncal
Quillac\nCañar
Quillorumi
La Capilla
La Sipilla

Mr. Bueran 3,312
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1 MILE APPROX.
CHAPTER 1

General Introduction (*)

1.0 The choice of Cañar

During the period of the fieldwork, from the end of March 1976-beginning of February 1977, I based myself in the town of Cañar, taking a room in a disused hospital building attached to the community of the Madres Dominicanas who ran the hospital, by then housed in new buildings on the other side of the town. This location provided me with an independent and neutral base where I could come and go freely and be visited without any difficulty. Most of the fieldwork was done in the comunidades themselves, which I visited on most days. These visits gave me plenty of opportunity for observation of and participation in the Indian way of life; being there for almost a full year made it possible to take part in all the major fiestas of the year, and to witness the changing face of the landscape and activities that went with the cycle of the agricultural year.

My choice of Cañar as a base for the fieldwork was influenced by the fact that comparatively little ethnographic research had been carried out in the area. This is with the particular exceptions of the Danish anthropologists Niels Fock and Eva Krener, who had worked in Juncal between 1973-1974, and of Dra. Carmen Muñoz who had worked in the eastern part of the cantón, around Pindilig; and their work continues. At the time of my visit, however, there were no other foreign research workers in the area, which was not the case with other locations I considered, such as Otavalo, Salasaca, and Saraguro.

I was looking for an area which still had a strong Indian identity, made apparent in outward ways by dress, and hairstyle: the Cañaris provided this. Then my curiosity to get to know the area was further

(*) For typographical reasons, footnotes have been placed at the end of each chapter; italic script is used for foreign language, but not for those words considered to be proper names.
aroused by the many conflicting opinions I heard of its reputation. In part these were very negative: Cañar appeared to be viewed by the rest of the world, both Ecuadorians and foreigners, as somewhat hostile territory, unfriendly in climate and population alike. The adjective I heard most often applied to the Cañaris was bravío. In retrospect, the only signs I saw of bravísimo would have been better interpreted as the determination on the part of the indian to preserve his cultural identity in the face of continual pressure and attempts to undermine it on the part of members of the dominant mestizo culture. The intrusion of outsiders of any kind into the indian community must needs be viewed with suspicion by its inhabitants, until this is shown to be unnecessary.

2.0 Historical background

That other Ecuadorians, and particularly those north of Cañar, should view the area with traditional animosity can be explained in part by history. Cañari resistance to conquest by the Incas, begun circa A.D. 1470 by Tupac Yupanqui, led to bitter resentment following heavy loss of life. Later ill-feeling towards the Inca overlords became focussed on Atahualpa, who stood for the territories to the north of Cañar as far as and beyond Quito. The Cañaris took the side of Huáscar in the civil disputes that followed the death of Huayna Capac, and this factionalism led to their later siding with the Spanish invaders led by Benalcázar, and helping them on their way northwards to Quito. (1) Thus in historical times there was good reason for the bellicose Cañaris to be viewed with distrust by the people to their north, and it seems reasonable to suppose that present day attitudes are a vestige of this.

The present day town of Cañar is the Hatun Cañar of pre-Inca times, when the Confederación Cañari stretched from north to south.
between the rivers Chanchán and Jubones, covering an area which today includes a part of southern Chimborazo, together with the whole of Cañar and Azuay provinces. Our knowledge of the traditions and beliefs of its people at the time of conquest is sparse due to the limited number of chroniclers who witnessed and recorded these (see Rowe 1946:183ff); the most reliable of the available documentation is probably that of Cieza (op.cit.), and Cristóbal de Molina records the myth of the origin of the Cañaris attributed to the area. According to this, the world was destroyed by a flood, from which only two brothers escaped by climbing to the top of a mountain. There, they went about their daily lives, but on returning home in the evenings would find the housework done and a meal prepared by invisible hands. One day, one of the brothers sets watch and catches the intruder: a guacamayo bird in the form of a woman whom he catches and marries; from them descended the race of the Cañaris. (2) The tradition is known in the area still but, in my own experience, only in a literary form derived from such written sources as I have cited. Nonetheless, in the Cañar collection of Gunter Schulze, there is an interesting tale which appears to be a fusion of the biblical story of Noah's Ark and a truncated version of the Cañari origin myth (GS/CA/13: 'Noen arwata ruhuashoamanta'). Elsewhere in highland Ecuador, tales exist in the oral tradition which appear to be vestiges of a comparable origin myth, dealing with the theme of a single man who finds meals being prepared for him by unknown hands; he sets watch and finds a bird-woman is responsible, he captures and weds her. (GS/CO/2: 'Curiquingamanta', LS/IM/10: 'Shug tio causashoa pailla', and JC/IM/20: 'Shug sapallu runa shug urpiouncuan').
3.0 **Geographical background**

Today, Cañar is the capital of the cantón of the same name, one of three cantones, together with Biblián and Azogues, to make up the province. The population of the urban parish of Cañar is estimated according to the 1974 census at 11,156. The population of the rural parishes of Chorocopte, Honorato Vázquez (Tambo Viejo), and Juncal, to which I shall refer, are estimated at 2,300, 4,829, and 1,684, respectively. (3) Whereas the town's population is white and mestizo, that of the rural parishes is mainly Indian, with some mestizo.

The town's geographical location is a striking one; it nestles in the Cañar basin at an altitude of 3,175m. above sea level. This is one of ten interandean basins that form pockets for population from north to south between the two parallel ranges of the Cordillera Occidental and the Cordillera Oriental. (4) The town is dominated on all sides by the Azuay mountains, across whose lower slopes are scattered the Indian parcialidades or communities. Among the most prominent summits of the area is Buerán (3,815m.), which I mention as it features prominently in the folklore.

The level of Indian habitation ranges from anything between 3,200 and 3,600 m. above sea level. The climate of the zone is characterized less by seasonal variations, although these supposedly exist, than by daily fluctuations in temperature from about 65°F in the mornings to around 50°F or lower in the late afternoons and evenings. The latter part of the day is usually marked by the descent of a damp fog, and drizzle referred to as páramo - a term also applied to the marshy uplands with which it is most associated. These peculiarities of climate, together with other ecological factors influence popular beliefs, as will be seen reflected in some of the tales. The major occupation of the Indians from whom the stories were collected is subsistence agriculture; maize (*maize*) is cultivated in the more
sheltered valleys, but the land to which they have most ready access is suitable mainly for barley, wheat and pulse vegetables; above a height of about 3,400 m, only indigenous tubers such as the potato (*solanum tuberosum*), the *oca* (*oxalis tuberosa*), *melloco* (*basella tuberosa*), and *mashua* (?) will grow. These higher slopes are also used for the pasturing of livestock.

4.0 Field collection method

The tales were almost invariably tape-recorded, and later transcribed with the help of an Indian assistant (MEZ), whom I chose as she was unmarried, and therefore had less binding commitments to domestic and agricultural tasks than a married man or woman would have had; towards the end of my stay she was spending two or three days per week with me helping both to transcribe and translate, without too much inconvenience to her family. Most of the collecting went on in the informants' homes where I would either visit them very early in the morning, or late in the afternoon in order to catch the menfolk at home; with women informants there was less problem as they stayed at home until around midday, when I would often go with them to the fields taking the cooked lunch to the workers. As people came to know me, I would also be visited, particularly on Sundays, which was market day and people would already be in town for other reasons. Tales would be told and conversations would start up then, too. There was clearly a strong tradition of tale-telling, and certain members of the communities were particularly known for their aptitude (JMD and EDC were examples).

My initial contact with members of the communities came through introductions from the Padres Escolapios, and from Padre Iglesias, the parish priest. Attempts at introductions through mestizo traders or town officials did not work. As things progressed, already established
informants who understood what I was after became very cooperative in finding me new contacts. The early days of collecting were exploratory ones: I would use terms such as cuento, ejemplo, or parlo when asking people to narrate something, and would then leave the selection of material up to them. The narratives told most readily by this method would be fox and rabbit tales, or humorous narratives. Then a breakthrough came when JAG volunteered the tale of a traveller who met the devil (Tale 8). Here at last was a belief legend, an account of a supernatural happening the informant appeared to believe had happened to his grandfather. But I was still very much in the dark: from this single text it was possible to glimpse only small sections of the jigsaw. It was not until my Quichua improved and I was able to ask the right questions that the pieces began to slot into place. Then gradually I developed a fuller picture of the complex of beliefs to which details of the huairashoa remedy, and motifs such as the caja ronca belonged. The process was a gradual one.

Soon I began to look for examples in the Cañar area of tale types I had become familiar with through collections from other parts of Ecuador, and that is how I came to hear the stories of the young girl and the buzzard (Tales 20-21), and the Bear's Son tale (Tale 23). The Mama Ahuardona tales (Tales 25-28) became known to me by chance, however, as did the Christ Child cycle (Tales 33-37). The discovery of these two types was all the more exciting for having come upon them without directed questioning, and then recognizing their links with narrative traditions I knew of for other parts of the sierra.

As more texts were gathered, I devised a questionnaire based on the motifs they contained. This was designed to help estimate how far tales and the local belief system were related. The questions would sometimes elicit statements of belief, or alleged belief, and
at other times would lead to the telling of new variants of already known tale types. Another questionnaire was compiled for the purpose of gathering data of a more sociological nature: such as marriage customs, and the *compadrazgo* system. Although a large-scale correlation between such data and the tales is beyond the scope of this investigation, some of this information is relevant and will be referred to in its place.

The principal communities in which I worked were Quilloaco, La Capilla, Sigsihuacu, and La Tranca. Informants from other areas were obtained by visits to the prison in Cañar, where indians from various parts of the cantón were glad of the novelty of telling a few tales, and a valuable contact was made by visiting GGG in Juncal, and our later meetings took place either at Nar, where he worked, or when he visited me. Every attempt was made to collect from a representative cross-section of the community. However, men proved to be more gregarious than women and are represented in higher proportion than the latter. The age range of informants is wide, although the optimum age proved to be between 25 and 45 years. Much oral transmission of tales goes on between the generations, while taking a break from work, or in the evenings when gathered in the dark around the family hearth. However, I never had the opportunity to hear tales spontaneously told. There was always an awareness of my presence which either inhibited this or brought about the telling of tales with the specific aim of helping me, and being recorded. Although therefore it cannot be said that these texts are the product of a natural impulse to narrate, the audiences that gathered around out of curiosity responded naturally to what they heard, laughing where called for, gasping, nudging one another, and correcting the narrator on some occasions when he got the details 'wrong'. Sometimes a variant of a tale would be elicited by first playing a recording made on a previous occasion, and then asking
the informant to tell his own version. I consider that every chance was given to invite stories of all types into the collection, which is a representative sample of the kind of tale told nowadays among Quichua-speaking Indians in the Cañar area. Had I stayed longer and collected more, it is doubtful whether any new tale types would have emerged, although fresh motifs would have been unearthed, for such features are among the variables of folktale structure and always open to transformation and innovation.

5.0 The informants

The informants came from villages within a ten kilometre radius of the town of Cañar, belonging to the rural parishes of Chorocopte, Honorato Vázquez and Juncal. They were all primarily agricultural workers, some owning more land than others; where they were involved in any additional occupation, this is mentioned. They were all to a greater or lesser degree versed in Spanish, but all had Quichua as a mother tongue and as the language they used in their home environment. Those under about the age of 30 had usually received some formal schooling, however, very few of them showed signs of having been influenced by the written word. Exceptions were MJA, JMD, and GZP, all of whom had copies of the New Testament translated into Quichua. There is no doubt that this had influenced the Christ Child stories which, although passed on orally, had no doubt been 'tainted' by orthodoxy via such available written sources.

AGUAESA, Lorenzo, (LA): Quilloac, about 60, literate, knew Spanish, husband of TSA

AGUAESA, Manuel Jesús (MJA): Sigsihuacu, 62, literate, knew Spanish, had held position of authority in community and been part of a delegation to Quito during the setting up of the Agrarian Reform laws in the early '60s.

BUÑAY, Agustín (AB): La Capilla, about 70, non-literate, knew a little Spanish, the texts supplied by him were recorded for me by JPD,
CAMAS ZARUMA, Escolástica (ECZ): La Capilla, 39, non-literate, knew a little Spanish, mother of MEZ and wife of AZC

CHUGLLA, Manuela (MC): La Capilla, about 70, non-literate, knew very little Spanish, wife of JY

DUTAN, José Manuel (JMD): La Capilla, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, cousin of AZC

DUY CAMAS, Eduardo (EDC): Quilloac, about 30, literate, husband of PTA, brother of ECZ, weaver, helpful in finding me further contacts.

DUY, Juan Pedro (JPD): La Capilla, 29, had above average level of formal education, had been discourage by Quichua-speaking parents from speaking Quichua, had adopted mestizo hairstyle and dress, helpful in finding me further contacts.

GUAMAN, Emilio, (EG): La Capilla, 45, literate, knew Spanish, married with 4 children

GUAMAN, José Antonio (JAG): Sigsihuaicu (where he had moved fairly recently after marrying, from La Posta where his parents still lived), 26, literate, knew Spanish, married with three children, learnt stories from his father

GUASCO GUAMAN, Gerónimo (GGG): Juncal, about 35, well-educated, knew Spanish well, had previously worked with Danish anthropologists Eva Krener and Niels Fock, thanks to whose field report I found his name. At the time of my visit he was working nearby at Nar with a group of Norwegian missionaries.

MOROCHO, Santos (SM): Ducur, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, I interviewed him in Cañar prison where he had been for 7 years.

SOLANO AGUAEZA, Juan (JSA): Quilloac, about 50, literate, knew Spanish, worked for long periods on the coast, coming back to Cañar for major festivals such as Carnival, brother of PTA.

SOLANO AGUAEZA, Tomasa, (TSA): Quilloac, 54, non-literate, knew little Spanish, wife of LA.

TENEMPAHUAY BUNAY, Marfa Rosa (MRT): Sigsihuaicu, about 50, non-literate, spoke little Spanish, lived with her husband and one married son.

TENESACA, Esteban (ET): Sisid, about 35, literate, knew Spanish, had adopted mestizo hairstyle and clothing, interviewed in Cañar prison, where he had been for a couple of years.

TENESACA AGUAEZA, Presentación (PTA): Quilloac, 26, wife of EDC, 2 children, knew little Spanish

TIGSI, José Marfa (JMT): Quinoa Pata, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, an inmate of Cañar prison at the time of recording, but later released.

VELAZQUEZ, Manuel Antonio (MAV): Honorato Vazquez parish (community?), about 20, literate, knew Spanish, had adopted mestizo hairstyle and clothing, unmarried, interviewed in Cañar prison where he had been a few months.
YUGSI, Juanchu (JY): La Capilla, about 80, non-literate, spoke little Spanish, husband of MC.

ZARUMA, Marfa Etelvina (MEZ): La Capilla, about 15, had completed 2 grades of primary school, knew Spanish quite well, daughter of AZC and ECZ, helped with the transcription of the texts.

ZARUMA CARDENAS, Agustín (AZC): La Capilla, about 45, literate, knew Spanish quite well, husband of EZC and father of MEZ. Although he didn't tell me any stories he was most helpful in finding me informants, made his living more by weaving than by agriculture, in which way he was different from other members of the community.

ZHAU PATINO, Gregorio (GZP): Sigsihuacu, 89, literate, had been educated by the Padres Redentoristas, held office of indio in the community, thereby responsible for encouraging attendance at mass in the village chapel and for calling people together for mingas, probably the oldest and certainly the most respected member of the community.

6.0 Transcription and translation

It was decided to adopt the system of orthography favoured by the compilers of publications issued by the Instituto Interandino de Desarrollo in collaboration with the Ministerio de Educación designed for use in bilingual Quichua-Spanish education programmes at that time being developed in the country. In order to provide an easier stepping-stone between written Quichua and written Spanish, this system follows the norms of Spanish orthography, and this is the method I use.

As the texts are being studied here for their folkloric rather than linguistic interest, some uniformity was sought in the transcription from text to text, from informant to informant, as it was felt a rigid adherence to phonetic distinctions - particularly those found in Spanish loan-words - would have hindered a fluent reading of the texts for the sake of their content. What is more, there appeared to be no agreement from one speaker to the next as to the Spanish loan-words which received Spanish pronunciation and those which had a Quichua-ized pronunciation. The most expedient norm to adopt in this case was to give Spanish spelling to all such items. The resulting loss of linguistic flavour from the texts is somewhat regrettable, so I mention below some of the borrowings which are frequently, but by no
means always, given Quichua pronunciation by Quichua-speakers:

/\u00e1lirca/ fuerza
/jaxn\u00eada/ hacienda
/\u00e1l\u00e1sht\u00e1/ fiesta
/ju\u00f3w\u00f3r/ favor
/bi\u00f3\u00f3\u00f1a/ bestia
/\u00e9azi/ oasi

Similarly it was found expedient to decide on a norm for the transcription of some Quichua words whose pronunciation varied from informant to informant. The rule was to use the most common form of pronunciation in the case of words where some phonetic variation was found. With the following words, therefore, the one featured in the left hand column shows the orthography favoured:

allcu (allzhou)
oullqui (outlzhquil
ruhuana (rttranal
H a g\u00f3ta (llagtaï.

Where the distinction was a phonemic one, however, the distinction was retained in transcription, as with the following dialect variations:

\u00e9umpa \u00e9umpa \u00e9umpa
chup\u00f3 chup\u00f3 chup\u00f3

There are several phonetic characteristics typical of the Cañar dialect which have been retained in transcription as they appear consistently in the speech of most informants. These include the suppression of word final /-j/ in suffixes such as: /-pa\u00f3/ > /-pa/, /-ra\u00f3/ > /-ra/. /-ta\u00f3/ > /-ta/, /-yu\u00f3/ > /-yu/, /-chi\u00f3/ > /-chi/. Also, the voiced velar fricative /g/ in the suffix /-gpi/. A less consistent variation is the suppression of the final /n/ in the suffix /-man/> /-ma/. Due to the inconsistency of this usage, it was decided to keep to the standard form. (5) Morphological variations in the Cañar dialect that occur consistently have been retained also: these include the suppression of the /-pa/ in the verbal suffix /-shpa/, found especially in compounds such as: pasash cut and shitash fichuna, for example. Likewise I have retained the few examples of the variant plural suffix /-ma/ in place
of /-una/, found particularly in the texts supplied by EDC, eg. painaoa < patounaoa.

In translation every endeavour has been made to keep as close as possible to the original, that is to say the sense has not been changed in any way. At the same time an attempt has been made to give a free-flowing rendering in English which might capture the atmosphere of the Quichua expression in a way which a literal translation might fail to do. In the few cases where translation has been uncertain, this is pointed out. Occasionally terms are left untranslated, and these are listed in the Glossary, eg. gallo mishiau.

7.0 The comparative material

Comparative analysis within a limited culture area forms an important part of the analysis. This area is restricted to the Ecuadorean highlands, and to central and southern Peru. For the Ecuadorean area I have used both published and unpublished sources, whereas for comparison with Peru I restricted myself to the most readily available published sources only. The comparisons are intended to shed greater light on the context of the Cañar material - in Andean oral tradition. However, as the main aim of the investigation is the study of the the inner structure of the Cañar corpus in its own immediate environment, restrictions on the amount of comparative material to be included, particularly beyond the bounds of the Ecuadorean sierra were considered necessary. These limits thus led to the exclusion of various interesting collections and analyses of Ecuadorean Oriente material. (6)

For the Ecuadorean highland area, the unpublished texts to which I had access contributed considerably to my understanding of my own material. As I refer to these comparative texts in the course of the
analysis, a system of abbreviation is used which denotes first the
collector of the text, secondly the area where it was collected, and
thirdly the number of the text with its title. The numbering of the
texts is my own, whereas the titles are those given by the collectors.

These abbreviations are as follows:

SG/SG Sharon Galambos/Saraguro 1975
GS/CA Gunter Schulze/Cañar 1968
GS/CO Gunter Schulze/Colta 1967-68
GS/SA Gunter Schulze/Salasaca 1968
GS/AG Gunter Schulze/Agato 1968
HD/SA Hugh Dufner/Salasaca n.d.
PM/CT Pieter Muysken/Cotopaxi 1976
LS/IM Louisa Stark et al./Imbabura 1975?
LS/CH Louisa Stark/Chibuleo 1976
JC/IM José Chávez/Imbabura 1976

FOOTNOTES

(1) For accounts of the attitudes adopted by the Cañaris in Ecuador
during Inca and Spanish conquests see: Cieza de León (1853:398),
Garcilaso de la Vega (1960:1;297), González Suárez (1965:56-62, 1890,II),
(1974-6) gives the most detailed account.

(2) de Molina (1916:12-13); this myth is also mentioned in Cobo (1956:
151-152), was later documented by González Suárez (1965:63-64), and is
cited frequently by contemporary commentators, eg. Guevara (1954:52-53),
Arriaga (1965:98-99), Iglesias (op.cit.3).

(3) Junta de Planificación y Coordinación Económica (Oct.1975), this
publication was placed at my disposal by the office of the Ministerio
de Agricultura in Cañar. Further, less up-to-date statistics are avail­
able in Cisneros Cisneros (1948).

(4) Linke (1954:2), Salomon (1978:47-49)

(5) By standard form is meant the dialect of Chimborazo as used in
Stark's studies of Ecuadorean Quichua dialect variation (Stark 1975,
Stark and Muysken 1977).

(6) viz, Hartmann and Oberem (1971), Orr and Hudelson (1971), and
Santos Ortiz de Villalba (1976).
CHAPTER 2
Classification and analysis

1.0 The arrangement of the material

The sixty-four texts presented here are divided into four sections for the purpose of analysis. Within each section there may be further division into sub-sections. The texts, with English translation, precede the analysis and commentary that applies to them in each sub-section. So it is, for example, that 'Section A sub-section (a): Tales of the urou yaya', begins with the texts of Tales 1-3, that represent it, and follows on with their analysis. Before discussing the method of classification in detail, I present below the 'List of Tales', which is the result of that process:

1.1 List of Tales

Section A: Tales of encounters with the non-human world

(a) Tales of the urou yaya

Tale 1 Charun yayamanta/The old man of Charun
Tale 2 Ta’ita Buerramanta/The old man of Buerán
Tale 3 Ta’ita Buerramanta/The old man of Buerán

(b) Tales of the devil

Group (i)

Tale 4 La lucha entre la cruz y el diablo/The fight between the cross and the devil
Tale 5 Ishoal mozoouna/The two friends
Tale 6 Ishoal noviata charishyamanta/The man who had two sweethearts
Tale 7 Diablo apashoa huarmica/The woman who was abducted by the devil
Tale 8 Diablohuan tupashoa runa/The traveller who met the devil
Tale 9 El viajero quien se topó con el diablo/The traveller who encountered the devil

Group (ii)

Tale 10 Molinomanta/The haunted grinding mill
Tale 11 Diablohuan yatoushoca runa/The man who entered the devils' house
Tale 12 Chingarishoa huahuaouna/The lost children
Tale 13 Misihuan ovejahuan/The cat and the sheep

Group (iii)

Tale 14 Diablohuan contratadoca/The man who had a pact with the devil
(c) Tales of the return of the dead
Tale 15 El viajero que se encontró con un alma/The traveller who met a soul
Tale 16 Almahuan tupashoa runa/The man who met an unquiet soul
Tale 17 El alma desasosegada/The unquiet soul
Tale 18 Causarishoa huarmica/The woman who revived from the dead
(d) Tales of the uichhi
Tale 19 Solterahuan uichhuan/The young girl and the rainbow
(e) Tales of the uttaohu
Group (i)
Tale 20 Solterahuan uttaohu/The young girl and the buzzard
Tale 21 Solterahuan uttaohu/The young girl and the buzzard
Group (ii)
Tale 22 Huauquindi uttaohu/The two brothers and the buzzards
(f) The Bear's Son tale
Tale 23 Osopa churi/The Bear's Son
(g) The Snake Sister tale
Tale 24 Naña elebromananta/The Snake Sister
(h) Tales of the Mama Ahuardona
Tale 25 Huahuaconahuan jatun mamancuahuan/The old woman and the children
Tale 26 Mama Ahuardonahuan huahuaconahuan/Mama Ahuardona and the children
Tale 27 Mama Ahuardona/Old woman Ahuardona
Tale 28 Mama Ahuardona afashuan/Mama Ahuardona and the skunk
(i) Miscellaneous
Tale 29 Urpioumananta/The traveller and the doves
Tale 30 Pueblonuqvomanta/The new land
Tale 31 Runahuan ch'alli huarmihuan/A faithful husband and a faithless wife
Tale 32 Sapondi, susondi, apangurundi/The frog, the dream and the crab

Section B: The Christ Child cycle
Tale 33 Niño Jesusmanta/The story of the Christ Child
Tale 34 Niño Jesusmanta/The story of the Christ Child
Tale 35 Diospa benditona/The story of God's blessing was given
Tale 36 Diospawinahuan tatta Dioshuan/The devil and God
Tale 37 Causarishoa gallamanta/The cockerel that came back to life
Section C: Animal Tales

(a) The fox and rabbit trickster cycle

Tales 38-45 Atughuan conejohuan/The fox and the rabbit

(b) Aetiological tales of the fox and rabbit

Tale 46 Atughuan conejohuan Mama Virgenhuan/The fox, the rabbit and the Virgin Mary
Tale 47 Conejopana rinriowamanta/How the rabbit got long ears
Tale 48 El conejo y taita Diosito/The rabbit and God
Tale 49 Conejo Jesushuan aquesto/The rabbit's bet with Jesus

(c) Didactic fables

Tale 50 Uouoahuan/The town mouse and the country mouse
Tale 51 Uouoawapa conreso/The mice's meeting
Tale 52 Solitariondi chuawiri/On the solitary bird and the weasel
Tale 53 C'ari tucua ha sapa/The vain frog
Tale 54 Huonohahuan sarahuan/The opossum and the heron

Section D: Humorous Tales

(a) Bawdy priest tales

Tale 55 Taita aurita Benitomanta/Father Benito
Tale 56 Taita aurita Marianoa/Father Mariano
Tale 57 Taita auritahuan yanuorhuan/The priest and his cook
Tale 58 Taita auritahuan huifiaohishoahuan/The priest and his foster son
Tale 59 Huahuan nina o'ruhuan/The child and the glow worm
Tale 60 Beatahuan quimsa amigoahuan/The devout woman and her suitors

(b) Other humorous tales

Tale 61 Gallo tuoushoa runa/The man who played cockerel
Tale 62 Burro randidoroa/The dimwit's adventures
Tale 63 Sonooahuan huanquionahuan/The dimwit and his brothers
Tale 64 Culquiqui masehao chaswua/The deceitful golddigger

2.0 Method of classification

The classification of a set of texts as diverse as this is not a straightforward task, and however much effort is made to maintain objectivity, it is inevitable that a certain amount of arbitrariness and subjectivity should enter into the procedure. Standard techniques were consulted, and adopted to some extent; I refer in particular to the works of Aarne and Thompson, of which more in a moment.

However, it is hoped that the classification finally arrived at is one
which reflects both criteria of content, as do the Aarne-Thompson works, and criteria of narrative structure which, it shall be maintained, should be held of equal importance when establishing affinities between one tale and the next. Both these considerations would probably enter an indigenous system of classification, were one to be known, along with such factors as social function of the tale: is it meant to teach? is it an expression of belief? is it simply an entertainment? I consider my own classification to take account of the three factors: content, structure, and genre, attempting to combine something of each. Before discussing in more detail the theories behind the application of these factors to classification and analysis, I shall summarize the rationale behind the divisions I have made in the collection.

Section A: these tales have in common that they all set out to examine the relationship of conflict that exists between inhabitants of this world, the Indians of Cañar, and those of the 'other world'. That 'other world' may be depicted as hell (wou pacha/inferno), or it may be a region ecologically, rather than cosmologically, distinct from the normal bounds of human habitation: the high moorlands (urcu), or wooded hillsides (sacha), to take two examples. Its inhabitants may be the souls of the dead, the devils, the hill fathers (urcu yaya), the rainbow, certain animals, and so on. As a generic term to cover all these in the context of narrative I have chosen the label 'non-human agent', being less suggestive than 'supernatural agent', and serving to remind us that their importance is in their non-human qualities, which oppose them to the humans with whom they interact.

The criterion used for the initial assignment of tales to Section A is therefore a broad one of underlying theme, but will also be seen to be one of narrative structure; when I come on to discuss the methods of analysis I will return to this. In the subdivision of
Section A texts, however, criteria of content guided me more. It seemed reasonable to separate tales of the urou yaya from tales of the devil, tales of the rainbow, and so on. This would then pave the way for discussion of these figures and their abodes in the context of the local belief system. While the main aim of the analysis is to show that similar structural patterns run through all the tales in this section, it is not possible to separate form from content for long and they will be shown to be interdependent. The inclusion of tales in sub-section (i): 'Miscellaneous' was guided by structural criteria alone, however, as despite their dissimilarity of content, and the fact that they are borrowings, they are shown to have a narrative pattern that links them closely with the rest.

Section B: was identified straightforwardly as a collection of quasi-mythological texts relating the popular Andean version of the life of Christ. Elsewhere in the Andes a single text has been found containing all the episodes here found in separate texts from different informants (Stark 1976), which provided further grounds for classifying them together.

Section C: is a collection of tales involving the interaction of animal with animal, with only rare and incidental intervention from the human world. Within the section, sub-division was called for to distinguish the popular fox and rabbit cycle from more overtly didactic animal fables, less well integrated into the local repertoire. Tales 46-49 were placed in a sub-section on their own due to their more mythological or at least explanatory nature; in them the animal characters interact with the Creator figure (Mama Virgen, taita Dios, etc.)

Section D: contains humorous tales in which humans interact with humans; it is divided into two sub-sections according to whether they are of a comic-sacilegious nature, or had more innocent entertainment value.
The tales thus arranged can be seen to progress from those that are closely related to the local belief system (humans interact with the non-human world) to those that appear barely affected by it (humans interact with humans). Yet again, it may argued that even the Section D 'Humorous Tales' have a connection with the belief system – this time in a negative sense. In them we find depicted credulous fools who are taken in by the supernatural appearance of things; the heroine of Tale 1, who received genuine golden corn cobs from the hill father, has given way by Tale 64 to the gullible hero who took plastic toys to be made of gold. The arrangement of the tales thus traces a progression from the supernatural to reality, from religious belief to secularization and cynicism. This is no accident for, as the material will show, the narrative repertoire of the Cañar Indian today is the result of a long-standing process of admixture with mestizo culture, and the move towards realism in oral narrative, away from the expression of indigenous beliefs, I believe to be part and parcel of such acculturation.

3.0 Theory of classification

I have stated that three factors had to be considered in setting up the method of classification: content, structure, and genre. On the whole, the last of these was the least influential. Section A, for example is a mixture of belief legends and folktales. Although these do tend to fall into separate sub-divisions, it is more by reason of their content and/or structure than their generic qualities. However, the question of genre is an essential one to discuss in this introductory chapter, if only due to the necessity of defining terms.

3.1 The question of genre

The discussion of genre theory is one that occupies much time and energy in folklore scholarship, and I shall limit myself to defining
the terms I have decided upon for the discussion of this corpus. (1)
The history of the search for definitions of forms of prose narratives
in oral tradition began with the three categories established by the
Grimm brothers, corresponding to the titles of their three works:
*Kinder und Hausmärchen* (1812-1815), *Deutsche Sagen* (1816-1818),
*Deutsche Mythologie* (1835), which were customarily rendered in Eng­
lish as: 'fairy tale', 'legend', and 'myth', respectively. Bascom's
article on the question of genre definition remains to be superseded,
and has been of some use. His conclusions take us back to Grimm, with
the exception that he renders *Märchen* as 'folk tale', noting that 'fairy
tale':

"is inappropriate both because narratives about fairies are
usually regarded as true, and because fairies do not appear
in most folktales."
(Bascom 1965:4)

The terms to be used most often in relation to the Càfar texts
are: tale, belief (or local) legend, memorat, folktale, and myth. To
what extent has Bascom helped with my definition of these? I use the
word 'tale' to apply to any piece of folk narrative, whatever its
genre. This is less cumbersome than the term 'prose narrative',
coined by Bascom as a blanket term to cover the whole field of what
had otherwise often been loosely referred to as 'folk tale'. 'Tale'
is a convenient tag that shall be used in this study in reference
to any one text: 'Tale 54', 'Tale 17', etc.

The term 'legend' is defined as follows by Bascom:

"prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by
the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period
considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today."
(loc.cit.)

He goes on to typify legends as tales in which the principal char­
acters are human, telling of migrations, wars, victories, etc., and
notes that they may also include local tales of buried treasure,
ghosts, fairies and saints. It is in this latter respect that much
of the Section A material can be classified as legend. According to Bascom's system a tale is a legend if it fulfills the following conditions: it is given a local setting, it takes place in relatively recent time (i.e., not a former creation), it is believed in as fact by its teller, its main actors are human. Appearing to conform to such criteria are the following sub-sections of Section A: (a), (b), (c), and (d), and to a limited extent: (e), (f), and (h). This is more fully discussed in the introduction to that section.

Modifications I would add to Bascom's guidelines are firstly that the degree of belief in the legend as fact should be relative to the degree of cynicism exercised by the narrator; secondly that the fixing of the tale's action in realistic space or time should be flexible. We should be able to recognize a tale as a legend by the general descriptive background of its setting; locations such as woupi, sauhapi, etc., might be sufficient qualification, as these carry localized associations. The fixing in time criterion should be equally flexible. Not all the Caruar legends give us an indication of their temporal setting, although some refer to the action as having taken place in the naupa tiempo. This did not appear to be placing the tales in an age prior to this one (which might qualify them as myth), but rather simply a few generations back in the days, for example, before the common use of mechanized transport.

That the criteria for classing a tale as legend should not be as rigid as those of the Grimms, upon which Bascom is based, has been argued by Heda Jason, who calls not for fundamental alterations in their criteria, but rather for a reduction of their categories from absolute to relative ones. He takes as a case in point the determinant regarding the amount of belief the narrator and his audience may have in any given legend:
"Today we know that the quality of any narrator’s attitude towards his tale is unstable, that it varies from individual to individual and even from period to period in the lifetime of a single individual."

(Jason 1971:143)

The degree of belief attached to their narratives by different Cañar informants certainly varied in this way, and some would claim scepticism perhaps out of embarrassment; so the belief determinant can certainly be no cut and dried issue.

Another theorist who has contributed importantly to the definition of genre is the Swedish folklorist C. von Sydow. According to his system the belief legends in Section A would be termed Sage or Glaubensfabulat, which he distinguishes from the Memorat. The latter is a formless account of an individual experience, whereas the Glaubensfabulat is the more structured product of communal tradition.

(von Sydow 1948:73-75) Lauri Honko has gone on from here to examine the processes by which Memorat may develop into belief legends and still be valuable reflectors of the folk belief system of the area where they are found. Due to the close and complementary relationship that was found between the two in the Cañar material it is worthwhile to look at his description:

"When an exciting description of a supernatural experience spreads from one district to another, it becomes schematic, and the spirits' activities, for eg., become concrete and graphic. Although this product is no longer close to the original experience, it may nevertheless remain in harmony with the memorate tradition and belief tradition of the locality."

(Honko 1964:12)

Von Sydow's classification has been adapted by the North American, E.K. Miller, in her arrangement of Mexican folk narratives from the Los Angeles area, which was helpful to us as an example of the application of theory to a specific case. For example, she notes that the devil narratives in her collection:

"range from well-structured stories indicative of established local legends to anecdotes about personal encounters and
fragmented commentaries functioning as expressions of beliefs rather than stories."
(Miller 1973:33)

As far as my own material is concerned, while the texts presented correspond to "established local legends" (von Sydow's *Glaubensfabulat*), further questioning elicited "fragmented commentaries" expressing beliefs (von Sydow's *Memoraten*). (2)

It remains to discuss the other terms I use to refer to genre: 'folktale' and 'myth', and the usefulness of Bascom's definitions here. "Folktales," he says, "are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction....(they) may be set in any time and any place, and in this sense are almost timeless and placeless." (loc.cit.) It is equivalent to the Grimms' *Märchen*.* While the legend deals with supernatural events that are 'believed' by its bearers, and is regarded as pertaining to the real world of the narrator and his audience, the folktale or *Märchen* is not believed, although it too may deal with supernatural events (Jason op.cit.134). From the Cañar material it will be seen that few tales fit this category precisely. Most of the texts which bear likeness to the 'folktale' as here defined, also have an admixture of 'legend' characteristics. Even Tale 24 which is clearly a folktale has been influenced by local belief to some extent; in the representation of the devil as *hacendado*, for example. Only some borrowed tales that have hardly been altered by their new setting can be termed 'folktales' in the absolute sense, for example Tale 31. Additionally, the animal tales and humorous tales may largely be classed as 'folktales'.

"Myths," says Bascom, "are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past." And he goes on to define the main characters in myth as not usually human, although they may have human attributes, but as animals, deities or culture heroes. They are
usually set in an age when the world was different from today, and may account for the origin of things (loc.cit.). (3) To this I would add that myth is generally understood to have sacred qualities for the society to which it belongs; in the Andean context this particularly includes narrations that describe the former creations, how they evolved and how they ended. (4) The oft-cited Cañari origin myth has already been referred to and, although I found none myself, extant modern-day versions are known. As far as this definition is concerned, the material closest to fitting it in my own collection are the Christ Child tales (Section B). The action here is said to have taken place in the tiempo de Dios Padre, the term used to describe the age before the present one when, according to EDC for example, trees, stones and mountains could speak. (5) The degree to which the fox and rabbit cycle might also be regarded as myth is discussed in the introduction to Section C; certainly the explanatory tales involving interaction between these animals and the Creator figures might be viewed in such a light.

3.2 The Finnish-American School

Many previous attempts at the identification and classification of tale types have been inspired by the pioneer works of Antti Arne and Stith Thompson: The Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 vols. (1955-58), and The Types of the Folktale (1961). Their approach depends upon the isolation of salient features of content, be they objects, actors, customs or incidents, known as motifs, in order that tales may be grouped together as of the same type on the basis of having motifs in common. This method does not take into account structural considerations, which might call for a modification in that grouping. These pioneer works have however been of enormous bibliographical value in drawing together collections of folk narrative of diverse cultural origins, and have given rise to further indices based on their model.
(Boggs 1930, Hansen 1957, Robe 1973). However, none of these give adequate coverage of native American tale types of the Andean area, so as far as the classification of indigenous material is concerned they are of limited use, except where this contains evident borrowings from Indo-European culture. The most useful comparative work for the Quechua area has been done by Efrain Morote Best, who has made exhaustive comparisons of particular tale types for Peru, although unfortunately no overall index of types or motifs has yet been compiled (see Morote Best 1950b, 1953b, 1954?, 1957, 1958a, 1958b).

The Aarne-Thompson method has been criticized by Propp (1968:8-11), and Dundes has pointed out its limitations (1962b, 1964:38-39). It does indeed suffer from imprecision and an arbitrariness in its approach. Even the crucial distinction between tale type and motif is blurred in Thompson's definition: he makes the confusing assertion that 'simple incidents' are a class of motif which can be treated also as tale types (1946:416). This ambiguity arises from an inadequacy in his definition of motif which by allowing for actors, objects, customs, beliefs, and incidents all to fall under this heading, fails to delimit the unit as what Dundes has termed a 'measure of a single quantity' (1962b:97). If tales are to be classed according to their most salient features of content, yet there is no strict ruling for the isolation of these, an arbitrariness is bound to dominate the resulting classification. Propp points out the shortcomings of Aarne's method with the case of his classification of fairy tales. According to Aarne, these should be subdivided into those featuring:

"(1) a supernatural adversary; (2) a supernatural husband (wife);
(3) a supernatural task;" and so on. But, remarks Propp:

"What of those tales in which a supernatural task is resolved by a supernatural helper (which occurs very often), or those in which a supernatural spouse is also a supernatural helper?"

(op. cit. 10)
Dundes's criticism of the approach rests on its failure to take structural considerations into account. Tales may be placed in quite different categories when in fact the action of the story and its meaning for the actors is closely comparable and, at a structural level (in the Proppian sense), would cause them to be classed together as variants of each other. He illustrates this with the example of 'Tale Type 9; The Unjust Partner', which has been placed in the section devoted to 'Animal Tales' in the Aarne-Thompson work, on the grounds of the actors it contains being animals. This criterion fails to give weight to the fact that it is structurally the same story as 'Type 1030: The Crop Division', which appears, by the same token, in the 'Stupid Ogre' section (Dundes 1962b:98). For such reasons of structure, I have divided the Canar devil narratives into three sub-groups, so factors of content and structure are both taken into account.

The main criticism that attaches to the Motif Index as a tool for the comparison of tale content is the fact that the entries are listed out of the contexts in which they occur. These contexts are of course determined by the culture to which they belong, yet Thompson's comparative method draws under a single heading motifs from vastly different areas, abstracting them from the environment that gives them their value. As a result we come across entries such as 'G200 Witch', which for the sake of simplicity and ease of reference equates the term 'witch' as it is found in such widely separated cultures as those of Western Europe, the Near East, Western Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Clearly the method can be misleading: the projection of terminology (the word 'witch') belonging to Western European tradition onto cultural institutions that perhaps have a different function in the societies to which they belong, is but one of the problems raised by such over-simplification.
Having said this, can we apply Thompson's motif categories to the Cañar material? Can we, to take a specific example, apply 'F360.1 Fairies pursue unbaptized children' to the behaviour of the urcu yaya in Tale 1; Taita Charumanta? Taking the action at the level of structure it would seem this might be possible, but without knowing the cultural background to the Danish text from which Thompson's entry derives, many doubts must remain. To further illustrate the Motif Index's limitations, 'F460.4,7 Mountain-man as godfather' would appear to be directly applicable to the same Cañar tale, but on tracing back one of Thompson's references (to Type (A-T) 1165), we find the connection is misleading. Whereas in Tale 1 we have an implacable Andean hill-spirit, in A-T 1165 we have a Scandinavian troll who is easily outdone. The value of establishing such cross-cultural, Frazerian connections at the level of content is doubtful.

In summary, the tale type index has been useful mainly for the identification of tales or parts of tales that seem to have reached Cañar from diverse Euro-Asian origins. The Motif-Index is used with more caution for it could lead to suggesting similarities where none exist. However, in order to demonstrate the extent of its value for present purposes, I have included at the end of each text such correlations with Thompson motif entries as can safely be presumed to be borrowings, although there must be a margin for error and speculation in such an endeavour. In addition, I have included broadly defined motifs that might be said to be universally applicable; 'T510 Miraculous conception' could be an example of this.

3.3 The contribution of Propp

It was also found useful to draw on the theory of tale type identification demonstrated by Vladimir Propp in his Morphology of
the Folktales (1968), as an additional guide to determining categories for the Cañar material. Propp's work is valuable in leading us towards a morphological analysis of folktales at the level of 'function', defined, it would be useful to recall, as follows:

"An act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action." (op.cit.21)

This type of analysis reveals similarities between tales which, as mentioned above, could be overlooked by the Aarne-Thompson approach. An important part of his method shows that all tales containing functions drawn from the same common axis can be deemed to be of the same type. In the case of his particular material he shows that 100 Russian fairy tales chosen at random are of one type. Tales may contain any number of combinations of a maximum 31 functions, in this case, and those tales found to contain identical combinations of functions are deemed sub-types of the type (op.cit.22-23).

Propp's method was useful up to a point for the classification of the Cañar material. It was found that all the Section A tales contained a selection of a common list of functions, the first three of which were indispensable for a tale to be allotted to that section. These functions are listed in full in the introduction to Section A. In fact all the four sections into which the tales were divided correspond to type groups, in the Proppian sense of the term. The functions found in the Section A tales are mutually exclusive of those that could be extracted for the Section B tales, and so on. This factor was brought in to modify the system of classification, so that it came to be based not solely on criteria of content. Due to the essential inter-dependence of structure and content, the consideration of both sets of criteria was not found to be incompatible, indeed they could be said to complement each other. At the classification stage, as at the analysis stage, it was never desirable to give such importance to
structural criteria that the value of the content might be underrated. The concern of this study is to examine the tales in their relationship not only to each other but also to the system of popular belief that surrounds them in the specific context of Cañar, so it would be defeating the object to abstract elements of the tales to a level at which such culturally determined features might be lost. So the criterion of content is prominent at the classification stage, as the 'List of tales' suggests.

In support of my reservations with regard to Propp, it should be noted that he has been criticized particularly on the grounds that he does not take enough into account the ethnographic context of the tales he is analysing (Lévi-Strauss 1960:137-141). This failing, in the view of Lévi-Strauss, is an outcome of Russian formalist methodology, which for scientific purposes divorces form from content, relegating the latter to a secondary position of importance:

"Propp fait deux parts dans la littérature orale: une forme, qui constitue l'aspect essentiel, parce qu'elle se prête à l'étude morphologique, et un contenu arbitraire, auquel, pour cette raison, il n'accorde qu'une importance accessoire." (op.cit.137)

This structuralist critique leads on to demonstrate the importance of specific features of content and the way in which generalizations such as Propp's can obscure the cultural symbolism innate in those features. One of the examples Lévi-Strauss uses shows how it would be wrong to subsume the terms 'plum tree' and 'apple tree', in relation to certain N. American indian tales, under the common heading 'tree', for it is in the essence of these two words that important native categories of thought are to be perceived: the plum tree being associated with fecundity and the apple tree with strength and rapport with the earth due to its long roots (op.cit.141). This argument encourages my reluctance to take Propp's methodology to its extreme in the attempt to identify tale types for Cañar. The ethnographic significance of
content should always be kept in mind; journeys made on foot to Cuenca in days before the introduction of mechanized forms of transport have acquired a mystique in the oral tradition of the people, and this—should—be—differentiated—from the beliefs that surround abandoned hacienda buildings, which also lend themselves to explanation in ethnographic and historical terms.

Propp's methods have, therefore, been of some help in isolating the tale types represented in the classification. Where his argument really comes into its own, however, is in the analysis, and in the discussion of that stage I shall explain how this was so. In concluding this present discussion, it seems relevant to note that to date no folklorist, however much he may support the Proppian method, has successfully employed it in the classification of folktales. Propp himself discussed its potential usefulness for classificatory purposes (op.cit.99-104), but never undertook such a task. I consider that an unmodified application of his method would be too difficult for classification purposes, and as one-sided as the comparative methods of the Finnish-American school have been shown to be. But I am in agreement with Dundes, who has put forward a convincing argument for the use of morphological approach as a complement to, rather than a substitute for the comparative one:

"Assuming that there may be different formulaic sequences of motifemes for different kinds of folktales or for folktales in different culture areas, there could well be a tale-type index based upon morphological criteria. But this index would be in addition to the Aarne-Thompson type-index and would be cross-referenced so that a folktale scholar could tell at a glance what Aarne-Thompson tale types belonged to which morphological tale types."

(Dundes 1962b:104)

Such a project as he suggests would be an ambitious one, but in essence I agree with what he is saying: that the criteria of tale structure should be combined with criteria of content when devising
a system of classification, and it is in this way that I arrived at the divisions shown in the 'List of tales'.

4.0 Method of analysis

The aim of the analysis of the tales is to clarify the nature of the relationship between them at the levels of structure and of content. The breakdown of the tales into sections at the classification stage has already established that such a relationship exists between tales belonging to the same section, at least, and it will now be necessary to underline those features which give them their group identity in each case. Where applicable, the connections between tales and the local belief system will also be examined.

The differing nature of the material from one section to the other calls for a corresponding variation in emphasis in the analytical approach adopted. Sometimes an equal emphasis is given to the analysis of structure and content; in other cases, greater emphasis is laid on the analysis of content, with less upon that of structure. I shall now summarize for each section in turn the emphasis in approach that is given, and the reasons for it.

Section A: this section contains exactly half of the whole corpus, and comprises 32 texts, many of them disparate in content, through which, I shall contend, there runs a common underlying structural pattern. The means by which I set out to prove this is described in more detail in the introduction to that section, but here I shall define and discuss what is meant by the term structural analysis in the context of this investigation, and with particular reference to Section A where it is of special importance.

The term is used both in the sense of syntagmatic structure and in that of paradigmatic structure. The first of these seeks to outline the narrative pattern of a text by showing the chronological
or linear sequence followed by its events; the second to show the underlying relationship that obtains between parts of a tale one to the other and what this relationship can be said to represent.

To the first of these ends, each text is tabulated to show the chronological sequence of events which comprise it, such events being referred to as 'episodes'. The term refers to the description of a single action in the course of the narrative, e.g., 'episode iii: Taita Buerán invites H to enter his home' (Tale 2). (7) The episodes are grouped together into larger units termed 'moves', a term which derives from Propp, used to describe a logically complete set of episodes which may or may not then lead on to another move. (1968:92-3). A tale may contain only one move (consisting of any number of episodes), or it may comprise a series of moves.

All the Section A tales may be considered to belong to one and the same type group, in the Proppian sense, in that they draw upon a common list of 'functions'. The list of functions in question is given in the introduction to the section. The correlation of individual tales with this list of functions helps also towards the identification of common features of narrative pattern existing between tales of outwardly distinct features of content. To take an example: it can be seen how the sequence of functions: 1: Initial situation → 2: Journey → 3: Encounter etc., applies equally to the tale of the traveller on the road to Cuenca who meets the devil (e.g. Tale 8), as to the tale of the girl who meets the rainbow while tending her flocks out on the hills (Tale 19).

Analysis of paradigmatic structure is derived in part from the techniques of Claude Lévi-Strauss, by which the inner relations of parts of a tale to each other, and the terms of the oppositions and parallels that these could be said to express, are shown. (8) The
usefulness of the syntagmatic approach comes into play further here, as the discussion of the inner paradigmatic relationship between parts of a tale is done in terms of the moves into which the tale has previously been divided. Additionally, I use a structuralist approach to express in a schematic way the relationships between the actors and the symbolic value that can be said to be attached to these. Thus, for example, in Tale 4, the tripartite relationship that develops between Hero (H), cross, and devil, could be expressed in terms of the following sets of oppositions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hero} & : \text{cross} : : \text{this world} : \text{other world} \\
\text{cross} & : \text{devil} : : \text{good} : \text{bad} \\
& \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Throughout the analysis of the Section A tales, the combination of syntagmatic and paradigmatic approaches to the structural study of tales is used to reveal what I believe to be the innate inner pattern of those tales, and a pattern which to some degree they all have in common. (9)

In the case of Section A, the structural examination of the tales precedes the analysis of content. The latter, however, is of almost equal importance. While it is important to recognize underlying structural similarities, at the level of content many common factors are also to be found between the tales. In fact, the study of content is very much linked to the study of structure and it would be artificial to separate the two for long. Indeed, the structural pattern of a tale may be held to account for borrowings and transformations at the level of content, and these will be pointed out.

The analysis of content can in turn vary in nature; in the case of tales deemed to be belief legends, it will focus on the motifs they contain that reflect the belief system; in the case of the folktales, a comparison of episodes will be made in the context of specific branches of Andean oral tradition - that of the Bear's Son tale, for
example. Thus, in Section A, a study of comparative texts and ethnographic data is given the same weight as the structural analysis.

Section B: the cyclical nature of the Christ Child tales presupposes a kinship between them, and it is not necessary to undertake the kind of structural analysis as was carried out for Section A in order to prove this. The main emphasis is upon comparative analysis, which reveals how much the Cañar texts contribute to the wider tradition of such tales in the Andes. A commentary on certain aspects of structure does follow this, with the aim of suggesting affinities at that level with other areas of Andean oral tradition.

Section C: in the case of sub-section (i), the peculiar episodic character of the fox and rabbit cycle calls for an analysis of linear structure in the form of a breakdown of the distribution of episodes across 28 comparative versions of the tale. Thus, comparative and structural analysis go hand in hand. With sub-sections (ii) and (iii), the main emphasis is on comparative analysis only, as there is little foundation for arguing a common structural framework for this mixture of tales, many of them appearing to be unaltered borrowings.

Section D: with the humorous tales, again little can be said in terms of their structure in determining a relationship between them, although in some cases structural connections suggest themselves with tales belonging to other sections - Tale 58 is a notable example. Here too the emphasis is on content analysis, and comparative references. The tales are largely borrowings, and many are found to be closely comparable to A-T types.

Incorporated into the analysis of each section is a commentary on the features that can be found in common with tales pertaining to other sections, both at the levels of structure and of content. The divisions imposed by classification are but an analytical artifice,
and should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the tales are the product of a creative impulse that takes no account of such things. Thus it is in the Christ Child tales, to take one example, that we find curious echoes of both the devil legends and of the fox and rabbit cycle.

5.0 Theory of analysis

Above, I made a brief reference to the fact that narrative structure and content are interdependent to such an extent that the one can be found to explain borrowings or transformations in the other, (10) I have said that the combination of structural and comparative approaches to the analysis of tales will serve to reveal a common underlying pattern running through tales of the same type, and Section A serves as a working model for this. In that section particularly, it is to be shown that the existence of such a pattern can explain the adoption of certain migratory tales, which can be found to follow that pattern wholly or in part, whilst features of content may differ. There can be said to be a structural compatibility between the already existing tale, and the borrowed tale that encourages the borrowing.

My theoretical standpoint in this respect finds support in the views of Maranda and Köngas Maranda who have said, for example, in their introduction to The Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition:

"At present we are inclined to think that the most important frame of a narrative is its own socio-cultural background, even in the case of borrowed plots, for plots (and other narrative materials) can only be borrowed if they fit or can be molded to fit the culture, more exactly the level of culture which we would call deep structures."

(1971a:ix)

By 'deep structures' they mean something akin to 'langue' as opposed to 'parole', thus borrowing terms from linguistics. The analogy would be completed by equating individual examples of texts with 'parole', whereas the 'langue' constitutes the fund of beliefs and traditions...
of narrative structure of any given culture, with which members of that culture must be able to identify a text before borrowing it, or handing it down:

"Instances of narrative communication (texts) are on the level of performance and can be called surface structures; under every performance there is a process in which some materials, such as inherited or international tale plots, or actual experiences, are transformed to fit the deep ('timeless') structures of the culture."

(loc.cit.)

The borrowed plots to be found in the Cañar material are to be found intermixed with indigenous ones to a great extent, but sub-section (i) contains some tales that have not been so fully adapted. In the introduction to that sub-section I shall refer again to the theoretical grounds upon which I can include them there at all, which are perhaps best summed up by Dundes as follows:

"The structural approach to folktales might help to elucidate the rationale underlying one culture's borrowing folktales from another. For instance it is possible that if a culture already possessed indigenous examples of a given structural type, it might be much more likely to accept foreign examples of the same type or perhaps alter borrowings in such a way as to make them conform to the preferred structural type."

(1962a:173)

The implications of this theory have a practical value to the researcher who is anxious to discover the 'langue' of a given culture's narrative traditions. It results, as Hymes notes, in even blatantly borrowed material having an intrinsic interest for the overall conclusions:

"The occurrence of a reworked European tale in an Indian pueblo may evoke amusement, or embarrassment, if one thinks of one's goal as autochthonous texts. If one thinks of one's goal as natively valid rules, such a case may be an invaluable opportunity to verify the principles of the native genre through an instance of their productivity."

(Hymes 1971:51-52)

The holistic approach adopted in the analysis makes it possible for the tales to be divided into sections according to type, but for comparisons still to be drawn across these boundaries. So points in
common, either of structure or of content, will be found between Sections A, B, C, and D, as well as within them. I have already made this observation, and could conclude by offering one final example, in the connection that could be suggested between the serious local legends of Section A and the sacrilegious tales of Section D, which could be said to be their comic counterpart and indicative, I repeat, of the results of acculturation.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For an up-to-date review of the scholarship, see Ben-Amos (1974).

(2) For further discussion of the legend genre, and the relationship between it and belief, see: Lüthi (1969), Dēgh and Vazsonyi (1971), Georges (1971).

(3) See also Leach(M)(1949) for 21 definitions of 'myth'.

(4) For a comprehensive survey of Andean creation myths, many contained in the chronicles, see Mishkin (1940).

(5) Fock and Krener have further details of concepts regarding the época de Dios Padre: "Primero vivieron bajo el dominio del Dios Padre, cuando el Sol era un dios con el cual se podia hablar y donde piedras, animales, plantas y toda la Creación estaba dotado del don del habla y habia dueños Urosigaya que vigilaban cada uno su región alrededor de un cerro." (1977a:11); cf., also Rufoz Bernand's findings in Pindilig (n.d.2).

(6) Dundes discusses this distinction between the approaches of Propp and Lévi-Strauss respectively in his introduction to Propp (op.cit.xi-xii).

(7) For a discussion of the history of the terminology of folktale analysis see Dundes (1964 :28-30).

(8) For demonstration of the method from which I derive this approach, see Lévi-Strauss (1972, 1967). Mine is a much simplified version, of course.

(9) The discussion as to whether tales have an innate inner pattern cannot be gone into here, but for a résumé of it see Dundes (1974:77), also Lévi-Strauss (1970:2).

(10) The use of the term 'transformation' also derives from Propp (1972).
CHAPTER 3 (*)

Section A: Tales of encounters with the non-human world

Introduction

The narrative pattern which can be said to be common to the material assembled in this section is identified according to necessarily broad terms of comparison. It is by no means the case that every tale follows the same pattern in every detail. This is a motley collection of texts in comparison, for example, with Propp's 100 Russian fairy tales. The latter were found to contain the same functions due to their generic unity and relatively unacculturated state (op.cit.100). The present collection possesses neither of these qualities, so therefore their common functions and the pattern these follow are of a less specific nature than Propp's definitions.

A list of functions extracted for the Section A texts is as follows:

Broad definition of functions occurring in Section A tales

1 INITIAL SITUATION
   hero/heroine (H) is set apart from community by physical or moral circumstances

2 JOURNEY
   H goes away from home (sometimes inherent in 1)

3 ENCOUNTER
   H comes into contact with non-human agent

4 INTERACTION
   relationship established between H and non-human agent

5 SUPERNATURAL BIRTH
   H gives birth to non-human or semi-human child

6 MEDIATION
   third party acts on behalf of H, offering help or protection

7 H ARRIVES AT OTHER WORLD

8 OUTCOME OF OTHER WORLD CONTACT
   H receives information or objects from non-human agent

9 RESOLUTION
   a) non-human agent is overcome
   b) H dies as result of Encounter
   c) H derives material benefit from Encounter
   d) H returns home

(*) Due to its extreme length, footnotes are placed at the end of subsections in this chapter.
The analyses of the individual sub-sections will show how the tales, differing from each other in genre and content, contain a significant proportion of these functions. Functions 1-4 are common to them all, without exception, and are the main justification on structural grounds for placing the tales in one and the same section. They constitute what I choose to call 'type-defining' functions; in possessing them, a tale warrants classification in this type-group or section.
**Section A sub-section (a): Tales of the Yuru Yaya**

**Texts**

**Tale 1: Taita Charumanta**

Shug huarmitacuעה nishoa nin avua huahuata aparishpa, Charun quinratta pasash uraiman. Charimanta nishoa nin huarmistuta: - ¿Maantanta rieunqun? - nish Charun Yaya l'ugishishpa o'ayashoa nin.

Charimanta Charun Yaya o'ayapi nishoa nin: - Huacapish rieuni Bibliamman ashun varata mashaoringapa - nish.

Charimanta nishoa nin Charun Yaya: - Bueno, nua varata juyachishpa.

Shami huarmistu - nish.

Charimanta huarmitacuعا aparishpa avamun.

**Huarmitaaca uoupipa nishoa nin:** - Cai varata ishou - nishoa nin.

Charimanta huarmistituca monton sarapi taririish ishou calariishoa nin jutun. Yurag sava nin, yana varata nin, yuca varata, tuuci chaicuna varatam.


Charimantu huarmioa nishoa nin: - Bueniari, compadre, bueno.

- Nhuaca bautisachishpa osha canman sarata - nish.

Charimantu Charun Yaya compadre ruhuasha.

Charun Yaya compadre ruhuagpi ishoari aspallata osho: yana oasppahu yurag oasppahu.

Charimanta nishoa nin: - Ri oasoa asilla apasha.


Charimanta Charunaca oomadreataca nishoa nin: - De una ves mana oasho, huacahuan causai oallapi - nishoa nin.


Charimanta paico osha cachasha asha yantata apachishpa, varata apachishpa hia.

Charimanta shamunoisho a/n huasiman outingapa, Huasiman outingapa shamunoqpi cuca tupashpa nishoa nin: - Canoa maamantata shamunoqpi tashi horapes?


Charimanta paico entonoes hia huasiman chaayomushoa. Huasiman chaayomushpa huahutaaca suenachisho a/n wupi.

Charimantaca p'uyu paramo shamusho nin, P'uyu paramo shamunqpi outin Charun Yayaaca o'atish shamushoa nin huahutaaca, Huahutaachi o'atish shamush patuna suenachigpica Charun Yayaaca aparishoa nin hia outishpa, Charun Yayaaca maroasha huahuta aparishoa Nin, Charimanta maroasha huahuta aparishqi ahi huarmica nishoa nin: - Huca compadremit shamush aparin - nishoa.

Charimanta hia outin huarmi o'atigrisho a/n, Huarmi o'atigrigpica hia
The Old Man of Charun hill

A woman was once out walking, carrying with her a child that was not yet baptized. She was going down into the valley along the slopes of Charun, At that moment the Old Man of Charun appeared and called to her: "Where are you going?"

"I'm going down to Biblian to fetch a little maize," she replied, "I can give you maize on credit," he said, "come with me, little woman," And he took the woman into the hill.

Once they were inside, he told her: "Strip this maize." She found herself sitting on a great pile of maize cobs and so began to strip them of their grains. There was maize of all colours to be stripped: white maize, black maize, red maize. While she was busy, the Old Man spoke to her: "I shall give you some maize to take home and feed to your children, By the way," he continued, "why don't I baptize the child for you?"

"Very well," said she,

"If you let me baptize your child, I shall make you gifts of maize," he was saying.

And so the Old Man of Charun became the child's godfather, and the woman's compadre.

Once he had become her compadre, he gave the woman just two corn cobs; a black one and a white one. "Take these home with you," he told her. It happened that the woman was very poor, but now she became very rich, for the maize she was given turned out to be gold, not maize at all!

After that she used to visit her compadre's house frequently. Every time she went, he would send her home with gifts of golden maize and thus she became richer and richer. On the days that she was due to visit him, the Old Man would have a great pile of maize ready in the house for her to strip. And then he would give her just two cobs to take home with her.

One day Old Man Charun said to the woman; "I'm not going to send you home once and for all. You must stay and live here with me,"

"Oh no, compadre, I must go along home. What would become of my husband and children without me?"

And so he sent her home carrying gifts of firewood and corn cobs.
As she was coming along the road towards home, her husband met with her.
"And where are you coming from at this time of day?" he demanded,
"I'm coming from my compadre's house. He gives me firewood and maize."
And so she arrived home and set about putting her child to bed.

Suddenly a thick mist came down and the wind blew a bitter drizzle about
the house. Under cover of the mist and drizzle, Old Man Charun came
after his godchild. Just as it was falling asleep in its bed, he carried
it away. As he carried his godchild away, the mother cried; "My compadre
is carrying my child away!"
So she went after him, but reaching the place, she found that she could
not get in. So the child was unable to meet with its mother. Weeping
she returned home crying: "Oh cursed compadre, why have you taken my
child from me?"

Now when she got home without finding the baby, her husband was very
angry with her: "You've given my baby away to your compadre!" he accused
her.
They began to fight each other with blows, and she cried; "What do you
mean, I gave it away? He himself came and took it."

After that her husband wasn't willing to let her return to the compadre's
house, so, as she was intent on seeking an entrance there, she slipped
away secretly.

This time the Old Man let her in. But he was never to let her out again.
There she stayed under a spell. Her child was transformed into a heap of
maize, while she turned into a mountain bush. There they remained within
the hill and it is said that to this day they live there with Old Man
Charun. That's my story.

Informant; JMT, 7th July 1976

F460 Mountain spirits
N511.3.1 Treasure of mountain spirit
D475.1 Transformation: objects to gold
C42 Tabu: offending mountain spirit
C953 Person must remain in other world because of broken tabu
C961 Transformation to object for breaking tabu
C961.3.2 Transformation to tree for breaking tabu

Tale 2: Taita Bueranmanta

Taita Bueranca solo ugshata charin nin, mana sachata charin nin,
Taita Bueranca suenashoa nin, chatrioumi mana sachata charin nin, solo
ugshallata charin nin. Taita Bueranca semejante p’iña juin,
Rabiarishpaa juin tambachin, paramochin, p’uyu tapan tuowi Buerantaa.
Taita Bueranca chayugmi nin: papa, uoa, milluu, tuowi chaionata
p’uonahin, Semejante haertata oharin nin, huasha ladoman: Taita
Bueranca papa, uoa, milluu huertata charin nin,

Chatimanta entonee Taita Bueranca purishoa nin, Shug humbritu
michingapa llugeshishpa nin, animaloumata ohingashishpa puriuashea, Chatipoa
tipasheo nin
- Canoa aimata ruhuash purioungui? - nishoa nin 

humbrituta.
- Buocoa animaloumatomi ohingashish purioumen - nishoa nin humbrituoca,
Chatip nishoa nin Taita Bueran: - Jacu rueahuan suefangui oman tutaoa,
Cayaoa shamenguillam - nishoa nin, - Ina ahooa animaloumaa paoaringa-
llami - nish chat humbirituoca nishoa nin Taita Bueranahu.
Chaimantaoa jatun uawruuni yaiouhina nín uawman. Chaipioa nina nín;
- Riqui ūuca hueracuina ocatani ocharini, huambritu - nish huambrirutamun
ritauhini nín.
Papa nín, uan nín, milluwi nín, tucui chaiauma montonshaña nín. Puro
curu nín chaeta ūa. Ûua jufin brillacuín nín, papapihi šó mëmo nín,
milluwašíh šó mëmo brillacuín nín. Curi brillacuín nín, patca jatun
širu yaya uupica nín. Chaimanta entonaes huambrituca huacat
callariësha nín.
- Ana huuoaiohú, ūuca rabiarišopa paga ūna caahaiman - nishoa nín.
Entonaes huambrituca chahtio ūna huuaashoa, rabiariš manu
caahashoou níppi.

Chaimantaa huambrituca chať punsha chaillapita oainasha, Mana
lluyohish ooashoha nín. Chaimantaa Taita Bueranca nina nín;
- Huambritu, Joanna rísha níngulaohu?
Nigpíca huambrituca nishoa nín; - Bueno, ūuca rísha níniši, ūuca
muma ūuca taitacca chaapowigami mapi ūma tuuueca níšha,
Chaipi entonaes huambritutuacca; - Shuyal ošallitituca p'uyu tapangacama
- níshoa nín.
Cha huambrituca shuyashoa nín, P'uyu tapagpica huambrituca
maqulsmanta atisahpa paillata lluyohish ooaahasha nín ūmpti oharasha,

Chaimantaa huambrituca shamuoha antimalonata ričungapa. Huambritu
iomaman lluyogpíca antimalonaca chaillapitasiši ooaashoa. Mana mátim
rísha nín. Taita Bueranmanta separaringaamallashi p'uyushoa,
Chaimantaa jufin aohig swang punsha ooaashoa nín.

Chaimantaa huambrituca mana yamaman parlag shamuoha nín; - ūuca animal
chingahishpa chaipi paacaricami, chaipi shug runami uoamun aparíin,
Uupica ūma mundomi ooaasho - níšh parlasha.
Chaimanta nishoa nín; - Taita Bueranmi ooaasho nga - níshoa nín -, Taita
Bueranca canta paacaroanga. Chaši suheangul - níshpa,
Huambrituca quínas dialallata purishoa nín shin, Chaimanta huambrituca
huauashoa nín. Taita Bueran riwshoamti huauashoa níšha,

Chaimantaa entonaes ūa Taita Bueranca otaín shug huarmhuan tuapashoa
nín, shinallata. Huarmhuan tuapapica Taita Bueranca mana rímarishoa
huarmoa atisí oalipashoa "alau" nish atisí oalipapi Taita Bueran
o'atish puriushpallata ūa mana avansashoa o'atimata ūa, p'uyuра
paacaroisha,

Na gente ohsuyquinaman yataushp a huaròшa atisíša. Chaimanta atisí
huarmńoa jufin novedad ruhuashoa nín; - Cašpi ūucata shug runa o'atimu,
ushilla runa - níshpa.
Gentequinaman novedad rhuagpíca gentequinaka rišhoa nín ričungapa.

Chaimanta ūa Taita Buerança oshumam oshayaripíca chať ratoeša ūa jufin
tonta p'uyu shamuoha nín. Chaš runaquinamoa otaín oshjarishoa nín
shug saachapi maí. Burgay Lado saachapi taririğrishoa, Chaimanta
nishoa nín; - Taita Bueranmanta oshjash oochaan otaim - níshpa.

Na pataunaca saahamantaca shamuoha nín caí Biblijan Ladaman lluyoghipapa,
Shinashpam Taita Bueranca chaipioa p'tía uropú cauean níšha parlanouna
mayoruna. Tupuríca.
The Old Man of Bueran

Old Man Bueran has only grass on his slopes, he has no trees or bushes. They say that he was asleep and that is why he has no trees, but only grass. Old Man Bueran is very ill-tempered. When he gets angry he makes it rain and drizzle and a mist covers the whole of Bueran, Old Man Bueran is rich they say; he cultivates potatoes, ooa and melloc. He has a very big vegetable plot over on the other side they say: a plot of potatoes, ooa and melloc.

So one day Old Man Bueran was out walking, there was a young lad who had come out herding and was wandering about having lost his animals, Then Old Man Bueran asked him; "What are you doing about here?" "I've lost my animals," said the boy.

Old Man Bueran said; "Come and spend the night with me. Tomorrow you can just come back. Such a large group of animals will be quite safe for the night."

And the young lad went with Old Man Bueran.

Then he showed him into a huge room inside the hill, There he said; "Look at the plots of vegetables I have here," and he showed the boy the piles of potatoes, ooa and melloc he had there.

But it was gold. The ooa was shining brightly, so were the potatoes, and the melloc the same. The gold was shining there in the mountain chamber of the Old Man of mottled dress. Then the boy began to weep, "Don't cry," warned the Old Man, "be careful not to anger me for then I shan't let you go."

And so for fear of angering him and not being sent home, the boy didn't cry.

And so the boy spent the day right there. The Old Man didn't send him out. Then he spoke; "Lad, do you want to go now?"

"Yes," replied the boy, "I do want to go. My mother and father will be watching out and wondering what has happened to me."

"Well wait a little while until the mist covers the hill," so the boy waited. Then when the mist covered them, the Old Man took the boy by the hand, took him out himself and set him on the road.

Then the lad came to look for the animals. As he came out onto the top of a hill, there they were right there. They hadn't gone away anywhere. The day was very foggy right until Old Man Bueran separated from the lad. Then after that it was a bright sunny day.

So the boy came back and told his parents; "I spent the night there when I lost the animals and an Indian carried me inside the hill. There were many things in there."

"It must have been Old Man Bueran," they said, "Old Man Bueran must have hidden you."

Then they told the boy to sleep. He went about for just two weeks, then he died. They say he died for having seen Old Man Bueran.

Then again, Old Man Bueran is said to have met with a woman in the same way. When he met her he didn't speak and the woman ran away in fear. When she cried out and ran away, Old Man Bueran just followed after her, but wasn't able to catch up with her for the mist hadn't closed in yet.

So the woman escaped back to her folk. Then she made a great fuss; "An Indian has been following me," she said, "just a tiny little Indian." And when she made this fuss, the people went to see,
When they arrived in Old Man Bueran's neighbourhood, a heavy rain and fog came down. So now those Indians got lost way off in the woods. They came out in the woods on the slopes of Burgay. "Old Man Bueran has sent us to get lost here," they said. Then they came out of the forest and out into a place near Biblian. That is how the old folks talk, saying that an angry Old Man Bueran lives in the hill. There it ends.


Motifs as for Tale 1, plus:
D1418.1 Magic mist causes people to become lost

**Tale 3: Taita Bueramanta**


**The Old Man of Bueran**

Here I'm going to tell a story about a shepherd boy who got lost on Bueran Hill. A little shepherd boy went out to pasture the flocks on Bueran. Then a mist came down and covered everything; it was late now. The animals got lost in the mist. The lad went looking for the animals but in the mist he couldn't find where they had gone.

He met Old Man Bueran, as he is called. He took the lad with him saying: "Come and you can sleep in my house."

When they arrived inside, the house was full of shining things: potatoes, melloos, fruit, all kinds of things were in there.

Then the next day the lad came out. As he came outside he was carrying a lot of money gathered in his poncho, so much he could hardly manage it. Then when he had come out of the house he opened his poncho to have a look, thinking he had a lot of money. But it wasn't money at all, but horse manure! So he scattered it on the ground and came away.

Informant: MAV, 29th June, 1976.

Motifs as for Tale 1, plus:
F348.0.1 (Fairy) gift disappears or is turned to something worthless when taboo is broken
Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These three texts are belief legends which have evolved to varying degrees away from the memorat stage, and as such demonstrate the relationship that can exist between popular belief and tale. Further, less developed statements of belief, triggered off by the questionnaire, provided useful background information which helped to clarify their content and its debt to the belief system. The informants for such additional data were: EDC, GZP, LA, MEZ, JSA, GGG, and ECZ. I shall look first at the tales' narrative structure, at which level similarities might be seen with tales in the other sub-sections.

2.0 Narrative structure

2.1 Tale 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>woman (H) carrying unbaptised child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H wanders on slopes of Charun hill</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H meets Taita Charun (TC)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>TC offers H maize and leads her away</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H arrives within hill</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>TC becomes child's godfather and H's compadre; H strips cobs of corn for him</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H is given golden corn cobs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>H returns home rich</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>H visits her compadre again</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>TC asks her to remain with him; she refuses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>H returns home with golden corn cobs and firewood</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>TC comes to H's house and takes away his godchild</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>H goes in pursuit and enters hill</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H and child confined forever within hill</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above chart lays out the linear development of the plot, in the way described in Chapter 2, dividing it into episodes and grouping these as moves. The identification of episode(s) with function (according to the definitions laid out in the introduction to this section) will serve a comparative purpose, showing how all the legends and folktales in the section contain some of a common range of functions.

The tale's inner structure can best be described in terms of the moves into which it has been divided. Move I, describing the entry of H into a relationship of oompadrazgo with the urou yaya leads up to her return home as a rich woman. Move II is structurally repetitive of Move I, in that it describes the consolidation of that relationship, and leads up to H's return home with still further material gains as an outcome of it. In Move III the tables are turned; the urou yaya claims his due as compadre, and mother and child are confined forever within his domain. Thus the paradigmatic scheme underlying the tale could be described: \( \{ \text{Move I} \} ; \text{Move III} \), in which Moves I and II as equivalent are opposed to Move III.

Unlike the pattern followed by many tales, and the devil legends in particular, there is no mediator role in this tale. The relationship between actors is one-to-one between human and non-human, founded on the patterns of reciprocity typical of oompadrazgo. When the laws that govern such a relationship are violated - the heroine fails to fulfill her obligations - there is no intervention on her behalf to save her from punishment. The unbaptized status of the child in the initial situation operates to explain the vulnerability of mother and infant at the beginning of the tale. Throughout this section it will be seen that vulnerability of one kind or another is a prerequisite for the encounter with the non-human agent to take place. Such vulnerability is established by a variety of devices, and always in accord with the moral and social code of the local culture.
## 2.2 Tale 2

### Tale 2: Taita Bueranmana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONONOMICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Taita Bueran is out walking on hill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Shepherd boy (H) loses animals on hill and wanders in search of them</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H meets Taita Bueran (TB)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>TB invites H to enter his home</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H arrives inside hill; sees gold told not to cry or will not return home</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>TB accompanies H back under cover of mist</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H returns home and dies 2 weeks later</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Woman (H) out wandering in same way</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H meets TB who cannot catch her as not sufficient mist</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H returns home unharmed</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Woman's folk go in pursuit of TB</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>TB causes them to get lost in mist</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Pursuers are outwitted by TB</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This tale comprises in effect two separate legends, as Move I does not of necessity lead on to the others, but could stand on its own as an independent unit. They are legends that have not moved very far from the memorat stage, as their relative narrative simplicity shows, and had the informant attributed the happenings to an actual acquaintance, they would have been treated as such. Moves II and III, however, are logically connected, III developing out of II, when H's return home triggers off further events. The outcome of each of the moves differs, as shown by the variation in the functions assigned. Move I leads to the death of H; Move II to H's escape; Move III to the urou yaya getting the better of his pursuers, although not actually causing them harm.

Despite this variation, the moves can be seen as repetitions of each other, each exploring the relationship between human protagonist and urou yaya. The hill mist (p'ayu) plays a prominent role, as a sort of catalyst determining the encounter between the two actors; in Move I, mist accompanies the encounter and the separation that
follows later; in Move II, the mist is insufficient for the encounter to have any lasting effect, and H escapes; in Move III, mist is responsible for the outwitting of the pursuers. For Tale I, unlike many legendary narratives, there appeared to be no mediator rôle as such. The relationship between actors was a simple one with no intervention on the part of a third party. In Tale 2, while the appearance of mist can be regarded as a metaphorical manifestation of the urou yaya's displeasure, it serves a structural purpose in the narrative also. It acts, as I have said, as the catalyst which determines the outcome of the encounter and in short, could be said in structural terms to occupy the 'slot' which we shall come to recognize as that of mediator in the ensuing analyses. A schematization of the relationships to which I refer might clarify the point: in the triads set out below, the three-dimensional relationship described in the tale is represented, with human protagonist in the top left-hand corner, the non-human agent (here urou yaya) in the top right, and the mediator (here the mist) in the bottom. The signs in brackets indicate the positive or negative values of the attitudes held by one actor towards another, and a comparison between the triads reveals at a glance the variations and repetitions in structural pattern at this level from one move to another:

**Move I:**

- H [(-)] urou yaya
- mist [(-)] (+) [(+)]

**Move II:**

- H [(-)] urou yaya
- mist [(-)] (+) [+]
Move III: 

\[
\text{H} \xleftarrow{(-)} \text{urou yaya} \xrightarrow{(+) \text{ mist}}
\]

This same method will be used to compare the structure of relationships in the devil legends also.

### 2.3 Tale 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>shepherd boy (H) pasturing flocks on hill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>mist comes down and animals get lost; H goes in search of them</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H meets TB</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>TB invites H to go with him</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>arrive inside hill where there is gold</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H comes out of hill with gold in poncho</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the gold turns to horse dung</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern followed by this tale adds little new to that of Tales 1 and 2, except in the ambiguity of its outcome: the hero appears at first to have profited from his encounter, but the urou yaya is shown to have the 'last laugh'. The form taken by his revenge (gold turns to dung) seems to be a more acculturated version, the result perhaps of creeping cynicism with regard to local beliefs in the riches contained in the hills. The episode gives the tale a smack of the humorous tales, such as Tale 62, which are considered to be borrowings from mestizo culture, providing a comic counterpart to serious local legends. The pattern of relations established between urou yaya and H is as it was for Move I, Tale 2.

### 3.0 Content

Substantial comparative data is available which enables us to place these legends in the context of a complex set of popular beliefs regarding the urou yaya.
3.1 Attributes of the urou yaya in legend and belief

Many prominent hills in the area are personified and thought in popular belief to be the abode of the urou yaya, Ispendola, Zhinzhdn and Altar Urco are further examples. Rivet refers to the phenomenon in his findings at the turn of this century:

"(Les indiens de Cañar) croient aussi à l'existence d'un nain, maître des montagnes, 'urouyaya', qui, la nuit, attaque et tue ceux qui ose s'aventurer dans ses domaines," (Rivet 1906:91-92)

3.1.1 The ill-nature of the urou yaya

The ill-nature of the 'hill father', referred to specifically in Tale 2, is emphasized in Rivet's account, as he goes on:

"Certainlye coordillères, où le mauvais temps est fréquent, ont une personnalité véritable, hostile et irritable. La montagne se fâche, si une personne la gravit. "El parámo está bravo" - "Le paramo est méchant, est en colère" - est une expression courante parmi les indiens."
(loc.cit) (2)

The idea that the mountain shows its displeasure through creating adverse weather conditions is interestingly adapted in the medium of folk legend; here it is used as a narrative device which serves both as an expression of the hill father's displeasure with the humans with whom he has come into contact, and as a cover for him at the moment when he wishes to make such contact. Thus it is, for example, that Taita Charun is able to carry his godchild away unobserved in Tale 1, and the mist and rain which accompany his presence could also be seen as a manifestation of his anger at his comadre's failure to give over the child on a previous occasion. It is a characteristic of legend to add a literary or metaphorical dimension to actual practices or beliefs when expressing them in narrative form; a further illustration of such a mechanism is seen in the development of the padrino-ahijado relationship between urou yaya and auca huahua (again in Tale 1), derived from the former practice of infant sacrifice to hills and caves, recorded for Azuay and Cañar, which will be further discussed below.
3.1.2 Male/Female personification of the hills

Elsewhere in the sierra Rivet observed that a distinction was made between those mountains thought of as female, and those thought of as male:

"des montagnes, comme le Chimboraso et le Tungurahua sont encore invoquées comme des divinités sexuées; le Chimborazo est le dieu mâle (taita); le Tungurahua le dieu femelle (mama)." (loc.cit.)

Such an idea also pertains to present-day Cañar: people in the communities of Quilloac and La Capilla, whose lands are dominated by Buerán to the south, and Zhinzhún to the north-west, think of the former as inhabited by a male entity, while the latter's inhabitant is female. The two are supposed to be lovers, as LA relates:

"Bueranoa c'arin; Mama Zhinzhuna Rosa Zhinzhuna shuti, Chapioca amigashi moyashi nispa uyashaani parlash,

"Bueran is a man; Mama Zhinzhuna is called Rosa Zhinzhuna and she is his girlfriend as they say; I have heard this said."

Contemporary data for elsewhere in the highlands reveals that Tungurahua and Cotopaxi were lovers of Chimborazo (IID 1975b:3,7); and the same relationship is thought to hold between Imbabura (male) and Cotopaxi (female) (Parsons 1945:127-128).

3.1.3 The endowments of the urou yaya/mama

At the beginning of Tale 2 we come across a rather obscure reference to Bueran's sparsely vegetated appearance:

"Taita Bueranoa suehashoa nin, chatrioumi mana sawahta charin nin, solo ughallata charin nin."

"They say that Taita Bueran was asleep and that is why he has no trees, but only grass."

The usefulness of comparative analysis is further demonstrated when it shows that popular belief widely explains whether or not a hill be well-endowed with vegetation and water supply by whether or not that
hill was quick off the mark when these benefits were being distributed at the 'beginning of things'. Imbabura, it is said, overslept on that occasion and got nothing (Parsons op.cit.129), and certain hills in the province of Tungurahua are lacking in lakes and streams due to having overslept when 'Taita Dios' was distributing them (IID op.cit.). So too, therefore, are Taita Buerán's bare slopes explained, and contrasted elsewhere with those of Zhinzhán which are more richly vegetated (LA).

3.1.4 The treasures of the hills

In popular belief, however, the true endowments of the hills are not to be found on their exterior slopes, which are exposed for any eye to see, but rather in their interior chambers, the home of the hill father/mother, and only visible to the inadvertent wanderer who is enticed within, usually to his fate. These chambers are believed to be stored with all kinds of fruits, vegetables and grains, some of which are mentioned in the texts above. Zhinzhán, Ispendola and Altar Urcu stand in contrast to Buerán and Charán in containing large quantities of produce from the hot lowlands (yunga): yuca, (Manhiot aipi), oranges, sugar cane, bananas, and so on, while their real life altitude of some 4000 m. above sea-level allows only for the cultivation of tubers such as those described in the interior of Buerán (Tales 2 & 3). An additional feature associated with these three mountains is the belief that their store is guarded by a black dog, or two, chained at the entrance. The produce, whether it be of lowland or highland provenience, is thought to be of solid gold. (3)

In the majority of accounts all attempts to acquire wealth through contact with the wou yaya/mama fail, although in the information supplied by LA there is a notable exception: he told of a chasa who was once travelling on horseback along the slopes of Zhinzhán; he dismounted to urinate and in an instant found himself
transported to the interior of the hill where he witnessed the stores of golden produce as described above. He was allowed to pluck a sprig of rosemary from a tree that grew there. Then, finding himself again outside, he resumed his journey. Clutching the rosemary (romerito), he survived a storm, and on arriving safely home found that the rosemary had turned to coins of gold and silver. (4)

The richness of the hills' interiors and their inhabitants is an idea found elsewhere in Ecuador; Parsons records a local belief that Taita Imbabura:

"rides a white horse and lives in truly Inca splendour in a golden house stored with crops of all kinds."
(op.cit.93)

Elsewhere too the hill is known to give gold, and specifically a golden corn cob, to those who encounter him, but always and only in return for a favour performed reciprocally and correctly by the person concerned. GS/SA/1 is the tale of a hat-seller who helps carry a load for Taita Chimborazo and receives golden corn-cobs in payment. HD/SA/19 tells of a beggar who receives similar payment from the urco yaya's women in return for sexual favours. In several of the comparative accounts it is clear that good fortune of this kind only comes the way of the poor and lowly; frequently when the rich and greedy attempt to imitate the actions of the former, they fail. The texts from Salasaca cited above are examples of this. In the Cañar texts, however, such a moral message is hardly apparent, the main effect of the tales being to convey the delicately balanced relationship that exists between man and his environment. If there is criticism of the heroine's acquisition of riches in Tale 1, for example, it would seem to be an incidental tag to a narrative whose key interest is in the reciprocal ties that obtain between heroine and her compadre.

3.1.5 Other attributes

Some informants furnished further details of the physical
attributes of the urou yaya, as they are thought of: he is believed to be very short in stature, perhaps some 50 centimetres tall, and he wears a ponoho of two colours (shiru), as mentioned also in Tale 2. This would seem to be referring to a kind of ponoho worn only by the oldest inhabitants of the area today, woven of red and black in a check design. Rivet's remark quoted earlier also contains the idea of his shortness of stature, and I believe this to be one of the factors which has led to an apparent confusion in the minds of some people between the roles in popular belief of the urou yaya and Taita Carnaval. The latter is also believed to be of diminutive size, inhabits the hills, carries a pingullo and a oaja of gold and visits men's houses at Carnival time. (5)

3.2 The urou yaya and the auoa huahua

Some mention has already been made of a connection I believe to exist between former practices of infant sacrifice, recorded both for Cañar and Azuay, and the metaphorical sacrifice of the auoa huahua to the hill as depicted in Tale 1. I now come to elaborate upon this theme. González Suárez makes a fleeting reference to the practice of infant sacrifice which, however brief, is valid evidence when placed in the context of comments by modern-day informants. He remarks:

"Los sacrificios de los Cañaris se hacían degollando niños tiernos sobre una ara de piedra, con suelillos también de pedernal."
(loc.cit.) (6)

There is insufficient ethnohistorical evidence to show how long such ritual methods of sacrifice persisted. However, we do know that the abandonment of newly-born, unbaptized children in the vicinity of certain rocks and caves took place until recently, and may take place still. Whether such activity continued to have ritual significance is open to conjecture. EDC, for example mentioned how he and his wife are unable to build a house on a piece of land they own, for the plot
stands on the edge of a ravine inhabited by aucas who are, he explained, the souls of children who have been abandoned by unwilling mothers (mainly unmarried) and captured as a result by the devil. The latter is believed to rear such children for his own and they then haunt the area where they were abandoned causing offence and annoyance to the living. This account seems to be an updated rationalization of old customs and beliefs, both in the replacement of the urou yaya with the Catholic diablo, and in the real-life implications behind the statement that it is unwilling and often unmarried mothers who indulge in the practice. (7) This is perhaps an example of the secularization and rationalization of popular belief: child sacrifice as such is obsolete, but the associations with certain hills, rocks and ravines remain, and these same localities provide the most convenient spots for the abandonment of unwanted infants. Religious ritual cedes partially to real-life practicalities, and the two become curiously interdependent. (8)

In EDC's account mentioned above, the devils are described as 'rearing' (huifiaohina) the children they capture, and this same term was used by informants describing the belief in the urou yaya's adoption of newborn children, given up by the parents in return for money as JSA, for example, describes:

"Rioungui: tiempopi parlashoomi oit Ispendolaman regalangapa auoa huahua, gamu ou, gamu papa lluishitshoa yarawhoa.
Urouuanu huifiaohina auoata oman punshacama oausan uroupi."

"Look: in former times it is said unbaptized children, unsalted guinea-pig, and unsalted potatoes, peeled and boiled, were gifts to Ispendola hill. Then people would take money out. With Bueran hill it was the same. They made the urou yaya their oompadre and the urou mama their oomadre so they would give money. That is why they gave the unbaptized children. The hills reared the unbaptized children and they live there within the hill to this day."

The idea mentioned here that the 'hill father' eats only unsalted (gamu)
food was corroborated by other informants (GZP, EDC, JSA), and is a further point of similarity, incidentally, between Taita Carnaval and the urou yaya. JSA explained that the 'hill fathers' do not eat salt as they are not 'blessed' (bendiciado). There seems to be a consistency here with their predilection for unbaptized children.

As further evidence for the former existence of the practice of infant sacrifice, beliefs to be found in the provinces of both Cañar and Azuay concerning the Mama Huaca, must be considered. It is Rivet who gives us our earliest mention of her:

"Sur le territoire de la paroisse de Pacocha (province de L'Âzuay) existe la grotte de Curitaqui habitée par un génie appelé 'Mamahuaca', dont l'attribut est un épis de maïs en or tenu à la main, et qui en échange de l'offrande du premier né d'une famille donne à celle-ci la richesse et l'abondance. Jusqu'à présent, cette tradition barbare persiste, et de temps à autre, un enfant est trouvé abandonné ou souillé de l'antre du dieu."

(op.cit.92)

There is sufficient evidence to show that the Mama Huaca of contemporary lore and the urou yaya are distinct from each other and associated with different sets of beliefs. (9) However, as in the case of Taita Carnaval, there are enough features in common for a certain assimilation to have occurred between them. By such features I refer to the motivation of self-betterment behind the abandonment of children to both, and the golden corn-cob motif with which both are connected. That such associations can give rise to the confusion and even fusion of beliefs is confirmed by Muñoz-Bernand's findings in Pindilig:

"Pindilig tiene también su Mamahuaca. Según algunos testimonios, este personaje se confunde con la duerna del cerro, la uromama, que protege celosamente las alturas de la profecía de los hombres."

(n.d,5)

She goes on to point out the connections that the "uromama-mamahuaca devoradora de niños" has with a Pindilig tale concerning two children, abandoned in the forest to the mercy of a cannibalistic old woman referred to as uromama. (op.cit,6). Comparing this with my own Cañar
material, the set of 'transformations' expands still further; the
Pindilig tale is closely connected with the Mama Ahuardona stories
represented in sub-section (h). When I discuss that sub-section, the
comparable characteristics and rôles of the Mama Huaca will be set out
in more detail.

The vulnerability of the unbaptized child, given literary
expression in Tale 1, is founded on actual belief and preoccupation,
as might be expected. ECZ related how a child is protected from
malaria before baptism with a scapulary or rosary placed around its
neck: "para que no coja el mal viento o lleve el enemigo malo en
huacaón." Furthermore, a prohibition exists against the child's
father holding it in his arms (maroana), or having relations with his
wife until after the baptism. I heard these ideas expressed in
Sigsihuacu also. Parsons records lore for Imbabura regarding
infants who die before baptism: they are thought to become ancacas and
wander at night, a danger to any living unbaptized infant on whom their
gaze may rest. The fear of the cerro specifically finds its
corollary in a remark made by Muñoz-Bernand, in relation to Pindilig,
as follows:

"Cuando una madre lleva una huahua tierna al cerro y le
acuesta sobre el suelo, esta puede enfermar... se hincha,
se deforma y muere, si no se le cura inmediatamente."
(op.cit.4)

Although here the preoccupation is focussed specifically on the possible
presence of ancacas (pre-conquest burial sites) whose 'bad air' could
cause illness. It should also be noted that the dire results of contact
with the urcu yaya is not necessarily confined to the babe in arms; as
Tale 2 illustrates, the threat is real for grown people also.

3.3 The rôle of the urcu yaya in curing practices

The idea that such contact can cause illness and even death
has its antithesis in the popular belief that the *urou yaya* may be invoked to assist in curing ceremonies by the *curandero*. Although this aspect may not be shown in the texts above, I obtained sufficient supplementary data in the form of comments and anecdotes to make it worthy of mention. Just as the 'hill father' may cause sickness, so he may be the source of its cure. The relationship established between he and the *curandero* is a reciprocal one, just as reciprocity lies at the bottom of all interaction between the 'hill father' and men. The 'hill father' must be offered reward for his help in the form of *trago*, live guinea-pigs, etc. The patient's family will provide the *curandero* with these, and he then mediates on their behalf with the *urou yaya* (*GZP*). (10) EDC provided an account which verges on the realm of tale rather than description of practice, as here there is a direct interaction between the *urou yaya* and the invalid: there was a very sick man whose body was covered in incurable sores. One day he met the *urou yaya* who offered to cure him for payment. He came to his house and effected the cure simply by cleansing his body with his hand, using no other remedy. He was cured and in return the 'hill father' was offered money and a roast chicken but he wanted only a live guinea pig (for he doesn't eat salty food), and a length of undyed homespun cloth (*bayeta blanca*) on the loom and some dry beans in a pot. He used no *pomadas* or injections, but cured only with his hands. (11) The rôle of the *urou yaya* as curer, can be seen therefore, as the counterpart to his rôle as a bringer of disease. In sub-section (b) we shall find examples of the devil in the same ambivalent position: at once the agent of illness and the provider of the remedy. Parsons's tale 'Imbabura visits Cotacachi', provides a comparative piece of evidence: the latter administers a remedy to the former when he sickens after eating, and in a footnote the author comments:
"Inferably, if Imbabura cures he also causes disease. In Jibaro belief, hills and mountains, the dwelling-places of deceased sorcerers, send disease; disease from the mountains is a widespread Andean belief."

(op.cit, 128)

A contemporary text from the same area, where Taita Imbabura intercedes to cure a young boy, demonstrates the persistence of this idea (LS/IM/8).

4.0 Concluding remarks

As we progress through the analysis of tales in this section, it will be seen that tale can be considered to provide a form of literary expression for certain aspects of reality; the above discussion should have suggested this for the tales looked at so far. There is one aspect which has only been referred to in passing, and which merits further emphasis in concluding this sub-section. The system of relationships struck up between 'hill father' and humans in the legends above is a metaphor for the actual spiritual relationship, active or passive as it may be today, that exists between man and his physical environment. That relationship depends above all on reciprocity; the terminology used to express this in the tales belongs to immediately recognizable social categories (compadre/comadre, padrino/ahijado), with all that they imply both in terms of reciprocity and its counterpart, vengeance. The ritual expression of this relationship - in the past taking the form of infant sacrifice - in tale survives in symbolic form only, or in references to sickness and death caused by the cerro, or oral narrative is rarely a direct reflection of reality, but it can certainly be a symbolic expression of it where certain structures belonging to reality are transposed onto a metaphorical plane. It is my contention that these structures are what at once ties a tale type more closely to the people to whom it belongs, and also allows for the introduction of certain foreign tales (AT 327A; Hansel and Gretel is the example in mind here), where these contain structural elements compatible with and therefore readily adaptable to the already...
existing system.

FOOTNOTES

(1) It has been pointed out how folklore tends to cluster around periods of anxiety in the individual life cycle (Dundes 1974:86); in the present text this is certainly the case - the anxiety is that surrounding baptism. Elsewhere it may be that surrounding marriage. In other cases, it may be an anxiety in terms of infringement of social norms, often connected with the local belief system. This is no doubt the case in the other urou yaya tales, where the only apparent indiscretion committed by the Hero figure is to wander too near to the 'hill father's' abode, in the wrong weather conditions.

(2) González Suárez makes reference to a particular hill in the territory of the Cañaris believed to be inhabited by a spirit of evil known as Supay-uroo to whom infant sacrifice was made (1890:150), and Velasco records the same information (1946, I:45).

(3) cf. Fock's account of the Taita Carnaval myth which describes the interior of the hills thus: "Hacia calor el cerro y habia frutas de todas clases, pero las frutas eran de oro." (1977b;5) The notion of gold within the hills is linked no doubt to Quechua creation myths which describe how at the end of the creation prior to this, the Incas buried themselves with all their gold: "Según las leyendas, los Incas literalmente desaparecieron bajo tierra con todos sus bienes y oro en la conquista española." (Fock op.cit,17). Referred to further in sub-section (b).

(4) Rosemary (Rosmarinus officinalis L.) features regularly in ritual, popular lore, and tales: springs of rosemary are placed on plates of burning charcoal to give off a pungent aroma in religious processions; it is often cited as an ingredient in the remedy for mal viento (eg. EDC); see Tale 11, where the hero protects a dead man from devils by aspersion of rosemary; Cordero emphasises its use as an altar adornment: "se lo apareció mucho, no solamente por sus propiedades tónica, emenagogia y, sobre todo, vulneraria, sino también porque su menudo y perfumado follaje, mirado siempre como propio de los altares desde las primitivas tradiciones y populares creencias del culto cristiano, luce siempre en nuestros templos!" (1950). Although unspoken, there is surely a connection between the urination and the subsequent salvation of the traveller in IA's account from the urou mama. Urine aspersion also counters the rainbow and the devils.

(5) see Appendix I for more details of Carnival beliefs.

(6) Velasco records this also, (1946, I:51).

(7) Further points of comparison between the behaviour of the diablo and the urou yaya will be discussed later.

(8) Guévara records a belief for Tungurahua and Bolívar that the devil captures unbaptized children born illegitimately and keeps them for his own ends; they are set to trap unsuspecting travellers and have vampire-like attributes (1972:395); Parsons notes for Cantón Cayambe, Pichincha: "Huacaites or guagua cuco are babies that have been abandoned on the road or in a pasture, unbaptized, and the spirit becomes a malevolent
ouou," (op.cit,204); Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales also recorded
the belief in the Huacay Siqui for Carchi and Pichincha, and have data
on the vampirish Maguilla for Cotopaxi (1966:233-234), cf. Guevara
(loc.cit.).

(n.d,5-6).

(10) My informants (EDC, GGG, JSA, MJA, GZP) all denied the persistance
of the practice today, however, Mena found it to be an important part
of the Yachag Taita's methods in Imbabura (1969), and for a description
of a comparable relationship between p'akko and aukis etc., see Peru,
see Lira (1950).

(11) Curing practices in reality also include the blowing of smoke and
trago over the patient's body, sucking at the body, and rubbing the
affected parts with an egg or a live guinea-pig which is later killed and
discarded in an unfrequented spot (cf. Parsons (op.cit,64-65) who records
similar practices for the cure of mal aire in Peguche; diagnosis by
'limpiada con any' is also a common practice (Costales and Peñaherrera

(12) For a discussion of the compadrazgo see, among others, Mintz and
Wolf (1950).

(13) Ortiz Rescanière in his analysis of the myth of Wa-Qon from the
province of Canta, Peru, makes a similar observation regarding the
devouring of children in oral narrative: "Este parece ser el sentido
de los sacrificios humanos que, aunque se dan a nivel oral, simbólico,

(14) Indeed it may be a complete inversion or contradiction of it,
see Lévi-Strauss (1967),
Tale 4: La lucha entre la oruz y el diablo

Así han contado atrás en Biblián, me han contado así; que ellos han muerto así en el volcú de carro. Que ha estado casi quince días sin recuerdo, sin nada. Entonces dis que ha ido no s por dónde también dis que ha ido. Vuelta que ha encontrado con oruz. Después ha encontrado husitú dice, los diablos. Ese ambito que me contó atrás.

Entonces sí ha sabido adorar al oruz. Entonces adorando al oruz el crucito dis que ha salvado. Dis que ha estado caminando. Dis que camina y camina y camina y camina. Al fin ya pasaron una quebrada y ha presentado dice el oruz, Es que ha preguntado, dis que ha dicho; - ¿A dónde estás yendo vos? - dis que ha dicho.

Así es que ha dicho; - Vos no tienes que irte a donde porque vos sois mi peón - dis que ha dicho -. Entonces ahora solamente es que debe hacer es de irse conmigo, nada más. Entonces, vamos contigo porque allá están esperando bastante - dis que ha dicho oruz.

Atrás en Biblián siempre saben adorar al oruz de mayo.

Entonces iba, iba, iba, dice. Adelante, adelante el crucito, entonces él hecho seguir. Al final ya yendo pasar a una quebrada es que ha encontrado dice ya con los diablos. El crucito dis que ha dicho; - Vos adelante. Yo quedaré parada aquí - dis que ha dicho -, vos adelante. Entonces al fin ya se ha ido pi bastante lejos. El oruz ha quedada parado ya.

Ha encontrado no más dicen con un diablo. Entonces el diablo dis que ha dicho; - ¿A donde estás yendo? - dis que ha dicho -, ahora sí que tienes que irte conmigo. Que vamos no más, porque vos tienes que irte conmigo.

Al final entonces ha peleado dice, lo que más puede. Entonces d'ahí aruuna ha presentado al lado dice. Presentando al lado entonces que ha dicho; - Bueno, ahora sí. Tú no has de llevar, Yo sí tengo que llevar porque es mi peón. Entonces ahora sí tienes que irte tranquilamente, El otro es que ya viendo oruz que ha ahado boca abajo. Dis que ha dicho; - Entonces vos te vas llevando pero allá ya nos encontramos bastante.

Al final ha caminado, caminado, caminado, ése, bastante mismo.

Entonces caminando bastante dis que ha dicho; - Oi, ahora sí aquí estamos bastante. Ahora sí vos no bueno vas a quedarte. Entonces el oruz dis que ha dicho; - Vos va a vencer o nosotros vamos a vencer. Ya vos sigue caminando más allá.

Entonces ha encontrado bastante mismo, bastante diablos ya. Encontrando al runa dis que ha querido llevar dice. Si, casi como runa mismo, ambito. Ha querido llevar. Entonces él; - Párate - dis -, al lado.

El oruz a uno también ha hecho revolcar dice, a otro también ha hecho revolcar, a uno también ha hecho revolcar, a otro también ha hecho revolcar, Al final toditos dis que han quedado boca abajo. Pero ellos están parados, ¿no? Entonces ha hecho adelantar dis que vaya.
Llegando a donde era que ha estado, dice, un oruz grande, grande mismo es que ha estado allí. Díz que ha estado taita Diosito. Allí díz que ha dicho: — ¡Para qué vienes? — díz que ha dicho.
El oruz pequeño que fue igual con él díz que ha dicho: — Sólo para hacer experiencia no más vienes.
Entonces díz que ha dicho: — Anda, anda, mostrárs.
Entonces es que ha dicho: — Anda abajo no más, abriendo esta puerta no más, anda mostrárs — díz que ha dicho.
Ciento, ciento, entonces que ha de entrar adentro díz que ha sido inferierno dice. Un horror, de paila díce, temeridad díce que ha estado. Y él está parado díz que con el orúzito al lado mismo. Se pasan por lado, no díz que venga, nada. Pasan por lado díz.

Al final un familiar saliendo díz que ha dicho (que el alma ha estado en inferierno) que he de avisar, mandado una noticia. Que dí aviseando en esta forma, en esta forma: — Porque yo adentré linderación de terreno. Por esto aquí estoy hecho mula — díz que ha dicho. — Estoy pastando a los mulas, pateado, mordido estoy aquí. Da avisando a mi marido, a mis hijos que devuelve ese linderación de terreno — díz que ha mandado avisando.

Otro díz que ha dicho que entonces va a mandar pidiendo un favor grande:
— La plata lo que tengo está enterrado en astento de alla. Allí está en pequeño cajónito. Eso que avisa a mi marido. Por eso estoy aquí casi sufriendo, pastando a los puercoos, y mordido puercoo, todo hociendo porque estoy aquí — díz que ha dicho —, que dí aviseando a mi marido.

Al final entonces díz que ha regresado ya igual con orúzito mismo ya. Ya regresando entonces cuando él ha pensado que ha de ser un día y una noche no más, cuánto más quince días que ha estado ya. En quince días ha cogido acuerdo entonces. Ya después al mes que ha salido boca y ha conversado eso. Allí estuvo conversando así. Así era.

(Q)

Si, pues a los diablos mismos ha estado pastando. Como el de robar tierra no ha sabido ser bueno, ni robar plata peor. Entonces por eso de robar plata ha sabido estar pastando a los puercoos el llano grande. Eran diablos hecho en forma de puercoos y de mulas no más.

The fight between the cross and the devil

This is what they told me over the hill in Biblián, they told me the following: that some folk had died in a car crash. That one man had been unconscious for two weeks. They say he went I don't know where during that time. Then he met a cross. Then he met some devils. That peasant fellow over the hill told me about it.

It turned out that he used to worship the cross, and because he was devoted to it, the cross saved him. They say he was walking along: walking and walking and walking. Finally he was going through a narrow gorge when a cross appeared before him and asked him: "Where are you going? You've no business to be going anywhere because you are my workman. You can only go if you go with me, that's all. So let's go together because there are alot (of devils) waiting farther on."

Over there in Biblián they always venerate the May cross.

So they walked and walked. The little cross walked ahead and made the man follow behind. Finally as they were going through another gully they met the devils. The little cross said: "You go ahead. I'll stay standing here. You go ahead."
So the man walked ahead quite a distance, and the cross remained behind.
standing upright.

They say the man met a devil just then and the devil asked him: "Where are you going? Now you must go with me. Let's go then, for you have to go with me."

Then they say they had a fight, quite a tough one. And then the cross appeared at the man's side. On appearing, he said: "Now then, now then: you aren't taking this man with you. He has to go with me, for he's my worker. Now you'd better just go along quietly."

When the devil saw the cross they say he threw himself to the ground face down. He called out: "You take him then, but further on you will meet a whole group of us."

And so they walked on and on, quite a way.

After walking for some while, the devil turned to them: "Now look, here there are alot of us. Now we're going to get the better of you."

"Either you will win or we shall win," said the cross, "now you go on ahead," he told the man.

And there were many devils there. They had wanted to take the Indian with them, it's said. (Q) Yes, a peasant from Biblián is the same thing as an Indian more or less. So the cross warned the man to step aside. Then it knocked down first one of the devils, then another, then yet another, and another. Finally they all lay there face downwards. And the cross and his companion still on their feet, right? For the cross had told the man to move ahead out of the way.

When the cross caught up with the man, they say a tall cross was standing there. They say that God was there and asked the peasant: "What have you come for?"

The little cross who was accompanying him answered: "He's just come to see what it's like, nothing more."

So God consented: "Go ahead, show him. Just down there, through that door. Show him."

And sure enough, they were told they had to go inside and there was Hell. It was horrific, with cauldrons they say, very frightening. And the man stood there with the little cross right by his side. They went right past, no-one beckoned to them, nothing. They went right on past.

Then finally one of the man's relatives whose soul was in Hell came out to send a message back to her family: "Because I cheated over the boundary-line to my land, I'm here turned into a mule. I herd the mules and get kicked and bitten for my punishment. Tell my husband and my children to give back the boundary margin."

Then they say another asked him to do her a big favour: "The money (I stole) is buried beneath the cooking pot. There it is in a little box. Tell my husband that. That's why I'm suffering here, grazing the pigs, bitten and nuzzled by the pigs. Tell my husband."

So finally, they say he came back with the little cross. On his way back he thought that he must have been away a day and a night, when to his surprise he found it had been a fortnight! So he came round after fifteen days. Then after a month he began to speak and tell his story. There he was, telling it like that. That's how it was.

(Q)

Yes, well they were herding the devils themselves. For it was a sin to steal land, and to steal money even worse. So because she had stolen money she had to graze pigs on the big plain. They were just devils in the form of pigs and mules.

Informant: EDC, 20th October, 1976
VI Object of worship
Z110 Personifications
G303,15 Places haunted by the devil
G303,9,5 The devil as abductor
G303,16,3 Devil's power avoided by the cross
F81 Descent to lower world of dead
F91 Door (gate) entrance to lower world
A671,2 Horrible sights in hell
E756,2,7 Devils torment sinners in hell
Q560 Punishments in hell
G303,3,3 Devil in animal form
G303,3,31,5 Devil in form of swine
Q212 Theft punished
E345,1 Dead returns to replace boundary marks he has removed
E352 Dead returns to restore stolen goods

Tale 5: Ishaai monacunaca

Ishaanata yaicushpa cshuga aamariksha llugshiroa shugaa yaacuti riicla.
Niroo: - Hua haciaciapi jaacu toocangqri - niroo.
Chaitpica amo nirooami; - Can nishoatamin pagashu.
Chaunmanta chaai uyacushpa cshilla riicla chaai amoqhuan.

Chaumnata paicca; - Iniapi smatjan ungushoa shinami siicquin imata? - nishpa waata ruangapa riicla.


Tuoci chaica uyacrcam.


The two friends

I'm going to talk about two friends who got along very well together. There were two boys who were very close friends. One day they went down to the river to wash. Together they went into the water. When one of them had washed, he got out of the water, but the other was carried away. The friend who had come out of the water was inconsolable and went about weeping at the memory of his friend.

So it was that the friend who remained learnt to play the fiddle. By playing he could earn his bread. One day, he met a white man who said: "Come and play at my hacienda," "And how much will you pay me?"
"Whatever you ask," was the reply.
Hearing that, the young man happily went with the white man.

The man led the boy to the gate of his hacienda. He left him there saying: "I'm going to call my family, to throw a party." So the boy stayed behind at the door. As he stood there he heard a sound within: "Ay! Ay!"
"Is somebody lying ill in there, or what?" he wondered, and in he went to see.

Inside was his friend who had drowned in the river. When he saw the boy, he said: "Oh, my friend! What have you come here for? Look at how I am living here."
He was hanging upside down above a cauldron: "Oh, my friend! What have you come for? Now he will come bringing his family. Now, when he wants to pay you for your playing, say no to gold, no to silver, no to grain, make him pay you only in ash. He will want to pay you silver, grain, gold, anything. But don't take it. Tell him to only pay you ashes. And even when you play the fiddle, touch your holy rosary as we call it. And before you even finish, holding your fiddle, make the sign of the cross."
The boy listened to all this.

Then when the boss came back with all his relatives they had a party, making him play. He did as he had been told; when the party was over he said: "Pay me."
And the white man said: "How much shall I pay then? Take what you want," he said, showing him gold, silver and grain.
The lad said: "I want ash."
He didn't want to pay, but reluctantly he paid with ash.

When he gave him the ash, the boy put it in his bundle, in his hat, in his hair, wherever he could, and carried it away. That was how he escaped from there. For that white man wasn't a hacienda owner after all, but the devil, And the hacienda was no hacienda, but Hell.

Informant: GGG, April 1976 (courtesy Live Drange)

G303.9,5,8 Devil takes violinist when he needs a good fiddler in hell
E755.2,1 Souls of drowned in heated kettles in hell
F402.7 Family of demons
G303,16,3 Devil's power avoided by cross
D771.7 Disenchantment by rosary or scapular

Tale 6: Ishoai noviata sharigmenta

Shug runa ishoai noviata shariicra, Chashna puriuchapa shug noviata saquirishpa shug novialla causaraacra, Mona ishoaita causava puidaica. Chariicra na causaraacpa alli causaraacra, Shug novica saquirishpa shughuan causaraacra, Chai shughuan causaraacpa mana alli causaraacra, Cusaaca haca
There was once a man who had two sweethearts. Then one day he left one of them and just married the other, for he couldn't marry them both.

He lived happily married. The girlfriend who remained married another man, but did not live a happy life with him. The man, however, lived well.

As he was living happily with his wife, one day he met up with the other woman. On meeting, his former sweetheart said: "Aha! And how's life treating you? Are you happy or not?"

"I'm living happily," he replied, "getting along well with my wife and child."

"Well my life is not a success, all because I wouldn't marry you," said his first girlfriend.
As she spoke, she began to beat him with her fists. He was to have been her husband but things did not turn out that way, and now the former sweetheart began to get angry. And as she grew angry, so she began to insinuate: "Let's go away and live in another town," she said, "in that distant town there'll be a good life for us. Leave your wife and let's go."

"But I'm married now," said her first lover.

But all the same he set off on the journey, weeping with regret for his wife and child. He felt very repentant at heart: "I have taken this step pointlessly. Now what on earth will become of me? Will there be a life for me there or not?"

Thus saying, they set out along the road. Once on the road, they walked and walked, a long way. Having gone far they came to a tall cross standing on the right-hand side of the road. When he saw it, the man said: "Hey! Oh holy cross! In vain I have done this thing. Now where in the world will I find a living? My wife and child are left behind."

And the woman spoke from one side: "Why do you bother to speak to the holy cross? We shall find some place or other to live."

And so saying she walked on ahead.

So they passed on and having walked a long way, they met with a white man. He was mounted on a black mule like a mayordomo. "Where are you two going?" he asked.

"We are seeking a means to live," said the woman.

The man was sorrowful and said nothing. Then the white man spoke: "Come and live on my hacienda. There I have all good things, and shall give you anything you ask."

So the woman went happily along.

After walking a long way, the hacienda appeared before them: it was an old tiled building, green with age. Before their very eyes appeared sheep-pens, turkeys, chickens, all kinds of birds and animals. Seeing all that she went happily towards the hacienda. They were made to stand for a moment at the gateway, the mayordomo said: "Come inside."

The woman was still walking in front, and made to enter. The man very sadly and reluctantly went to follow. Then that cross which he had prayed by the roadside became a tall green cross and pulled the man outside. The woman he pushed inside. For that wasn't a hacienda after all but Hell. And that man who looked like a landowner whom they had met in the road turned out to be the chief Satan.

Informant: GGG, April, 1976, (courtesy Live Drange)

R11.2.1 Devil carries off wicked people
G303.7.1.1 Devil rides on black horse
G303.9.4 The devil as tempter
G303.16.3 The devil's power avoided by cross
D996.0.1.1 Magic power of right hand for good
Z145 Symbolic colour: green
F166.11 Abundant food in other world
G303.3 Forms in which the devil appears

Tale 7: Diablo apashoa huarmica
Entonces huahuaunatacina nina nin; - Shugoa anha shaiman ri, shugoa chacanmi ri. Mana huaca munarahu huaca humpapi siriuohumuna shayauohumuna, intapiish. Millungaratatoui huaca humpapi shayaraununguido - nishpa p'íñashoa.

Chatipishi nina cunun shug huahuataca: - Ri taitata rícuangui. O mana cashpaca diablo apashoa ri. Huca ríguunti de una ves diablo apashoa.

- Cashna cashna ccaya cunta maravillasamun ruhuarcia. Huonochita pedradaami o'áish caahhraa cunshata maipi sirigrisho nishpa, O yaya rícuanghi nishpami nírea.

Chatmantaca na utcata puri callarishoa. Shina rishealla: - Ima horasm piimi tupan chaitammi rini.

Chatpíloa tupana cunun cai swag diotoshoca, shug yuswag bestia montashoa sumaineka sucu ambrooa. Chaita níshoa nín: - Señor amito, ñuaca puash.
Huoca pími tupan primero, chauhan rígricumi.

- Añi, ñuaca caitmi canta apangap canta. Huoa nooestamimi.

- Yachamini - níshoa nín.

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**Nuevamente:** Shinashpa ha puri callarishioha shug semejante saha hualou montahata. Chaipi itu mundo yantarion nin brujacuana, tuoci hualou jurda patoumalaita. Chaipymi shug chausi tupashioha cutin. Chai chausi tupashpaoa nishoa nin:

- Of ruitu, oanua imita ruuhanash puruamuqai?
Pero primorollia nishoa nin ha: - Amtto, sima horastu mana pachata oaii pari oant? Por ei acaastto huaaman shug notodaitatcai.
- Ana amito nichi, amigo ni - nishpashit juin jururivin - , yaohanimi huaaco pero mana huitlashauchu - nishoa ha.


Chaipi chioote chariashioha: - Paicina carginish na puri callaringaununumi y canoa chiootess alii uma carumuna caithuan lluashilla. Chaipia na n hehtupi ama japiirnguiohu. Ni mana aainmenta chaitouna, patounpaa muna rinilami.

Chiootees mai maipi ha huitsui callaripgica chaipioha chiootechuan alii tunti loqraapioha ninshi: - Ay Jesuslla! - ninshi.

Chaipica: - Aia, cumanca "Jesus" ningnu.

Chaipioha: - Huaapami oaroanqui - nishpashi ha ninanaonuuna patoumalapuallata.

Chaipioha na tupaq nin cai diablooa, Nishoa nin; - Cunanaa huarmita trigrisha ninguiohu? Jau ricuashisha - nishpashi nishoa.

Al final, quinto infiermon man pasashksha chaipshhi nishoa; - ?Manochu cai? - nishoa nin.
- Mana.
- Aii, chaipi huaa huarmiti.
Alli tullippi pailahan aliititishoa, chaipi tuoci juiin nini pari owuucaun.
Nahui murulla oacripiohu nin huarmitia, Chaipishhi: - Caipi huaa huarmiti, Caaaharyka.


Shug ouohupi shug jatun alipa monton sirioa, Chaipantami shug...
The woman who was abducted by the devil

Now I'll tell another tale. It goes like this: there was once a woman without children who married a man who had children already. Now she couldn't stand her stepchildren and used to get very angry with them. When their father was away at work she wouldn't give them anything to eat: "I can't stand the sight of these little brats," she would say. So what did she do? One day she was furious all day long: "Where on earth is my husband? How long will he be?" she thought angrily. Then she said to the children: "You go that way and you go the other. I don't want you hanging around near me all day. You only stand around in the hopes of getting some grub. You go off and see your fat her, or go to the devil. I'm going with the devil once and for all."

She made herself some delicious food for the road: chicken and guinea-pig. Then she set off still saying: "Now I really am going with the devil. Let the devil take me."

Then she tied her food up in a bundle on her back and went, chasing the children away. In the evening her husband returned and couldn't find his wife: "Where has my wife gone?" he asked the children. "She made some delicious looking food for the road, then chased us out of the house throwing stones at us, telling us to go just anywhere, or to go and find you, our father."

Now the woman had set off very early. As she went she said: "When I meet somebody I shall go with them." Then she just walked a long way, as far as her legs would carry her, with the intention of going with whomever she met. She just walked and walked a great distance into a forest. Now the woman became hungry. When she felt hungry she sat down in a wide clearing in the middle of the forest to eat her food. As she was eating, there appeared a flock of buzzards coming through the sky. They wouldn't let her eat. For even as she ate they gathered together, swooped down and snatched away her food. But she said: "I'm going where the devil may take me," and more angrily and ill-naturedly than before, she went on her way. Getting up, she set off.

Then she met a handsome fair-skinned white man mounted on a white horse, "Master, take me with you," she said, "I'm going to go with the first person I meet."

Then the white man said: "No, I shall not take you with me. Behind me there's another landowner coming to take you with him, He is the one who needs you. I cannot take you with me. So just go on." And he sent her on her way.
Somewhere farther on, a thick fog came down and it began to rain heavily. As it grew dark there were heavy claps of thunder. She was passing through a steep-sided gully. Then she met the landowner who was to take her away: "Please master, take me with you, I wish to go with whoever I meet. I told a white man whom I saw earlier on but he wouldn't listen to me. Will you take me?" "Yes, I am here to take you away. I need you."

So saying, he made her put on a large rain poncho. He was a ohazo, and told her not to call him 'master'; "And do you have the habit of crossing yourself?" he asked. "Yes, I do."
"Well, you forget that now you're with me. You mustn't say that any more now. So come here.
He mounted her up on the haunches of his mule and clad her in a rain poncho. That was a witch, that mule. She was mounted on a witch.

They came on and on along the road, who knows where, and she covered with the rain poncho. Now over by Bibliən, just by the railway cutting there was a great gap in the rock. They say that the gate to Hell is there and I have been shown it too. But I'm lying a little on that point. So she was to go in there, carried on the back of the mule. Then the old mule began to kick at the door and in three kicks he knocked it down and shattered it. Then they went into the last, fifth Hell.

When her husband got home he said: "Now I'm going to look for my wife. Where can she have gone?"
And so he set off into a deep river gorge in the forest. There, they say, there were many witches collecting firewood, the gorge was just full of them. Then a ohazo came by: "Hey, Indian, what are you doing here?" he asked. But before that the man had asked him: "Master, have you been here for a while? Can you by any chance give me some news?"
"Don't call me 'master', call me 'friend'," replied the other, cursing, "I know but I shall not tell you."

Then the devil met the husband and handed him a big horsewhip, saying: "I know where there is someone who will tell you. So go down into the gorge. Down yonder in the gorge they are to be found. But don't you carry the load, they themselves will just carry it. They are gathering firewood down there. And your wife is in another place."
He gave him the horsewhip: "As they load up and begin to move off, you just flay them with this, (Chatpica Modificar - difficulty with translation),

Then as they began to flinch under the blows of his whip he cried out: "Ay Jesus!"
Then they said: "Aha, now you're saying 'Jesus', You were for us," they all said just among themselves. Then the witches carried the load, having collected the firewood all themselves, to Hell. (Cuan una ....... cad mataoa - difficulty with translation). But the devil said to the man: "Don't let yourself be caught. Drive them ahead of you, beating them well."
So now like that they went down into that gap in the rock that I mentioned before, in the railway cutting near Bibliən. They went inside through the fog and mud. They kicked the door open and the Indian went inside too.

Then he met that devil who said to him; "Now do you want to spot your wife? Come and I'll show her to you," said he.
So he took him to show him. There inside in rows were all the punishments that the devils inflict, according to the sin. One row was all cauldrons,
they say; in another part were the people who were being beaten. He showed the man the sinners: "Is she this one? Is she this one?" he asked as he went ahead, trying to help the man recognize his wife.

Finally he showed him through into the fifth Hell. "Isn't she this one?" "No."

"Isn't she this one?"

"Yes, there's my wife."

She was cooking right in a fire, squashed will into a pot placed between the fire bricks. Her eyes were popping out of her head. "Yes, there's my wife. Now set her free," said the husband, but as if the devil would free her! "She won't go out now. She will stay here for ever. Why did she scold the children and treat them badly? So now she must stay here. You come this way."

In one corner there lay a big pile of earth, and the devil gave the man a good-sized spadeful of it. Then he gave him some more from another corner, making him carry it in his poncho. "Take this home. Dig a hole in a corner and bury it deep down. In a week's time just go with your children and take a good look at it. You will have treasures."

And in this way he sent the husband on his way. In the twinkling of an eye he found himself back in that railway cutting near Biblián and it all seemed as if he had just fallen asleep.

And thus he came home. "My wife is staying in Hell, so I came home," he told his children.

"Mother's in Hell. What shall we do?" they said.

"The devil sent me away with this soil," said their father, "he told me to bury it in a corner. So let's bury it."

So after they had buried it all and a week had passed, wonderful things appeared in its place, such as grain. Could it have been a blessing from God, or was it help from the devil? Who knows? So thus life began to improve, and the man lived contentedly with his children. But the mother came out no more. She stayed in Hell for ever. That's my lie.

Informant: EG, 5th September, 1976

S31 Cruel stepmother
C12.2 Oath: "May the devil take me if...." Devil does
G303.6.2,5 Devil appears to persons ready to abandon their integrity
D42 God in guise of mortal
R752.1,1 Devil in disguise hunts souls
R11.2.1 Devil carries off wicked people
G303.16.3.4 Devil made to disappear by making sign of cross
G211.1,2 Witch in form of mule
A671.0.3 Entrance to cave as gate to hell
F80 Journey to lower world
E755.2,4 Ghosts gather wood for hell fires
E755.2,8 Series of hells
E755.2,7 Devils torment sinners in hell
G303.25.4 Devil cooks folk in kettle
D935 Magic earth
D859.2,1 Magic object received from other world
D812.3 Magic object received from devil
G303.22 Devil helps people

Tale 8: Diabolhuan tupasheo runa


Tale 9: Dicplhuan atapasa rurui

Llugshina nin oaimcçnta Cuencoman, Quitoman, Guayaquilman, mainmpish.
Chaop las dos, la una de la mañana o tres de la mañana, llugshina nin na carrñahuanana Cuencoman Hucanochi bisahnutos, chaí.

Chaop entoneses shug diabolohan tupana nin ari, shug diabolohan. Chaí diaboloca aparicuushoa nin ayata atautane. Chaí comapaneroa nin nin diabolotaca: 
- Amito - níshoa - amito, imaitman riangui?

Amigo níngpiaa entoneses chathuan rína nin rína nin ña.

- Ah, oonana 'ay' nianguí. Chaí ratooa inatka 'ay' niuoranguí, oonana 'ay' níanguí - nína nin.

Rína: - Ay Jesus! - ñína nin.

Chaïmantaaq rína nin ootin ña chaí comapanierochohumppish rína nin, parlsh parlsh parlsh. Na huatou huatou huatou s'atash rína nin rinaila nin. Chaïmantaaq na matcha mai huasha llagataman huasíman mai shug amíboto tiyana nin. Shug sambooa: - Juraoha! Juraoha! Juraoha! - níoumi,

Cunan: - Níoushun: pucaasha, pucaasha. ¿Imata 'juraoha! juraoha!' nin?
Allouuna aullash nína, 'auau' níouña nína, 'auau' níouña nim amígo pasasungpiaa.


Mas de oñanga, isheat oñanga layami, mana yuyarini ña. Chaí pasana nin p'uçushoaa nína ña chaí juraoha nidortaoa. Na p'uçuna nína, na ñína nim, p'uçushoa cacharin.

Rína nim rína nim ña cada puntopi samarashoa nína. - Ay Jesus! - níoumi, - ay Jesus! - níoumi.

Na chaïmantaa rína nim. Chaí huatupí ña entoneses ña oana nim ña chaí ohurtataa nína, oají ronca nína, lus nim, quilli nína, ima rosado nim, ima yuqallla riçurína nim, ima puca nína, ima yana nim, tsuui laya lus y oají ronca nim.

Chashna shamana ñin amígos oaja ronca, lus, tsupangapa alma oñendadotaa. Chaillamanta outímaa nim entoneses ña chaí amígoca. Chaípa ña outímaa nim maipínti 'juraoha juraoha' niuoušoa huasíman.

Chaí juraoha nidota ña huamucuushoa ñin quiuru canmirishpa ña libre. Chaïpi entoneses nína nim ña chaí oñemboto: - Bueno, ñimamantata huamucuunguirari? ñNashu unaq unquushoa o mana?

Chaïpíqa nína nim: - Recienoito allouuna aullaggpi maijan pasauungpia níshpa 'juraoha juraoha' níran. Chaillamantami ña yaotoun mana yaotoun cuerpo shugtaya imata tsuucí, ñimala - nimu.
Chaillamanta ñina nim entoneses posadoraa: - Mashnata pasanguí ñuoca jambish ușh?

Chaïpíqa nína nim: - Can nísheatomi pasagsha. ¿Imata níngui? ñuoca ouata jatariqhippi oan nísheatacqa pasagsha.

Buahummo buña nim ña churachina oerca ña. Buña nim huacana ñi ña
The traveller who met the devil

This is a story that my great grandfather used to tell about a journey he took; I don't know it very well. Nowadays there are cars and so on and one can send letters to all parts. In the old days letters had to be delivered on foot; people would set out for Cuenca, Quito, Guayaquil, wherever you like. Our great grandfather would set off in the early hours of the morning, taking the letters to Cuenca.

Well, one day he met a devil who was going along carrying a body in a coffin. The traveller addressed the devil, saying: "Where are you going, master?"

At these words, the devil replied: "Don't call me 'master', I'm not one of the hacienda bosses, call me 'friend'."

So, calling him 'friend', the traveller went along with him.

After walking for a while, they came to a big flat stone and the devil sat down with a gasp; "Let's rest now," he said.

Then from inside the coffin a voice was heard to groan; "Oh Lord! Where are you carrying me? Oh Lord!"

"Aha!" said the devil, "so now you're groaning! Awhile ago you weren't groaning at all, but now you're groaning alright!"

And the voice repeated: "Oh Lord!"

Then they set off again, the devil and his companion, talking and talking as they went. The companion followed him down and down into a deep ravine. And then they came to a house in a town down in the direction of Azogues where there lived a zambo. As they went by the zambo called out: "Juraoha! Juraoha! Juraoha!" to set the dogs on them.

The traveller just went on by, without saying a word according to all accounts. And the devil said: "Now then, I'll blow on the zambo. For what reason is he calling 'Juraoha'?"

The dogs started to howl as the friend devil went by.

When they had passed by, the traveller asked the devil: "Friend, tell me what is a good remedy to cure a person who has been blown upon?"

God himself had given his approval to the question. And the devil
replied: "A good remedy for a person who has been blown upon is to take pig's urine, some ripe altamisa berries together with some puleo leaves, some young leaves of eucalyptus, three different kinds of animal fat, a little creosote, some fresh dung, some hen's droppings..."

About twenty different ingredients in all, but I can't remember them all now. And they went past, the devil blowing on the man who had called out 'juraoha'.

And so they went on their way, stopping every few minutes to rest, and the voice from the coffin would call out: "Oh Lord!" On they went until they came to rest in a hollow. While they were in that resting place, the devils came in procession with the caja ronoa, surrounded by lights of many colours: yellow, pink, white, red, black. All kinds of colours surrounded the caja ronoa. And there it came to fetch away the condemned soul of the dead man in the coffin. Then the devil turned to his travelling companion and said: "Now my friend, why should you stay here? You go back now. These devils will not harm you, there's no reason. You are a friend, not a sinner. Just go back."

For the other devils had come with the caja ronoa and the coloured lights to collect the condemned soul, so the traveller returned to the house where the man who had shouted 'juraoha' lived.

He found him dying, with his teeth clenched tight in the throes of death. He asked the sambo: "What are you dying of? Have you been ill for a long time or not?"

And the sambo replied: "Just a short while ago, the dogs began to howl, and thinking it was some trespasser passing by, I called 'juraoha! juraoha!' Since then a great illness has entered me, my body has quite changed. I don't know what's happening to me,"

Thereupon the visitor said: "How much will you pay me if I cure you?"
The dying man's wife broke in: "I'll pay whatever you ask. What do you want? If you put my husband back on his feet, I'll pay whatever you ask."
The man's children were crying noisily together, for their father was close to being laid out. "I'll pay whatever you ask," said the wife.
"Very well, I'll heal him," said the traveller.

Then he asked for all the ingredients that the devil friend had told him about. He had all the different things fetched and put together with all those ingredients he made a medicine. Then using a spoon, he made the patient drink the remedy, forcing his teeth open on both sides. Time passed and then an hour and a half later, the sick man got up, saying:
"What a state I was in! What are you? Are you God? What are you that you can cure me so that I can get up? I've come back from another life. A while ago I heard some people go by, and thinking they might be thieves, I called out 'juraoha! juraoha!' Then what on earth happened to me? I had an attack and nearly died."

The traveller, seeing that the sambo was getting better, gave him another dose of the medicine.

Once the sick man was better, the Canarejo continued to stay around. He said: "I'm from the race of the Canarejo."
"Well, whatever you are, now you must be God," said the other.
Then his wife prepared ohoha, she killed some chickens and a sheep, and there was a great party that lasted almost three days. They drank and drank. Then they paid him with a year and a half old bull, as big as that one you see there. And they sent him home leading the bull as reward for the healing. And they sent him home with a good supply of food for the road: at least three chickens in a big basket. And so he came home, with the basket of food and leading the bull, for having cured the dying man. That's the end of my story.

Informant: JAG, 5th June, 1976
G303.3  •  Forms in which the devil appears
G303.15  •  Places haunted by devil
G303.20.4  •  Devil strikes man dead with disease
F402.1.5  •  Demon causes disease
G303.9.7  •  The devil advises human beings
D1810.2  •  Magic knowledge from devil
D1500.1.37  •  Urine used in medicine
Q94  •  Reward for cure

Tale 9: El viajero quien se topó con el diablo

Uno día que estaba viajando, Entonces estando viajando dí que dice se encuentra con un hombre llevando una tabla. Un pedacito de tabla así, llevaba así (indicando el brazo derecho), o a la izquierda, no me acuerdo. Dí que dice: - ¿Adónde vas?

- Estoy de viaje a Cuenca - dí que dice.

- Bueno, vamos.

Entonces empezaron a caminar los dos. Estaban caminando dí que dicen en una parte donde había un caba donde había muchos niños, ¿no? Entonces en la caba esa cuando salieron los perros ladron aprendo, ladron y aullando un poco, los otoños dí que gritaban: - Juracha! Juracha! Juracha! - poniendo a los perros.

Ahi el diablo dí que dice: - Ya ves, yo estoy pasando cada uno y no vale de nada. Ahora que yo voy a dejar soplando - dí es.

Entonces es que ya sopló, ¿no? Entonces ese hombre le preguntó: - Y el soplado, ¿qué va a pasar?

- Dí que contesta que esos se van a enfermar, y tal vez que van a morir.
- Entonces: - ¿Qué hará algún medicamento para eso? - dí que le preguntó.

- Claro que hay - dí que dice - que den shalsha y semilla de altamisa y orina de mula.

Pero eso no es realmente mula, dí que dice, sino que es puerco. (Q) Osea dí que dicen que la mula del diablo es el puerco. Entonces: - La orina de mula (no es realmente mula sino es de puerco), y coca de pavo y de gallina. Eso se refriega en agua y se da. Ese es el remedio para eso. Entonces van conversando conversando así, y él llevaba la tabla.

Entonces van así. También pasan por donde que están los asaltantes. También la misma cosa, Entonces pasaron por allí, les cogieron las armas y dejaron en otra parte. Y pasaron tranquilamente, Y al regreso lo mismo. Entonces ya cuando llegaron en Paramoay: - Espera aquí - dí que dice - no te muevas de aquí. Yo te voy a regresar de acá no más.

Entonces él estaba viendo seguramente para donde va, en dónde llega, ¿no? Entonces 'taz' en esa quebrada se abrió esa peña tal vez, pero no apareció peña por allí, una roca. Esa roca se abre y con ese sonido de las puertas; se abrió no más. Entonces dí que vio adentro una llama colorada como un horno, Entonces la tabla que estaba teniendo lo botó adentro al fuego, ¿no? Entonces dí que no ha sido tabla sino ataquí. Entonces lo botó, Adentro dí que dice: 'Ahi sí no más'.

Entonces dí que dice: - Bueno, yo te puedo curar.

El diablo ya se fue indicando eso ya.
Bueno, pero que paguen.
Bueno – dí que dícan –, con todo gusto.
Con tal que cura a los niños. Dice traigan tal cosa tal cosa lo que ha
dicho el diablo. Y ya van a tomar. Y vivieron los niños. Entonces
pagaron. Mucha plata tal vez. Quedó rico ese hombre, ya no tuvo que
viajar ni nada. Ahi termina.

The traveller who encountered the devil

There was once a traveller who met, as he was travelling, a man carrying
a board. A little piece of board like this. He was carrying it like this
(indicating right arm), or under his left arm, I can't remember. He asked
the traveller: "Where are you going?"
"I'm travelling to Cuenca."
"I'm going there too. Let's go together."
"Very well, let's go."

And the two of them began to go along together. They were passing a place
where there was a house full of children, and when the dogs came out barking
and howling a little, the children shouted: "Juracha! Juracha!" thus
encouraging the dogs to attack the intruders. Thereupon the devil said:
"That's not good enough. Now I'm going to blow on them."

So he blew, right? Then the man asked him: "And what will happen as a
result of the blowing?"
The devil replied that the children would get ill and perhaps die,
"Might there be any cure for that?" asked the traveller.
"Why, of course," said the devil, "they must be given shalsha leaves,
altamisa berries and mule urine."
But they say that it's not really mule but pig. (Q) Well, they say that
the pig is the devil's mule.
The devil went on: "Mule urine (which is really from a pig), and turkey
and chicken droppings. You mix that in water and give it. That's the
remedy for that."

And so they walked on, talking all the while and the devil carrying the
board.

On they went like that. They also passed the place where the bandits are,
They did the same thing: they passed by, took their weapons and put them
somewhere else. (*) Then they passed on without problem. On their way back,
the same thing happened. Then when they arrived at Peruncay, the devil
said: "You wait here. Don't move while I go ahead, and I'll be back for
you in a minute."

Well, the man probably watched him to see where he went, right? Suddenly
the cliff in that ravine opened, but there isn't a cliff there, it must
have been a rock. The rock opened with the creaking sound of doors and
they say the man saw inside red flames as of an oven. Then the devil threw
the board he was holding into the fire, right? It wasn't a board after
all, but a coffin. So he threw it in and a voice inside wailed: "That's
enough!"

Then the devil came out, leaving that behind, and they set off again. They
went to Cuenca and came back the same night. When the man went to Cuenca
on his own he would take a whole day. But going with the devil he would
be home the same night. So they came back the same night. They passed
the bandits' hiding place and came on. On their return they passed by
the same house where the devil had blown. The devil said: "You stay here.
The children must be dying. You can tell them the cure. But tell them
to pay you what you ask."

(*) the informant refers to Tale 15, containing the same episode
So the man arrived at the house and said: "Well, I can cure you."
For the devil had told him how, "But you must pay."
"Very well," they said, "It'll be a pleasure."
So he cured the children. He told them to bring the things the devil had
told him. They drank the remedy and they lived. They paid him, probably
a lot of money and the man got rich. He didn't have to travel any more or
anything. That's the end.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

as for Tale 8, plus:
A671.0.2.1 Fire in hell
A671.0.3 Entrance to cave as gate to hell
E755.2 Souls in hell

Group (ii)

Tale 10: Molinomanta

Chi toosho shug rina nin moaachingapa shug molinopio, Molinopica
entoneso tucui ha altaqeh qu'ipa ochajana nin, Chai molino dushoyuaa
rina nin; - Nana koutarqinitchu. Caya madrugashpa quinasoh uksa galto
cantanoa shamushpom cutasha - rina nin - caillapi saqit - rina nin.
- Imata saquiriouoshari, Cai mundo oarwamantam ciari. ¿Entoneso
cailiapita monohu pudini paosarinata ? - nisha nin.
Entoneso: - Pudingui paaosarinata - nisha nin - , pudingui paaosarinata.
Entoneso lo que sec, ana manchanaachingutioh unata. De repente piqueta
shamutpa, mapi shamutpa, mapi shamutpa, entoneso yuaranguiari - rina
nin.
Chashna entoneso ka patoa casi suenuuna nin.Sueñuuna nin.

Ha unic tuta, casi shug shugpi tuta oeratatashari nin. Pero shugpi tuta
doce horas, doce de la nocheta casi sono y limpio, casi ni una mana
ruido uyarin, mana ni tmaooh. Amaunapish purimir casi stete de la
nocheta purin amaunapish y millai cuoocuaca puririmi, las ocho y
medio hasta nuevecama purin, cuoocuaca. Madrugo lo mismo, almita-
cuooca puririmi, las tres de la mañana ari, casi cinco de la mañana
noyen cuoocuaca purin, las tres, las cuatro de la mañana purinuma.
Chashna entoneso eno nin molinopio, suenuuna nin chai otaachingapa
vrdora.

Chopa suenuungpi tuta chayamana nin nemejante buila. Shumuna nin
juin tuquir lajamanta tandaanashu. Shugilanoa shugilano oma yatauna nin. Chaitamaa ochajana nin chai capito nisha ochajana
nin jatun yana libro yana lapsercunahum. Chai ullahuanga plumash oana
lapisoa, Chayamushpmi anotana nin, Na shugilanoa ochajana nin
nin; - Can, ¿imata ruhamungui? - rina nin.
- Nuacca misma toitahuan hikjaunomi suenuchumini - rina nin.
Chapito entonos oina nin; - Allita caashoa, allita caashoa - nisha nin.
Shugape cuitin rina nin; - Nuacca huuaachumimi - rina nin.
Chatesh; - Canoa ashaliata ruhamshangqui - rina nin.
Cutin shug chayashpa rina nin; - Nuacca cutin mismo turindi paniindipi
suenuchumini - rina nin.
Chaimanta; - Caram etonos ashtan gananqui votostaq - rina nin.
Cutin shugoa na ochajana nin; - ¿Can imata ruhamungui?
- Nuacca maiha llagtapi yaoutami jaroamumi. Ishoai hulundumu pangaallahuan
Nuacca yaota jaroamumi. Ouasana chaataunaca hani ha ni imata, mana ina
chashnauashu, ni ima yaou ni ima, Hani tuuir tiyasha, huanuunauna -
rina nin shugoa ha.
- Can ashtan garaunghi - rina nin-, can ashtan garaunghi,
- Chai shug jatun huuroi rumi, rumi uapqi yacuoa - rina nin-, chai
The haunted grinding mill

There was once a man who went to have some grain milled. He arrived when everything had been put away for the night. The miller said to him: "I'm not grinding any more now. Tomorrow morning at first cockcrow I may come to grind. Just leave your grain here."

"As if I'm going to leave it here," replied the man, "I've come a long way. Can I not stay the night right here?"

"Yes, you can stay the night here. But in all events don't let yourself be frightened. Someone might come, you never know. So keep an ear open." And so the man went to sleep.

The night passed and it must have reached about midnight, although at midnight the night is usually quiet: not a sound is to be heard.

Spirits walk abroad at around seven o'clock in the evening, and the devils walk between eight-thirty and nine. In the early morning too: the good spirits walk about at about three am, and then the devils at about three, four or five in the morning. So there was the man who had gone to get his grain made into flour asleep in the mill.

At night while he was sleeping there, there came a terrible din. All kinds of devils came in a group. One by one they entered the mill. Then the one they call the captain arrived with a big black book and a huge quill pen made of a buzzard's feather. When he arrived he wrote
in the book. One by one they arrived and he spoke to them: "What have you done out there?"

"I have made a father sleep with his daughter," came the reply.

"Well done, well done," said the chief devil.

then another said: "I made a man commit murder."

"You have done little," said the devil.

Another came up and spoke: "I on the other hand made a brother and sister sleep together."

"Then you will win a lot of points," came the reply.

Another came up: "What did you do out there?" he was asked.

"I stopped up the water supply in some town way off. Simply using two hutoundu leaves I blocked off the water. Now those folk have absolutely nothing; no water, nothing. They are all dying."

"You earn a lot of points," said the chief.

The other devil went on: "The water is behind a huge rock in a riverbed. If the rock was struck with two hutoundu leaves, then the water would burst out. The water is lying blocked just in there."

Then another devil arrived, "And what have you done?"

"I made a man kill."

"Huh, you have done little," was the verdict.

Then that young man who was spending the night in the mill crossed himself for protection. He also had with him a rosary and a scapular.

Then the devils began to set the machinery in motion and the mill began to turn; 'bumm' it sounded.

So there in the mill they wrote down all kinds of things in the great black book. And that last crippled devil smelt the presence of human flesh as he came. Then the cocks began to crow. When the red cock crowed, the devils said: "That's my cockerel."

When a black one crowed, the same: "That one's mine."

Hearing the white cock: "That one's mine," they said, and dismissed it. When the gallo mishiou crowed, they lay face down on the ground. When their enemy's cockerel crowed, they lay down together on the ground. While they were doing that, the man who was hidden suddenly got to his feet holding the rosary. Then the devils said: "The spirit may come yet; and the spirit will indeed frighten us."

And frightened they were; perhaps God gave the man courage to act. 'Aaaaah' cried the devils. There and then they abandoned everything. And the crippled devil had been about to come in also. The other devils came out of their corners, trampling on each other as they went. And he (the cripple) followed them at the last, leaving the books behind and everything. Leaving the book where the details of the water blockage were noted, they scattered. And the man stayed behind with all those notes: details of who had slept with whom, who had killed whom and how.

Everything remained behind written in that book. That's my story.

Addendum

On a subsequent occasion the informant was asked to clarify the tale's ending. He explained further as follows:

The water was blocked by two hutoundu leaves, but by beating against these with a certain large stone it would be released. The man is able to gather this information by eavesdropping (and, we assume, from the devils' book), and will be rewarded for his service. The same applies to the other 'evils' set down in the book: the hero will use the information to set things to rights. The narrator further remarked that these events took place in the Tiempo de Dios Padre, i.e. before this
creation when, he explained, trees, stones and mountains could speak.

Informant: EDC, 29th August, 1976

G303.15.3 Devil haunts a house
G303.6.1.1 Devil appears at midnight
G303.25.19 Parliament of devils
G303.6.1.2 Devil writes into book names of those who call on him
G303.9.4 The devil as tempter
G84 Fee-fi-fo-fum. Cannibal returning home smells human flesh and makes exclamation
Q242 Incest punished
Q211 Murder punished
N451.1 Secrets of animals (demons) accidentally overheard from tree hiding place
N452.1 Remedy for lack of water in certain place overheard in conversation of animals (demons)
A1751 The devil's animals and God's
Z65.2 Series: white cock, red cock, black cock. These crow at dawn and scatter ghosts
G303.17.1.1 Devil disappears when cock crows
D771.7 Disenchchantment by rosary or scapular
F933.2 Dry spring restored by removal of certain stone

**Tale 11: Diablop a huasiman yaisilsha runa**


Ima horasmi huaophilia nin chai huaufщитumu entonoe cutin o'ayana nin, Chai huanyumi o'ayana nin yaitouchina nin. Chaia chaaihipi mangataunaa ohiatunna timbraun. - Chauunata alli ritouchi, chayaochi alli mici, hucamarina favorita minuul - nish. Ari nish; - Chauunata tuau ruhuaspaco huasi huashita matshah shinallapimi shug romero huarta tiyanga - nin -, chalmaat amahshuca jahap shiitsh asi cut - nin -. Huaataca na apag shamuungauunam - minashi.

Chaipi nishpa, chaioa shina mioorooacha inshohariyad, ima alverja nin, ima motiity nin, nina jiunpaica, maanamapia. Piaia viriana.

Shinsha rispanyasa, romorotaaari maraata amushaa nin. Maraita amushpaco tuoci cuempu jahapu juin shittana nin, saunapi achoata churanu nin.

Chaipishhi nina omane; - Chaia alli mikui, alli corba bhuiga patata. Apag shamuungauunami nuoataca. Canoa altman huochahoungui - nishpa.


huichacoshoa alto cuchopi tiyacuna nin. Chaipi yaionrunucuna nin 'p'ua' cucho muyundí banoconun inaanacuna tiyana oacua, Chaipišhi fill'arunucuna tiyacuna. Fill'arunucuna tiyarishpaca entonoes que parlo nin juin. Shug ruooca asun ma de una ven imapa mana valiah...... (recording indistinct for two sentences).

Chai quimsa oruz apashoaruouna chai mayor oabesaoa. Chai orustu laopi shyawishipa tiyacun nin: - Canoa, sintata trabajamuroangut?
  - Mucua oat oai alta trabajamuroani.
  - Ahí alli. Canoa cutin, sintata trabajamuroangut?
  - Mucapish oyt lya chai layatami trabajamuroani.
  - Alli.
Tucuipish: alli mi paímanoa. Na cutin shugman tapun chaoa cutin nin:
  - Mucua trabajamuroaminti shug solterahuau shug moshuhaan - ninashi.

  - Gallo negro.
  - Mio. ¿Qué gallo cantal?
  - Gallo blanco.
  - Mio - nin. ¿Qué gallo cantal?
  - Callimanta gallo. Gallo negro.
  - Mio - niaasapillata.

Que gallo huinasouta Hua. Mana Diosito licenciata oashuuaa. Tucui muyundicha huascuna maipi tiyana oacayd.

Chaipiša entonoes que νi cha nin nin: - ¿Qué gallo cantal?
  - Ese gallo mishiou - nin.
  - Ese es del brujo - ninashi.


Tuoci ima ima ruhuanasaurana juit pataa miowsh, tuoci imanash.
Na chaipi pacarishpa cayandica chai tullu ceraunataa tandash aparishpa rina nin na hombre meicha rey llagitaman. Matipmi rey llagtaara.
Chaipisch parlanaouna: - Cai modomi tuwuovish.
- Bueno, fucowan smashnata paganguish huua yaacu llugohish oosha?
Mat macuuna ouenina nin, mat macuina mana ouenina nin: - Cuan cai
ciudad enteroco pi mna pudinahu. Cuinu caicovi imata
fucamanishnata llugohish anga - nish. - Fucamohi payashun tandanaaush
mashnatapish sayashun payashun japinga maita ringa, fuaer - nish mana ouenina.

Shinaashaapa entonoes: - Bueno, zinata mana ouenina ningui? Umapisish
tuuvish? - nishpa tuou chai patojoounapa ceraunata riwashihipa tuvoi.
Chaipisch tuovu entonoes pueblo enterocuina jatarishhpasa. Tuovu padres
avas tuovi jatarishpashki na. Na ouenina nin, na rionu nin tuovi ima
shina oosaocaata. Shinaashi ohsuptioa ouenina nin, ohsupti genteeca mna ouenina nin: - Bueno yaoutuca llugohish ouenhu huanachtai alli dobleta payashunlikami - nishpa.
Entones chaipisch ari nishposha na compromiso ruhuasaacuuna nin na. Chai
yauc llugohidora ka mana ouenina ningui. Matip ima hayamanta. Chashna
pero na sumag Divoito na paipa manathuan chai ruhuasaacu na tuovi juin
tandanaaushpa ima mundo gente, mayor menor gente, tuovi llogta entero
tandanaaushpa. Entonces: - Bat, mana cuna llugohin, llugohishan bat
tandanaacuichi.
Ultimo gente maashna oashpapish tandanaaushpa, maipicho, chai Calvario,
chay Calvario lomapimi yaoua. Isehcoi ladomammi hayauna ngatur
manauna yuvanauna. Chaipisch oocuipimiy yaacuca. - Bat jaucuich riungapa -
nishposha na.

Chaipisch cayandica na chuacua nin tuovi gente novedad juinta, na pari
huahuaatac ohsupti oshurasaacuuna na. Na rinu nin ali tuovi chashnich-
shoaa tuovi. Ima mundo gente ohsuppet. Nin nin riwoshinuuna nin,
oocipimi. Liwonghoo caimanta mta bastaste correentepi oshaacuyi yuwa-
ruusacuuna chai ohsupti yaacuca. Chaipisch allan allan allan huahuaacu
nin'lu ali ohi hitracoocha, alli caballero, onsumenwa nimpilashpa
nin, puhudsphina nin allpata llugohishpaasa. Juinta ohsuptipa, shug meto
wuupsii hashi bastaste humed topsashpa. Yauc alipa humedadoa. Chaipisch
entonesoa oocipimi oocipimi yaacuca. Vama uusamana astan eussillaacuna
tuovi genteeca pudivishpa puhadsphpa nin, migllashpa nin, summenunapi,
imia latacuna, ima shicunaapi. Pero hampi na juin huacua juin. Na
caai ishechoi vara uacuoa allipgica, na yacuicuac ricarimantara.
Chaicoiari del todito yaucuac ha uacuam ha chai ishechoi lado chikha
purishpashki entero verde quishua saporacuuna tiyacuashoa, ohsuptipa
yauc nin. Ishoai, lado esquinacuana semefante animalaricuacna. Ilehu
muruacu del todito mancharish caipana na. Tiyaoushacuuna ohsupti.
Chaipisch yaucu. Ima chaacia mana ali, eishari imata ruahuacuac,
imahaoi sapoounataca. Librochao llugohish shitaracacuna alli imahari,
imia mundo genteeca oocipima imata ruhuusshowi maga at. Sapoonataca.
Xouta jarcash tiyacipgica. Chaia sapoac ashun ashun humedado tupa,
ischacuarter yaquitaica ha saltaman nin sapoounaaca riquirin nin. Sapoonata
shicho huarauchin o shicho causagit llugohish shitanacuna imani, chaipisch
The man who entered the devils’ house (synopsis)

Whilst the general meaning of the text is clear, the elderly informant used many obscure turns of phrase which made it difficult to arrive at a free-flowing translation; instead, therefore, a synopsis is given:

A traveller arrives late at night at a deserted house. A voice within bids him enter, which he does. The voice belongs to a dead man who is lying waiting to be fetched away by the devils. He asks the traveller to fetch rosemary and throw it over him, in return for which favour the traveller eats from plentiful pots of food in the house. Then he takes refuge in the upper storey of the house, as the soul advises. He is holding a religious token as protection against the devils.

The devils arrive in procession, carrying candles made of horse-bones that burn with a green flame. They take up position in the room below and report to the chief devil on the sins they have caused to be committed. A crippled devil is the last to approach. They go to carry away the dead man. They hear the traveller moving and go to investigate. The latter protects himself with the religious token, then the cocks begin to crow. As each colour cock crows, the devils deny their power, until the crow of the gallo mishiu, when the devils are overcome and scatter.

The traveller then gathers up the candles they have left behind and goes to the town where the water has dried up, as he had overheard the devils say. In the town, the people and animals are dying of thirst. He offers to unblock their water for payment. The people don't believe in him until he shows them the devils' candles as proof of his story. Everyone lends a hand and digs to release the water. At the place where the water is blocked, two green frogs are found, of a kind believed to be 'ill-omened'. The traveller is paid for his services.

Informant: JY, 13th December, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:
E281  Ghost haunts house
F166.11 Abundant food in other world
H84 Tokens of exploits
G303.10,2 Toad as follower of devil
Q10 Deeds rewarded
Tale 12: Chingarishoa huarchaunna


Nama pi caissag oashoa como ser enemigo malopa samana huasilla oashoa.

Shamunouna nin, ima shutiashpa shamunouna nin. Chayanoona awerpoahun, tutu. Chayanoona nin semejante 'tavag' 'tavarag' 'tavag' nishpashi chayanoona. Semejante oeracnaa cuenta, pero mana ima oeracnaashu nin sino es que caballo tulluona nin, ima tulluona nin, chataunapi huagtashpa shamin.

Tyaunacnaa nin tuuita listapi, listata ruhuaasha. Rhuasunauna nin jutin.

- Nuaa cutta trabajamuni: Nuaa compadrehuan oomadrehuan sueuuchimuni.
Cutin shug na chayan nin: - ?Canoa imatata trabajamungul?
- Nuaaca turinidi parindimi sueuuchimuni.
Cutin shug na chayan nin, como ser aqapi shug gente trabajopi patroymun huillashe cuenta ima trabajote, chashna ohashpa. Na chayan nin shug aqutin: - ?Canoa imatata trabajamungul?
Chaiipica: Nuaa aqapi parindidi turinidi sueuuchimuni.
Cutin shug chayan nin: - Nuaa padrichuan hijadahuanm sueuuchimuni.
- Bien esti, bien esti - nishpashi nin.
Chaiop chai hip cutin shugoa na ultimotaa nimm nin: - ?Canoa imata
The lost children

There were some children who got lost in the forest and were unable to find the way out. They came to a soot-blackened house in the middle of the wood and there they took refuge thinking there would be people there. But there were no people there at all for it was just a house used by the devils as a resting place. They went into the big house and as night fell they wondered what would become of them and what they would eat. They were there for three days without eating. The night came down on them and they became afraid. There was a soul there that frightened them. There was an upper level to the house and it was there that a dead body was lying.

Then in the night the devils arrived making a hollow banging sound as they came. They were carrying torches - apparently candles but in fact made from the bones of horses and other animals perhaps. They came banging on these. Then there was the burning of glow-worms. So there was light from these and from the bone-torches as the devils came. In this way they came together to the house with a corpse. They arrived and the children watched them from above. They were very afraid as they lay there holding their breath and watching. One of the devils said: "There's money, here, there's raw meat here."
The children lay there quietly wondering what would become of them and how they were going to escape from that place.
Then the children needed to urinate from where they were on the second floor of the house. The devils having arrived with the corpse were happily gathered below at a table eating. Then when the children felt the need to urinate, they did so all over that very table! Then the devils clapped their hands together and cried all together: "What's this? Why is water falling from upstairs? What's happening? Let's go and see."

Now it happened that as the children lay quietly up there they had with them a cockerel. They had been wandering lost carrying a gallo mishiou with them. The hour of cockcrow was approaching already. But despite this the devils were gathered together making a list. So they decided to wait before investigating the water.

Then the chief devil addressed the other devils: "What work have you done?" he said.
"I have made a compadre sleep with his compadre," came the reply.
Then another devil approached: "And what work have you performed?"
"I made a brother and sister sleep together."
Then another came up; for the process was rather like when people report to the foreman after some task of work has been carried out.
The chief devil asked: "What have you done?"
"I too made brother and sister commit incest."
And another: "I made a godfather sleep with his goddaughter."
"That's good, that's good."
Then to the last he said: "And what work have you done?"
"I made a single man sleep with a single girl."
"Your work doesn't count," and the chief devil dismissed that worker with a punishment, saying he had not done a good job. For to make single people sleep together is not the Devil's work.

So in this way the devils rendered their accounts to their leader.
The chief devil entered a report of all the work into a huge book. As he was doing so the children's cockerel crowed 'cockadoodledoo' from upstairs. Then indeed the devils were overcome and escaped as best they could from the house. As they rushed to make their escape they left the book behind. In it were details of how they had caused the water to be cut off in a certain village. The inhabitants had nothing to eat and the cows nothing to drink. So the children used this information and went there. They said: We know where the water is blocked. We know because we know what the devils did. Pay us and we will release the water."
But the people did not believe them: "What can these youngsters do? What can they know about how to release the water? They're lying."
But the children insisted: "This is how we come to be here," they explained, "we really do know." Then they said: "When we have released the water, then you must pay us so much. We will let the water out."
And so saying they went with a group of workmen to the place where they knew the water to be blocked. And they released the water. Then the people knew they had been telling the truth.

Informant: MC, 10th December, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:
Q242.1 Cohabitation of godfather and godmother punished
Tale 13: Misihuan ovejahu

Shug tiemposhi tiyana nin shug misi juin fillu, de una vez jullu. Ni wuchata ni pericoteaaari manaah shagtaahinohu. Tuui wuta lippyasi ha mana mpunata mana tarishpaa jahpiri ellarisho
nin vaquinpa autsina, quesillo, imalla golosinaquina tiyasha imalla coca ununata, cau hambruentooca, cha hulimanta imachari.
Chaamanta a entoos shug punshahaa risheoa nin. Cunanaa matipah ovejitash shayacausahaan nin shinallata mana misi ha; chusha guan punualla huatahoo shug pamhapi, lliuuhi pamhu. Shuripica misi
chuahaa cunagalla: - Lima tucush caoca chayacoongi;? - nishpahi ovejataca misioa.


Entoos aheei tuuushpa hulllancaushpa nishpahi nin: - Rishun, baat - nishooa nin.

- Lima siba risha? - nishpahi nggipica ovejaca cutin misioa ima nishooa
nin: - Mana, faitimi. Barapi huua baat carao - nishooa nin - oama
huuatao ana baat inguuliu. Hucana aspisha astaota ulli asuhipi
huuata puvo shitaush y jaau. Shomungaaamañoo pai duhoo mailiapi
richungaaamañoo Hucanchiqa Ha largarishun. Pero condicion de que maapi
ima yaroapi jampii, ima tutayun purayun, ima quilla tua, imapish
cauhnun, yauu fundusha maata oapiptipsh, Hucana huaa micuuna micuuanami,
pero cutin embu micuuna mana carai pudinhshahi - nishpahi nin misioa.

Ovejitaza yaragpipica mi micuuna mana tariisho. Chashna misirunooa nin
nin aparirasha shug huahsho, ima siba nin, huahua huahsho risheun,
mama huahsho huahsho ima shinnapi aparin chay enueta huayuurihaa,
Rinalla nin rinalla nin rinalla nin. Na tutayun nin matipichaartapirii.
Carapi oapiapia juin yaroapi jampii nin animal huahshapish. Na ovejitaza

- Huaa ima ruhaltshari? Chaita huaa condicional cani, Hucana yaragpipica
mana carashsho. Hucana micuuna charishkami: shutauna nin, conejiouna
nin.

Paica aheei pero micuush ripun nin misioa, Ovejitaza maata imatata
miciuna g'ahasha, pobra animal. Paica tuaui laya micuush riushpaco
causilla ripun nin. Ovejitamanaa shug oayandi quimena semena shug puri
ampioa ha tariirn semejante qu'auma. Cutin misirunooa ni ima.
Chashnashti rina pobra animalitoa jaui, lluaa huaa cai shug ni chai
shug. Shina risshpashi cutin ha rinalla nin rinalla nin, caai cutin
shug quima semena largo. Chashnashti largarina pobra animalica.

Shina risshpami semejante shug selva montaña shug leopardo, culebras,
animalles, semejante viborasa montañanas yacunu nin uma misihuan
ovejahuana. Chaitan yaragpipica shug semejante viga chaquima, shug
puva, mama ha punsha mama awanun nin. Ultimo chaqui pagtaahoo risheoa.
Chapitnoa ha niia nin: - Cunanaa peligromi oanphi. Cai mundo montakapica
jiura animalcuna uyairiun, Cunanaa ima siba tuuushhun? Wninuca jaha
yuya Nahirman huichatachush - nishpahi nin misioa-, pero caaica siba
shina tashat suhchurud puntingh? Huua aparisho - nishpahi nin.

Pero oan mana valiaco imata pudinhsh huaa llashatshaca - nishpahi nin
ovejaca.

Cutin misioa: - Mana - nishpahi nin.

Pues aparishoami caanga 'aparishallami' nishpa. Cha huichataci osallarin
nin shug semefante vigón altota juin.

Chaita huichaitoushpa sha de shug shuapi huichaito ama aspirish aspirish, ima shinapish jatin llashag ovejata aparishoa.


Chaimantashi huichaitoushpa jahua ultimo ñahui, shug montaña ultimo, ohat Réhui punyaman huichaitoushpa shapan nuaa misioa. - Cunancas caishha paeispallishun ináchha pasea nuaa ovejitaca - nishpashti, ilaqui huacai ni cai shug ni cai shug.


Mistuuousha shinapish aspirish aspirish weyimaa. Chapiishi: - Ovejitaca - nina nin - ovejita, ovejita - nishpashti -, maipita cangui?


- Nuka - nishoa nin -, rucaamaoa simaga simaq Diosoa pushash pacarin.

- Pero nucaci shug sumaimana puelbotami ricaumun. Cunanaa chatman riskin, jauo - nishpashti nin.

Shinashtosha risheoa nin, urauowsha igual huiillanwushpa ishaaita tiyaesh huaccowoushpanallata ilaquiulla.


Y shinashtosha ha nin nin, rin nin, rin nin, yaapipi yaucishpa shugpisama semefante yaou jiundapi yaioshua. Pue yaou aparishoa maicha semefante shug treinta metros largotacho aparishoa uraitan, uvuya jauhawan.


Una amamantia chariirashoa ovejataca yaou ama aparishou. Shinashtosha jahu paiuman huichaitoushaapi nishoa nin: - Mapita oui.

Shinashpami ña ohayashoa nin ch'ai maiipi oashpapish haoiendamanoa, 
haantai haoiendamenoa oashpapish haoiendamanoa, 
Ch'ai oashpapish haoiendamanoa.

Ojeyama semejante potrevo, maraun, osho, naa que masha pudig panha 
ovejita amanao. Shinashpami ña: - Picu duehooa shamungam, shamungam, 
shamungam, nish paiuamena tiyaawa nin tranquilo ucupia posamga, 
maiagnapa, - tiyaounichi, como chaqui pagaasheata shumaroanachi, 
Cunooa oashpapish haoiendamenoa oshauih - nishpa.
Shinashpa ña tiyaqupicoa oasi chishi amayashaalla shinao.
Ome Eddi jeldu oashpapish haoiendamanoa.

Ohayashoa nin ohaioay diablooun, Chaipi osho, nish paquamena tiyaawen, 
Uoupi yaioushoaouna nin. Misimanoa taririshoa nin aiohattaoa 
inima quesotlaa noima imaraviVlas miounay misipa miouna.
Ovegaman semegante potrevo, maravillaSy oosa que mashna pudig 
pamha oashpa ha:

- Pioa duehooa shamungam, shamungam, shamungam, nish paquamena tiyaawen, 
inima quesotlaa noima imaraviVlas miounay misipa miouna.

Manu osho osho osho nin tranquilo ucupia position, nishpa. 
Chaipi osho osho osho nin. Uoupi yaioushoaouna nin. Misimanoa 
taririshoa nin aiohattaoa ninima quesotlaa noima imaraviVlas miounay misipa miouna.
Ovegaman semegante potrevo, maravillaSy oosa que mashna pudig 
pamha oashpa ha:

- Pioa duehooa shamungam, shamungam, shamungam, nish paquamena tiyaawen, 
inima quesotlaa noima imaraviVlas miounay misipa miouna.

Shinashpasi ña tiyaqupicoa oasi chishi amayashaalla shinao:

- Ima chaqui pagaasheata shumaroanachi, osho, nish paquamena tiyaawen, 
inima quesotlaa noima imaraviVlas miounay misipa miouna.
The cat and the sheep

There was once a very greedy cat. Neither mice nor rats could satisfy its greed. When he had cleaned out his own house of food and could find no more to swallow, he began to take his neighbours' guinea-pigs, curded cheese and any titbits there were from their kitchens, so greedy was he.

One day, then, he was out walking. There was a sheep standing by, likewise with nothing to eat. He was tied up, his stomach empty, on a barren plain. The cat came by surreptitiously and said: "What on earth are you doing standing here? There's no point in your standing here. Come on, it's easy, let's go off somewhere."

The sheep replied: "How can I go when I'm tied up like this? My owners never come by, I spend all night here. I'm near to dying of hunger and cold."

"I too am about to die of hunger just like you. I've finished all the food in the house; there is no more for me to eat anywhere. Once and for all, let's go. Let the devil take us," urged the cat.

So they told each other their tales, the two of them. And the cat said: "Come on, let's go."

"How can I go?" said the sheep.

At his words, the cat said: "Oh, it's easy."

"Ah, nonsense," said the other.

"Don't tell me 'nonsense'. I shall scratch around the stake and break through the rope, and off we go. We shall be far away by the time your owners or anyone else comes along. But I make one condition: that whenever you feel hungry, whether night be falling, whether it be getting dark, whether it be a full moon, or whatever be the situation, wherever we be, I shall eat my food but I shall not be able to give food to you."

So when the sheep was hungry he could find no food. The old cat went along carried all the while (by the sheep), hanging on all the time and carried in the way a female opossum carries her young. They journeyed far. They were far off, who knows where, when night fell. As they were there, far from home, they began to feel very hungry.

Then the sheep said: "What will become of me, cat? I feel hungry."

And the cat replied: "What can I do about it? That's why I made the condition that when you were hungry I wouldn't give you any food. I shall have my food: shuta birds and rabbits."
For the cat ate only meat along the way. Thus the sheep must have gone with no food, poor animal. But the cat went along happily eating all kinds of things. Then after three weeks there appeared by the roadside a great patch of grass for the sheep. And this time there was nothing for the cat. So the poor animals went along, both crying unhappily. Thus they went on, walking and walking for three long weeks more. That is how they went away.

As they went they came to a forest inhabited by leopards, snakes, vipers and other wild animals. The cat and the sheep went into this forest. As they did so, they arrived at the foot of some great tall trees, and there all was in darkness, the light of day could not penetrate the trees. They walked on as far as they could. Then the cat said: "Here we are in danger. There are wild animals to be heard in this vast forest. How will we fare? Perhaps we should climb to the top of a tall tree. But how will you be able to climb it? I shall carry you."
"But you won't be able to carry my weight," said the sheep.
But the cat ignored him and determined to carry the sheep into the tree. They began to climb a very tall tree.

They climbed thus until they reached the halfway mark, the cat scratching and clawing as best he could, carrying the big heavy sheep. Then 'thump' they landed again at the foot of the tree. After three attempts at the climb, the cat's back began to ache somewhat. Then the sheep said: "You're a little weakling, you won't be able to manage this. Let's leave it. I'll just sleep somehow down here."
"But I had better go up. From the top of the tree I shall keep watch and warn you if any animal makes a noise," said the cat.
"Even if that happens, I'll somehow spend the night just here. You yourself go up to the tree-top and lie there for the night," replied the sheep.

Then the old cat climbed way up to the topmost branches of the tree and set watch. "Now we'll spend the night like this happen what may."
And the two of them wept unhappily. In this way the night passed and dawn broke. At cockcrow a light was seen burning. Who on earth could it be? It was some five kilometres distant. It burned brightly then died away, then burned brightly again, like the flashing of a beacon. Thus dawn broke and light fell from the sky.

So the old cat scratched and clawed his way down the tree. When he reached the bottom, he called out for the sheep: "Sheep! sheep! where are you?"
The sheep made no reply. He had burrowed himself into the earth at the foot of the tree and was lying there. When the cat tugged him by the head, he woke up. "What's going on?" he asked, "where have you slept the night? I nearly died."
"I came nearer to dying of cold. Up there it was very cold. Did your ears detect no sound in the night?" the cat asked the sheep.
"No," said he, "God was with me through a very peaceful night."
"Well, I have just seen a beautiful town in the distance. Let's go there now, come on," said the cat.
And so they went, making their way downwards, relating to each other the events of the night and still crying pitifully.

Then a great deep river appeared before them. What happened then? It was nearly the end of them. But the sheep said to the cat: "Well, if we live or die, I shall carry you. You hold on tightly."
And so they made their way half way across the deep river. Then the
water carried them away some thirty metres downstream, dragging them
down then lifting them up on its waves. It cast them into a deep
whirlpool of churning water. There the cat and the sheep found them-

selves together; tossing about in a whirlpool. As this happened,
the cat called out: “Don’t worry, I’ll get out of here.”
And he held on to the sheep’s head by its fleece so that the water
shouldn’t carry him away. So the cat, managing to climb up onto the
riverbank, said to the sheep: “Give me your hand.”
Or if that wasn’t the case then he pulled the sheep up by his two ears.
At that moment a gush of water swirled around the sheep and threw him
up towards the bank. And the cat got him out by pulling him. So there
they were safe and sound, “Now we have another walk to do. Let’s go
to the place where I saw the light shining. We’ll stop there.”

So thus they arrived at a haolenda, who knows where. It was a bewitched
haolenda, belonging to the devils. They arrived there and went inside.
For the cat was to be found all kinds of marvellous foods, meats and
cheeses. For the sheep there was rich pasture, as much as he could
eat. Expecting the owners to arrive at any moment, they stayed there
happily waiting to ask for food and lodging. “Let’s stay here. We have
come as far as our legs will carry us, now let’s seek our living here,”
they said.
As they sat there night began to fall, and one of them spoke: “I heard
voices just now.”
Then what dreadful noise was heard approaching somewhere in the distance.
The devils were coming. Then the chief of the devils came inside.
There was an enormous table inside a spacious room. On it there were
books of all types; only a white- coloured book was lacking. All sorts
of books were to be seen. That chief old-man devil was looking

Then the minor devils were coming in. “You, what work have you done?”
the chief asked, “What sins have you caused? Which father and daughter
did you cause to sin? What water course have you blocked up? What
temptation have you led people into?”
Another devil arrived, then another. The minor devils were giving
their reports to the chief devil. So it went on for a long while.
Then there arrived a crippled devil. He just stood there for a long
time. He couldn’t do anything but root here and there with his long
pig-like nose. (Now I’m going to laugh!) But no, in spite of the
devils’ being there, the sheep and cat were already up on the roof-top.
They were to slip down just as they had fallen from the tree. There
they climbed too, up onto the tiled roof. In the same way, using his
claws, the cat was able to hoist the sheep up with him. When they
were up on the ridge of the roof, the sheep felt the need to urinate.

When this happened, the cat said: “You should have urinated before
you began the climb. That makes me angry.”
“What shall I do?” said the sheep anxiously, “I need to urinate.”
And the sheep, lacking courage at the sight of the devils inside,
wagged his tail and urinated. The tiles of the roof were broken and
the thatch was rotten, so the urine dripped down right onto the chief
devil’s table. When they saw the drips, some of the other demons came
out and looked here and there. But how were they going to see up onto
the roof? Between them everyone was intent inside on looking at the
damage done to the table (after the questions had been asked and noted,
of course). Unseen, the pair above began to make a clattering noise
and this time the sheep began to defecate. All its droppings fell and
stained the devils’ books. Unseen, the cat and sheep together made a
hole in the roof and through it fell tiles, thatch and earth with a
crash, all onto the demons’ book, right in front of the chief devil,
Then indeed the sheep made more noise to frighten the devils. While he was doing that, the cat scratched their eyes out one after the other and put them each to flight. The devils fled outside shaken with fear. They went far away leaving behind the sheep and the cat. These two together remained behind as masters of the enchanted hacienda. When they had gone a long way off, the crippled demon said: "Those two rascals chased us out. Come on, I'm going to investigate."
The chief devil said: "No, whatever may be the case, a lot of urine fell into my eyes and made them burn. Then that other little one scratched my face, I don't know what shall become of us. We'd better just go and leave them to lie there."
"No," said the cripple, "let's go right back."
Then the sheep came out of the hacienda still bleating. "No," said the devils, "let's go."
The other animal hissed at them, and perhaps they took notice of that, for again the devils took to their heels and ran. So the animals remained as masters of the hacienda. There was plenty of wonderful food for the cat and a big grazing field for the sheep. So the cat and the sheep gained their own enchanted hacienda.

Informant: EG, 15th June, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:
cf, A-T 130 The animals in night quarters (Bremen City Musicians)
B296 Animals go a-journeying
N776 Light seen from tree lodging place by night leads to adventure
G303.4.1.4.1 Devil has a long nose
G303.16.19.17 Devil disappears because he is frightened

Group (iii)

Tale 14: Diaboldhuan contratadooa


Tercero taita Diospa gallo cantaroa, mishiou gallo. Puoa gallo cantaroa, 
- Na mana tucunchi gallo, na punshayagirrini.
Chaipi taita ulitmo cantan ha. - Mana putilinchichu, puoa mana aarata yuragyaohi valini - nín.
- Puoa mana valini potencia ruhuanata.
- Puoa mana tucun tinajapi fudachinichu.
Shina: - Shitarishunlla.
Shina niougui gallo cantara, chaimanta shitaricaonu na atish punshayagrippi, mana valish.

Chaipi tuourin.

The man who had a pact with the devil

This story is about a poor man who tricked the devil and became rich. The devil gave him money, but only for the space of one year. As the year drew to an end the man grew very sad: he lost his appetite, he didn't want to eat or drink. His wife asked him: "Why are you so sad? What do we lack? We are rich, you have no reason to be sad." So her husband explained that he had entered into a pact with the devil and soon his time would be up. Then the devil would come and carry him away.

On hearing this, the wife went to the priest to confess and ask advice. The priest told her that three devils would come and she was to do as follows: to one of them she should give a black cowhide and a sack of soap and tell him to turn the hide white. To another she should give some logs of wood and a machete, telling him to make a crucifix adorned with religious motifs. And the third she should order to fill an earthenware urn with water using a sieve. Well, that night at about 9 o'clock the devils came. The woman did as the priest had told her: she gave each of them a task. To one she gave a machete; to another
a black hide and some soap; to another a sieve and an urn. Then they all three set to work. But none of them were to complete their task.

At 1 o'clock in the morning the black cockerel crowed. At this, they asked each other: "Have you at least finished your task?"
One of them replied: "I cannot fill this urn with water using a sieve."
Said another: "I can't make a crucifix with religious emblems. The wood keeps breaking in my hands."
"I'm not succeeding in whitening this hide," said the third, "it falls apart when I touch it."
"So, what shall we do?" said one.
"It's still night, let's keep working. The gallo mishio hasn't crowed yet."

A little later the second cock crowed, the ash-coloured one. Again the devils asked after each other's progress: "You at least must have filled the urn with water," they said.
"No, it isn't nearly full," came the reply.
So they asked the one who was making the cross: "Have you at least finished the cross?"
"No," came the reply, "I can't do it. The wood keeps snapping."
And they asked the one who was whitening the cowhide: "Have you whitened that hide yet?"
"I can't whiten it. It keeps falling apart in my hands."

Then the third cockerel crowed: the coloured cockerel that they say belongs to God. "That isn't our rooster crowing," said the devils, "daylight is coming."
And the last cockcrow before dawn was heard, "We can't complete our tasks," they said.
"I can't whiten this hide."
"I can't carve out the religious emblems."
"I can't fill the urn."
So they decided to abandon the attempt. As they spoke they heard the cock still crowing. And so they were overcome by the daylight and forced to leave.

So now the wife had her identity card restored to her. Daylight came and she went to comfort her husband who had been called to the priest's house. There the priest cast a spell. After casting the spell, he turned to the rich man and told him to give half his riches to the poor and to keep the other half for himself. In that way he would be saved. There my story ends.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

M211 Person sell soul to devil
G303.16,19.3 One is freed if he can set a task the devil cannot perform
K211 Devil cheated by imposing an impossible task
H1023.2 Task: carrying water in a sieve
H1023.6 Task: washing black wool white
G303.16.3.1 Devils driven away by cross
Z65.2 Series: white cock, red cock, black cock. These crow at dawn and scatter ghosts
A1751 The devil's animals and God's
G303.17.1.1 Devil disappears when cock crows
N846.2 Priest as helper
G303.16.14 Devil exorcised
1.0 Introduction

These narratives are mostly legends founded upon local folk beliefs concerning the attributes, habitat and behaviour of the devil as he is popularly conceived of. In the analysis I shall deal again first with the narrative pattern of the texts and discuss to what extent this can be said to be a common one to them all. Then the structure of the texts will be examined in terms of the relationships that are set up during the course of each one between hero and devil. Into this relationship there usually enters a third party who acts as mediator and brings about an apparent resolution. These tales, as the others in this section, are seen as expressions of the conflict between man and the non-human world, and the devil will be seen to be as ambiguous a representative of that world as any other of the dramatis personae to fill that 'slot' elsewhere in the section. There will follow an analysis of the legends' content and the relationship this has to the wider context of the belief system.

2.0 Narrative structure

While all the legends have in common that they recount the meeting and relationship between human hero and devil(s), they have been divided into three groups according to the narrative pattern they follow:

Group (i) tales in which hero encounters devil whilst on a journey
Group (ii) tales in which hero encounters devils in deserted house and overhears a meeting between them
Group (iii) tales in which hero makes a pact with the devil

Of the three patterns, the first two are by far the most common; several factors suggest that they are patterns traditional to and perhaps oicotypical of the area; they depict the devil as an ambiguous personality,
beneficent or maleficient according to circumstance. They are also patterns that extend beyond the confines of this sub-type, and may be traced in tales of other sub-types also. That is to say, they are deep-rooted enough to have had effect on other areas of narrative tradition. Group (iii), on the other hand, doesn't follow the requisite pattern of Journey→Encounter→Arrival at other world, etc. of the type this section represents, and its theme is the familiar Faustian one, with the devil cast in his traditional European rôle.

2.1 Group (i): Encounters with devil whilst on a journey
2.1.1 General observations

Some general observations can be made about these as a group, before looking at them individually. The journey is usually given a specific local setting, such as the road from Cañar to Cuenca, a well-frequented trade route which presented many hazards to the traveller in the still-remembered days before mechanized transport. The route passes through some precipitous terrain, uninhabited and largely uncultivated as the drop of some 500 metres is made to the Azogues valley; the scene for the encounters is invariably some steep-sided ravine (huácacu/herbrada), and may be identified more precisely as Peruncay, near Biblián, for example.

The linear development of these narratives provides a framework within which the hero sets out on a journey, encounters a non-human agent, and arrives at the other world. Whether or not he/she returns safely home is a variable depending upon whether or not the relationship established with the non-human agent is a positive or a negative one. Where a mediator intervenes, that rôle may be played by an outside party, such as the personified cross in Tale 4. Alternatively, the structure of the tale provides for the appearance of a
mediator by what I term a 'split hero' function. In such a case, there are two human protagonists (H1 and H2), rather than one, who at the start of the narrative are on equal footing in terms of function but who, as the tale progresses, come to adopt structurally opposite but complementary rôles, the one then acting as mediator on behalf of the other. This occurs in Tales 5, 6, and 7. A parallel device is that of the 'split villain' function, as in Tale 8 where the devil first encountered by the hero protects him from a group of devils encountered at a later stage in the narrative.

It will be seen that no one value may be assigned to the devil: he may act positively or negatively with regard to the hero, and may be found in one tale to adopt different attitudes to different human protagonists. He may punish one while helping another. Sometimes the text makes it clear that the helper rôle is adopted towards those who are free of sin, whereas those who have infringed the moral code are punished. Elsewhere the moral standing of the hero is implicit only.

2.1.2 Tale 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>H recovers and finds was 'away' 15 days</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>H takes messages from dead for living</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>cross accompanies H back again</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>smaller cross accompanies H to entrance to hell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>'tall cross' grants H permission to see into hell</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>they meet tall cross ('Taita Diosito')</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>H and cross continue journey</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>cross overcomes all devils</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>cross fights devils to protect H</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H meets group of devils</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>cross intervenes, devil overcome</td>
<td>6/9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>devil tells H to accompany him</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>H encounters devil</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>cross tells H to accompany him</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H meets personified cross</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>H wanders through ravine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H unconscious after road accident; has always worshipped cross</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tale 4: La lucha entre la cruz y el diablo
With regard to the linear progression of Tale 4, it concurs with the general description given above, the initial situation being of special note: the vulnerability of the hero, which leads to the encounter, is provided for by his entering an altered state of consciousness after a road accident. This is not an unusual device in narratives dealing with supernatural encounters, and is mentioned further in sub-section (c).

The paradigmatic structure can be described firstly by looking more closely at the system of relationships set up between the actors. Each of these: hero, devil, and cross, represents a different sphere, which could be termed for the sake of argument: this world, hell, and heaven respectively. This could be expressed formally as follows:

\[
\text{hero: earth :: devil: hell :: cross: heaven}
\]

The relationship in Move I between hero and cross is a positive one of mutual reciprocity, the hero's former worship of the cross merits him the latter's protection. Into this initial harmony steps a disruptive force: the devil, who adopts a threatening attitude towards the hero. The cross then mediates on the hero's behalf and a triangular set of relationships evolves which could be formalized in the triad:

```
    (+) hero ______ devil
       |       ^       |
       |       |       |
       |       v       |
       |     (=)      |
       |___________|
           cross
```

This situation lasts for Moves II & III, which are structural repetitions of each other. By Move IV, harmony has been restored, the hero is allowed a glimpse into hell, and then returns to this world in the final move. Thus the sequence I described as common to the tales has been followed through. As far as the inner coherence of the tale is concerned: Move I, in which the hero encounters the mediator, may be seen as a structural inversion of Move V, in which the same mediator guides him home. Moves II & III, as stated are structurally repetitive,
and may together be placed in structural opposition to Move IV, where
the encounter with 'Taita Diosito' has positive connotations in contrast

to the encounter with the devils which was negative. The inner coherence

of the tale could then be expressed thus:

Move I : Move V : Move III : Move IV

It is hoped that the above interpretation of the tale's structure will

contribute to an eventual overall view of this group of tales as having

much in common in the narrative pattern they follow.

2.1.3. Tale 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>two friends (H1&amp;H2) bathe in river; H1 drowns, H2 survives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H2 wanders, playing fiddle</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>meets amo who invites him to home</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>arrive at hacienda (hell)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H1 gives H2 advice on how to protect himself against amo (devil)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>devil brings family, H2 plays fiddle</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>H2 asks for payment in ash as advised</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>devil overcome</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>H2 returns home</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The narrative pattern of this tale closely resembles that of
Tale 22 and the comparative text GS/CA/18 (sub-section (e)). They all
three trace the fates of two brothers or friends, one of whom dies and
is followed to the other world by the other. In the case of Tale 22,
the one to die (H1), is wedded in death to the ullaohu bird, and it
will be suggested that in many ways the devil and the buzzard fill
similar structural 'slots' in oral narrative.

Tale 5 contains an example of the 'split hero' feature des-
dcribed above. In the initial situation, the two friends are on an
equal footing as far as their function is concerned; both are human,
and represent this world. When death comes to one of them, their friendship does not cease, but now consigned to the respective spheres of this world and the other world, life and death, their relationship becomes one of complementary opposition. This could be expressed thus:

$$H_1 : H_2 :: \text{other world} : \text{this world} :: \text{death} : \text{life}$$

This prior differentiation between the two heroes may be necessary in order for $H_1$ to shift roles to that of mediator on $H_2$'s behalf when the latter is threatened by the devil. Balance is disrupted when the latter appears, and the actors adopt the following attitudes in relation to one another:

$$(-) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{devil} \\ \downarrow \end{array} \quad (+) \quad \begin{array}{c} H_2 \\ \downarrow \end{array} \quad (-) \quad \begin{array}{c} H_1 \\ \downarrow \end{array}$$

As with Tale 4, the position of mediator entails the most complex attitudes; he is in both a positive reciprocal relationship with $H_2$ (as former friend and present helper), and a reciprocally negative relationship with the devil (being at once his victim and an effective opposition to him on $H_2$'s behalf). The triad is an exact reproduction of that set up for Tale 4, helping us to see the similarities in structure between the two tales. Like Tale 4 also, this tale follows the described linear sequence of events; pivoting around the supernatural encounter and subsequent journey to hell, and ending in hero's safe return. In Tale 4, the main focus was on the journey itself, during which threatening encounters occurred not once but twice, for greater narrative emphasis. In Tale 5, however, the greater focus is on the events after arrival at other world, and the means by which $H_2$ makes his escape.

In paradigmatic terms, the structure of the tale may be described thus: Move I, telling of the encounter which leads to the visit to hell, and Move IV, of the hero's return, may be seen as structural
inversions of each other. The two intervening moves; II and III, are in a complementary relationship to each other - Move II in which H1 advises H2, and Move III in which this advice is successfully followed. This complementarity of structure reflects the mutual reciprocity that exists between the two friends. The moves could be arranged formally:

Move I : Move IV :: Move II : Move III

A pattern begins to emerge whereby the first and last moves can be seen in inverse relation one to the other and, whilst some variation occurs, there is an equally complementary relationship between the moves that intervene between the first and the last.

2.1.4 Tale 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>married man (H1) deserts wife for former sweetheart (H2)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>they set out on journey together</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>they pass a cross by wayside to which H1 prays, H2 does not</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>meet amo who invites them to home</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>arrive at hacienda</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>cross reappears</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>cross pushes H2 into hacienda (hell)</td>
<td>6/9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cross pulls H1 clear</td>
<td>6/9a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tale follows the linear sequence of all tales in the group. In this case, greater focus is given to the initial situation, which sets the tone for the ensuing events and offers an explanation of them. H2's persuasive wiles are dramatized, while H1's weakness of character is made clear, to account for his subsequent pardon.

The tale contains structural features which to some extent combine elements of Tales 4 and 5. The mediator is a cross, so we have symbolic interaction between the three spheres as in Tale 4. There is a 'split hero' function as in Tale 5. However, the hero and
heroine of Tale 6 are not in the same relationship to each other as were H1 and H2 in Tale 5: there, we saw a reciprocity which accounted for H1's shift in rôle to that of mediator. Here, there is a would-be reciprocity - between man and lover - which is rendered impossible, so it would seem, (a) by the adultery upon which their relationship is based, and (b) by H2's impiety in contrast to the remorse and piety of H1. Thus the two hero figures are considered oppositions of each other, and this opposition could be expressed in the following terms:

H1 : H2
passively persuaded : actively persuades
remorse : lack of remorse
piety : impiety
salvation : damnation

Both are then threatened by the devil, and the cross mediates on their behalf. However, this mediation is measured against the moral standing of the hero in question: for H1 it has a positive outcome, for H1 it is negative. Because of the opposition between them, the relationships of H1 and H2 with devil and mediator must be viewed separately from the standpoint of each:

(a) H1 ← devil
    cross
    (+)    (-)
(b) H2 ← devil
     cross
     (-)    (+)

It will be noticed that while triad (a) for H1 corresponds exactly to that set up for Tales 4 and 5, where the hero is also saved due to his moral worth (explicit or implicit), triad (b) has some interesting variation. Here, because the heroine merits damnation, the cross's attitude towards her is negative, whilst the assistance he gives the devil in consigning her to hell can be read as a rare example of a positive attitude between these two actors. The correspondance between triad (a) and those for Tales 4 and 5 is an indication that a common pattern is emerging in the types of relationship described in these legends, and the value attached to them.
The terms in which the paradigmatic relationship between the moves can be described are as follows:

**Move I : Move III**
- HI's prayer to cross : HI's salvation by cross
- H2's rejection of cross : H2's damnation by cross

**Move II**, in which the main events and are led by him into the hacienda/hell, acts as a central pivot in the structure of the tale, just as do the middle moves in Tales 8 & 9 below.

The tale follows the now familiar linear progression, and at the same time the moves into which that progression can be divided stand in a coherent relationship one to the other.

2.1.4 Tale 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>widow</td>
<td>widower remarries; wife illtreats his children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>she (H1) leaves home wishing herself 'to the devil'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>buzzards circle overhead as she eats</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>meets 'Taita Diosito' who refuses to take her with him</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>meets chazo (devil) who takes her</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>they arrive at hell and enter</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>husband (H2) sets out to seek H1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H2 meets a chazo who refuses to help</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>meets devil who helps him</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>follows advice and enters hell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>devil shows him HI who is in hell</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>devil refuses to free HI, but gives H2 soil to take home</td>
<td>9a/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>H2 returns home and buries soil</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>soil turns to grain for H2 &amp; family</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial situation is identical to that of Tales 25 and 26 (subsection (h), and corresponds to the opening sequence of A-T 327A with which they have some connection. However, in the present text, it is the stepmother who deserts her home, rather than the children who are deserted, which could be read as a structural inversion of the usual pattern.
I have divided the text into two moves; Move I which deals with the departure, journey, encounter, and arrival at hell of H1, and Move II which is in many respects structurally repetitive of the first in that it traces the same sequence for H2. The all-important difference between them is found in Episode xii, which describes the return home of H2, whereas H1 remains in hell forever.

The 'split hero' feature is represented here by the opposition set up between husband and wife. The initially balanced relationship between them - matrimony - is disrupted by the wife's own rejection of her home and responsibilities. From that point onwards the terms in which they oppose each other could be stated thus:

H1 : H2

stepmother : natural father
faithless : faithful
hell : this world
damned : rewarded
remains in hell : returns to this world

The disjunction of H1 and H2 is a prior necessity, so it seems, for H2 to become a mediator on behalf of H1. This shift in rôle, producing a human mediator who had formerly been on an equal footing with the victim of threat, is comparable to Tale 5, where the same thing happens.

There are other features of this text which compare with Tale 5 in particular: H2 follows H1 to hell, guided there by the devil; H2 finds H1 suffering torments. The pattern does not entirely correspond, however. In Tale 5 it was H1 who mediated on behalf of H2, saving him from a similar fate to his own. In Tale 7, it is H2 who intervenes for H1, on the other hand, to no avail. The position of the mediating hero with respect to the devil is markedly different in the two tales: in Tale 5, H2 has to escape by cunning; in Tale 7, H2 is helped and rewarded by the devil.

The pattern of relationships set up between the actors here is as follows:
Comparing this with the triads drawn up for Tales 4, 5, & 6, the main point to note is the change in attitude held by the devil towards H2. For the first, but not the last time, we find the devil adopting a positive attitude vis-à-vis the hero. In the case of this text at least, I would suggest that this is due to the workings of the 'split hero' feature: for H1 there is no redemption, and it is almost as a counterbalance to this that for H2 there is reward. This is a structural explanation, and there is also the fact that the devil is an ambivalent quantity who may act for good or bad according to circumstance. Further demonstration of this will be seen in Tales 8 and 9.

The paradigmatic arrangement of moves in relation to each other proves to be of particular interest in this, more complex, tale. As already noted, Move I is structurally repeated in Move II, with the exception of the final outcome. Then whereas at the beginning of Move I H1 departs ill-temperedly from home, at the end of Move II, H2 returns with good fortune to home. In various terms, these moves can be considered inversions of each other:

Move I : Move II
H1 : H2
children ill-fed by H1 : grain miraculously supplied by H2
H1 leaves home : H2 goes in search of H1
H1 remains in hell : H2 returns home
H1's ill-will : good fortune of H2
H1's rejection of children : return to children of H2
'Taita Diosito' refuses H1 : first ohazo refuses to help H2
devil accepts H1 : second ohazo guides H2

Thus episodes occurring in Move II are repetitions or inversions of episodes in Move I, both of which trace the progress of the hero figures on their journeys to the other world and the outcome. Of particular interest is the double value assigned to the devil, who offers help to both but for different reasons, and with different end results.
2.1.6 Tales 8 and 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tale 8</td>
<td>Tale 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>traveller (H) on road to Cuenca</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>meets Devil (Vl) - 'V' villain, carrying coffin</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Vl and H continue journey together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>pass house whose occupant sets dogs on them</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>devil blows on them</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H asks about remedy for huairashoa, devil tells him</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>reach ravine where group of devils (V2) await coffin</td>
<td>pass bandits' hideout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>via</td>
<td>VI protects H from bandits</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vib</td>
<td>arrive at hell, VI throws in coffin</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>VI sends H back home by same route, as without sin</td>
<td>VI goes back same way with H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>passes house where devil had blown on occupants</td>
<td>vii viii repeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>performs cure that devil had told him of</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>receives reward</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>returns home</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two versions of the tale follow the same narrative pattern with slight variations, as can be seen from the table. Where a variation in the sequence occurs it is noted in the Tale 9 column, otherwise the events in the Tale 8 column apply to both tales. The linear sequence is comparable to that of other tales in the sub-section, with particular focus laid on Function 8, whereby H gains knowledge which he later uses to his own ends.

Here the dualistic nature of the devil is expressed in the appearance of two devil types in the one narrative - a 'split villain'.
function. V1 is the friendly travelling companion, V2 the group of
devils who come in procession in search of condemned souls. V1 in
this case becomes mediator on behalf of H, when the latter is confron-
ted with potential threat from V2. For analytical purposes, this
'slot' may be filled by other dramatis personae, such as the bandits
in Tale 9. The relationship between V1 and H in this tale merits
comparison with that of cross and H in Tale 4, both devil in Tale 8
and cross in Tale 4 adopt the rôle of protector against a group of
devils met along the road. Such similarity in the functions of devil
and cross points up still further the thin dividing line that obtains
between these two members of supposedly opposed spheres, in narrative
tradition. Neither is painted in black and white, but in varying
shades of grey. The positive attitude of V1 in the present text is
further demonstrated in the way he causes illness to an outside party,
then provides the hero with a profitable means of curing it. Unlike
the devil of the European 'pact' lore, in this relationship there is
no suggestion of a debt, to be absolved at a later date on the part of
the hero. So the set of relationships established is:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
H \\
\downarrow \\
V1 \\
\downarrow \\
V2 \\
\downarrow \\
(--) \\
\end{array}
\]

The situation of the mediator is as usual complex: he adopts an ambiv-
alent attitude towards his own kind; by bringing them the condemned
soul which he carries in the coffin, but preventing them from carrying
away his innocent travelling companion.

The moves into which the tale has been divided may be arranged
paradigmatically to show the symmetry of the narrative thus:

Move I : Move III
journey from home : return to home
knowledge gained from devil : knowledge put to use

Move II can be seen as the central pivot point around which the narr-
ative revolves; containing the climatic moment of H's arrival at the other world, and his safe departure from it.

2.2 Group (ii): Encounters with devils in deserted buildings

I shall first examine Tales 10, 11 & 12, which can be taken to be variants, i.e. similar in terms of both structure and content. Tale 13 contains elements of content and narrative pattern that differ sufficiently from those of the others for it to be looked at separately. Not least of these is the fact that it involves animal protagonists and on this and other counts is closely connected with Tale 28, a Caffar version of A-T130.

2.2.1 Tales 10, 11, & 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tale 10 (key text)</td>
<td>Tale 11</td>
<td>Tale 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
<td>condemned soul in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
<td>soul gives H advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>devils arrive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>devils hold meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>devil smells flesh</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H crosses' self</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>via</td>
<td>Corso mishiou crows</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vib</td>
<td>H brandishes rosary</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>devils flee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>H gains information from devils' book (and takes their torches)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>H goes to town with drought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>offers help (shows torches)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>releases water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>gets reward</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A reading of the above table should clarify the degree to which these tales are variants of each other, differing only in minor points of detail. When comparison between the linear sequence of variants is made in tabular form in this way, the 'key text', presented in the left-hand column, is used as the mean against which variants are held for comparison. Where any difference occurs in these, it is mentioned in its due place. If there is no such difference, and the episode occurs in the variant just as it does in the key text, the variant column is left blank. Where the episode is missing from the variant altogether, this is indicated 'xxxx'. These tales, together with Tale 13, have in common that the main focus is on the encounter, rather than on the journey, in which H overhears a meeting between devils in an abandoned building. Thus, whilst the pattern of functions is the same as for Group (i) in broad terms, the emphasis has shifted to a new area of the narrative. Associated with this characteristic structure are certain recurring motifs, which will be discussed in due course.

These tales differ from those in Group (i) in that no direct relationship is entered into between hero and devil. Instead, the hero finds himself unseen but potentially threatened by the devils. This threat is expressed in Episode (v) where in two of the three variants a crippled devil smells human flesh. The danger is overcome not by the mediation of a third party as in Group (i) tales, but rather by the use of some symbol which according to widespread and/or local tradition, has the power to vanquish the devil; sign of cross, sight of rosary, aspersion of urine, crowing of cockerel. The mediation by an object rather than by an actor, however, fulfills the same function (6), and the tales' narrative structure can be equally well perceived in terms of the relationships between hero,
devils, and mediator:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Move I:} & \quad \text{devils} \\
& \quad \text{religious symbol} \\
& \quad \text{townspeople}
\end{align*}
\]

In Move II, the hero shifts to the position of mediator, vis-à-vis the townspeople whose water he is able to restore as a result of the information he overheard in Move I, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Move II:} & \quad \text{townspeople} \\
& \quad \text{devils} \\
& \quad \text{H}
\end{align*}
\]

The two moves into which I have divided the tales can be seen to stand in a symmetrical relationship one to the other, comparable to the one found to hold for Tales 8 and 9 of Group (i), namely:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Move I} & : \text{Move II} \\
\text{knowledge gained from devil} & : \text{knowledge put to use}
\end{align*}
\]

A structural similarity suggests itself between the Groups (i) and (ii) at this stage: although the surface content differs, in terms of inner function there is common ground between those tales where the traveller gains information whilst on a journey, and those where the hero overhears useful knowledge whilst hidden in a deserted house. In each case the outcome is the same in terms of function: the hero puts the knowledge to profitable use. This observation helps to illustrate the usefulness of structural analysis, which causes similarities to be observed between tales of different sub-types, where a mere comparison of surface content might not do so. Where the tales are variants, however, whilst the method has an intrinsic interest, it does not necessarily reveal anything new. In the case of Tales 10, 11, and 12 per se, therefore, the main interest is in comparative analysis. It is possible here to draw several comparisons with narrative traditions from other areas, and I shall now turn my attention to this.
2.2.1.1 Comparative observations

GS/CA/14: 'Huaucoumata shitashocamanta' provides a further Cañar variant - it is outlined in sub-section (h) in connection with the Mama Ahuardona tales. The tale begins as a variant of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel', then the children having escaped from the old woman meet with a caballero who gives them a religious token. With this they pass the night in a deserted hacienda and from that point the narrative corresponds exactly to these Group (ii) devil legends. The fact that such an association exists between the two sub-types in this area may explain the initial situation of Tale 12, in which the hero 'slot' is filled by two children lost in a forest who come across a deserted house; it is tempting to assume a 'Hansel and Gretel' type identity for those two children.

The initial situation for Tale 11, on the other hand, is too imprecise to give us such clues, and Tale 10, which locates the tale in a deserted mill rather than hacienda, invites comparison with HD/SA/19: 'The beggar and the devils of the mill', in which a beggar spending the night in a deserted mill witnesses the devils holding school. This is a variation on the Cañar 'rendering accounts' motif, but otherwise Dufner's text follows the Cañar ones closely in both content and narrative pattern.

Although I as usual restrict comparisons to the Andean area, it cannot be overlooked that A-T613: 'The two travellers' contains a similar linear structure, and it is there that N451.1 and N452.1, listed with the texts above, are to be found. Close structural comparison with this and the Cañar texts is to be found with PM/CT/1: 'Los tres hermanos'. This has an additional feature of 'unsuccessful repetition', the story going as follows: two poor brothers leave home and take shelter in a cave where they overhear a conversation between a bear and a condor who discuss two towns, one where the water has
dried up, and another where the people are turned to stone. As they talk, the condor smells raw meat, but the brothers are not discovered and live to visit the towns and earn their fortunes by setting things to rights. Upon their return home, their rich brother learns of their success and sets out to achieve the same results by imitating their actions. He, however, is discovered in the cave and eaten by the bear. (1)

The structural device whereby an overheard conversation between animals leads to the hero's being able to set right a wrong can be traced back to traditional 16C sources: Francisco de Avila's collection contains an account of the poor man Huatyacuri who overhears information from two foxes enabling him to cure the rich man Tamtañamca (1666 (1598?):34-39); Modern-day descendants of this are undoubtedly Mitchell's 'The skunk, the man and the sick princess' (1973:103), and the Ecuadoran PM/CT/5: 'Las tres hermanas'. I consider it to be a narrative pattern indigenous to the Andes, to which the Cañar devil legends owe much in terms of their structure. If they owe any aspect of their pattern to the Indo-European type, this will be due to the prior existence of a compatible structure in the area, as I suggested in Chapter 2 would be seen to be the case. The Cañar text Tale 29: 'Urpiacuamanata' belongs to the same tradition, and is examined in sub-section (1).

2.2.2 Tale 13

This tale contains a combination of elements of the devil legends of this group, and elements of both pattern and content comparable with Tale 29: 'Pueblonuevomanta'. The points at which the two texts coincide are more easily seen if their linear structure is examined together:
The points at which the pattern of these two tales corresponds are also, as might be expected, those points at which Tale 13 diverges from Tales 10, 11, and 12: the journey sequence leading up to the confrontation in the house in the forest is given considerable space — no such account is contained in the other tales of this group; the journey and arrival sequences are linked by a motif in which the hero figure spies a light from a tree top which guides him and his companions; (2) a contrast is drawn between heroes' hardship at the outset of the tale and their good fortune at inheriting a well-stocked house or hacienda; the repetition in the final episodes whereby the chief devil returns to investigate and is scared away a second time corresponds to the last three episodes of Tale 29 involving the thief — no such structural repetition occurs in the other tales of the group, Tale 13 does not contain the idea of good fortune arising from the acquisition of secret knowledge; the information imparted in the

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<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>animal Hs set out on journey</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>animal sees light from tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>follow direction of light</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>cat helps sheep cross river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>arrive at hacienda (thieves' den)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>devils arrive in night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>devils hold meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>sheep urinates onto devils' books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>Hs. fall through roof making noise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>devils flee (thieves flee)</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>one devil returns (one thief)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>Hs. put enemy to flight again</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>Hs. inherit building with all its riches</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The devil's meeting is inconsequential, and good fortune is merely seen in terms of inheritance of *hacienda* by heroes. This lack of logical necessity of the episode in which the devils 'render accounts' suggests that it is an intrusion into a tale which is in other aspects of its pattern more akin to the Tale 29 sub-type than the rest of the devil legends in the group. In terms of content, the appearance of animal as opposed to human protagonists links Tale 13 more closely still to Tale 29.

Reference to the Aarne-Thompson indices suggests that Tale 29 is a variant of A-T130: 'The animals in night quarters (Bremen City Musicians)', and this will be more fully discussed in the analysis of that text. It remains to consider how much Tale 13 owes to the same Indo-European type, and how much it belongs by adaptation to the local devil legend tradition. It could perhaps be labelled an oicotype of A-T130, whose oicotypical features have been encouraged to develop by the similarities in narrative pattern between the two tale types: thus the devils take over the structural 'slot' assigned to robbers in A-T130, and the associated episode involving the devils' meeting is naturally introduced. I have shown therefore that whereas at first glance Tale 13 appears to be nothing else than a variant of the other devil legends in the group, with animals taking over the hero function, it could be viewed as a variant of Tale 29 and by extension an oicotype of A-T130. Such a view of the tale can only be reached by looking at its structure, and the way in which that structure invites innovations of content to be included. (3) Now that the main points regarding the importance of the structure of the tale have been made, to devote additional space to paradigmatic analysis would not add usefully to the picture.
2.2.3 Group (iii): Tales of the pact with the devil

The tales consigned to Groups (i) and (ii) involve accidental encounters with the devil to which events there may or may not be an explicit moral attached. Tale 14 on the other hand must surely derive from the popular demonic pact tradition surviving in Spain and elsewhere in Europe well into the 16C. Here the hero sets out deliberately to get rich through a bargain with the devil for which he must ultimately forfeit his soul unless he can successfully outwit his debtee.

As only one variant of this text was collected, it is not possible to make an analysis of its narrative pattern in the context of that of other members of the sub-type. Certain features of content can be looked at on a comparative basis, however, and will be shortly. Firstly, however, I shall look at the structure of the narrative, albeit in isolation, as this may reveal unexpected affinities with other tales of other sub-types.

Despite its evident outside derivation, it should be examined to see whether or not it contains any features that link it in with more typical forms of beliefs surrounding the devil in the locality:

Tale 14: Diabolo huan contratadooa

<table>
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<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>H having made pact with devil grows worried as his time draws to close</td>
<td>not applicable as not of Section A type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>wife obtains advice from priest as to how to counteract devils</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>devils arrive; given impossible tasks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>black cockerel crows; devils making no progress</td>
<td>7 (derives from local tradition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ash cockerel crows; devils confer again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>gatto mishicu crows; devils overcome</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated, much of the text does not conform to the narrative
pattern typical of this section, but Episodes(ii)-(v) do contain some structural links. In those episodes we have an example of what might be termed structural triplication: 3 devils appear to carry away the soul of the hero, 3 different tasks are set, 3 times a cockerel crows, 3 times the devils declare one after the other that they are finding their respective tasks impossible. The moves which enclose these episodes at either end involve the intervention of a priest who in Move I advises and in Move III performs an exorcism. The narrative is thus seen to have a neat and coherent symmetry. The triplication of the cockcrow, and the devils’ denial of it on the first two occasions, is a major contributor to that symmetry, and it is in that feature that a link is to be found with other tales in the collection. The motif of the devils’ denial of all cockcrows but that of the gallo mishicu is found in the form of a simple formula in Tales 10, 11, and also 25. Here it is expanded into a set of episodes. Whatever form it takes, the motif performs the same function in all the tales in which it appears: that of effectively overcoming the devils.

2.2.3.1 Comparative observations

Although no other text comparable in structure to Tale 14 was found, fragmentary accounts were collected which showed the prevalence of the ‘demonic pact’ notion in the local belief system. Mestizos also had anecdotes to tell in this tradition and I suspect that the Indian use of it, as yet not very widespread, is a borrowing from their culture. It was common to find the notion of dealings with the devil to explain any sudden or inexplicable rise in the fortunes of a member of the community. (4) One mestiza, named Mercedes Molina, told how a very rich inhabitant of Coyocotl was believed to be ‘compactado’: a particularly good crop of potatoes turned to stones after he had sold them. I heard variations of this on a number of occasions from
people in that community, MEZ drew a comparison between the notion of the pact with the devil ('ocu') and the results of cooperation with evangelist missionaries, according to the popular imagination:

"Cuentan que (los indígenas evangélicos) ponen S/.5 en cajón y amanece siendo S/.100."

The inference is that the missionaries in a sense 'bought' the souls of evangelist converts in return for wealth.

Another explanation for such riches came from GGG, who described how an Indian from Chitaloma came by his fortune by entering a pact with the devil; the latter came to take him away in a black motor car (an updating of the 'black mule' motif), but the man's daughters succeeded in protecting him - we are not told how. EDC had a tale about a man who bribed the devil to give him riches by cutting off the devil's ear and refusing to return it until everything he demanded was supplied. The 'pact' idea is less prominent in this example, and another account of a more one-sided deal with the devil was provided by a mestizo of Cañar town named Sr. Cordero, who told how a man had become rich after encountering the devil in the cerro. (5)

3.0 The content of the devil legends

The devil legends were divided into the above three groups according to criteria of structure, and the discussion of details of their content became incidental while their form was being studied. Despite the interdependent relationship that exists between form and content, it is found easier to look at these separately, whilst always bearing in mind that the characteristics of the one are influenced by the characteristics of the other, and vice versa. (6) I shall now make a number of observations with regard to content, from two points of view: a) as far as elements of content (motifs) common from tale to tale reflect the common fund of popular belief from which such motifs
are drawn; b) as far as recurrence of motif from tale to tale may be explained by common structural features between those tales, and thus reinforce the argument for the latter. It will be useful to note the group to which the tales in which each motif occurs belong, remembering that these groups are based on structural criteria, and of special interest when the same motif occurs in tales of more than one group.

3.1 The motifs

(i) Cross: Group (i) Tales 4, 6, 7
Group (ii) Tales 10, 11
Group (iii) Tale 14

Cross symbolism in tale is undoubtedly derived from its use in religious practice and folk custom. (7) It crops up elsewhere in the material also: Tale 24: 'Naña oulebramanta' and Tale 31: 'Runahuan ch'alli huarmihuan', for example. In the texts at hand we see how popular custom and belief are put to use in the context of oral narrative: in Tales 5, 10, and 11, the sign of the cross is used in a conventional way - ritual becomes a narrative motif. Tale 7, on the other hand, merely alludes to ritual, when the devil-ohaso warns Hi not to cross herself in his presence; this is a step removed from the direct representation of custom in tale. In Tales 4 and 6, the cross takes on human qualities to act for or against the hero; here we have an even more literary allusion to popular belief, achieved through the device of personification. A further literary adaptation of cross symbolism is found in Tale 14, where a devil is set the task of carving a crucifix and its accompanying emblems; in the context of the belief system it is self-explanatory that he should find this impossible.
(ii) mula: Group (i) Tales 4, 6, 7, 9

Group (ii) -

Group (iii) -

The fact that the motif does not appear in Groups (ii) and (iii) suggests that it is bound to tales whose structure or narrative pattern is that of Group (i) only. (8) This is to say that it is only found in those tales where the hero encounters an individual devil, rather than a group, with whom he establishes a direct relationship; additionally the pattern almost invariably involves the hero's arrival at hell and his witnessing of the attributes of the latter. The mule is a feature of the scheme, seen as an agent or servant of the devil; in Tales 6 and 7 the devil appears as mestizo boss, mounted on a black mule; in Tale 4, we see how sinners are forced to pasture the devil's mules as punishment in hell. As a corollary to this, and perhaps explaining why mules and pigs are juxtaposed in this tale, there is GGG's comment in Tale 9 that the mule's urine in the huirashoa remedy is really from a pig, and he elaborates:

"pero eso no es realmente mula, dis que dice, sino que es puerco..., osea dicen que la mula del diablo es el puerco." (9)

In the comparative texts similar references are found to an association between devil/hell/sin and mule: GS/SA/5: 'Diabloguna oullquida oushoamanda' contains a devil who rides a black mule; in HD/SA/23: 'The oomadre and the oompadre', an incestuous oomadre is carried away into Cotopaxi on such an animal; in GS/CA/18: 'Jishouit huanquiouamanta', an incestuous sinner is turned into a mule; Parson's 'The mule women' is an Imbabura variant of this (op.cit.137-8), and she also observes:

"Mules seem to be closer to the spirit world than horses, excepting white horses. When a spirit (duende) is mounted, it is always on a mule or a white horse."

(op.cit.204)
As with motif (ii), this motif is bound to tales in Group (i), the implications of which have been discussed. In Tales 4, 7, and 9 hell is described as situated in a huaiou, its entrance behind a rock. In Tale 8, at the corresponding point in the narrative (Move III), the hero meets a group of devils also in a huaiou (ravine).

Supplementary data in the form of memorats reveals that the ravine setting for encounters with the devil and the location of hell belongs to a wider context of folk belief in the area, as I stated would be the case with some of the motifs. GGG, for example, gave an account of his own attempt to find 'hell' in company with some friends as a boy; they imagined it to be situated in the gorge of Ayahuaicu, below Juncal. He also told of an experience attributed to his brother-in-law who was once led to the edge of a gorge by an alluring female devil, as he made his way home rather drunk one night. GS/CA/11; 'Cucucunamanta' is the narrator's elaboration on many ideas surrounding the nature of uou pacha, its whereabouts and the attributes and behaviour of the devils who inhabit it; here too their habitat is thought to be the steep-sided gorges, behind rocks and boulders. (10) In SG/SG/3, also, hell is a cave behind a rock.

This also commonly occurs in the context of descriptions of hell, reflecting yet another aspect of the local belief system. The use of the paila, a shallow round cooking vessel, is evidently a local adaptation of the idea of the cauldrons in hell, derived from Catholic teachings. Again it is confined to the Group (i) tales.
Supplementary data includes GGG's description of the hell imagined in Ayahuacu; he also had a brief aetiological account of how the paila came to be in hell: it was being transported from Guayaquil up to the sierra when the cerro stole it from its bearers, and from that day: "está sirviendo para infierno." The legend of the paila stolen by the hill is found commonly in Cañar and elsewhere (cf. PM/CT/21: 'Paila'), but the connection between it and the origin of the vessel in hell is not usual. The cerro is held responsible for the loss of other objects also (eg. PM/CT/2: 'La campana perdida'), so such tales really belong to a separate tradition, EDC also cites the paila as an attribute of hell; see also GS/SA/4: 'Almaguna pailabi timbushisoomanda' and SG/SG3: 'Shuj viajermanta'.

(v) la caja ronca Group (i) Tale 8
Group (ii) Tales 11, 12
Group (iii) -

The fact that this motif occurs in tales of both Groups (i) and (ii), suggests a point of convergence between these: the caja ronca ('devils' drum') is associated with those narrative situations where a group of devils, as opposed to an individual devil, is encountered. In Tale 8, this group is met gathered in the characteristic ravine, sounding the caja ronca and awaiting the arrival of the soul whom the individual devil is bringing to them. In Tales 11 and 12, the devils gather in a deserted building, typical of Group (ii), again sounding the drum and accompanying instruments, and with the purpose of fetching the condemned soul that lies on the upper floor of the building. The recurrence of the motif in tales of dissimilar narrative pattern must be explained by assuming it belongs to a wider framework of beliefs in which the fetching of souls by the devils and the sounding of the caja ronca, regardless of the pattern of the tale.
in which this event occurs or, by extension, the location of the event (ravine or deserted building). Supplementary data bears out this assumption.

EDC’s explanation of the phenomenon is the most comprehensive, and as it draws together the two concepts - of devils in ravine and devils in abandoned building - it is worth reproducing here. In popular belief the two notions are put on a par with each other, at least in this connection, whilst for the sake of analysis I differentiated between them and considered the narrative contexts in which they occurred separately, EDC spoke as follows:

"Chai oaja ronoa oana niari shug tuudi layamanta oana nin, Chai millat Judas mininana oana niari, painnana purina nin. Juni, casi bastantes personas, painca siquiera avenida cinquenta oana nin. Painnana tuudi juin urau huatu sonochish purina nin. Maipi na shug solo luguhein nin almata apanaga panteonman luguheig ringapa shug solo, Chai shug solonai entonces na tupachun nin que mai puesto aashpapish tupachun nin a luowahuan, tuudi ima shuri. Chaimanta na huaco aparinauma nin mai cash, infiernomai, mai aashpapish, Chashallatashi purina nin, shug molino tiyana. Molino, shitashe molinoowapi, chatemo aminacuna nin. Molino, huaiqumapi, aat taaquewapi aanauna nin."

"Yes, there is indeed a thing they call the 'devils' drum', made up of all kinds of things. The devils walk abroad together, about forty or fifty of them, up onto the hillsides and down into the valleys sounding the drum. One of them goes to the "graveyard alone to take away a soul. Then that one on his own meets up with the others, who are carrying lights, wherever they may be. Then between them they carry the soul to hell. Wherever there is an abandoned mill, they will lie down there. They may also be in the deep stony ravines, or in the waterfalls."

The lights to which he refers are often associated with the *oaja ronoa*, and are the lights of torches made of the bones of animals, carried by the devils, that burn with a greenish or multi-coloured glow; JPD corroborated this. Further information came from GGG, and JSA, which fitted in with the above, and GS/CA/11 describes how the devils carry away those who have committed incest between *compadres* in similar circumstances:
"Chai apan nin judasouna uraiman, Chai dedobliante nishoa 
chai uchilla caja huajtash purinauna, Huajtash tuowi chaicuna 
imu mondo musica shamush aparin nin. You paacha man aparina 
chai uraiman maicunapi,"

"The devils carry that person down. They go along beating that 
small drum called a relobante. They come beating the drum and 
making music to carry him down to hell."

That the concept is part of a broader based belief upon which legend 
draws, is also suggested by the motif's appearance in Tale16, in 
which an unquiet soul protects the hero from a procession of devils 
that passes by with the caja ronca.

Costales and Penaherrera de Costales found comparable expressions 
of belief for Saraguro and Salasaca; for the latter we learn:

"La pintan mentalmente como una caja que, sordamente resuena 
en la oscuridad de la noche persiguiendo a los ebrios. El 
informante expresa: "Venía del pueblo por el camino más sólido, 
cuando menos pensaba oí el sonido de la caja ronca, a la 
distancia..." Para los campesinos la caja ronca encarna al 
demonio y, habita caminos y sitios solitarios en los páramos 
andinos." (1966:237)

Guevara records for Pelileo that the devils are thought to sound the 
caja to protect thieves as they go about their business (1972:117); 
but under 'mala legión' he has an entry for Tungurahua which fits in 
with the Cañar evidence more aptly:

"Los campesinos de Tungurahua y de otras provincias de la 
Sierra, hablan de la 'mala legión' o legión de diablos y almas 
condenadas que desfilan en la noche, portando círculos encendidos; 
pero cuando algún curioso se acerca a ver pasar esa misteriosa 
procesión, un desfilante se le acerca y le entrega su círculo, 
el mismo que al día siguiente asoma convertido en cantilla 
humana." (op.cit.272-3)

Thus the idea of the devils' torches being made of animal bones is 
put into a wider perspective.
The tales in Group (ii) provide the more usual narrative context for the expression of social attitudes towards sin; we can infer that the sins which society most condemns are those for which the chief devil has the most praise as the 'under-devils' come forward with their reports. Folk narrative in this case is providing an inverted commentary on reality. According to this criterion we understand incest between compadre and comadre to be the gravest of sins.

This attitude is borne out in the comparative data; GS/CA/14 also cites incest among the sins caused to be committed; GS/CA/11 cites this example when describing why certain people are carried away by devils; GGG agreed that incest between members of the same family, compadres, or in-laws, were all regarded as sins, over and above others in gravity. He cited the belief in 'gagones' - the souls of incestuous couples that wander abroad in the form of dogs as if to broadcast the misdeed that is taking place. (11) Punishment for compadre incest is also the theme of PM/CT/16, and HD/SA/23.

Tales 4 and 7 contain allusions to idea of punishment of sins in a different narrative context; from Tale 4 we learn that theft of money or cheating over land boundaries are also condemnable; Tale 7 refers briefly to the idea of a hierarchy of punishments according to the sin.

References to the ullachu occur in differing ways in the three tales cited: in Tale 7, buzzards circle overhead as the heroine is
alone on the road; although the narrative context is different, a momentary association is made with the tale of the single girl and the buzzards (Tales 20 & 21). The heroine's subsequent encounter with the devil suggests a common value attached to the two figures - buzzard and devil - which shall be discussed in subsection (e). They undoubtedly belong to the same world, to such an extent that in Tale 11, the term *ullahuanga* is used as a synonym for devil; the association is also implied in Tale 10 where the chief devil uses a buzzard feather as a quill with which to write.

(viii) *gallo mishicau* Group (i) —
Group (ii) Tales 10, 11, 12
Group (iii) Tale 14

In Tale 14 we found the *gallo mishicau* used as the last of a series of cockerels whose crows were rejected in turn by the devils as powerless over them; only the *gallo mishicau* had the power to overcome them. The explanation for this, given elsewhere in the formulaic dialogue: "Yana *gallo huapa*, yurag *gallo huapa*, etc., is that whilst the *gallo mishicau* 'belongs to God', all other kinds of cockerel belong to the devil. This idea was expressed independently by many informants, for example MC:

"Cai tiemopipish tiyanmi gallitocuma tuvui laya; yura gallo, yana gallo, puoa gallo, tuvui laya. Chat *gallo mishicau* taita Diospa. Chat yana gallitocuma, chat morado gallitocuma, puoa gallitocuma espaipa."

"These days there are all kinds of cockerel: white ones, black ones, red ones, all kinds. That *gallo mishicau* is God's. The black, purple and red ones belong to the devil."

This idea was echoed by MEZ, GGG and JSA. The notion that a particular type of cockerel should belong to God in contrast to all others is compatible with a farther reaching division of animals into opposite categories, summarized for me by MEZ: 'of the devil' were a type of large green frog (cf, the frogs found in the spring blocked by the
devil in Tale 11), "también los lagartos, los perricotes, los chucurillos, el mañangu, las culebras, las ouicas (o'uru), los raohig (worm that lives in agave cactus), las cucarachas; de taita Dios son las zhutas, urpi, palomas," pigs, sheep, cows, guinea-pigs, rabbits. Its appearance in devil legend is associated with the overcoming of a group of devils, encountered on an impersonal basis; this accounts for its absence from Group (i) tales whose narrative pattern involves hero's relationship with one individual devil.

It may be traced beyond the context of devil legends to Tale 33 of the Christ Child cycle, for example, where Christ transforms himself into a cockerel to elude his devil pursuers; this illustrates further the fact that this is another motif which, whatever its origins, has come to form a part of the broad base of popular belief which provides the substance of folk narrative.

(ix) suohu/huishtu  Group (i) —

Group (ii) Tales 10,13
Group (iii) —

These terms are used to describe further attributes of the devil, confined to those contexts where the devils appear in a group; the spread of this notion is exemplified by its recurrence in the Christ Child tales also (Tales33 & 34). EDC and LA both used the term in independent accounts. Whilst a minor motif, it provides further illustration of the consistency of narrative tradition, which regularly seeks to include it where the context is apt, and which transfers it from one branch of tradition to another where the context triggers off certain associations. On a comparative note, LS/CH/9: 'The life of Christ' contains an aetiological reference to the idea that a blind and crippled devil was left behind to tempt people, after Christ's cockerel had overcome all the rest of his minions.
The image of the devil as amo and the related concept of hell in the guise of a hacienda is made quite explicit in Group (i) tales where these false appearances lead the hero astray; that these appearances are not what they seem may be read further as a reflection of Indian experience in dealings with representatives of mestizo culture. (12) Note that where his physical appearance is not mentioned, his words are what entice the hero into his confidence, viz. Tale 8:

"Ama amito ni'ulu, amigo ni. Ruwaca mana amochu oani."

"Don't call me master, call me friend. I'm not a boss."

Sometimes both techniques of deception are used in the same tale, eg. Tale 7. In the comparative material, there is a similar narrative context in Parsons’s 'The mule women', in which the hero wanders up onto the páramo and encounters a 'man in a green suit':

"He drew nearer, he saluted, "Buenos días, patrón!" Green Suit responded, "Don't call me patrón, call me friend. What are you doing round here?" (op.cit.137)

This kind of exchange can be regarded as a formulaic motif to be identified with a specific narrative environment, therefore.

There appears to be some variation in the application of terms derived from real-life social categories; in Tales 5 and 6, the devil is amo and mayordomo; in Tale 7 he is chaso and is contrasted with a God figure who is amo; in Tale 8 he rejects the label amo and asks to be called amigo, apparently to inspire the hero's confidence in him. The notion of a God figure as amo is found elsewhere: in LS/CH/2: 'Pobre dansante', Taita Chimborazo appears benevolently to a poor man, and is described in terms reminiscent of the description of 'taita Dios' in Tale 7:

"Chai a'ala yuraj yuraj cabaliru amu yuraj yuraj caballuri tiyariheka."

"That fair fair gentleman seated on a white horse."
cf, similar references to 'God' figures in HD/SA/3: 'The poor alcalde'. and PM/CT/16: "Cutupagri".

Such terminology may well be the folkloric antithesis to the application of the term *huiracocha* to the Spanish in the early days of conquest, by a native population that confused, at least in popular belief, this event with a return of their god. (13) In historical reality, men were termed gods; in contemporary folk narrative we find gods termed men. The devil as *amo* is also found as a motif elsewhere in the comparative texts: see HD/SA/23: 'The oomadre and the oompadre'. This apparent arbitrariness in the application of such value-laden terms to figures who should by all accounts be associated with opposing values leads us to question whether in the indian mind this is really so: perhaps if the truth were ever to be arrived at, the ambiguity which attaches to the devil in folk narrative would be found to attach equally to manifestations of the Catholic god. The application of the term *amo* falls short of complimentary in any context, given its socio-historical implications, and we might find that still today the indian concept of God and devil are as little distinct from each other as were early conceptions of the Spanish overlords, as recorded by the native chronicler:

"I thought they (the Spanish) were kindly beings sent (as they claimed) 'by Tcsc Viracocha, that is to say, by God; but it seems to me that all has turned out the very opposite from what I believed: for let me tell you, brothers, from proofs they have given me since their arrival in our country, they are the sons not of Viracocha, but of the Devil.'

(Titu Cusi Yupangui, citing words attributed to Manco Inca, op.cit.31)

To the ambiguity of concepts regarding the devil, we may therefore add ambiguity of concepts regarding God, and what better term to apply to either of these than that which was applied to the Spanish, and continues to be applied despite the gradual disappearance of the *hacienda* system: the term *amo*. (14)
In Group (ii) tales, the concept of devil as amo is less developed and more implicit. Such implications are found in the terminology applied to the group of devils and their leader. The latter is referred to as capataz and as capitán; the narrator of Tale 12 draws the following analogy with the devils’ meeting:

"Cutin shug ŋa chayan nin, como ser caipi shug gente trabajopi patronman huillash cuenta ima trabajota, chashna chayashpa."

"Then another devil arrived, just as here people come to report to the boss on their work."

EDC spoke of the supposed hierarchy of the devils in hell, although didn't identify their headquarters with a hacienda or other disused building, he stressed that the 'younger' devils would go out to do the tasks set them by the capataz. In GS/CA/11, we find the idea expressed that those people who are carried to uou pacha are made to work for the devils as peones:

"Uou pacha chaipi charinga ŋa huacanhijta ŋa chashna causachishpa, ŋa uou pacha causahij paicournapa peon tuuchapca causanohipa."

"There they will make us live like that in hell. There we live as workmen in hell."

Here, hell is identified in the more traditional way with rocks and ravines, but the analogy can be made in either setting. A sociological allusion may even be found in Tale 14 (Group (iii): the overcoming of the devils described in terms of the wife’s having her obdula returned to her alludes to the practice of leaving one’s identity card as a token (prenda) when an indian borrows money from a white.

The idea of hell as hacienda is a logical extension of the analogy between devil and mestizo boss. There are also other implications which link the notion with other aspects of the belief system. The hacienda of the devil in tale is frequently described as well-stocked with all kinds of food and good things, by which the hero is
tempted (Tale 6), and which he may be lucky enough to inherit (Tale 13).
Such a notion may be corollary to the belief that deserted hasiendas are the domain of buried treasure. EDC in a conversation corroborated the idea that abandoned hasiendas may contain buried gold, guarded by the devils, and Tale 36 provides an etiological reference to back up the idea: here the devils are believed to have been shut up in such a building by God as a punishment, and it is described as containing shining objects, presumably gold. GGG remarked that certain precautions should be observed if trying to dig up gold from places believed to be inhabited by devils, such as abandoned houses. Thus these latter derive a double-edged value - being potential sources of riches but equally well danger spots where diseases can be contracted from the presence of 'bad air'. GGG's own words should make this clearer:

"Curita allashpa chaipi entones diablocuna causashoa nin, chai antimonia nishoa. Curita tarishpa, ... entones chai cuveuna lligshchum arushwan sahishpa lligochinouna nin cuveuanata maishpana. Jihushoa huashpi cuveuna causan ninouna, entones chaiapi arustu ruhushpa shitanouna nin; uohupata o misa shitanouna nin chaipi ha saho nin, cuveuna lligshin ha."

"Devils or 'bad air' are present where gold is dug up. Some people when they find gold make the sign of the cross and the devils are made to come out. They say devils live in deserted houses, so by making the sign of the cross they are exorcised; by urinating or sprinkling ash the devils come out and everything is safe." (15)

When we come to look at the possibility of there being structural equivalences between beliefs regarding the dwelling places, attributes and behaviour of the devil, and those of more traditional figures, similarities between beliefs surrounding devils as guardians of treasure and beliefs surrounding huacas will also suggest themselves. The Group (ii) tales in which devils' hasienda leads to good fortune for hero, after necessary precautions against bad influences have been taken, are in my opinion the literary and metaphorical expression of these beliefs.
4.0 The concept of 'devil' and associated notions in Cañar

In summary, I shall consider the question: what then does the term 'diablo' mean in Cañar belief and tale? That there is no one answer to this the above analysis should have made clear. The notion of devil has been drawn from different traditions, some implanted, others indigenous, and the tales are the results of the reworking of a number of elements into a local coherent system.

4.1. Terminology

'Diablo' is only one of many terms which are applied in one context or another, by one informant or another, to express the notion of a 'threatening agent associated with the other world'. The concept of 'devil' in terms of the teachings of the Church should not be allowed to colour our understanding of how the Indian has adopted this and other terms to apply to his own system of classification; a system which by no means derives from those teachings, although it has been very influenced by them. The terms used in the tales, and my interpretation of their associations and derivations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>TALES</th>
<th>DERIVATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>judas</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>deriving from free association with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judío</td>
<td>11,37</td>
<td>Christ's betrayers and enemies according to the Gospels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judaiou</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aucu</td>
<td>14,37, GS/CA/11</td>
<td>traditional European terms, some derived from Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satango</td>
<td>6,33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diablo</td>
<td>13,4,5,7,8,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentación</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>association with moral qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enemigo malo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millatama</td>
<td>GS/CA/11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patojo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huishtu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>from association with 'crippled devil' tradition in popular lore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suchu</td>
<td>10,33,34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enaogtido</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supai</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Quechua term for 'devil' (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be noted that I draw in tales from other sections, as a means of showing again how the concept is not confined to only one type of tale. Some of these categories are also reflected in the terminology found in Imbabura: "sopay, enemigo, maligno, atentación, satánás" (Parsons op.cit.89), and no doubt elsewhere.

4.2 The rôle of the devil: structural considerations

An aspect of Cañar devil lore which has only been hinted at in passing so far, is the possibility that many of his attributes may be seen to apply to other notions regarding the inhabitants of the non-human world, and that the term diablo and its synonyms might be considered transformations of these. I refer particularly to associations at a structural level between devil and buzzard, also discussed in sub-section (e), devil and urcu yaya/mama, and devil and rainbow. I shall look at some of these now.

Aspersion of urine, considered an effective measure against the power of the devil, is also advocated as a remedy against contact with the rainbow, and, as mentioned in sub-section (a), in one account appeared to be linked with the safe return of the hero from the domain of the urcu mama. The rainbow, furthermore, was referred to by EDC as an agent of the enemigo malo, synonym for diablo. Such considerations suggest that whilst these personages are quite distinct one from the other on one level, there is a level at which they can all be seen to imply an analogous threat to humans who come into contact with them; the analogies are expressed in different ways, as shall be seen.
The devil, as we saw, may be held responsible for the abduction of unbaptized children, in much the same way as traditionally the urou yaya was made offerings of the same. In sub-section (h) it will be discussed how the intrusion of devil legend elements into Tale 25: 'Huahuacuahuan jatun mamaruahuan' might be a result of traditional associations between devil/Mama Ahuardona/Mama Huaca, and cannibalistic tendencies. There is a level, though not apparent on the surface of the narratives, at which all these personages can be seen to perform similar functions.

There is also a connection between devil and urou yaya in the idea that both can cause disease: contact with either can result in huairashca, and it would seem that such ideas associated with the devil are a transformation of ideas formerly attached to a figure in the indigenous belief system. The antithesis to hill father as bringer of disease was hill father as assistant to the curandero, and, in tale at least, we find devils who both cause illness and provide the remedy for it. (17) To continue in the same vein, there may well be a mutual association between the roles of devil and urou yaya behind a comparison to be drawn between the latter's gift of maize to H in Tale 1, and the devil's gift of soil which turns into grain in Tale 7. To some extent H2's visit to hell in the latter tale can be seen as structurally similar to H's visit into the hill in Tale 1.

Some indication has already been given that the devil as guardian of treasure, and the associated illness he can cause, might fill the same 'slot' as the antimonios that cause illness when the huacos are disturbed. I have no certain evidence that the popular beliefs surrounding huacos in Canar are related to those surrounding the soq'a machula or gentiles, of myth found in present-day S. Peru, however, Gow and Condori's description of the Peruvian evidence calls for some
Comparison to be made:

"Al aparecer el sol en el horizonte y cantar el gallo, comprendieron (los primeros hombres - Hawpaq) que no tenían tiempo de escapar; enterraron su oro, plata, tejidos, herramientas y adornos; estos son los 'tapados', tesoros escondidos que arden de noche y que son excavados a lo largo del tiempo... los Hawpaq se lanzaron hacia la selva maldiciendo al sol... pero la mayoría quedó inmovilizada... y fueron quemados o transformados en piedras y rocas donde todavía moran... otros se han convertido en el temido soq'a machula, el espíritu mortífero de la malévola izquierda de los antepasados... se puede coger el mal de soq'a respirando el vapor de sus huesos..."

(Gow (R.) and Condori 1976:21)

Whilst mythological details differ somewhat, the attitudes towards huacas in the Cañar area are closely comparable. (18) What they have in common is a fear of the 'breath' of the ancestors, in Cañar associated with the material remains of these. If we presuppose a connection between these spatially distant but culturally related beliefs, it is the next logical step to suggest structural similarities in the belief system between certain aspects of the devil lore and lore regarding ancestors, their haunts and effects of the living. The logical step I am taking can be described in these terms: if Ecuadorian huaca and devil lore are structurally related on certain levels, and huaca and Peruvian tapado beliefs belong to the same category, it follows that we should be able to draw comparisons between Ecuadorian devil lore and Peruvian lore surrounding the tapados/soq'a machula. The following table lays out the comparisons which I think to be valid:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes of the soq'a (Peru) (19)</th>
<th>Attributes of the devil (Cañar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. according to myth the Hawpaq machula disappeared at emergence of sun and crowing of cockerel</td>
<td>devils vanquished at daybreak with crowing of cockerel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. in their haste to escape they buried treasures which may still be dug up today</td>
<td>devils are guardians of buried gold - usually in deserted haciendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. some were transformed into rocks and are believed still to live in these</td>
<td>believed to inhabit hell which is situated behind rocks (or in deserted haciendas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. some converted into soq'a machula, contact with whom can cause sickness. Not good to frequent its haunts.</td>
<td>contact causes sickness. not good to frequent its haunts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Conclusions

Whilst the devil in his many rôles and guises is an individual in his own right, it can be seen that there are many points in the structure of the belief system at which lore regarding him cuts across lore regarding other characters in that system. There is no doubt that certain aspects of the concept of devil in Cañar are transformations of other concepts more native to the area. In short, the devil legends comprise a synthesis of Catholic and indigenous elements, the latter of which are also attached to more traditional local figures. (20)

FOOTNOTES

(1) cf. a Mexican-American version of this tale: 'Los dos compadres', which has the same pattern of rich/poor and unsuccessful imitation, and the same sequence of events is followed (Miller 1973:275).

(2) Where the narrative 'climate' is right, this motif has also been introduced elsewhere: see Tale 25, which is considered to be a fusion of A-T327A and the devil legend sub-type under study.

(3) The concept of 'oicotype' will be explained and more fully applied in sub-section (h).

(4) cf, Foster (1964), who found tales of buried treasure in a Mexican peasant community performed the same function.

(5) For full details of these 3 examples, see Appendix II;

(6) In this matter I agree with Lévi-Strauss's discussion of Propp, referred to in Chapter 2, in which he also states: "Formes et contenu sont de même nature, justiciables de la même analyse. Le contenu tire sa réalité de sa structure, et ce qu'on appelle forme est la 'mise en structure' des structures locales, en quoi consiste le contenu." (op. cit.137)

(7) The introduction of crucifixes, and their superimposition upon sites already attributed a religious significance by the native population, was a part of the early process of evangelization, as we learn from the Constituciones del Primer Sinodo de Quito (1570): "...y también mandamos poner cruces en muchas guacas y adoratorios que hemos mandado destruir en los junta de los caminos en las camonjas que son las quintas de las lagunas y en los cerros altos por que generalmente en estos lugares son guacas y adoratorios de los yndios lo cual nos pareció por que donde dios fue ofendido agora sea bendito y reverenciado." (introd. Vargas 1945:90). For references to usage of crucifix/sign of cross in contemporary folk custom, see: Guevara (1972:?): "Diablo en fuga. Para ahuyentar al diablo...usan talismanes de apariencia católica o sus propios amuletos de la herencia tradicional indígena." Also Carvalho-Neto
Motifs (iii) huacou, and (iv) paila also fall into this category. We may infer from this that not only is the motif bound to those narrative contexts where certain structural characteristics prevail, but also that to some extent the representations of the devil as seen in the three groups of devil legend belong to three traditions of devil lore and narrative, characterized by the motifs they contain as well as by their narrative structure. Common ground between the three groups is mainly in the area of motif, and we will come to examples of this also.

A further corollary to such mule lore may be found in another branch of Cañar narrative tradition, namely in Tales 33, 46, and remarks by GG - all containing etiological references to the curse put on the mule by the Virgen Mary. For the mule in tradition in Peru, see Morote Best (1952, 1955a:824-825).

The texts of these accounts are reproduced in the Appendix III.

For comparative references to this belief, see: Landtvar (1971:107), Costales and Pehaherrera de Costales (1966:235-236), GG's account is reproduced in the Appendix IV; conversations with MJA and MT confirmed these attitudes.

The terminology of social categories varies from region to region in Ecuador, and is different again to that used in Peru. In the Cañar area, the terms amo/patrón may be applied to members of either the chaco or the blanco classes, more commonly the latter. The chaco occupies a particularly ambivalent place in the scheme of things, being an Indian who has forsaken his origins by rejecting Indian clothing, adopting Spanish as his main means of communication, and often seeking work closer to the town and more linked to the market economy. The term rutu is often used synonymously with chaco, literally meaning someone who has cut their hair, another sign of the Indian male's rejection of traditional mores. Chaco and rutu do not therefore denote a racial distinction, but rather a shift in lifestyle which creates barriers and friction between this and the class they seek to reject. The term blanco in the context of Cañar is applied to those town dwellers who will also own much of the land worked by the Indians, and who in the wider context of Ecuadorian society would probably be termed cholo or mestizo. For further discussion of these points, see Pock (1976), who found chaco to be the same as mestizo.

The ambiguity of God figures is further suggested by the appearance of a cross/taita Diosito as guardian to hell in Tale 9.


(17) these tales (8 & 9) are of course figurative expressions of the popular belief that contact with the devil's 'breath' causes huairashoa. Further evidence for the existence of this belief was supplied by GGG in a memorial about his father (see Appendix V).

(18) see Muñoz-Bernand (n.d.,iff.)

(19) this evidence is drawn from Gow (R.) and Condori (loc.cit.); more detailed description of the soq'a, which transcends points of comparison with Sahar devil lore, may be found in Núñez del Prado (J.) (op.cit.82-89).

(20) the seeds of this synthesizing process in belief, and hence in legend, may be found in the ethnocentric interpretations put upon Indian religious practices by the early chroniclers and missionaries and perpetuated over the centuries, a situation which was not unique to the Inca area, as Correa, speaking about the attitudes that developed in Guatemala remarks: "Dioses aborígenes igual Diablo cristiano; tal fue la consigna que llenó la obra evangelizadora de América." (1971:11).
Voy a contar del alma primero: la mujer dijo que se quedaba, entonces el esposo se murió. Entonces siempre él anda, el alma, todos los veces, ¿no? El viajero entonces se topó con esa alma, ¿no? Entonces dijo que dice: ¿Adónde estás yendo?

Seguramente estaba viajando a Cuenca, decía. Aca abajo, más abajo de Babilón hay un punto que se llama Peruncay. Antes que cruces el puente ferrocarril hay una quebrada que se llama Peruncay. Después más arriba hay un punto que se llama Fábrica de Quesos. Aquí se llamaba Saltos antes. Entonces por ahí había muchos asaltantes que asaltaban a la gente y a los viajeros. Entonces una vez se encontró con el alma. Aquí en esa bajada había muchos asaltantes. Entonces el alma dijo que decía: —Tú quédate aquí no más, yo voy a ir adelante. A lo que regresó, entonces nos vamos iguales. Entonces él se adelantó un poco, y regresó. Entonces a lo que otra vez iba con ese, estaban bien dormidos los asaltantes. ¿Qué es lo que hacía? Cogía todas sus armas y llevaron y dejaron en un puesto escondido. Entonces los asaltantes quedaron dormido allí. Entonces se fueron así a Cuenca.

Regresaron. Entonces la misma cosa. Hicieron dormir y pasaron. A lo que llegan de allí por ese sector más o menos es que dice: —Oyete, compañero, mañana mi esposa va a hacer una minga de trabajo. ¿Quédate aquí para dormir y mañana que ayudes en el trabajo a mi esposa. Entonces la esposa estaba dormida. Él se va, entra. La esposa dijo que tenía una olla llena de chicha preparada, algunas tal vez. Entonces cogió un envase, una 'shila' que se llama. Coge la shila, trae la chicha, y le da así. (Narrador gestos aspersión poniendo el polo) Pero dice que dice: —Tome.

Pero le riega un poquito en el suelo. —Puede que usted haiga dado mal viento, 'huairasha' que dicen.

(Q: ¿Regó para evitar mal viento?)

Sí. El alma mismo dijo que decía: —Puede que usted haiga dado mal viento. —Riega un poquito en el suelo y toma.

(Q: Entonces, ¿la mujer no sabía que era un alma, o sí sabía?)

La mujer estaba dormida. Osea el alma era el marido el que estaba andando haciendo eso. Entonces dio la chicha. Tomaba. A lo que estás tomando el chicha, él fue saliendo ya. Porque ya iba a amanecer. Entonces dejó advirtiendo que ayude en el trabajo de la mujer. Y que tomas esta chicha.

Entonces al día siguiente, sentado en el corredor afuera no más, dice que cuenta: —¿Cómo viniste? —dice que dice.

Aquí dijo que dice: —Su marido me encontró. Nos fuimos a Cuenca iguales y vinimos iguales. Como señora me dejó dando esta shila de chicha. Ya acabé de tomar.

Aquí la mujer dijo que dice: —¿Por qué no has avisado? Así muchas veces le encontraba así con ese hombre pero no se topaba con la mujer. La mujer dijo que decía que pudiera pagarle pero que trabajaba el marido. Pero no dijo que parecía el marido. Siempre le ayudaba en el trabajo, pero no él mismo sino que hacía ayudar con otro. Le trato robando a otro para que ayude.
The traveller who met a soul

I'll tell you the story of the soul first: they say that a wife remained behind when her husband died. Now the soul always wanders about, right? So the traveller met this soul, right? And the soul asked him: "Where are you going?"

He was probably going to Cuenca. Just down below, below Biblián, there's a spot called Perunoay. And further up this way there's a place called Cheese Factory. It was called Salto there before. Well, around there there used to be a lot of bandits who would attack travellers. Well, one day the traveller met the soul, and they began to journey by night, there on that hill going down, there were many bandits. So the soul said: "You stay just here, I'm going to go ahead. When I come back, we'll go on together."

So he went on a little way, then came back. As they went along again together, the bandits were all sound asleep. What did the soul do? He would take all their arms and carry them to a hiding place. Then the bandits would remain sleeping there. Then they went on to Cuenca.

They came back and the same thing happened: they put the robbers to sleep and passed by. As they arrived in that area more or less, the soul spoke: "Hey, comrade, tomorrow my wife is going to have a minga. Stay here to sleep so that tomorrow you can help her in the work."

Now his wife was asleep and they went into the house. They say that she had a pot full of chicha ready, or several maybe. So the soul took an earthen jug, a 'shtla' as its called, took some chicha in it and did this. (narrator gestures aspersion on ground) Then he said: "Drink." But he sprinkled a little on the ground saying: "You may have caught a little mal viento, or 'huairashoa', as we say."

(Q: Did he sprinkle it to avoid mal viento?)

Yes. The soul himself said: "You may have caught mal viento."

He sprinkled a little on the ground and drank.

(Q: Did the woman know it was a soul, or not?)

The woman was asleep. You see, the soul was her husband who was doing this. So he gave him the chicha and he drank. While he was drinking chicha, the soul went out, for day was breaking already. And he left word that he should help his wife in the work, and drink the chicha.

Well, the next day, as the traveller was sitting just outside the house in the corredor, the woman asked him: "How did you come here?" "Your husband found me. We went to Cuenca and back together. As a sign he gave me this jug of chicha, I've just finished it".

And the woman said: "Why didn't you tell me?"

And so on many occasions, the soul met that man like that, but he never met his wife. The wife told the man she could pay if he went to bring her husband. But the husband never appeared. He always helped her in her work, but not himself. Instead he helped through another person. He would capture somebody else and bring them to help.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

E332.2 Person meets ghost on road
E363 Ghost returns to aid living
E265.1 Meeting ghost causes sickness
E321 Dead husband's friendly return
E415 Dead cannot rest until certain work is finished
E596 Living person in service of a dead man
E585 Dead person visits earth periodically
Talle 16: Almahan tupashoa runa


Chaitaoces pait huichaitouch na unata shyayauger na judaion runaoca pasanantari ha. Runa aparishoa ha chah mismo ucallapita samaria nin. Samariqpi nina nin: - Ay! - nina nin.

Pero mana caja cana nin: solamente t'ulupi cana rin chah almitaoca. Chaipi 'ay!' nippoc na imitaoha nina nin. Pat han panapi shyayauna nin. Pero almitaoca alli ladoman churash chah rinmituta, viajero runataaa.


Parlo oaa nin: ima shina mai purishoa, mai pata na salvadonpi, patao tuui ima shina castigaoa, tuuqita parlama nin juin. Tuyaoa parlama juin de una ven parlama nin chah runuman.

Chatmanta rina nin. Ha oorinanman s'attah yaiouna nin. Cooiapi paaarinina nin. Chat viajero runutuo paaarishepa ha, faarha ha juin sueñuahingapa rinasuna nin, ha bailash, tuunui juin.

The man who met an unquiet soul

I am going to tell you a story of the old days: there was once an Indian who used to get up before midnight to take letters on foot to Cuenca. He would get up before dawn and walk and walk. On one occasion he was going along through a narrow gully when he became frightened. When he looked behind him, he saw that the soul of a dead man was following him. The two fell in step and the Indian walked along with the soul. As they walked along together, "Don't be afraid," said the soul, "I am going to see my wife. Don't you be frightened. When I was alive she was very unfaithful, and now she is going to get married again. I am going to punish her." Thus the soul talked as they went along, who knows where.

At one place the soul turned off the road and climbed up a steep bank to the side: "Don't go that way," he told the Indian, "come along this way. Let's climb up onto the side of the road for the devils are coming along the main path."

So the traveller followed suit. He climbed up the bank and as he stood there a long while, sure enough, a devil came by on the road. He was carrying a condemned soul, not in a coffin but simply in a sack. From inside the sack the body could be heard to moan. As it moaned, the traveller just stood there on the bank above the road. But the unquiet soul had put him on his right-hand side, so he was safe.

And so they walked on and on. Who knows what paths they must have taken, until they entered a steep-sided gorge where a river ran. As they went up this path, the soul said: "You follow me. Let's get off
the road as best we can by climbing a eucalyptus tree. A whole
group of devils are due to pass through this way. They might do us
harm."

So saying, the soul suggested they climb a eucalyptus tree. But the
traveller couldn't climb it. Perhaps the soul carried him up to the
top branches of the tree, for there he found himself and there he
stayed for a long while: terrified firstly of falling out of the tree,
and then frightened that the wind might blow him out. There they both
were at the top of the tree: "Don't fear, you won't fall down. I shall
hold onto you and then I shall carry you down again," the soul
reassured him.

As they were watching, there came a procession of devils along the
narrow slope that led through the gorge. They carried with them the
caja rona and torches with flames of all colours. Some of them played
on musical instruments: flutes and so on. They passed by making a
tremendous noise. Some time after they had gone by, the soul himself
brought the Indian down from the eucalyptus tree: "We won't go on just
yet," he said, "they have left sulphur in their wake and it could harm
us. Let's wait here a while."

So saying, they stood there together. The soul talked to the traveller,
telling him how he had been to heaven, how he had punished the living,
of many things. As he stood there talking, darkness fell.

After that they went on their way, arriving who knows where. "My wife
will come this way after her wedding. You just go with the wedding
party. When you meet them, not one of them will invite you to join
them, but then the accordionist's wife will say: 'Come on, friend, come
on, compadre. When we get there I will share any food and drink they
give me with you. Let's go'. And she will take you along. When she
takes you along to the house, I'll come too. And that's when I'll
punish my wife. But you mustn't say a word to anyone. If you tell any-
one about me, you instead will be taken prisoner. So keep silent or
you will put yourself in danger."

The unquiet soul advised the Indian with these words.

And so it was: along the way, the Indian met up with the wedding party.
As they met up, not one person invited him to join in. They passed
by without a word. But then the accordionist's wife said: "Come along,
friend, come along, Cañarajito, whatever they give me to eat and
drink, I shall share it with you."

And so he went with her. When they arrived, he followed the party
into the kitchen, and there he spent the night. The bride and groom
were there and there was much drinking and dancing until they grew
tired and retired to sleep.

The next morning, the wedding godparents went to get the bridal pair
out of bed. They found them stone dead, locked in a cold embrace.
Then there was a great uproar, everybody wondering how they had died.
So they went to the police station to report the matter. Then a
police officer came. All the wedding guests were taken prisoner under
accusation of murder. But of course they hadn't killed the couple at
all, but the soul of the woman's own dead husband had entered the room,
and strangled them with a sort of green cord, and had left them dead.
The police inspector interrogated each person five times, trying to
discover who had witnessed the murder. An autopsy was held but no
evidence could be found. The bodies were sound and healthy. All that
could be detected was a little trace of blood on their necks, nothing
else. That's my story.

Informant: EDC, 29th August, 1976
same as for Tale 15, plus:
B363.3  Ghost warns the living
G303.4.B1  Devil has sulphurous odour
D996.0.1.1  Magic power of right hand for good
E752.1  Devil hunts souls
G303.15  Places haunted by devil
E221  Dead spouse malevolent return
E234  Ghost punishes injury received in life
E234.0.1  Ghost returns to demand vengeance
E230  Return from dead to inflict punishment
Q241  Adultery punished
Z145  Symbolic colour: green

Tale 17: El alma desasosegada

De ahí los viajeros antes dicen que se encontraban con el diablo y con el alma también. Por ejemplo una vez que se muere un marido. Cuando estaban viviendo siempre es que sabían preguntar ambos: - Si yo me muero, ¿qué pasaría? - ¿Qué dices que pasaría, ¿no? Entonces que la mujer dice que decaía: - Yo moriría igual - ¿Y que decaía, ¿no? Entonces que la mujer dice que decaía.

Siempre dejan eso, ¿no? Una vez se llegó a morir el marido. La noche en que se enteró, entonces le llegó no más el marido, que ya quería levantar: - Tú dijiste que vas igual, ¿no? Entonces que la mujer dice que decaía así, nada. Le amanecía teniendo de los brazos, así. Ya cerca del amanecer se desaparecía. Todas las noches pasaba así, dicen. Entonces se iba a alguna parte, corriendo. Nadie. Se iba a los montes, por el lugar. No dejaba, queriendo llevar a ella también, diciendo: - Vamos, como dijiste que vas a ir igual conmigo. Como dejas que vas a ir igual conmigo.

Todas las veces solo así. De ahí la mujer se volvió a la calomía. Entonces que vivía una hermana lejos, ¿no? Entonces una vez se ha querido ir allá, ¿no? Donde que está la hermana. Cuando llega el alma, el marido, (ella ha salido), entonces ha tenido una faja, ¿no? Ahora no acostumbran la faja. Entonces cuando seguía molestando a ella en la casa diciendo: - Vamos, vamos y vamos. Entonces ella dice que hasta tener la faja, la punta de la faja. Entonces se desenvolvió poco a poco, poquito a poquito. Entonces se salió; avanzó salir. Entonces el alma quedó teniendo así la faja.

El quedó adentro. Ella corrió donde la hermana. ¿Qué es lo que pasa? Entonces el alma ya sintió pues no lo que ya no vuelve, entonces seguramente se largó, empezó a seguir atrás. Cuando está siguiendo decaía, ya el alma andaba rápido tal vez, entonces avanzó a oler, pues no. Cuando iba a amanecer a oler se metió en un monte, puro espinos, se metió adentro. Entonces el también quería seguir atrás, entrar ahí. Entonces él que metía la mano: - Ayauwil! - es que decaía. Por el otro lado: - Ayauwil! Que dijiste: - Vamos! Que salga.

Pero él no podía meterse en los espinos. Entonces yala que iba a amanecer, iba a aclararse, entonces se desapareció. Por fin, a las muchas veces, entonces ya llegó donde la hermana. Entonces llegando donde la hermana dice que decaía: - Oye, hermana, ¿me hicieras el favor de visitar mi casa? Ahí quedarán mis animales: cuyes, gatos, perros quedan ahí botado todo.

Diciendo eso se murió. En la casa de la hermana, Ese molestaba días que como un año.
The unquiet soul

They say that in the old days travellers would meet with the devil, and with spirits too. For example, once a woman's husband died. When he was alive, they would always ask each other: "If I die, what would you do?"

And the woman would say: "I will die with you. I would go with you."

They always said that, right? Then the husband died. The night he was buried, his soul came to the wife and said: "You said you would go with me."

And the woman ran away, but to no avail. All night he held her in his arms like this, and then as dawn came he disappeared. That would happen every night, they say. She would run away but it was no good. She would run to the forests, but she couldn't escape him. He wouldn't leave her alone, wanting to carry her away with him, and saying: "Come on, you said you would go with me."

Again and again the same thing happened and the woman became more and more troubled. One day she wanted to go to her sister's house, who lived far away. At that moment her husband's soul arrived. Now the woman was wearing a faja, you know? Nowadays the women don't wear a faja. Well, as her husband continued to annoy her saying: "Come on, come on," she gave him the end of the faja to hold. Then she gradually unwound herself from it and managed to escape. The soul just stood there holding the end of the faja while his wife ran to her sister's house. What happened next? Well, the soul then realised that she wasn't coming back, so he must have made after her. He caught up with her very quickly and as he did so she entered a clump of very thorny bushes. He wanted to follow her in but he put in his hand and cried: "Ouch!" And then the other one: 'Ouch!'

All the while he was crying: "Come on! Come out of there!"

But he couldn't enter the thorny bushes. Then dawn began to break and he disappeared. At last, after this had happened many times, the woman arrived at her sister's house and asked her sister: "Will you do me the favour of visiting my house? My animals are abandoned there; my guinea-pigs, dogs, and cats."

So saying, she died there in her sister's house. They say that that soul troubled her for about a year.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tales 15 and 16, plus:
M254  Promise to be buried with spouse if she/he dies first
E265.3 Meeting ghost causes death
E266  Dead carry off living
K500  Escape from death or danger by deception
E452  Ghost laid at cockcrow
E452.1 Dead quiescent during day
E415  Dead cannot rest until certain work is finished

Tale 18: Caesarisha huarmioa

tupashpa nina nin: - Caitami camba hanoa. Ri caita - nishpa.


Na chaimanta riouna nin maipiohara shug alfa ohagra, qu'ihuata. Chai Chagrapio parouriou nin ohushag leche shina yranlla yaouhuan. Chai Leche laya yaouhuan parouriugpia chai shug tupaig, chai Santa Rosa-huan oaj shug wuilla huami huamna tupashoa nin, Chaica na rioushin nin: - Cara coba momapa leshem - nishpa nin -. Chai oorriou oorriou nin naipiohara.


Shina huillassha: - Camba moma huaaoahoa huiquimi caioa.


Chaihama mana imata ruhuash cutirin.


Chaihama entonoes jaroan nin ohashna quinea dedota riouchshpa. Chaihima entonoes cutish chashnaa nin.


Entonoes: - Mana ima caoahoa cerea nin imata ruhuaish chai mundo gente ñuoa huasipi purioun.

Chaimanta shinoiraaaih panohaimanohari chayarina nin huasima. Huasima chutaraun nin, Chaihama pati ina nin: - ¿Pita caipiaca jisi tuqua ha voiriounchu
There was once a woman who died. She was my brother-in-law's aunt. She was dead and unburied for two days, then she revived. But this is how they told the story: she left the house setting off from the right-hand corner and taking a road of life that appeared there before her. She set out along that road. After she had walked for a long time she came to a fork in the road. From there on there were two roads: one beautiful, the other narrow and thorny. At the junction of the narrow road and the beautiful wide road, she met a saint. This saint's name was Saint Rose. As they met, the saint spoke: "This is your road. Go this way."

So as she made her way along the narrow road, she felt very thirsty. She came to an irrigation channel where there flowed a little water and she wanted to drink from it. She was so thirsty but she had nothing in which to collect the water. So she lay face down in an attempt to reach the water, but still she couldn't. The water was flowing too far below her and she couldn't reach it. Now she had with her a very faithful white dog, and the white dog collected water in its ears and gave her to drink. The dog gave her to drink by collecting water in its ears, then having drunk went on its way.

After that the woman came to a field of alfalfa grass. The field was being irrigated with whitish water that looked like milk. As she stood by the field being watered with milky liquid, there appeared a young girl alongside Saint Rose. She indicated the field, saying: "This is your mother's milk, this is your mother's milk." Then she passed by that place also. In another place there appeared two black bulls fighting together. They were fighting together, stopping to catch their breath, then fighting some more. The young girl said of them: "They are fighting between brothers, within the family." Again she passed by on her way. Then she came to a field of malva. There the field was being watered with clear water. The young girl said: "Those are your mother's tears." That is what she told her: "Those are the tears your mother wept."

In this way they passed on until they came to the gate of a hacienda. In the doorway of the hacienda there was a big black man weighing the souls of the dead on a pair of scales. As he weighed them he would throw some of them inside the hacienda and others he would take by their hair and toss them outside. The negro came forward to meet the woman, but she addressed him: "I owe nothing to anybody. Why are you coming forward smiling, with the intention of capturing me?" Whereupon the negro went back to his place without doing anything.

Next she arrived at a church, after passing all those places. When she arrived at the church she saw a crowd of choristers, litters bearing holy images, and people dressed up as hacienda bosses come out in the Corpus Christi procession. They all appeared before her. As they appeared, at that moment they began to sing a chant inside the church. Then the woman said: "I too know how to sing the five mysteries as they are called (I don't know what that might be - narrator). If I sing the five mysteries then I shall go up to the high altar."

But then the people blocked her way pointing at her with three fingers, and they sent her back the way she had come.
So she came back just the same way she had gone. Just as she had gone, she came back: passing the \textit{malva} field, the alfalfa field, the gateway of the \textit{hacienda}. She came home by the very same route. As she drew near to her house she saw a crowd of people running back and forth. She asked herself: "Why is there such a crowd of people at my house?"

And then she thought: "There is no reason for such a crowd of people to be wandering about my house like that."

Then she must have approached her house in a state of fear. When she arrived at the house she stood in the doorway. From where she stood she could see a corpse laid out in the room. She said to herself: "What joker is it lying there, or what is going on?"

Then she went to enter the room. Slowly reality returned and it was she herself who was laid out a corpse. She was laid out in the end!

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

\begin{itemize}
  \item D996.0.1.1 Magic power of right-hand for good
  \item E57.1 Narrow road to heaven
  \item N848 Saint as helper
  \item V223.1 Saint gives advice
  \item B421 Helpful dog
  \item E751.1 Souls weighed at Judgment Day
  \item A671.1 Doorkeeper of hell
  \item V70 Religious feasts
  \item E722 Soul leaves body at death
  \item E750.2 Perilous path for soul to world of dead
  \item E752.1 Soul in jeopardy after leaving body
  \item N681.0.1 Return home to one's own funeral
  \item E750.1 Souls wander after death
\end{itemize}
Commentary

1.0 Narrative structure

1.1 Tale 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>man dies, his wife remains alive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>traveller (H) is on way down to</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cuenca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H meets husband's soul on road</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>they travel on together</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>soul protects H from bandits</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>they continue to Cuenca &amp; return</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>soul protects H from bandits again</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>soul asks H to wife's house to help her in <em>minga</em> next day</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>soul offers H chicha and asperses some on ground to protect from <em>mal viento</em></td>
<td>4/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>H helps soul's wife in work; same recurs many times</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between H and the non-human agent is here based on the principles of mutual exchange that underlie many of the social institutions and customs of the Quichua - the *minga* among them. The protection afforded the hero figure by the soul in Move I, is repayed in Move II, when the hero shifts to the rôle of mediator and assists the soul's wife. A closer look at the pattern of this relationship will show the similarities between this and other legends in the section.

Due to the fulfillment of the obligation of hero towards soul, it is understood that he is able to return safely home after his experience. He is not made to pay the debt with his life or health as was the case, for example, in Tale 1. This tale is connected to the belief system in that it reflects the popular conception that the souls of the dead will wander abroad preoccupied by some unfulfilled task or promise which still binds them to the world of the living; in this case the preoccupation is with the bereaved wife's difficulty at
finding herself left alone to manage the daily work load. The soul now belongs to another sphere to that of his widow and employs an intermediary to act on his behalf between the two spheres. Thus a triangular relationship is established, as was the case with the devil legends. A close similarity can be noticed between Move I of this text and the Group (i) devil legends. Tale 9 is similar even to the point of containing an episode whereby the devil protects the hero from bandits by the wayside. The two tales were in fact told by the same informant, 9 following 15, and the compatibility of their narrative patterns probably encouraged the recurrence of the episode from one tale to the other.

Developments in Move II cause the underlying meaning of this tale to differ from that of the Group (i) devil narratives, however. There, the progress of the narrative centred around the human hero, and the possibility of his profiting from the encounter. In tales involving encounter with a soul, it would seem that these are ultimately oriented towards the soul protagonist and his efforts to derive profit from his relationship with the living. Thus Move II shows how the soul uses the human hero to his advantage. Tale 16 contains a comparable sequence of events. Tale 18 is narrated entirely from the viewpoint of the soul protagonist. This significant variation of the by now familiar journey framework of the local legend may be explained if we take the function of such tales to be the expression of anxieties on the part of the living towards the dead, and their fear of offending them through neglect or some other oversight.

The triad of relationships set up in Tale 15 between the three protagonists, showing the shift of human hero to the mediator 'slot', can be shown as follows:

```
\( (+) \) soul \( \rightarrow \) widow of soul
\( (+) \) human
\( (+) \) tago.
```
It should also be borne in mind that while the soul can act as protector of the living, as he did in Move I, he is also a potential threat, capable of causing illness in those who come into contact with him if he is not well-disposed towards them. The fact that the human protagonist in this tale obeys the laws of reciprocity accounts for the positive relationships established between the actors. The ambiguity in the character of the souls of the dead gives them a cognitive affinity with the devil in the local belief system; it has been seen, for example, that the devil also may cause huairashoa in those who encounter him. The affinity is so strong that the two personages take up roles in tales whose narrative patterns are closely comparable.

1.2 Tale 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>mail carrier on way to Cuenca at. night</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>mail carrier (H) meets soul on road</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>they travel on together</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>soul protects H from party of devils that passes by</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>soul asks H to go with wedding party of his widow and her lover</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H joins wedding party</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>next morning bridal pair found dead, killed by soul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several of the points made for Tale 15 apply to this text also: the journey - encounter sequence is again responsible for the development of the narrative; again the relationship between hero and non-human agent is a mutually reciprocal one. The hero responds to the soul's request that he should act as a 'front' while the latter carries out the murder of his faithless wife, in return for the protection he had been afforded in Move I. This leads again to a shift in function of
the human protagonist from hero position to that of mediator. The differing attitudes of traveller and soul from one move to the next can be formalized by these triads:

\[
\text{Move I:} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{heavens} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{(-)} \\
\text{soil} \\
\text{(+) \ to \ (-)} \\
\text{Move II:} \quad \text{soil} \quad \text{adulterous wife} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{(+)} \\
\text{H} \\
\text{(-)}
\]

So it is seen again that as long as humans treat the inhabitants of the non-human world according to accepted moral and social rules, they will come to no harm; in this code of behaviour the principle of reciprocity is paramount.

1.3 Tale 17

Tale 17; El alma desasosegada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>husband and wife promise to follow each other to death; husband dies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>husband's soul returns to haunt wife who has not kept promise</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>wife escapes to her sister's house</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>soul pursues her</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>wife evades him by trick with fajada</td>
<td>3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>she escapes into thorn bush</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>dawn breaks and he disappears</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>woman asks sister to care for her livestock</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>she dies, claimed by soul of husband</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The assignment of functions for this legend shows that the pattern differs from the customary journey-encounter sequence. Although repeated encounters take place between the woman and the soul of her dead husband, the emphasis of the tale lies in the theme of the unkept promise - an element of which was also seen in Tale 16.

This same theme forms the initial situation in Tale 31, a borrowed migratory tale. Whether there has been influence and in
which direction it occurred is a matter for speculation. As with Tales 15 and 16, the structure of this narrative read at the level of the relationships between the actors can be seen to describe a triangular process in which the dead husband and his living wife are set up in opposition to each other, in a negative relationship deriving from the wife's failure to keep her word. Such is the power of the soul over the faithless woman that the latter's attempts to use a third party, her sister, as mediator and protectress fail and she finally succumbs. It is an interesting reflection of the belief system that she makes preparation for death by consigning the care of her animals to her sister, so that concern for them will not follow her beyond this life.

1.4 Tale 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>EPISODE</th>
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<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>soul of dead woman (H) 'revives' after 2 days</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H sets out on journey</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>arrives at fork in road where saint directs her</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>white dog helps her fetch water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>sees fields irrigated with mother's milk</td>
<td>2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>sees 2 bulls fighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>sees field irrigated with mother's tears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>passes entrance to hell (hacienda)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>comes to church where she is warded off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>returns home by same route</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>x arrives home to witness her own wake</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focus of this tale is entirely on the soul as protagonist or hero figure. There are many features of content which set it apart from the others: it is rich in motifs not found elsewhere in the collection, many of which it is not possible at this stage to interpret or explain. Underlying this content, however, it is possible to trace the same pattern as found in other legends: journey → encounter →
arrival at other world—return. Curiously, here we look at the progress of events as if from the other side of the mirror; instead of following the path of a human protagonist to the non-human world and back, here we follow the route of a non-human protagonist (soul) to the world of the living and back to the world beyond—death. This explanation accounts for her arrival at the church where she is rejected by the congregation—apparently living—for as a soul prior to burial she is potentially dangerous to those with whom she comes into contact. Her route takes her past the entrance to hell, and it is presumably her freedom from sin that permits her to pass on unhindered. Just in the same way are living human protagonists allowed to visit hell and return from it unscathed in some of the devil legends, for example. Tale 18 could be seen in the following terms as an inversion of some of the devil legends—Group (i) in particular:

Group (i) devil legends : Tale 18

human protagonist : non-human protagonist
journeys from this world : journeys from other world to to other world this world (church)
is threatened : threatens the living
is saved : is rejected
returns to this world : returns to body for funeral

The soul legends with human protagonists—15 and 16 in particular—might also fit into this scheme, as following a pattern akin to that of the Group (i) devil legends. The present text should not be oversimplified for the sake of comparisons, however. The above scheme of oppositions does not take into account that the soul in Tale 18 also encounters non-human mediators—Santa Rosa and the negro doorman—who represent the spheres of heaven and hell respectively. This this tale is more complex than any examined so far; the soul protagonist on its journey explores the possibilities of heaven, hell, and this world.
in turn before returning to the body for burial and final integration into the world beyond life.

Whilst still on the subject of the narrative pattern, it should be noted that the journey of the soul to the other world is a common framework for Andean oral narrative. In many cases, an encounter with a non-human agent is put down to the altered state of consciousness of the protagonist: he/she may be drunk, asleep, or ill. The wanderings of the 'soul' are a corollary to this. In the comparative material we find, for example, an Imbabura text: 'Led astray by a spirit', in which the drunken protagonist thinks herself to have been carried away by a duende, and during their journey to have passed through 8 stages, each marked by a change in the physical environment and the appearance of new features such as certain animals, which constitute the tale's motifs. There is a remarkable structural similarity with Tale 18, notable for the stage by stage progress of the soul protagonist. (Parsons op.cit.135-136) GS/SA/4: 'Almaguna pallabi timbushishoamanda' describes a journey to the other world allegedly made by the narrator's father when he was unconscious due to severe sickness. He reached the 'Señor Jesús', who told him to return home as he had not yet been called for. One is reminded here also of Tale 4, where the hero pays a gratuitous visit to hell, also in the charge of 'taita Diosito', when suffering after a bad accident. (1)

2.0 The content of the tales

As legends, these are closely linked to the belief system of the area, and different texts focus on different aspects of it. To take Tale 18 first, as the most complex of the four: there exists a belief that the soul of a person due to die is apt to leave the body during sleep and retrace its steps, visiting old haunts as if in farewell. Dogs are thought to have the power of perceiving such spirits and their resistant howling is interpreted as an augur of death. (2) The rôle
of the dog as guide to the soul after death is not as common in
Cafar lore as elsewhere in the Andes, (3) although the white dog here
clearly performs that function. Equally, the wandering of the soul in
the period between death and burial was less commonly referred to,
although in this tale it is at that stage that the soul sets out on
its journey. The tale can thus be seen as the literary expression of
the commonly held belief in the wandering of souls from the body. The
same concept found expression in Tales 15-17, which likewise explored
the theme of contrast and conflict between life and death, between the
living and the dead, and the reluctance of the latter to come to terms
with their new state.

While I cannot offer interpretations for many of the motifs in
this tale, there is comparative data which serves to show they are a
part of the wider system of narrative traditions in the area: the
narrow road and the wide road referred to in the text are evidently
the roads to heaven and hell respectively, as GS/CA/11 makes more
explicit:

"Cieloman huichitona, cieloman rina hampish puro oasha
manashu can puro huiti palo ninchi ti oai llafta... Ima mundo
jero cana nin, huiti manchassha mana purin nin oahit Diosapan
rina nanca. Chai malignos oahit Judasapan rina nanca ima
mundo carretero nin. Cunan oai carretero haga nishpa nin,
brillashpa nin, sumai mana rucu."

"The path that goes up to heaven is full of thorns and sticks
we say here... Its a very difficult path, very frightening and
hard to walk, the path to God's place. The path to the devils'
or Judases' place is a big road. They say it shines and is a
very beautiful road."

The Parsons text from Imbabura already referred to contains a remark
in keeping with this idea:

"This time she was aware of a very kind man who carried her
by a pretty and wide path with flowers on either side, and
the ground seemed to be of glass (she says that the path to
hell is like that; and to go to heaven it is a path of thorns."
(loc.cit.)
Fock also documented this belief for Juncal:

"Thus the road to the other world is depicted as a path that bifurcates into a right and a left branch; that on the right leads to heaven and that on the left leads to hell.,

(1976:7-8)

He goes on to comment on the association between right and left and upper and lower in Juncales world view, categories which extend from the geographical to the social sphere in the native classification system.

References to right (allt lado) and left (lluquit lado) are frequent in the present collection: the heroine in Tale 18 sets out on her journey from the right-hand corner of the house; EDC commented that almitas will pass you by on the right, and devils on the left; note how the almita in Tale 16 makes the hero stand on his right as the devils go past; GGG described how an unseen being gripped his father's left arm when he was suffering from huairashe. In ritual also the right-hand takes precedence: the right-hand flank of the Corpus Christi procession carries such prestige that its organizers are bribed with food and drink to allow participants a place there. Right and left may also correspond to male and female: in the Mass at Sigsihuailcu, the congregation divided so that men sat on the right and women on the left. (4)

With reference now to the tales as a group: additional data illustrates further popular concepts regarding the souls of the dead. The alma oondenado is the soul of a man who committed incest, the most serious form of which is that between compadres (JSA, EDC, GGG, MJA). There is little else in common, however, with the carnivorous, fire-breathing monster of the same name so richly described in some of the Peruvian material. (5) Cañar informants described them as relatively harmless spirits of the dead that come back to places they have frequented in life to seek out some money or other item they might have
hidden, whose whereabouts they feel a need to communicate to their survivors (GGG). EDC made a clear distinction between the condenado and the almita, the latter being the unquiet soul, not guilty of sin, but unable to rest in peace due to some unfinished task. (6) The souls in hell in Tale 4, however, send back messages to their bereaved out of that same need.

A relationship between these tales and a wider framework of narrative tradition can also be seen: Tale 17, it was suggested, contains a theme to be found also in Tale 31, which is recognizable as a variant of A-T512. At the same time, the theme of burial of spouse with the dead was not alien to Andean ritual in former times: Cieza de León recorded how wives of caciques would be buried with their husbands, (7) and Parsons noted ritual suicidal intent at the graveside as recently as 1945 (op.cit.79). (8) Tale 17 also contains remnants of motifs associated with the Andean version of D672 'Obstacle Flight' - discussed fully in sub-section (g). The escape by unwinding from the faja belongs there: Morote Best gives a summary of Arguedas's text from Jauja, where the heroine escaping from her condenado lover persuades him to hold on the the end of her faja as he enters a lake; when he is well advanced into the water she cuts herself free (1958a; 804, cites Arguedas 1953:151-153). In the same connection the motif of the woman's escape into a thorn bush may be derived from the same tradition, where frequently the heroine throws down an obstacle which becomes a bush of thorns in the pursuer's path. Most typically in the Andes the 'Obstacle Flight' sequence is found in the context of flight from a condenado lover, so it could well be that this text is an abbreviated and simplified relative of that tradition. Elsewhere in this collection it is found in the context of flight from devil-spouse (Tale 24), which further illustrates the interchangeability of the actors within rôles or structural 'slots' that remain constant.
FOOTNOTES

(1) A notable comparison in the wider context can be made with a text collected in Ayacucho, Peru, where the informant describes her stage-by-stage journey to hell while very sick; 'Our Lord' sent her back as he was not ready for her (Zuidema and Quispe 1973:367).

(2) Guinea-pigs, owls (*cuscungu*), and doves (*urpi*) are also thought to be endowed with this power and reveal it in certain patterns of behaviour; such animals are referred to as 'brujacuna'.

(3) "It is believed that one should treat one's dogs kindly, since once dead they can help their former owner on its journey to the land of the dead." (Zuidema and Quispe op.cit.); cf. Nuñez del Prado (0.) (1952:2) where the same idea is mentioned.

(4) cf. Hertz's essay on the pre-eminence of the right hand (1960).

(5) Arguedas has published texts of 46 condenado tales from Jauja and Concepción (1953:127-193); see also Morote Best (1958a:628ff.).

(6) Guavara has entries under "Alma en pena"; "Alma que se escapa del cuerpo"; "Alma que recoge los pasos", all of which corroborate the Cañar evidence (1972:75, 77); see also Carvalho-Neto (1966:82), and Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1961, 1966), for similar references to beliefs in almas, including the idea that they can cause sickness in those that come into contact with them.

(7) "A los difuntos los metían en las sepulturas de la suerte que hacían sus comarcanos, acompañados de mujeres vivas." (1853:398)

(8) see also Gifford and Hoggart for Peruvian reference to ritual suicidal intent at the graveside (1975: 75 ); they also document evidence on the condenado (op.cit. 101 ).
Section A sub-section (d): Tales of the outihi

Tale 19: Solterahuan Crichthuan


Nigpi mana ujana nin mana misaman shamusha nishpa. Solo uroup miohnina nin, juin. Cada punsha urouman, urouman, urouman. Shinaoueshpalla ni misaman ni mai mana shamuna nin chai solteraca solo uroup mishiushpa.


Na oashha ha huata yallispi shamusroca nin soltera yaya mamata visitangapa nina nin. Cusaca: - Ri visitamugri, ri ricumungui camba yaya mamata - nina nin.


Chaiipita nina nin: - Ha visitangapa shamusrocaris H. Tattia mamita ricumuman shamusrocaris pero - nina nin.

Chaimitacuna: - Rioushu huoa nieta na vigissha - nina nin.

Chaimitacuna nina nin: - Mana, 'mana riposuqorschun' niaoa, Cusaca 'om: 'dieurap'. rota: 'chini' 'wan' nish ivin 'publih' sharoa
There was once a young girl who spent all her time herding the flocks in the hills and would never come to Mass or down into town at all. She would just stay in the hills tending the sheep, cattle and horses. Her parents would tell her to go to Mass but she refused. Every day she went only to the hills to graze the animals and she would never go to Mass.

Then some of her friends told her mother: "There is a suitor up there in the hills. He's a young man who goes about one day with a red poncho, another day with a light-coloured poncho, the next day with a green poncho. He walks about in the hills watching out for people."

And the girl's mother said: "Look after my girl. Watch that nothing happens to her."

The girl's friends replied: "But that young man walks about in the hills. One day he wears one poncho, the next day another. He's a handsome, fairhaired young man."

Then one afternoon the sheep, the cows and the horses were scared away. The day after the scare the parents questioned their daughter's companions. They said: "Perhaps that young man has carried them away. That youth used to walk about wearing one colour poncho one day and another colour the next. He was a fairhaired young man. He will have carried them away without doubt. We didn't go with your daughter yesterday. He will have carried her off."

The parents questioned them: "She doesn't come home. She went herding yesterday and she hasn't come back. Why do we have no news of her?"

And so saying, they left at dawn to go and look for the animals in the hills. They went up into the hills to look. Up there in the hills there is a broad hollow in the land where the uqsha grass grows. When they emerged onto that plain, they saw a huge rainbow weaving its light in the sky. There, right under the centre of the rainbow, was the flock of sheep, cows and horses. Then, weeping, the girl's parents drove the animals before them and brought them home.

In this way a week went by. Then two, then three, then a whole month had passed and the girl did not appear. Her parents went about grieving for her: "Our child hasn't come home," they mourned.

And thus six months passed. Then seven months, then eight, and finally a year was up. And the young girl who had gone to the hills did not come back.

When more than a year had gone past, the girl came to visit her parents. Her husband had told her to go and visit them and then to return. So
she came to her parents' house after more than a year. She came bring-
ing with her a child, the son of the rainbow. Her parents asked her:
"Where have you come from? We have been weeping for you. Where were
you? Why did you not come home?"
"Well, now I have indeed come to visit you, my father and mother," she
answered.
"Let's see our grandchild. We want to see it," the parents said.
"No," replied the daughter, "my husband gave me strong warning that I
should not show it to you."
So her parents said: "You go and fetch some water and leave your child
just here to sleep."
Agreeing, the child stayed sleeping while she went for water.

While she was away getting the water, the parents took a look at the
child. It was a beautiful baby, the very child of the rainbow; fair-
haired and long in body, a really beautiful child. It had eyelashes
of all colours, just like the rainbow itself, for it was the rainbow's
son. When the daughter came back, she said: "Here you are looking at
my child that my husband sent with me. He warned me not to show it to
you, and now here you are sitting and looking at it."
And so saying, she took her child with her and disappeared into the hills.
That's my story.

Informant; PTA, 29th August, 1976

T521,2 Conception from rainbow
C315,2.3 Tabu: looking at rainbow
C310 Tabu: looking at certain person or thing
C33 Tabu: offending supernatural child
C32 Tabu: offending supernatural husband
C952 Immediate return to other world because of broken tabu
C953 Person must remain in other world because of broken tabu
Q223.7 Punishment for neglect of Mass
1.0 Introduction

Whilst I collected only one text in Cañar dealing with the theme of the rainbow, substantial supplementary data was gathered from informants other than the narrator of the tale to prove a wide distribution of beliefs attached to the phenomenon in the area; these were particularly JSA, MEZ, GZP, ECZ, EDC, and GGG. Tale 19 is therefore analysed mainly in the context of these beliefs, and we will see again how legend adapts belief to meet its needs.

2.0 Narrative structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>shepherd girl (H) spends all her time in hills, never attends Mass</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>her friends warn her parents of the rainbow-suitor</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H disappears</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>parents find livestock under arch of rainbow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>after year H returns home with rainbow's child</td>
<td>5/9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H returns forever to rainbow's domain</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of this tale does not fit as neatly into the journey encounter sequence as tales in the devil narrative subsection, for example. It is the heroine's absence from home, rather than a specific journey, which creates the 'narrative climate' in which the encounter can then take place. Her contravention of social norms is emphasized and implicitly censored by the informant who is, interestingly, a woman. The mediation (Function 6), in this case by friends who are concerned for her safety, takes place before the encounter, rather than after it, as is usually the case. Move II, in which the heroine is given a second chance, but fails again to
meet the standards of behaviour expected of her, gives the tale a unique pattern, although the theme being dealt with is reminiscent of Tale 1, in which the displeasure of the urcu yaya has similar consequences. The tale would suit an anthropological analysis, into themes of taboo and the consequences of its violation: it acts as a metaphorical expression of a network of beliefs extensive in the Andean area regarding the rainbow. I shall concentrate mainly now on the ethnographical interest of the text and of the statements of belief which supplement it.

3.0 Content

3.1 Rainbow beliefs in historical perspective

The rainbow has featured in the belief system of Andean peoples at least since Inca times. (1) Then, it enjoyed a veneration equal to that of the moon, stars, thunder and lightning, one of the halls adjoining the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco being dedicated to it (Garcilaso 1960, II:114). At the popular level certain beliefs attached to its presence:

"llaman al arco 'cuyohi', y con tenerle en esta veneración, cuando le veían en el aire cerraban la boca y ponían la mano delante, porque decían que si le descubrían los dientes los gastaba y empodrecía." (loc.cit.)

While in modern-day Ecuador, contact with the rainbow is a portent of bad, in Inca mythology its appearance might be taken as a good omen, according to Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, who relates how Manco Capac is believed to have turned to the rainbow as an oracle in time of need. His comments also reveal a variation in the terminology applied to it:

" aquel arco del cielo, llamado 'cuyohi' o 'tumanya' o 'yayaacaur';" (1968:285)

Cobo's information implies that the rainbow had a dualistic nature, and was capable of signifying good or bad:
Such dualism recalls the ambiguous character of objects of popular belief in modern-day Ecuador (arco yaya, devil, etc.).

3.2 Contemporary beliefs

Apart from the data collected from the above-mentioned informants, comparative notes are drawn from the many twentieth-century observers who have published on this subject.

3.2.1 Dual classification of the arco (arco)

EDC specified that there are two kinds of arco, both of which cause disease: the arco colorado is that which appears by day and the sickness caused by it is usually curable; the arco blanco appears by night and causes an incurable illness. The arco is an agent of the enemigo malo (a synonym for diablo, as seen above), and arches over the earth with one 'foot' in a lake, for example, and another on the earth. This dualistic classification of the rainbow prevails also in the neighbouring cantones of Alausí and Chunchi (Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales op.cit.453). The available data from that area corresponds in other aspects with my own, as will be seen.

3.2.2 Places inhabited by the rainbow

All informants concurred in that the rainbow is thought to inhabit water or watery places: irrigation channels, ditches between fields, lakes and marshes, and waterfalls. In this connection we can take into account comparative data for Pindilig: Muñoz-Bernand describes a distinction made by the people between those diseases
caused by bacteria ('enfermedades microbiosas'), deriving from culture-contact and curable only with medicines from the botica, and those caused by *antimonias*, explained by the local belief system and curable by herbs or magic (1976:56ff). Into the latter category falls 'rainbow sickness'. As in Cantón Cañar, it is associated with specific ecological zones, notably the high moorland marshes:

"Para los campesinos, ciertos lugares específicos están cargados de una especie de electricidad, que llaman antimonio. Estos lugares son: 1) las ollagtas de donde salen los arcos iris..."
(op.cit.59)

3.2.3 Forms taken by the rainbow

Apart from its generally-known attributes, some informants held further beliefs concerning the physical manifestations of the *cuichi*. The most common of these was a connection between the rainbow and a 'calf of gold'. EDC termed this the 'beceerro barroso' and described it as a brightly coloured fire in the form of a young calf, which appears at the foot of the rainbow, and will burn anyone who tries to catch hold of it. GGG's evidence differed slightly as he seemed to identify *cuichi* and calf as one and the same thing:

"El cuichi dicen que es un beceerro de oro. Que vive solamente en la laguna. Por ejemplo allí en Junocal había una laguna en Huairahuin, al lado de la Panamericana, allí. Allí también hay cuichi; dicen 'cuichi-bizi'... dice que vive en las lagunas, que en el momento cuando el arco iris se para en alguna parte, el beceerro dicen que está levantándose. Ese como el ternero está levantándose, tiembila, no. Al momento que está saliendo va a parar, para hacerse en algunas partes."

He added to this that the rainbow in this shape, before it rises, is contained inside a black bag:

"teniendo la suerte de coger eso es muy bueno dicen porque es oro. Entonces algunos cogen cuando está saliendo de allí. Dicen que pueden coger al beceerro para que no salga, con bolsos ahí, todo. Esos pueden tener oro. Pero una vez se sintió dicen, seguramente el beceerro, o como, una vez se llegó a sentir eso, cuando está yendo a coger, quema dicen, osea ese color oreeen que es fuego, no."
Comparison may be drawn with beliefs found in Chunchi and Alausí that the rainbow as a calf is hidden in a bag of money:

"Este arco (colorado) igual que el blanco, habita las ciénagas, y se oculta en una bolsa de plata (hualones) y cuando va a salir, se escuchan bufidos como los de un buey. El arco quema cuando se oculta."
(1966:453)

The connection between the rainbow and animals or bags of gold could be accounted for in a number of ways. (5) In the context of Ecuadorian Quichua culture it most probably results from an association between the ecological siting of the huacas (where buried gold allegedly lies) and the habitat of thewould in both cases, the high, inhospitable páramo. (6) Notably, the 'oro vivo' of the huacas is often conceived of in animal form in Pindilig:

"El 'oro vivo' puede no estar guardado y manifestarse bajo la forma de un animal. Ver a dicho animal trae suerte, pero debe evitarse el tocarlo. El oro de la huaca se convierte principalmente en ave...pero también puede aparecerse en la forma de un sapo, de un conejo, de una lagartija o de un ratón. En todo caso se trata siempre de animales pequeños e inofensivos, aspecto que los vuelve aún más peligrosos para el que los encontre. Estos animales relucen, como si el oro les irradiase del cuerpo."
(Muñoz-Bernand n.d.5)

The identification of rainbow with animal is to be found at another level also, in data from Imbabura and Pichincha. Parsons has substantial evidence of this and also refers us to Karsten who heard in Pelileo (Tungurahua) of a woman who had exposed herself menstruous to the rainbow and later gave birth to a child that was half pig, half human (Parsons op.cit,92, cites Karsten 1920:70). The Pichincha belief finds expression in a memorat about a woman who went for a walk one afternoon when there was a rainbow:

"My little grandmother came to a spring. What was her surprise to see some baby pigs, pretty and fat, with very luminous hair and on their shoulders bands of different colours. The little pigs were grunting and playing in the water, and as she watched them, they disappeared in the mouth of the spring. My little grandmother became pregnant,
The child was born very white, with hair blond (red) like the flame of a candle; he was very intelligent and intuitive." (Parsons, op.cit, 191).

I quote this passage at length as its description of the rainbow's child, fairskinned and good-looking, recalls that of Tale 19. (7)

3.2.4 Those vulnerable to the rainbow

Not all informants specified the kind of person most vulnerable to the rainbow. Both men and women may contract ouiohi japisheoa. ECZ, for example, remarked that people wearing red ponchos would be likely candidates, which corresponds with evidence for Chunchi and Alausi:

"El arco iris...persigue y se apodera de las personas vestidas de rojo."
(Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales, op.cit, 454)

The present text demonstrates how folk legend has transposed this belief: the rainbow is personified for narrative purposes, and presented as a young man who dresses daily in a different coloured poncho, red among them.

JSA specified that contact with the rainbow affects menstruating women. As I have mentioned, Karsten recorded the same for Pelileo, and Muñoz-Bernand found the same attitude prevailing in Pindilig:

"El arco ataca a gente de ambos sexos, pero sobre todo a las mujeres encinta o menstruantes: en este caso se dice que da 'el arco en la sangre', "Cuando nos enfermamos de las reglas," cuenta una mujer, "es malo ir a pasar por los ciénagos. Cuando pasamos, ya cuando vemos nosotros estar echado el arco, ya diremos que nos coge el arco..."
(1976:59)

Landivar's text (loc.cit.) also describes how a menstruating woman is made pregnant by the ouiohi.

3.2.5 The results of contact with the rainbow

The sickness caused by the rainbow is referred to variously as ouiohi japisheoa (Sp.arco del arco) and ouiohi hualira (Sp.arco aire).
The manner in which the sickness is contracted, its symptoms and its
cures, if any, stem from empirical associations with physical phenomena
of the environment, and extend to associations bordering on the meta-
phorical. It is from the latter that legends such as the one presented
here can be said to arise.

There is some variation in descriptions of the symptoms involved;
whereas EDC places the covering of the body with sores and pimples in
this category, GGG described symptoms not unsimilar to those associated
with huarashoa, a paralysis of the limbs being the most characteristic.
GZP corroborated the latter. (8) The former type of symptom finds
more correlation in other parts of Ecuador than the latter:

"In cuiichic colorado, red cuiichic, there are tumors and
and abscesses, over the body, some breaking out, some
healing, all the time."
(Parsons, op.cit.197, cf.op.cit.65)

And skin eruptions of various kinds are allotted this cause in Muñoz-
Bernand's findings also (op.cit.62).

A female informant associated contact with cuiichí with an abnormal,
apparently uterine, growth known as mula matriz which can, according
to her, only be removed by operation. In western medical terms she
would appear to be referring to a tumor. (9)

From the evidence so far, it is now possible to divide the symp-
toms into two groups: the outbreak of sores and pimples, together with
paralysis of the limbs stem, no doubt, from empirical associations
with the damp, unhealthy marshlands where the rainbow is frequently
seen. The sexual implications of rainbow impregnation belong to a
metaphorical sphere, on the other hand, perhaps originating in
phallic symbolism, and lowland mythology (rainbow = snake). Such
origins are forgotten, and what remains in practice is a belief that
no doubt provides a convenient 'excuse' for unexplained pregnancies.

By reading between the lines of the following extract from a letter
written by a parish priest at Izamba (Tungurahua), this is certainly the conclusion to be drawn:

"Me encontré una ocasión con una indígena que lloraba amargamente. - ¿Por qué lloras? La pregunté, - Porque me ha cogido el cuichito - me dijo, - y me va a matar mi marido, - Pero ¿por qué? - Porque resol did pasas el cuichito sobre mí y me deja embarazada, estando lejos de mi marido."
(Rodríguez Sandóval, op.cit.,124) (10)

3.2.6 Protection and cures (11)

ECZ recommends the throwing of urine in the direction of the rainbow as a protective measure. (12) As a cure, she advocates cleansing the body with ají (capiscum annuum), incense, rosemary, santamaría (?), (13) and puleo (bistropogon mollis HBK). (14) These items after use should be thrown onto a well-trafficked street.

EDC's cure for cuichito colorado introduces an association with the colours of the rainbow: scraps of cloth of different colours (green, red, yellow, black, purple) should be gathered, burnt, and their ash mixed with the same ingredients as are used against mal aire. (15) The resulting mixture ('agua') is taken internally. The cure advocated by GGG suggests the same association: a water is made using flowers of different colours. Cleansing with a guinea-pig to which strings of different coloured wool have been attached would also belong to this category (see Parsons, op.cit.,197)

4.0 The relationship between belief and tale

The Cañar text and similar legends from elsewhere reveal a close connection with popular beliefs in the rainbow's power to impregnate women, while to my knowledge the other dimension of belief, relating to physical illness explained by empirical associations, is not to be found in legend form. I shall therefore deal here with the first.
dimension only. I have already remarked on a possible 'realistic' reason for the usefulness and thus the perpetuation of the belief in question. The legend as its literary expression acts as a convenient vehicle for this perpetuation. I shall now make one or two further observations regarding the way in which folk narrative adapts folk belief for its own metaphorical ends.

I noted that in curing ritual, metaphorical associations are to be found - the colours of the rainbow are represented in the remedies. In the legend, a comparable thing happens: in the Calfar text the colour theme is repeated in the rainbow youth's ponchos, and in the description of his child's eyelashes; in Pichincha, as we saw in the extract quoted, it occurs in the colours of the pigs whose presence is implicitly responsible for the heroine's impregnation.

In the description of the physical attributes of the rainbow's son, there is a further point that would have certain categorical significance for the listener: the child's beauty is expressed in terms of his fairness and his tallness, both of which are notably non-indian traits, and his father was described in the same way as a 'handsome blond young man'. Moreover, both are characteristics the Indian would automatically associate with the white man. The latter, in the native classification system still represents a being who is at once superior and awesome, to be mistrusted and feared. The equivalence between 'God' and 'white man' and 'devil' has been discussed in connection with the devil legends; God figures too may be described as fair-haired in legend (see Tale 6, for example), and in the comparative material descriptions were found of the 'hill father' as blond and handsome (Taita Chimborazo, for eg.). The rainbow, then, is seen to have attributes of a similar order in its personified form, and might therefore be included at a structural level in the same
category as devil, 'God', or even 'hill father', attributed an equally ambivalent nature, and worthy of the same amount of fear and respect in dealings with him. In legend, the rainbow's ambivalence is expressed in the way he allows the heroine to return home with his child, but only under the condition that she allows no-one to look at it. The prohibition broken, his sympathy is retracted and she must return forever to the hills, which outcome is reminiscent of the heroine's fate in Tale 1 as a result of her incorrect treatment of the urcu yaya.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Rainbow mythology in the highlands no doubt has its origins in that of the tropical lowlands where the rainbow was and is frequently associated with a snake. Lévi-Strauss reproduces a Gran Chaco myth collected by Lehmann-Nitsche wherein a monstrous snake is destroyed and after death turns into a rainbow (1970:304). For further discussion of lowland associations with the rainbow, see op.cit.246-250. Parsons gives us references to the jíbaro connection between water boa and rainbow (op.cit.92).

(2) cf. a belief held in Imbabura: "si alguien le señala con su dedo, éste se pudre." (Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales 1966:454).


(4) In tropical America there also exists a distinction between a diurnal and a nocturnal rainbow, the latter of which is perceived as a black space in the Milky Way where normally there would be stars (Lévi-Strauss, op.cit.247).

(5) One is of course reminded of the belief in pots of gold at the rainbow's end found in Europe and elsewhere.

(6) The term guaca is applied by Cobo to the site at the foot of the rainbow: "a aquella parte donde las parecía que caía el pte del arco, la tenían por lugar horroroso y temeroso, entendiendo que había allí alguna guaca o otra cosa digna de temor y reverencia," (1556,II,xiii:233).

(7) cf. Landívar's text from Biblián where it is described as: "suav, shiribu, gordo y lindo," ("blond-haired, curly, plump and pretty") (op.cit,102).

(8) The description of symptoms here suggests rheumatism; GZP's recommendation was to rub the affected part with aceite de bacalao, a somewhat atypical remedy.
The only other context in which I came across this term was in Muñoz-Bernand's discussion of taboos on certain foods. In the words of one of her informants: "El aguacate no es ni agrio ni dulce, no es nada. Tiene secreto. Viene a formarse como una oritatura, como decimos 'mulamatria'. Eso se oye, como criar una oritutu en el seno de una." (op.cit.63).

(10) cf, the 'explanation' for the discarding of unwanted infants in certain localities, in connection with sub-sections (a) and (b); such can be the pragmatic functions of folklore.

(11) see also: Parsons (op.cit.197-8), Muñoz-Bernand (op.cit.59-63), Mena (op.cit.18-19), Landivar (op.cit.102-106).

(12) cf, the protective and curative powers of urine in connection with contact with the devil; also Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1966:453).

(13) also used as a curative for malaire.

(14) also used in remedy against jatun huairashoa, see Tales 8 & 9.

(15) ie. huantug blanco (datura suaveolens H et B), puleo, santamaria, guishguish (alonsoa cautialata R et P), romero, manteca de chivo, manteca de gallina, trago, agua florida.
Section A sub-section (e); Tales of the ullachu

Texts

Group (1)

Tale 20: Solterahuan ullachuullan


-Jaayari -seguro aashpaka nishoa nin.

Entonoes chai rato risha na in gual.

Huasiman chayashoa nin. Mama yayaounapa ramupiru: - Caitacari casaragrinim.


Chaitca puashumun nin, shamun nin p'u genteco, achoa. Chaitca raitopiru haasitaca altiany nin. Chaimanta shug punsha ha huasitaca cubiertan ha. Canun: - ¿Inahuanta c'atamoh? - nishe na in mama yayaounana - , oavacho, oanun na haasita ruhuashe, pero inahuanta c'atamoh?

Chaitpica nishe na nin: - Nuco aui shug bestiaunata maipi fletash, maisha, inaiushimip, aui. Ha amugrihashali na ruca solo.

Pita rinacun niuqipica: - Mama, Ha ruca rishali.

Shug haumbritota aashooha nin compañachishpa. Caashooha nin doce mulas. Pai solito risha na ugehata omungapa, huasita c'atangapa.

Chayam ugeha puupetopi.


Huumbria aqinana aqanuha na uilhauchuana jutin mujurishe ha oacuuhaoa nin ha. Chaimanta pambaracoa nin. Huumbritota pacailapica ugehata oshooha, pulin mana pulin patpa partetaca. Na poco rato ninini nin:

- Huumbra ha bestia apamir uangagapa.

Cahimanta huumbritoca arinesispa rinna nin: - Hucaqipiru ugecaroamiri.

-Mama, chaia eqiquilla. Huca aeqa pi a-cahiba aho amuri aoshrih mula,... na chuha quinsami aashoa. Chuhha quinsamanamanta shug mula fai tan. Huumbritoca nisheha nin: - Matipita shug cabilloca?

-Apamiri oargagapa, aoshri aqaripi.

Na jayin aqagan, jayin caqagan. ¿Matira shug bestiaca?
Entonces cuando ha paseado o'ayamugrisoari ohai familiaounata, chatpi invitaconta ruhuaasho shug bestiataca. Ha wu pasaconoua chatpi. Imata ricuringa ausha solo tulluaunnalla matipsha viriusheoa nin. Solo tulluaunnalla. Chatta rioushpaoc humbritooca nishoa nin: - Caipi bestia huatuah cahoa, Imashi tuuaroa?
Na tuuui mashna oangashoa ha ratitopi oarganuna,

Humbritooca nishoa nin: - Shini mi shingarin. Tullucumallami taririn.

Shug pacha ahuana oashoa nin, P'i chaitaaca shug ratito volaohin nin.

Chatpi nishoa nin: - P'a, chaita Ruoa amugrishallami, Ruoa solo. Entonoes hucaaman cucayuta ou Ruoa risha vaqerroonaumnam imishinami. Cunan ha itaro ruhuaashuquicho, Ruoa risha amungapa.
Ari nishpa chai rato imalla pasanapa afanidad acauyuta oashoa, Chathuanaa rin.

Bueno, huagraaca oaraa, eemejante p'iña huagra. Lasiaashha ommuna nin vaqerroona trinaisha, caari. Cuman: - ¿Ima shinami apangu?

Na rin.
Chaimanta juin rinlla paioa largo, Na shug uru lomaman llugshin.
Chai lomata shhtarishpaoa nishoa nin, oman oaitami shug llano riourin,
chai llanomantaca: - Cunam oaitami shihun.
Chai llanoptiapsh tuaunchina nin; - Cutin chai lomaman llugshishun.
Cutin chai lomaman llugshina nin. Na shinaoush shayoun. Aparishaoa mas
huaurmicitoa, patea chushagila. Chaimantaoca nimmi nin: - Manaochu utca
puri pudingui? - nishoa nin;
- Maimantata shamanohiari, oai mundo caruta shamanohi. Nami shayouna
nisha nis.
- Upalla stringui, pagta hahui muruta llugohiman - nishoa nin - , ligerito
shamanohi.
Paica caruta nhumashpa rin nin.

Cutan shug loma uru llugshin nin. - Hua familiaounaa faltanrami,
Chai chimba lomapimi causam.
Ricushina nin shug carapi uvuta, Chaimanta rin nin na paicounaa
chashna huarmicitoa shayouna, aparishaoa caru caru o'atishoa. Bueno,
chau uroupi chayan. Chaimantaoca patapi llugshin, nishu semefante
o'aa cashoa nin, chai wroupi chayapila. Chai o'aca patamanataca nimmi
nin: - Mamita Andrea - nish caparin nin.
Chaiopia wa shugp o'aoamanta shug lluohu una, shug ullaohua 'ouaj'
nisha urapa atasa riou nin. Chai cashoa nin, chaipai caunashoa nin,
chau machati. Entonoes pai huarmicitooca sustiayishpa ima cuentata
cai o'acapi cutin causarea suerga. - Chaimi Hua mana - nimmi nin
patamanataca. Chaimantaoca nimmi nin: - Cunam caita shitari.
Shug maota mana shttaripla a'acata. - Nimmi Huaoca familiaounata pusha-
mungapa. Invito na comba cachashoa ouxayuta miouohuna.
Chaimantaoca na rin paica. Naicha ima shinacha riquipica na asun
volashaipa rioush. Caruta volashe rioush.

Shug allquituoa o'atish rioushpa paicounahuan pagta, igual. Allquituoa
igual aullashpa nin, ladrashepa nin, chau ullaohu, chau lluohu urata
richushpaoa. Shinapish: - Parai - nimmi nin - , Hua na tupamunini.
Chai o'aoamanta llugshishpaoa shug ratitoi patayoun nin alas
pasearashrea shayan nin. Nueraca 'sai' nishpa tupasha.
- Caitami Hua nunama xattu caasheea,
Ratopi japishepa tuumi volachin nin. Chaimantaoca nimmi nin: - Cunanaa,
ki'ja, ri cutishpa mattami shunaacongui, caita cutiri. Familicounanaa
shumangapa nimmi Hua hahuaa, Cantaca mana pactaaingonhu. Shinaca
cutiri. Pero pagta lloanman llugshingutnan, maita miticushpa ringu.
Sacha ueu, ugsa ueu, maita, Pero llanomanana ama llugshinguiohu.

Maitsa mana rinata pudisha, maicha shug llanopico llugshishoallata na.
Chaiopia jahua airoteaca ima mondo shonuaha cai mondo ullaohuona
mashepaa. Jahuamanta riocoureounaamacharyi maalti rioun.
Chaiopia 'sae' uraouounu. Su, pobre huurmatoca chaihpi huiacon. Allquituoa
ladrashepa mioso c'atishoaa, Pero ri atuana pudi, cai mondo animalounaa
huuacon ratitoi, tuumi tuuohishoa. Tuumi yahuaroihuan saltash
saquirishoas upashepin, xashpa, llanopi.

Chaimanta rioush allquitoca cutishpa. Allquitopish yahuarpi shapurihshe, chashna misacushpa. Huaopish chayasha na allquitoca ladrashepa,
aullashpa. - Caioa mana ima a lii shumunohu - nishoa mana yayaouna
- , Hua huahua maatpi? jima tuuor?
Yahuaria allquitoca chaqyan. Chaita riushpa cutirisheacuna, o'atish
allquitocaca na nhumashshpa.
The young girl and the buzzard

There was once a single girl who used to go to Mass. There would be lots of suitors there for her, but she took no notice of any of them.

One day as she was going into church, there was a buzzard nearby on a rubbish heap, scratching in the filth and putting its head on one side to swallow. When the girl came out again, there was a fine young man standing there, dressed in white goatskin leggings, a tunic woven of fine sheep's wool, a white shirt and all. He was dressed up as if he were going to a fiesta.

When he saw the young girl, he said to her: "Take me with you."

The girl was sure this time, and replied: "Let's go."

So they went on their way together.

Well, they reached her home and she declared before her parents: "This is the young man I shall marry."

She had never listened to the proposals of other men, and her parents would have preferred her to marry someone else. But she took no notice, wanting only to marry that young man. And he was really a buzzard! He had appeared to her in the form of a human being as God wanted to punish her for her pride. So he arrived, and it happened that her parents were building a new house. As they were working on it, the buzzard-man said: "That's not even work to me. I can finish that job in no time. I'll go and bring my family to help. You see about preparing some food, whatever you can manage. I'll finish the work in a jiffy."

So he brought a lot of people to help, and the house was up in a moment.

After that, they needed to put a roof on the house, but: "What would they roof it with?" the girl's parents asked themselves.

Whereupon the young man said: "Hire or borrow a horse for me and I'll go alone to fetch roofing."

When they asked whom he would go with, he replied that he would go alone. But they sent a young lad to accompany him. They sent thirteen mules, and off he set to bring back thatching for the house.

When they arrived at the place where the straw was, the man addressed the boy who had been sent to help him fetch and load the straw: "You cut this straw here. I'm going over there to look for some longer pieces."

Then the boy saw a whole crowd of buzzards circle overhead and come down to land. So he hid himself and went on cutting his share of straw as best he could. After a while, the man said: "Bring the horses for loading now, boy."

The boy obeyed, saying that he too had collected some straw. But the man told him to leave his part for he had already gathered enough for twelve mules...but there had been thirteen mules! One of them was missing! The boy said: "Where's the other nag?"

"Come and load these twelve," the other replied.

So he helped lift and load the straw, but where was the other animal?
You see, the buzzard-man had gone to call all his family of buzzards and invited them to feast on the animal. They'd devoured it whole! There was nothing left of it now but a few bones scattered about the ground. When the lad saw this, he said: "Here's where the mule died, what can have happened to it?"

And the other replied: "Let's be off. There's nothing left of the beast, nothing we can do about it. Let's at least take these ones back loaded."

And in a moment they had the animals loaded and ready.

When they arrived home, the girl's parents were very happy to see them. But they said: "Where's the other mule? One of the thirteen is missing."

The boy answered: "It got lost, and then only a pile of bones was to be found. What can have happened to it?"

And they asked the suitor: "What can have happened to the mule?"

Whereupon he replied: "The boy didn't look after it properly. While I was cutting straw, what can have happened to it? Perhaps it fell down a slope, anything could have happened."

And so the incident was dismissed, and they put the roof on the house, the suitor roofed the house for them; his work was a sight worth seeing. And afterwards they ate and drank to celebrate, very satisfied with the completion of the job. Then the girl's father had some weaving to do. He sat down and began weaving, but he couldn't manage to finish it all in the day. The girl's suitor said: "Leave it to me, I'll finish all that weaving in a day."

It was a piece of weaving in sheepswool, and in an instant the girl's suitor had finished the work!

After that, the girl's parents had an obligation to provide food, as they were having a Mass said. "We were to bring a bull down from the moors," they said, "the cowherds wanted to provide one for us."

So the buzzard-man said: "That's no trouble, I'll go on my own and bring it down. Just give me some food for the journey and I'll go to see the cowherds. You've made the deal with them, so all that remains is for me to go and collect the bull. So saddle me an horse and I'll go."

The parents agreed and in their growing fondness for him provided him with food, and he set off.

Now this bull was a huge, ferocious beast. The cowhands had him very firmly tied up. "How are you going to take it home?" they asked the buzzard-man.

"Easy," replied he, "I'll just lead it along like a lamb."

He unfastened the bull and led it charging towards him, about to butt him with its horns. But the buzzard-man poked out one of its eyes. Again the angry bull was about to toss him in the air, but the buzzard poked out its other eye and brought the beast down. Then he pulled it along towards home. The bull had lost both its eyes and came along feeling its way and walking wherever it was led. So he arrived home and announced: "Look, this is the way I bring the bull."

Thereupon the girl's parents said: "This young man really can do everything. He finished the weaving in no time, the house was built in a jiffy, he has brought home the angry bull. We must certainly marry our daughter to this man. He shall be our son-in-law."

And as the youth was in agreement, so they were married and a wedding feast was held.

After the wedding, the husband said: "Now I'm going to see my family, to introduce my wife to them."
And her parents said: "Go child, go and come back."

For the husband said: "I too have a mother and relatives: uncles and aunts and cousins. I've a big family."

But of course his family was going to be a flock of buzzards! So the girl's poor parents prepared a humble offering of food for their daughter to take, saying: "Go and visit your in-laws and those who can come, bring them back with you."

And they set out.

They travelled for a long time until they came onto the side of a hill. They journeyed on the hillside for a while until the husband said: "Now we shall go out onto that plain you can see over there."

And when they came to the end of that valley, they went up again onto a hill. In this way the woman grew tired, for she was carrying a load while her husband had none. He asked her: "Can't you walk more quickly?"

And she replied: "Oh what a long way we seem to have come, I'm so tired."

"Hold your tongue while you rest," the husband warned her, "watch I don't poke your eyes out. Now come on quickly."

And he led the way, walking far ahead of her.

Again they came onto a hillside, and he said: "We haven't reached my family yet. They live on that hill opposite."

And he pointed out a mountain a long way off. So they continued walking and the poor woman followed him, growing more and more weary under the weight of her load. Then at last they arrived on that mountainside. When they got there, they came out onto a flat place from which a huge rock reared up. From the ledge of rock the husband called out: "Mama Andrea!"

And from half-way down the rock the bald head of a buzzard emerged and gave a hoarse 'caw' in reply. That was where it lived, in a hole in the rock! The poor woman was extremely frightened when she realised that her mother-in-law lived in the rock. "That's my mother." her husband told her.

Then he told her to stay where she was, on the giddy ledge of rock, while he went to bring his family to share with them the offering of food the girl had brought. And somehow he flew way off into the distance.

Now the girl had a little dog who had come with them to take care of her. When he saw that bald-headed old buzzard he barked and howled. Then she heard a voice call: "Stay where you are, I'm coming down to get you."

And out of the rock came the ugly buzzard. In an instant it had landed beside its daughter-in-law and stood there slowly opening and closing its great wings.

"My parents sent me here," the girl said.

In a moment the buzzard had taken hold of her and had flown her down from the rock. Then it said: "Now, daughter, go back the way you came. My son is going to come back with all his relations. He won't be able to make you go round them all. So go back, go home. But be careful not to go out onto the plain, keep yourself well hidden in the underbrush of the hillside, in the long grass, wherever you can. But don't go out into the valley."

So the girl set off. But she couldn't follow the instructions, soon she just came out onto an open plain. Then a great flock of buzzards came flying through the air looking for her. They must have been able to spot her from the sky, and they swooped down and devoured the poor woman. The little dog ran after them barking to defend his mistress.
But he was helpless against them; that great flock of birds finished her off in no time. Her blood was scattered all over the grass and the bushes of the valley.

So the little dog ran home, covered with blood from his efforts to defend his mistress. Arriving at the house, he barked and howled so that the girl's parents knew something was wrong. "Where can our daughter be?" they wondered.

When they saw the dog covered in blood, they followed it back the way it had come. And the dog led the way to where his mistress had been. When it got there it began to howl and leap in the air in anguish.

There they found blood spattered everywhere, together with her clothing, so vicious had been the attack. They carried these few remains back home and buried them. So that poor woman is an example for us to teach our children, so that they may learn that it isn't good to be choosy.

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976
The single girl and the buzzard

I learnt this story from my friends as we were herding the sheep. They told how there was once a single girl who used to go to Mass on her own. As she went to Mass she was always followed by a little terrier dog. She was quite a mature young woman. One day as they went to the Mass together, a buzzard was to be seen nearby. As they went into the church, it was scratching in a pile of rubbish. Later, when she came out of Mass, there was a very handsome young man lounging outside the church. "Hey, miss," he said, "take me home with you." And the young girl replied with assurance: "Come on, let's go." So the young man followed her to her parents' house. Later on he left her home and went to fetch straw for a house they were building. Then the buzzard-man wove some ponchos.

One day, returning from fetching the straw, the buzzard poked out the horse's eyes and ate them as he was coming along the road. Then one day the girl's parents sent her to meet her in-laws. They prepared roast guinea-pig and other meats for her to take and sent her with her husband to visit his family. As they were travelling on the way to the in-laws' house, she grew weary and he asked her: "Can't you walk any further?" She replied that she could not, so he told her to hold on to him tightly and he would carry her on his back. Turning into a buzzard, he took her on his back and the two of them went flying through the sky.

Now the buzzard's parents lived in a great cave, and they both had long sharp beaks. When the couple arrived there, the girl's mother-in-law said to her: "What have you come her for? Are you a fool? Are you crazy? He has gone to fetch the whole family to eat you." The mother-in-law then instructed her saying: "Don't go down into the valley, keep only to the mountainside and you'll be safe."
But the girl forgot the words of advice, and went down onto the plain. Raising her head, she saw a whole crowd of buzzards coming towards her through the sky. There on the flat plain they caught her and devoured her. The little terrier dog tried to chase them away one after another, but each time they fought him off. And so the buzzards put an end to the single girl.

So the terrier came back to the girl's parents' house to tell them what had happened. When he arrived, he ran in and out of the house howling. And the mother asked: "Where's your mistress? Where has she got to?"

And the little dog ran outside and away into the distance, howling as he went. The parents followed after it and the dog led the way to where the girl lay, nothing but a pile of bones. But they saw a drop of her blood trembling a little on the leaf of a nearby bush. Taking it home they placed it in a tall new earthenware jar, and two weeks later a new baby grew there inside the pot! That's how the story went.

Informant: MBZ, 3rd June, 1976

some as for Tale 20, plus:

E35 Resuscitation from fragments of the body

Group (ii)

Tale 22: Huauquindi ullachuwamahu


Entonces chaipi chayamusshpaca shug tiapi shug tiapi shug tiapi tuucu pedano pedano atoha aparin, ohusag tilluia suquishipa, Cutin ayaminti
The two brothers and the buzzards

Yes, if somebody dies without marrying they say they marry the buzzard after death. So it is, then: an unmarried woman or man live just like that, without marrying. Then when they die there is a buzzard-wife in the other life. Now that buzzard-wife is called Andrea. Well, there were two brothers. They died without getting married; first one and afterwards the other one died just like that. Then the last one to die went to where his own (dead) brother was. Then the dead brother asked him: "Oh brother, why have you come here? Why didn't you get married? Well, stay here a moment and I will go and call my wife," the other said: "I'll go myself and call her wherever she is." So he went himself to call her from the ridge. "She must be gathering some mellooo down in the gully," said the husband. He, the husband was weaving.

So then he told him to call from the ridge 'Sister Andrea'. So he went and called out 'Sister Andrea'. Then from down below a buzzard answered with a hoarse caw. "You no-good buzzard, do you perhaps think I'm calling to you? I am calling my brother's wife." And cursing the buzzard he came back. When he returned the brother asked: "Have you called her?" "Yes, I called but there's no-one about," replied the other, "an old female buzzard answered me, so I cursed at it and came back."

So then his brother said: "Oh, brother, why did you curse it like that? Now what will they do to me when they come? That one is my wife. Now you go back and get married soon and make your other brothers get married soon too. And tell our parents to make their children get married. This has been my fate. Now, go, now that you have seen my situation here," he said.

So then when the buzzards arrived they pulled him to bits, stripping his flesh bit by bit to the bare bones. Then the next evening the buzzards vomited and he revived from their vomit. He came back having seen his brother's fate; reviving he came back and then all the brothers got married.

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

some as for Tale 20, plus:
C30 Tabu: offending supernatural relative
T11 Marriage of mortal and supernatural being
G79.1 Animal-wife devours her husband
E32.0.1 Eaten person resuscitated
F81.1.2 Journey to land of dead to visit deceased
1.0 Introduction

The texts examined so far have all belonged to the genre category of legend, and it has been possible to relate them substantially to data in the form of memorats and expressions of belief. The tales of the *ullaohu* also deal with a local belief, namely that the unmarried would be captured by and married, before or after death, to the turkey buzzard. (1) Enquiries after details of this belief invariably led to a recounting of the tale itself, and in this way six variants from three communities were collected, only two of which I present in full, the others being summarized in Table 1. The theme and structure of Tales 20 and 21 has much in common with the Andean tale type 'The condor and the shepherdess', to be discussed. This, in addition to the fact that the belief was nearly always expressed in the context of the tale, led me to consider them as legend that bordered on folktale or, to put it another way, folktale with an element of belief. This element appeared to be largely responsible for the tale's popularity: it was widely used as a vehicle for the expression of moral and social attitudes towards marriage.

2.0 Narrative structure

Tales 20 and 21 and their variants, and Tale 22 respectively, follow, in my opinion, two distinct sub-types of narrative pattern, each to be found widely in oral narrative in the Andes of Ecuador and elsewhere. As already stated, Tales 20 and 21 are structurally similar to the 'Condor and the shepherdess' type; they can be designated 'Group (i)'. Tale 22, together with a comparative text (GS/CA/18), have other structural affinities; they can be 'Group (ii)'. I shall now discuss each of these groups in turn.
2.1 Group (i)

The Andean tale type which may be labelled 'The condor and the shepherdess' relates how a young girl pasturing the sheep is abducted by a condor in handsome human form and taken to live in his cave. I shall now compare the pattern followed by Ecuadorean and Peruvian versions of that tale with the versions of the turkey buzzard tale from Cañar. This will be done firstly by summarizing the relevant comparative texts in three tables (1-3). Table 1 contains Tales 20, 21, and four other Cañar variants, whose narrators are indicated by their initials. Table 2 outlines Ecuadorean versions of the condor tale, namely: LS/CH/6: 'Cundurndi uvija miohindi', IID (1975b:25-28) (Salasaca), Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1959:129-133) (Salasaca), and JC/IM/3: 'Shuj cundur shuj llama michi outsaahuan'. (2)

The two Peruvian versions of the same type, typical of S. Peru, are Argüedas and Stephan (1957:126-138), and Mitchell (1973:117-121).

The application of the function headings drawn up for tales in this section reveals how far the Group (i) tales can be identified with the rest on grounds of structure. Certain features are not accounted for by those broad definitions, in particular the suitor test sequence, and the altered position of the journey function (2), which has a different meaning for the progress of the narrative, taking place as a result of the encounter, rather than leading to it. These features correspond, I believe, to the point at which the texts diverge from the narrative pattern typical of local legend, to follow patterns which have more in common with certain branches of Andean folktale tradition. It will be seen that the Bear's Son tale (23), and the Snake Sister tale (24), treated as folktales, diverge in a comparable way from the legend pattern.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>LS/CH/6 (key text)</td>
<td>IID (1975b)</td>
<td>Costales &amp; Costales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>girl (H) wants to marry man in high position, out pasturing sheep</td>
<td>(girl enjoys silence of hills), bathes in condor's pool</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>condor as man comes to talk to her</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>by trick condor carries her away to cave</td>
<td></td>
<td>2/4/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>dog leads parents to her</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>parents rescue H</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>H covered in feathers</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
<td>gives birth to feathered child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>parents hide H in pot</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
<td>parents take her to priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>condor breaks pot takes H away for good</td>
<td>H dies, condor sad</td>
<td>hair removed, H safe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORAL MESSAGE</td>
<td>ambition punished</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Peruvian versions of 'The condor and the shepherdess

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>girl (H) pasturing sheep</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>condor appears in human form</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>regular meetings ensue</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>H conceives child</td>
<td>(after arrival in cave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H goes with condor</td>
<td>(tricked into going)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>only raw meat in cave</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>hummingbird informs parents</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>hummingbird tricks condor &amp; H escapes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>condor pursues H</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>hummingbird overcomes condor in fight</td>
<td>xxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>condor comes to girl's house</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>condor drowns in boiling water</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MORAL MESSAGE</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In broad outline, the pattern is an overall one: a single girl, away from her familiar surroundings, meets and is seduced by a bird lover who takes on human form for the purpose of courtship. She is taken, willingly or by a trick, to the cave dwelling of the latter, from which she attempts to escape, successfully or not. An animal or bird mediates between her and her parents and re-establishes contact between them either before or after her death. The differences between the three sets of texts are also helpful for our understanding of the Cañar versions in the wider context. Immediately apparent is the contrast in the initial situations of those tales where the buzzard is the non-human agent, and those where the condor fills the rôle. This transformation is paralleled by the girl's attendance at Mass on her own and her anti-social refusal of suitors, contrasting with the girl who spends time away from home, in the hills pasturing the sheep alone. In terms of narrative tradition, the
second of these would appear to be the more indigenous. The Ecuadorean tales as a whole favour the dog as intermediary of the heroine's behalf, as opposed to the hummingbird in the Peruvian versions. This suggests a move towards rationalization; it is more reasonable to expect the shepherd girl to be assisted by a dog than by a hummingbird. In Cañar, although the 'shepherding' theme is lacking, the company of a dog on a journey is no less realistic a touch.

Of course the outstanding transformation to be accounted for is that which allows for the buzzard in the Cañar tales to play the rôle filled elsewhere by the condor. This instance is not simply a matter of a shift in surface structure that does not alter the internal meaning or 'function' of the actor in question. The local belief that those who did not marry would be devoured by a non-human spouse was quite emphatically connected with the turkey buzzard, while no reference was found to the condor in this region. So the peculiarity can be explained if we note that in the condor tales - both Ecuadorean and Peruvian - virtually no didactic element is found, whilst in connection with the buzzard, the moral message is practically the tales' raison d'être. It would seem that the Cañar texts are indeed an example of the way in which an already existing, traditional, narrative framework can be used for the expression of specifically local beliefs.

A discussion of transformations calls for the inclusion of the outline of a further comparative text, allied closely in narrative pattern with the Group (i) tales:
This tale provides Propp's thesis with further support. The substitution of bear for buzzard, or hummingbird for dog, would have virtually no effect on the functions to be extracted from the narrative. This is not to say, however, that it would do nothing to the meaning the tale would have for the listener, that is to say, the different associations that reference to 'bear' or 'buzzard' would evoke. As we have seen, in Cañar the buzzard has a localized and specific rôle in popular lore, while the bear there and throughout the Andes is most commonly connected with the story of the 'Bear's Son'. This Imbabura text, therefore, could be seen to provide a structural link between two widely spread groups of tales: the 'Condor and the shepherdess' on the one hand, and the 'Bear's Son' on the other. Common features of structure between the two sub-types will be discussed in sub-section (f). The comparative text JC/IM/9 is also remarkable in that, while containing the same functions as my Cañar versions, it has re-ordered them to produce a tale whose action is cyclical in nature. Instead of there being a single linear progression from encounter to the final death of the heroine, the resuscitation of the latter gives rise to a further opportunity for the bear to pursue her, and for the action, to some extent, to repeat itself.
However, the bear's ultimate fate constitutes a structural inversion of the first move: where he had killed her, now she kills him. Cyclical progression with its complexities of inversions and oppositions is a common feature of traditional Andean narrative; it will be further commented upon in connection with Tale 23, and Tale 24 provides the most outstanding example of it. These remarks bring me to look at the paradigmatic structure of the Group (i) texts.

The implications of the relationship between unmarried girl and buzzard-man reflect anxieties with regard to the social and moral attitudes of the community at large, attitudes connected with marriage in particular. (3) The desirability of marriage, as the institution upon which the economic stability of the individual is founded, is expressed through tales in which the fate of those who do not fulfill society's expectations is described. As is common in folktale, the anxiety is expressed in terms of a struggle between two opposites: in this case, the human heroine and her bird lover. The two belong to opposite spheres: this world and the other world. The heroine is enticed from this world by the bird who, for the purposes of her seduction, steps over the barrier between the spheres by temporarily adopting human form. (4) He goes still further: by successfully completing the 'suitor tasks' set him, he wins her parents' confidence. Thus his non-human qualities are applied in the performance of humanly impossible tasks, so here too the opposing spheres meet.

Mediation on the heroine's behalf occurs twice after her arrival at the other world: both her buzzard-mother-in-law, and her dog attempt mediation on her behalf. Her failure to heed the former's prohibition is the cause of her downfall (Tale 20). The relationships established between H and the other actors could be described by the
From a cross-comparison of the linear sequences of the tales, it is noticeable that the different versions offer alternative endings; in some the heroine is revived from a drop of her own blood or saved by other means; in others she dies. Such alternatives are to be expected in a tale founded upon the conflict between opposites. The preference for one kind of ending or another may be the result of local convention or individual choice; the psychological reasons, which surely exist, can only be speculated upon. The 'general rule' indicates a prevalence for the triumph of the heroine in the Peruvian texts (where the condor perishes in a pot of boiling water); in the Ecuadorian condor and buzzard tales, the death of the heroine predominates.

2.2 Group (ii)

The theory that the turkey buzzard tales constitute a fusion between local belief legend and Andean folktale is supported, if somewhat indirectly, by the fact that the same belief and its associated preoccupations are to be found expressed in tales from the area of an apparently different pattern. The analysis of these will differ from that of the Group (i) tales, in that few comparative texts were found for other parts of the Andes, but rather comparative evidence of a structural nature is found in other sub-sections of the Cañar material itself.

2.2.1 Tale 22

The outline of Tale 22 is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>there are two unmarried brothers; one dies, the other follows</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>the second to die (H2) joins the first (H1)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H2 goes to call H1's wife, who is gathering mellocoes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>finds only a female buzzard, whom he curses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>returns to H1 who is alarmed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>buzzards devour H2</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>buzzards vomit, H2 revives from vomit</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H2 returns home and marries, learning from H1's fate</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>the unmarried will so be punished in death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are certain shifts in the sequence of functions in this tale which mark it as a separate sub-type: the encounter with buzzard-spouse takes place after arrival at other world, rather than before and leading to it. The circumstances of the encounter could be seen as an inversion of the circumstances pertaining in Tales 20 and 21; in these latter the buzzard-husband's appearance leads him to be treated as a human, which leads to H's downfall. In Tale 22 the buzzard-wife appears in animal form, is treated accordingly and the offence leads similarly to H's death. These differences could be summarized thus:

Tales 20 & 21 : Tale 22  
buzzard as human : buzzard as bird  
this world : other world  
treatment as human : treatment as bird  
fatal sympathy : fatal antipathy  

H is devoured  

H's subsequent revival from vomit in Tale 22 could be said to fill the same 'slot' as H's revival from a drop of blood which occurs in Tale 21 and in the structurally similar JC/IM/9. The Tale 22 variation no doubt derives from empirical observation of the birds' real life habits. (5)
This tale, therefore, whilst it conveys a moral message similar to that of the Group (i) tales, appears to belong to a different sub-type. The most outstanding aspects in which they differ are firstly, as stated, in the marriage of H to the buzzard taking place after death, instead of constituting the episode that leads to death. This factor does away with the need for the buzzard to take on human form in order to entice the erring human away, which gave Group (i) a close affinity with the 'Condor and the shepherdess' type. Secondly, in Group (ii) the rôle of hero is split equally between two brothers whose functions are interdependent and complementary. It is necessary for H1 to die, in order that H2 might follow him into death, observe his fate, and escape a wiser man. The tale therefore has close similarities of narrative pattern with such devil legends as Tale 5, which also have this 'split hero' feature. There too we saw how H2 followed H1 to hell, saw the fate of his friend, and succeeded in cheating the devil to then return home having, it is understood, learnt a lesson from H1's experience. These structural similarities between ullaahu tale and devil legend support my suggestion, to be more fully discussed below, that these non-human agents (buzzard and devil) belong to the same realm of associations in the belief system and for this reason can be seen to fill structurally similar rôles in tales of differing manifest content.

2.2.2 GS/CA/18

An examination of the outline of GS/CA/18 will add further to the picture:
### GS/CA/18: *Ishoai huaquimanta*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>there are two brothers, one dies (H1), the other (H2) sets out to find him</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>H2 arrives at roadside crucifix where <em>caballero</em> gives him directions</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>H2 meets buzzard-woman in ravine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>H2 sends to fetch mule whose eye he wounds with whip</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H1 and H2 go to sleep in separate rooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H2 hears cries in night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H2 awakens to find H1 devoured by buzzard-woman, only bones remain</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>H2 takes H1’s bones and returns to where crucifix is</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>arriving at crucifix H1 revives from bones</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>H1 warns H2 that he must marry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>H2 returns home where he finds his <em>comadre</em>, with whom he had illicitly cohabited, has a wounded eye</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>H2 marries but dies after a year</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>the unmarried/incestuous will so be punished</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial situation of this text corresponds to that of Tale 22, and Tale 5, and a further structural affinity with the latter lies in Episode (i), where a *caballero* directs H2 to the ravine, just as the *amo* of Tale 5 directs H2 to hell. From this point onwards, however, the similarities are superficial only, and the underlying pattern followed by this more complex tale can more usefully be compared with yet other tale types of the Ecuadorian Andes:

a) GS/CA/14: 'Huaquimanta shitashoamanta', which starts out as an Indian variation of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel'; in it the brother is devoured by a cannibalistic old woman and the sister escapes carrying his bones. On the road she meets a *caballero* who tells her not to look while he makes the brother whole again. Because she breaks this prohibition, the brother is re-formed into a dog instead of a human being. An Imbabura variant of this is to be found in
Parsons's collection (op. cit. 132),
b) the encounter with the oomadre in the form of a mule, whose eye becomes damaged, recalls Parsons's 'The mule women', where a man wandering in the hills is led by the devil to a hell-hacienda where he is induced to herd mules, one of whose eyes he damages in the process. Allowed to return home he finds his illicit mistress with a wounded eye (op. cit. 137–8). The incident here, as in the Cañar tale, serves to criticize the sin of committing incest within the compadrazgo relationship.

The analyses of Tales 22 and GS/CA/18 have served to show the following: that beliefs regarding the uttachu are not confined to one tale type, but are found in tales with differing structural features. This reinforces my argument that Tales 20 and 21 and their variants fuse local belief with a traditional narrative pattern elsewhere associated with condor tales. Structural affiliations can be established between Tale 22 and GS/CA/18 and certain types of Cañar devil narrative, tales of the 'Hansel and Gretel' type - which also provide a link with the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales of sub-section (h) - , and other tales of encounters with the other world. The interdependence of structure and content is such that it leads me to suggest that mental associations between categories such as: 'devil', 'uttachu', 'Mama Andrea', 'cannibalistic old woman', 'Mama Ahuardona', may be set up to account for what appear to be transformations in the content of tales, encouraged by similarities of structure. Categorical connections between the uttachu and the devil have already been suggested briefly, and I now take this case to illustrate my point. Additionally, a comparative position in the structure of the narrative between uttachu as handsome abductor and devil as the same, as found in Tale 24, can be suggested,
3.0 *The *ullahu* and the devil

The fact that the *ullahu* and the devil can be found to perform structurally similar rôles as threatening non-human agents in tales of similar narrative pattern (Tales 22 and 5 in particular), calls for the question: are these motifs transformations which stem from an association between the two in the belief system? By looking at the contexts in which references to the buzzard occur elsewhere in the material, this would appear to be the case. In the broader sphere of popular lore, the bird is considered to be a kind of 'agent of the devil'. That same label attaches to the Mama Ahuardona, as will be seen: in some versions of tales featuring her she is found in company with numerous devil offspring. So a family likeness between buzzard, Mama Ahuardona, and devil suggests itself.

As far as specific association with the devil is concerned, there is various evidence: GS/CO/7: "Ullahuangamanta" describes how in a former age the *ullahuanga* birds were servants of God. (6) They miscarried his orders and as a punishment were cursed and condemned to eat rotting meat. GS/CA/13; "Noen arcata rumahamanta" is a more complex narrative, the first part of which follows the biblical story of Noah's Ark. It provides the context for the *ullachu*'s misbehaviour and subsequent cursing. In discussing the content of the devil narratives, I dealt with the *ullachu* as a motif, noting how in Tale 10 we are told how the chief devil uses an a buzzard-feather quill pen, and in Tale 7 how the heroine is threatened by a flock of the birds immediately prior to her encounter with the devil. In Tale 11, again during the meeting of devils in a deserted building, the narrator uses the term *ullahuanga* synonymously with *diablo*, and in Tale 12, these birds act as lookouts for the devils. Thus the structural connection between the Group (ii) tales and local devil legends
probably derives from the wider association between the two figures apparent from a study of other contexts in which the two are juxtaposed. It might be concluded that a connection at a level of content (devil and buzzard belong to the same sphere in the belief system), became a connection at the level of structure (devil narrative and buzzard narrative coincide in narrative pattern).

**FOOTNOTES**

(1) *Cathartos burroviana* Cass. - a carrion-eating bird not unlike a small vulture in appearance, often to be seen wheeling in the sky above the *pichinca*, cf. Parsons records the anxiety prevailing in Cayanbe and Otavalo if someone of marriageable age should die celibate: it is believed that he/she will be married in death to a she/he goat (op.cit.,59).

(2) An Ecuadorian version collected by Roswith Hartmann has also been brought to my attention.

(3) The sociological questionnaire together with information gathered in informal conversations confirmed that social expectation pressurizes the average woman into marriage between 16-20 years; men between 18-22 years. Bachelor- and spinster-hood are viewed with disapproval, suspicion, and, at the least, pity.

(4) A universal motif; a Lisu folktale from N, Thailand, an analysis of which was brought to my notice, contains a dragon-king who carries off his bride by the same means; the article is also of interest for the similarities between the author's method of analysis and my own (Durrenberger; 1978).

(5) As we learn from Garcilaso: "hay otras aves grandes negras que los indios llaman 'suyunti' y los españoles 'gallinaza'; son muy tragones de carne, y tan golosos, que si hallan alguna bestía muerta en el campo comen tanto de ella, que aunque son muy ligeras, no pueden levantarse al vuelo por el peso de lo que han comido. Entonces cuando sienten que va gente a ellas van huyendo a vuelo pie, vomitando la comida por descargarse para tomar vuelo; es cosa donosa ver el ansia y la prisa con que echan lo que son la misma comieron." (1960,II:320)

(6) The Quichua terms *ullahuanga*, *usohou* and *ullachu* were used synonymously in Cañar.
Section A sub-section (f): The Bear's Son tale

Tale 23: Osopa chuki

I
- Ari - nishoa nin.
Pasajeroounapaman maipi suehuquqpi chai mangata shhuwamungapa rishoa.
- Ri yantata amugri.
- Ari - nishpa yantata amugrishoa.
- Ri rinami illan. Ninata japiohi. Ruuoca ma na chahuata miuni
Nianushponi miuni. Ninata amugri.
Cuhara ruca necesitami.
- Ari - nishpa chaita lo mismo apamuna.
Chaimanta nishoa nin risho omnungapa ninata huahuchirg tuawushoa nin.
Entonces ha: - Ouna niyana apamugri, Imahuanja japiohishun ninata? Ima mana yunui pudishohu.
Ari nishpa rinin osoca apamungapa. Mana conseguui pudiushoa utawatata chait niyata. Painuna oshusjapashoa na oos rippica chai ratollata na nampa jaciuihuacuna, viaje nampa, mamandi.
Naucanohi osoca puro caripasha shamuaswsha oin. Chaimanta nishoa nin;
Matto semejante mana yaou tuaci pasashoahuna eneonee machete aisash oasha nin. Osso nadasha pasapragipia puru singallapi machetekhi puluasha nin. Na singapi tuaci nuanta puluashaaco mana pudishe na nin llugshitna; yaou aparini. Chaimantaana mamata pushan nin. Chaita:  
- Riqui mana shina rinallami, Canca manoamunungi.  
- Yaou - nishoa nin.

II
Chaimanta chaqashoa shug llugtumman. Chaipi chaqashpaa nishoa nin:  
- Nuuochi oapia maiapi oasi shug posadata maa Анаuny oapia causangapa. 
- Pueblop chaqashpaa shug huastita arrendashun - nishoa nin. 
- Mana arrendashoato huastiy dëshuonaanu. Maa Анаuny alla tiyamunun:  

- Pobre farastexuuna imaimantashari shumara? - nish.


Escaelpi churasheoa puripgiua huambraunaa molesti callarishoa nin:  
- Oso! Oso! - nishpa-, oso! - nishoa nin. 
- Huambraa eneonee cashoa nin na shugpimanta huhuichaimaanu euerpo na ocristiano cabal. Urulainana eneonee auertochi caraa nin na ooo cerdianahuun cashoa owarpouonaanu. Chaimanta eneonee imatami ruhuan; 

- Pimi molestan chacuadix shug huastaimi oosa que maita cashag cashoa nin. Chaimanta profesoroa nishoa nin que huambraa mana alichu oapi cagrin. Huambraunatasa caqipia juin huambra molestoowoonaanu:  

- Vamoa, oso! oso! - nishpa, 

P'huashciauunu cashoa nin:  
- Vamos oso, vos sois animal! - nig cashoa nin.

Chaimanta huambrituua shug punshaco profesortaa nishoa nin:  
- Senor profesor, huacan oai favora ruhuan. Uchill huambraunata alvertinanu que ama huacaa molestaahu animalpi churashepa. Huacu mamaca ocritianon, mana animalahu. Chaqiriamu huacapish escuelpi educacionta churaroa. 

- Pimi molestan chacuadix shug huastaimi oosa que maita cashag cashoa nin. Chaimanta profesoroa nishoa nin que huambraa mana alichu oapi cagrin. 

- Pimi molestan chacuadix shug huastaimi oosa que maita cashag cashoa nin. Chaimanta profesoroa nishoa nin que huambraa mana alichu oapi cagrin. 

- Vamos, oso! oso! - nishpa, 

Cuitin shug viaje outinilata huillana nin. Na ishoai, quimea, ohosou cuitin huillana nin:  
- Chashnami molestan. Huacu mana aguantagrintohu. 

- Senor profesor, ama sentimentamento charingantu? Yupai propasaami. 

- Chaimanta nishoa nin profesoroa:  

- Cuilado pagta imata ruhuanam oai huambringu. Huacu alvertiounami. 

- Pimi molestan chacuadix shug huastaimi oosa que maita cashag cashoa nin. Chaimanta profesoroa nishoa nin que huambraa mana alichu oapi cagrin. 

- Vamos, oso! oso! - nishpa, 

Chai huambraunaa chati ratooa humilde nin, mana ima ninolu. 

Pero na canshoman llugshin. 

- Shug oso! - nimi-, oso! oso! - oapia nin-, shug oso! - nimu na canunantaa, 

- Enteonee chaipi shug huembra japtig tuaci. Shug huagtai solo chaiti huambraacu eternidadanu caqashoa. Chaimantacuari na enteonee autoridadaa nishoa nin:  

- Cai huambraa japtig presuma. 

- Los denaa huambraunua cuitin testigopi serviisha nin, si patacan-atamai oapia caitshona molestananu yachan 'oso' nishpa, Yupai propasaami cara. 

- Chaqiriamu mana aguantashpa oai viajeoa chalita ruhuan, Pailatami maksheenaa. Bueno, autoridadaa nishoa nin:  

- Todavia muchohu, ni imata ruhuanata mana pudinchi. 

- Chaimanta na cutiu:  

- Bueno - nimi nin-, escuelalalapita educash c'atichun, 

- Quijas paipish ouenapili urmash ringa.
Chaimantaoa esuelapi casbca cutin. Puricuma nin cutin shug 'oso oso' ni callarin nin una punshauimmallapi ha omaghishpallaca.
Ha ashtan fuoroyama nin pero ha ashtan jafun nin, Ratito palaci huihalun nin. Entones na qu'ipaman escuelamanta lliugeshin.

Cutinillata esuelapi churasheca nin. Esuelapi churasqipica shug profesor cambiarisheca casbca nin. Chai profesorera mana yaqashho nin nin oai cai inata ruhuanata yaqashoataca. Entones chaiqipica ohasqishoa, Si paillata casman caiaca mana chasqumma casbca pi caiqapi qipash profesorera. Entones chaiipi esuelapi purallum. Cutin nishoa nin shug humbrinwan
shinamai piIanauoqsoa nin esuelapi. Profesorera mana yaqashinao
nisha nin caiqagpanga. Imahonohi caiqagqipira, Oso tigrarin
chaita japin, quishun inata elian profesorera. Shug huagta mai-

Autoridadoa nishoea nin: - Cai huambraca ha chaamnallatami ha tiempo
mana punshinchin imata ruhuanata, todavia muchacho. Major cai qząlqantama camblasshan.
Chaiqipica ninsha nin majanta mana majanta taiiai caiyani caitata caipti
aolavangapa, - Cai huambraca caiqata taritri ina shinatashi caiqashin.
Cai qzątalqipica mana conservai pudinash. Major chaiipa randica mala
cahashin, mai shug qaallqantam avialishun.
Avi nishpa entones ha autoridadoa shina nishoea faiqahoauna shug
cabalota maqwaxa nin qitoridado. Shug caballo bien xporadoro oquihoa
nin. Chaita cuqqipica nishoa nin: - Cai caballotaca kuca mana ima
chasqinti. Lloaca mejor chaiipa randica rigintim ashun lado convento,
mapihiin huaman conventin, chaiqipi nthi cangapa.
Shina nishpa nishoea nin.

III
Cutin maijantai ha autoridado shinma nhoea nin, - Cunamoa cai huambrata askata manchatta
yaqashinwomen. Ashun uqpi ahuranohi shugoe cutin ataudhuan shamehepa
tiyarinchi chai uqpi. Pai solito tiyaqupica chai ataud uqmanmata
'taj taj' nichimun muido ruuqashpa, Entones manchahaunca huambraca
ha alli chiringallami.
ha shugoe ataudpi yatzun, shug amea purulla uqpi. Huambrataca
prenmummi nishoea chai uqpi churah, Chai uqpi caiqasho nin huambrata punguta huahosha saqun. Shugoe ataud uqpi tiyaqun, stirsun entones, shuhiqasho caipti nishoea huilahshea huambramaca. Chaimanta ha una
ni jum puru uqpi huahoshaa tiyaqqashpallata. Coopoca caiqappaq
ataud uqmanmata 'taj taj taj' nichiqcai caiqashali. 'Taj taj taj' nichqeun
nin. 'Taj taj taj' huambrataca manchahaqutpi churangame. Manchati
churashe nishpa.

Inata huambraca manchahga nin! Jatarish nin: - ¿Qué quieres vos? No
ves que ya estás muerto, ¿por qué no mueres del todo? - ninmi nin.
Cutin 'taj taj' nichimun quiqaca manchahga nih. Ataudta jafin, panbapi alli tamaacun, pasean. Chaimantacu pasqarishoa nin ataudera.
Chai uqpi ililahshea tiyaqungata, stiriungtaca, jafin. De una vez
huaiqasho nin, Chaimanta tapaqisho nin ataudtera. Chaimanta
paica tiyaquna nin banaapi.
Unai alli unapi shamunmi autoridadoa riunyapa huambra manchakhuamii canga, llugoshingapa oamshanman. Imata manchakhuamii canga sino es que ha huawushiaoa shug ataud uapi oagtaoa. Chaimantaoa nieha nín:
- Juan Dilo, a var, oamshanman llugoshi - nieha nín.
- Ayayay, izeertotao huahunua?
- Ayay caiaaosh ruuanga - nieha autoridadoa nimm nín -, oati huambra-
- huan mana ouai tou, ¿Imata ruhuanohu? ¿Imata ruhuaipa oanohi? -
- nieha nín.
- Cuin paiuamapu hutilanausahaan.

Chalipica nimm nín, cutin shugca nimm nín: - Entonces cuanuana ¿imata ruhuashun? Cuan shug uouta jutoushun pura vopi. Chei uoupj iutoushpaoa entonoe chaipi shug yaicuuspa shug dalesta acaash yaiugrishu shaihti, shug calaveratapish apamushpaoa, shug huashiaoa calaveraataca chei ladd-
- llapi churashua oati rluuushpaoa huambrua manchakhuamii tiyuunga uunyataca baldehuua unapi mi shikushun 'tarag' niehishun. Cheia quius arrepopentrihia quitaas mana ashu chahta ruuanga.

Shugca aohoa uouta jutoushia nín puralla vopi, Chei uoupj yaicuusha
- nín. Balde apaschua, iscaai baldecaunata. Huambrataca presuñu vopi
yaiuchuin. Punguta llave shitan. - Vopi shug calavera tiyuashuoa, Cuidado pagta oati rinuvinillami - niepsaki autoridadoa riicuhi
asquin shug calaverata. Tiyuashuoa nín chaipi huambrua lajollapi,
- - Cuin rinuvinan yachan. Caia pedradannili - niepshaki nieha,
- Chaimanta punguta llave equnina nín. Huambrua nieha nín: - Si圭era
- Mau apashpaoa nucu maíjan caipi oaqpi nucu huanuichihi shitanum,
- Chaipi nieha nín: - Mau manchakhuanca inuashu ruuanga - nicipshami-, vissiialtama shina nín oamshanman llugohishun nipskalli - nínu
- nianaushia nín.

Chaimanta huambrateca uoi chai shug jutou purallamantaa huambru purapiviyuqipia baldehuua 'tarag' níchiohu nín 'tarag' níchishun in.
'tarag' níchipica huambrua nín nín: - Fovorta ruhuangui, upalla
- nirucaunata. Pagta nucu jatarishpaoa cutin imata ruwashun.
- Cuando oomanta baldecaunuhanca o'atigpi o'atigpi 'tarag tarag' huambrua unapi. Huambrua naxtami balde shamuca purapi tanteash nishpaoa.
- Tuarishoashi jutoupi oaqtu 'aa' nimm nín. Huawushia tuaushua
- japtopshpaoa de una vez 'aa' níchishua nín ashuan. De una vez dsepahuashoa
- nín chaipi.

Unapi shamun autoridad punquta pascaan. Chei huambrata tupan nín:
- Na llugosi, hijo, llugoci. Manchakhuamianchu tiyuangui?
- ¿Imata manchakhuamian causa? Ashun iarshuan tiyuangui. Cai uouman
- ca shug yaicuusha cau uapi, Baldeunal apaschua. Muaca oast umaata
- paquin puntat baldehuua pedradashepa. Na japish de una vez despaharonumini.
Chai jutsullapitami siricua - nishoa nin.
Riuqurinauna, Chetriotu huash sirioushoa nin chaipi. - Na mana vida
valor tiyanachu catheuanea. Cuan avashun shug liagtaamu.
- Bueno - nishoa nin autoridada -, cuamana cuayuta cuashun. Shug
caballosta sillashep aushun. Cushun shug armamentu. Cushun shug arginas
outilqui. Cushun huellpa, ouiuma, ali cuayuta cuashun. Ali caballopi:
sillashep aushun montaasho rishun.
Chaita ruhuashoaumna.

IV
Na bueno, Caballopi montan. Despedirina rin na tuuci alli armashuan.
Tuuci punsha purishua, tuuci punsha. Caballo montashpa risha.
Shug montaapi choyashua na montaapi tuuci punsha risha. Na tuuci tuta-
yaquinta entonoe riuinata avanaasha sha rin shug huasba fan cuashupi, saha
uupi. Chaipi maijanahari ptihaari chaipi riourina caasha rin. Nishoa
nin: - Ana hai huaspit ringulchu samaringapa, Jichuashua huasini,
haendia jichuasham. Chaipi eappi paaoarigaaoa tuuipish huadhuaoamallam.
Tuuci vajeromini lo mas huainuina chaipi.
Chaipi nishoa nin: - Mana, ima shina eappipish, chaivenatacha hai
ruhuapio, pero uuataacu mana ruhuangachu. Rinimi chaipi poangapa.
Cayashpa yauluina nin. Paica mana oreishoa. Piuna shtisha sha sirioushaoa
nin huasi haierdanda. Umanan yaiun, caballosta caasha qu'huapir huan.
Stillata paaseam. Paica uwanun yaiunsh tiyaashua rin, Rishoa nin
esplemahan, posefura, tuuiauen caashsha rin, tabaquto, tuuci. Maaha
lae de la noche rin, yalipish.

Chaipica na jauna altomantaa rimaarinina rin: - Rinimi uraiongapa,
rimini uraiongapa.
Paica rimini rin: - Uraicui, uratuci - nishoa rin.
Lusta japiishkhi tiyaashwa rin. Reclinito miqurionsha rin huallpitata,
huellpa yuashha caasha rin, cuayutaana. Enntonee hai urmaata riusuhsapa
argintiaka de contado stran, shuran chaipi, tiyaacun paica. Chaipica
urmana rin shug lado changa. Cutin qu'ipata lo mismo shinaallata rimini
rin: - Rinimi uraiongapa.
- Uraicui, uratuci entonoe. Uraicui.
Cutin shug lado changa urmana rin 'pagila'. Siricua rin chaipi. Cutin
rimini rin: - Rinimi uraiongapa. Uraitongrimini, uratongtimi - rimini
rin.
Uraicui uratuci nigpica na uma urmana nin. Cutin shug nigpica cutin
urmana rin shug lado costillas, righ urmana nin. Chaivanata na
enterrina niari oristiano tuuushpa.

Sirioushpaaka paica chapan shiyo shun nin, luesta japiishk. Paica shug
buen nevriuash caasha rin. Chapash tiyo riwa rin. Chaivanta na changa,
riguana, uma, costillauana, tuucu urmaashpaa entonoe na contado
jatarin niari na cuairishpa, enterraria. Jatarishuanaana fueru
patia ha tiyapiupi choyashua japiihsha paia na cai mana inamgta
ruhuagninteri. Paica 'tas' jatarin igual maanaanu cairishua rin.
Chai caashanga rin alma condendad, pi cayhpaish hai hariendadiu oshai
alti opio caasha rin. Shinaashpa yama genteuahuan maanaanuwhpa paica
na ima shina caasha anyash ima shina huashuhi caasha lo demus
posadorinatataa. Pero oooataa mana puishua. Tuucu tuu maanaanuwhpa
pcaarishpa rin: oai shuua punu puea faiuashpa paica punu nertu,
pero odoi shitaata oosa que cuashun arruamiga caasha rin. Tuucu
tuua piaarinaata avanaasha rin maanaanuwhpa,

Na las quatro de la mañana caashanga rin mas o menos. Chaipi entonoe
rimini rin: - Cuamana unico enam ouari caashongui, jau ruashksha
oumou caipimi tuuci oseacuna charini. Caiitami guardishpa tiyaoushoani,
The bear's son

There was a woman who went to the sacha country to seek a living. There she met a bear. The bear made her his wife and carried her away to live with him in the undergrowth. After something more than a year she gave birth to a son by the bear. The child grew and grew. The bear used to bring everything his wife needed. "Go and fetch me a cooking pot."
"Yes," he would say. And he would go and steal the pot from travellers sleeping by the way. "Go and fetch firewood." "Yes," and he would go to fetch wood. "Go and fetch me fire. I cannot eat raw food, I eat cooked food. Fetch fire."

So he would go to where the travellers were sleeping in some little house built of sticks and steal embers or matches from them. The child grew. Then the woman said: "Now I need a plate and a spoon."
"Yes," said the bear and he brought them.

He took everything from travellers. For in the old days people only travelled on horseback. Nowadays there are buses, trains, and planes. Those travellers would be carrying all the necessaries for their journey, and the bear would steal from those things. When he gave her the things, his wife would then happily prepare lunch.

Gradually the child grew up and began to be aware of his surroundings. One day he asked his mother: "Why do you live in this cave in the bush, mother? You seem to have no intention of leaving to go back where you came from. Let's go. I want to see the place where you come from. I don't want to live here."
"How can we leave here, son? When your father comes he will kill us." "Why should he kill us? We shall just go. You send that animal on some errand and we'll take to the road."

Then the woman let the fire go out and sent the bear off to fetch a means of lighting it: "Go and bring me fire. What shall we light the fire with? We have no way of cooking."
Agreeing, the bear set off. But he was unable to find fire quickly. Meanwhile the bear's son and his mother got up early while the bear was away and took to the road.

It must have been midday when the bear arrived back at his home and found they had gone. Following their footprints he came after them. As they were crossing over a great wide river, the mother saw him approaching: "You said he wouldn't catch us," she said to her son, "but there's your father coming for us."

And the bear came running after them. Then the bear's son said:
"Don't worry, mother. Now we're in the river, let me carry you and we'll cross it quickly."

Now as they were crossing the river, the boy was holding a machete in his hand. As the bear came swimming across after them he gave the animal
a blow on the snout. With his head split open, the bear couldn’t get out of the river but was carried away by the current. And the boy carried his mother safely over; “There you see, mother, there is no need to be afraid. Let’s go.”

II

After that they arrived in a town. On arriving, the boy said: “Let’s see if we can rent a house in this town and live here.” But the landlords did not rent them a house, they just lent them one, and wondered where the strangers came from. They commented amongst themselves upon their arrival. And there they let them live. Then the bear’s son was sent to school.

When he was at school the other children began to tease him, saying: “Bear boy! Bear boy!” From the waist upwards the youth had the body of a human being, but downwards he had the hairy body of a bear. So when his mother sent him to school his companions teased him calling him ‘bear’. Then anybody who teased him was likely to be felled in a single blow. The teacher saw that it was not going to be good for the child to be in school, for the other boys taunted him and angered him by saying: “Bear! Bear! Come on, bear! You’re an animal!”

After that, one day the bear boy said to his teacher: “Sir, do a favour for me by telling my classmates not to tease me by calling me an animal. My mother is a human being, not an animal. That is why she sent me to school. If I were an animal I would not be at school.” And so he asked the teacher to warn the children. The teacher spoke: “You ill-mannered boys, why do you treat the bear boy like that? It is not good to do and say those things. For some reason you are at school. Why, your behaviour even reflects badly on me. I am here trying to teach you.”

On several further occasions the bear boy told the teacher: “This is how they tease me. I am not going to put up with it. Sir, have you no feelings? They abuse me too much.” So the teacher said: “I am warning you to be careful that this lad does nothing to you. You are receiving education, so why do you behave so badly, abusing him so much?”

And at that moment the schoolchildren stood humbly without saying anything.

But when they went out into the yard, they began to tease again: “Bear! Bear! Bear!” they called to him from the distance. Then the bear boy grabbed one of them and with a single blow sent him to eternity. After that the authorities said: “That youngster must be taken prisoner.”

The other schoolboys served as witnesses to the fact that they themselves were in the habit of teasing the boy by calling him ‘bear’. They had pushed him too far until, unable to take any more, he had reacted violently. The dead boy had asked for trouble. So the authorities said: “He’s still a child, we cannot do anything.” And then: “Let him go on attending the same school. Perhaps he will change his ways.”

So he went back to school again. After several days, however, his companions forgot themselves and began to jeer him again: “Bear! Bear!” The bear boy ran after one of the boys and overcame him from behind,
He dealt him a single blow in the neck and sent him to the ground where he fell face down on a stone and remained there. Thereupon the people said: "Now we cannot keep this child here if he behaves like this. Those bad-mannered boys tease him. The youngster has killed two people now. Now we really cannot keep him here."

For now the bear's son was growing bigger and becoming more aware of things. He grew very quickly indeed. So once again he left the school.

Then he was put back into school again, but this time with a different teacher. That teacher didn't know of the bear's son's past history, so he accepted him. If it had been the same teacher as before, he would never have received him. So there he was at school again. And again he got into a fight with one of his classmates. The teacher, not knowing the danger, went to punish the boy with some weapon or other. The bear's son turned around and threw the teacher across the room, over the top of the school benches, until he fell unconscious. That is what the boy did. Then the authorities were told.

The authorities said: "This youngster has been behaving in this way for some time and there is no way we can punish him for he's still a child. It is best that we send him to live in another town."

Having decided this they called for his mother to talk the matter over: "Your son is behaving in this way and there is nothing we can do. We cannot keep him any longer in this town. Instead of that, it's best we send him away to some other town."

As everyone agreed, the authorities lent the boy a well-bridled horse. When they gave it to him, the boy said: "I will not accept this horse, instead of that I would do better to go to some convent to live."

And so saying, he went.

III

Then some certain people (in the convent) said: "Now let's give this youngster a scare. We will place him in a room and one of us will come with a coffin and lie down inside the coffin in that room. Then when he is alone in the room, the person inside the coffin shall make a tapping sound. We shall soon have the lad cold with fear."

So one of them got into a coffin inside a dark room. They captured the boy and placed him in the room. Then they closed the door on the boy. One of them was lying there inside the coffin and they told the boy that it was a dead man. So he sat there locked inside the room in pitch blackness. As he sat there, a tapping sound was heard to come from inside the coffin: 'Tap tap tap' the man sounded from inside the coffin thinking that it would give the boy a fright.

But as if the bear's son would be afraid! Getting up, he went over to the coffin: "What do you want? Don't you realise you're dead? Why don't you die properly?" he said.

Again the man made the tapping sound hoping to frighten the lad. But the boy took hold of the coffin and dashed it on the ground. Whereupon it burst open. Then he took hold of the deceitful man lying inside it and killed him once and for all. Then he placed the lid back on the coffin. Then he sat down on a bench.

After a long while the authorities came to see whether the boy was afraid and to let him out. But he wasn't frightened at all, in fact he had now killed the man inside the coffin. They called to him: "Juan Dilo (Juan del Oso), come out."
"I'm coming, I'm coming. You told me this person was dead. But he wasn't entirely dead after all. He annoyed me by tapping and banging from inside the coffin. Annoyed, I got up and really killed him. He was lying there inside the coffin pretending to be dead when he wasn't at all. But now he died. Now I killed him myself."

"Oh no! Is it true?" and the authorities ran to take a look. He had indeed been stone dead for some time. The boy himself had opened the coffin. It was split open and its boards broken. And the boy had killed the man inside. "Oh no! Can he really have done this?" said the authorities, "there is no way of living peacefully with this lad. What shall we do now?"

And between them they devised another idea.

Said one of them: "Now what shall we do? Now we shall make a hole in a dark room. Then one of us shall climb into that hole with a bucket and at the side of the hole we shall place a skull so that when the boy sees it he will be afraid. Then the person shall emerge from the hole and hit the boy over the head 'bang' with the bucket. Perhaps then he will repent of everything he has done."

"That's a good idea," said the rest, "we'll do that."

So one of them hollowed a deep hole in the dark room and climbed into it taking two buckets with him. They took the bear's son prisoner, placed him in the room and locked the door. "There's a skull inside this room, be careful for it may speak by itself," so saying they showed him the skull as they locked him into the room. The skull was sitting on the floor beside the boy. "This skull speaks and may attack you," they said as they turned the key. Then the child called: "At least leave me a light. You are leaving me here in complete darkness."

But they went away pretending not to hear. "Bring a light. If you don't, I'll kill anybody who may be in here." "He'll be too frightened for doing that," they said, "he's just saying that so that we will let him out."

Then the person who was hiding in the hole began to make banging noises on the bucket in the darkness. When he heard the sound, the bear's son cried: "Do me a favour: be quiet. Don't make me get up for I might do anything to you."

But from the hole the person continued by hitting the boy repeatedly on the head with the bucket. The boy in turn felt in the darkness in the direction of the blows. On being found, the man in the hole cried 'aaa'. The boy took hold of him and caused him to cry out some more, then once and for all he killed him.

After a while the authorities came and opened the door. They asked the youngster: "Come out, sonny. Are you frightened?"

"As if I'd be frightened! On the contrary, I'm angry. Somebody else came into this room along with me, carrying a bucket. He almost split my head open with it. So I took hold of him and finished him off. He's lying just there in that hole."

They went to have a look: sure enough he was lying there dead. "There is nothing more we can do with this lad. We shall send him away to another town," said the authorities, "let's give him some food for the road, a horse and saddle, arms and a bag of silver. We'll give him a good food parcel of chicken and guinea-pig. And we'll send him on his way on a good mount."

And that is what they did.
Well, so the bear's son mounted his horse, took up his weapon and said goodbye. He rode all day long until he finally arrived in an area of montaña. As night was falling, he made out a house in the forest at a bend in the road. At that moment somebody or other appeared before him and said: "Don't seek lodging in that house. It's an abandoned hacienda. All those who pass the night there meet their death."

But the bear's son replied: "Whatever may happen to others, no harm will come to me. I am going to seek lodging there."

He did not believe the warning and entered the hacienda, calling out as he went. He left his horse tied up to graze outside, untied his saddlebag, and went into the hacienda where he sat down. He had all provisions with him: candles, matches, tobacco. It must have been about nine o'clock at night or later.

Then a voice was heard from up above: "I'm coming down, I'm coming down."

And the boy replied: "Come down, come down."

As he said it he lit a candle. He had been about to eat a little cooked chicken he had with him. But then when he saw what was happening, he closed his bag again and put it aside. Then a leg fell through the air and landed beside him. Shortly afterwards, he heard the same words again: "I'm coming down."

"Come down then, come down."

Again on the other side of him a leg fell 'thump' to the ground and lay there. Then the voice came again: "I'm coming down. I'm going to come down."

As the boy called 'Come down', a head fell to the ground. Each time he spoke, something fell: this time some ribs, then an arm, then more ribs, then another arm. After that all these limbs buried themselves and thus formed themselves into a human being again.

The boy continued to lie there watching out by the light of his candle. He had a good strong whip with him and he lay watching. Then the legs, the arms, the head, the ribs, everything that had fallen, stood up again, coming back to life after burying itself. As it got up it went over to the boy and grabbed him in order to do him harm. But the youth leapt up and began to fight back. That creature must have been a condemned soul, probably that of the owner of the hacienda. He had always fought and killed the ordinary people who came there to lodge without any difficulty. But he could not do so with the bear's son. They fought each other all night: one with his fists and the other with his whip drove his opponent into a corner. The whole night went by and still they fought.

It must have reached about four o'clock in the morning when the condemned soul said: "You are the only one who has proved to be a real man. Let's go and I'll show you my possessions. I've been here guarding them and now they are yours. You have saved me now, so I make you this gift."

He had all kinds of wonderful treasures, enough to make you weep. He showed the bear's son through all the rooms of the house, the farmyard and the patio. Then the dawn broke. Dawn broke just as he was leading the boy through the property showing him everything. So it was like that the bear's son saved the condemned soul of the hacienda owner. And he himself stayed there to live.

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976
cf. A-T 301; The bear's son; A-T 326; The youth who wanted to learn what fear is.
B601.1.1 Bear steals woman and makes her his wife
B600.2 Animal husband provides characteristic animal food
B635.1 The bear's son. Human son of woman who marries bear acquires bear characteristics
P611.1.1 Strong man son of bear who has stolen his mother
R45.3.1 Bear keeps human wife captive in cave with stone at entrance
L114.3 Unruly hero
B631 Human offspring from marriage to animal
A1415.2 Theft of fire by animals
A1400 Acquisition of human culture
P611.3.1 Hero's precocious strength
P612.2 Strong hero kills playmates: sent from home
H1461 Test: sitting up with corpse
H1410 Fear test: staying in frightful place
H1411.1 Fear test: staying in haunted house where corpse drops piecemeal down chimney. Dead man's members call out to hero: "Shall we fall or shall we not?"
E31 Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble and revive
E754.1 Condemned soul saved
Q82 Reward for fearlessness
Q11 Riches as reward
E461 Fight of revenant with living person
E465 Revenant rewards its conqueror
Commentary

1.0 Introduction

The Bear's Son tale as found in Cañar is a folktale rather than a legend, having no direct ties with the belief system of the region, although the analysis will show that its narrative pattern can be compared in certain aspects to that of the local legends. Many variants of it are to be found throughout the Ecuadorean and Peruvian Andes, although this was the only version I collected in Cañar. The bear as a symbol in Andean folklore generally, however, is to be found not only in tale, but also in ritual. The Peruvian fiestas character, the ukumari or paulucha, is based on the bear, and so too may be his Cañar counterpart the rucu yaya. Their behaviour and rôle in the fiestas is comparable in some ways to that of the bear's son in tale. (1) It is not altogether surprising that the bear should have found his way into folklore, as we learn from both early and modern-day commentators that the animal was and is a feature, if not a very prominent one, of the regional landscape. (2) That bears might, or might have once, present a real threat to man, is suggested by an Imbabura text in which a bear attacks the livestock on a hacienda and a party is sent out to kill it with whips and lassos (JC/IM/10: "Shuñ usu shuñ tururhuan").

The analysis of the tale will fall into three divisions: structural analysis, which will take into account the tale's relationship with the narrative patterns of others in the section, and will examine the inner structure of the text itself; comparative analysis, which is given considerable space due to the large amount of comparative materials available; and a paragraph devoted to discussing the sociological implications of the tale within the context of Indian culture. It is considered to be a tale that fulfills a need for social criticism, which it provides at a symbolic level, and that it is this need that keeps it alive.
2.0 Narrative structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPI-SODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>woman (H1) leaves home for forest</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>H1 captured by bear</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>taken to bear's cave</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>gives birth to child; half bear, half human (H2)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>bear steals fire and utensils for her</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>H1 and H2 trick bear and escape</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>H2 kills bear father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>H1 and H2 arrive in town</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>H2 sent to school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>H2 kills schoolmates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>H2 sent to convent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>H2 arrives at convent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>priest tries to frighten him with 'corpse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>H2 kills attacker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>H2 sent away with arms, matches, cooked meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>arrives at haunted hacienda</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>warned not to enter</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>enters</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xviii</td>
<td>condenado appears limb by limb</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xix</td>
<td>H2 fights condenado</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>H2 overcomes condenado</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxi</td>
<td>H2 inherits hacienda</td>
<td>9c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are certain traits in the linear pattern of this tale that may be compared with that of local legend, so function headings have been assigned, as the above table shows. However, these functions occur in cyclical fashion, as is more typical of Andean folktale: the heroine of Move I gives way to her son as hero in Move II, and the overcoming of non-human agent thence occurs on two separate occasions which are structurally repetitive (Episodes(vi) and (xx)). So, in its capacity as a folktale, the text diverges from the pattern common to legend, as did the ullaohu tales. In the case of Tale 20, for example, the 'suitor test' sequence was seen as such a divergence. In the present tale, the series of trials through which the hero
passes during his progress from life in the cave to his inheritance of the hacienda form a pattern equally incompatible with legend structure. Those struggles - against school, convent and condenado - must be gone through to enable the hero to progress from an animal state (in cave) to a civilized one (in hacienda). Curiously, the buzzard-man's tests occupied a structurally inverse place in that story: constituting the stage through which the non-human agent needed to pass in order to lead his victim from her civilized state to his animal home. Thus, we begin to perceive both structural and thematic levels at which these two sub-types might be compared; the comparative features could be summarized thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tale 20</th>
<th>heroïne's home</th>
<th>suitor tests</th>
<th>buzzard's cave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CULTURE</td>
<td>TRIALS</td>
<td>NATURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The movement between one sphere and the other, in whichever direction it might be, is in each case engineered by a semi-human protagonist: buzzard-man or bear-boy. This ambiguity in their status adds a further dimension to the interpretation: it assists their rôle as mediators between this world and the other world. It will be seen in Tale 24 below that there too the mediator is ambiguous: the daughter of a union between woman and snake. All three sub-types follow a broadly similar linear pattern, comparable with that of local legend, but the narrative complexity they owe to the folktale genre causes divergences from it.

The syntactic layout of the episodes in chronological order prepares the way for a paradigmatic analysis of the tale's inner structure. The narrative traces a series of conflicts: the conflict between animal and woman, between nature and culture (which the former stand for respectively), and most importantly, that between the
anomalous hero and society. The content of the tale relates the struggle
of this hero, half human half animal, to reintegrate himself into a
society that rejects him and to which he at first can only relate by
a misdirecting of his animal strength. The depiction of struggle and
conflict as part of the content reflects in the tale's inner structure
also. Thus it is that in a paradigmatic analysis of the above arrange-
ment of episodes, a pattern of oppositions is revealed: Move I,
which relates the birth of the hero and his initial rejection of his
animal origins by killing his bear father, can be seen as a structural
inversion of Move IV, where the bear's son arrives, well-equipped with
the accoutrements of culture, at the hacienda where he overcomes the
condemned soul of its owner and inherits his wealth. Moves II and
III can be seen as intermediary stages through which the hero passes
during his progress towards social integration. They are structural
parallels of each other, each representing the bear's son's outdoing
of certain social institutions (school and church respectively) which
try to tame and model him according to their terms. The structural
relationship of moves one to the other could therefore be expressed
as follows:

Move I : Move IV :: Move II : Move III

Thus the symmetry and logical cohesion of the tale's inner structure
is clarified.

Furthermore, the arrangement of oppositions within the 'Move I :
Move IV' relationship could be stated in these terms:

Move I : Move IV
  cave : hacienda
  nature : culture
  raw meat : cooked meat
  lack of fire : possession of fire
  destruction of father : defeat of condenado
  ostracism of hero by society : reintegration of hero into society

And the arrangement of parallels within the 'Move II : Move III'
relationship as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move II //</th>
<th>Move III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>school</td>
<td>convent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school authorities // priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killing of schoolmates // killing of attackers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expulsion of hero from school // expulsion of hero from convent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In structuralist terms, therefore, the tale can be seen as a set of episodes which form a pattern of oppositions and parallels to each other, and all of which serve to give form to the conflict epitomized in the anomalous hero who, in his origins, is of two worlds and who struggles to resolve that paradox.

Seen as a mediator between two opposed worlds, he progresses from an initial stage of disorder, brought about by his mother's violation by the bear and his own anomalous birth, to one of order, when he 'saves' the condenado and inherits the hacienda. Such a pattern, it is of note, fits the general description of myth and tale structure given by Terence Turner in his re-analysis of the Oedipus myth:

"Traditional narrative genres such as myth, tale, and legend typically begin with an action or event that violates or mediates the structure of the prevailing order, giving rise to a situation in which actors and elements stand in ambiguous or contradictory relationships to each other. The "plot" or narrative sequence proceeds from this point through a series of permutations of the relations between these actors and elements toward a final state of equilibrium in which all elements again stand in unambiguous (synchronic) relations to each other."

(1969:33)

He makes the statement in the context of his argument that myth as a genre often attempts to resolve the apparent contradiction between synchronic and diachronic elements. (3) The relatively unchanging laws and order of society can be seen as the synchronic backdrop against which the subjective struggles of the individual (the hero) follow a diachronic progression (ibid.). This progression, in the case of the text at hand, is given dramatic form in the way it traces the hero's early inability to control his animal strength, through to the final stage where he is shown to have found a way of channelling it construc-
tively by fighting the *condenado*. (4)

3.0 **Comparative analysis**

In its historical-geographical context, the tradition of the Bear's Son tale can be divided into two branches: the Euro-American and the Andean traditions. The divergence between the two occurs consistently at a particular point in the linear progression of the narrative, as will be seen.

3.1 **The Euro-American tradition**

By the Euro-American tradition I mean all those versions of the tale which have close and apparently direct links with A-T301 and variants. Hansen has made Spanish American type additions to the A-T listing but none of these diverge significantly from the outline documented there (Hansen *op.cit.*,). The Aarne-Thompson work includes an exhaustive listing of sources for the type, of which Espinosa's collection is of the most interest to the scholar wishing to trace Hispanic connections (Espinosa 1946-7,II:498ff.). Analytical works on the Spanish American versions have been numerous. (5) Additional collections of texts for the New World include two Ecuadorian *mestizo* versions from Quito collected by Carvalho-Neto (1966:Nos.2 & 3), which follow the Euro-American outline rather than the Andean. The latter, as will be seen, appears to be the exclusive patrimony of Indian culture.

3.2 **The Andean tradition**

The Bear's Son tales which belong to the Andean tradition correspond to the A-T type description in the initial stages only, those which are indispensable to the ensuing sequence of events:
"301: The three stolen princesses. 1. The hero is of supernatural origin and strength (a) the son of a bear who has stolen his mother... (h) he grows supernaturally strong and unruly."

From this point the Andean versions diverge from the A-T type, whilst comparison restricted to the Quechua area only, shows a consistency in narrative pattern sufficient for me to support the view that this is an independent Andean type. (6) This is not to say that the content of the Andean versions is wholly indigenous in its derivation. While there are indigenous motifs, there are also both motifs and fragments of other A-T types to be found in the tales. The originality of the Andean type is to be found rather in the way it integrates indigenous narrative structure with a mixture of native and borrowed motifs. This it does consistently across the versions, fitting together motifs and episodes, borrowed or otherwise, to bring about a coherent and logical narrative creation, albeit as hybrid as the Bear's Son himself.

3.2.1 Comparison of episodes in the Andean tradition

There now follows an analysis of versions of the tale from Ecuador and Peru, taking the form of a comparison of the episodes and motifs contained in these. This approach seems to be an indispensable one, given the already existing breakdown drawn up by Morote Best along these lines (op.cit.). I have selected those motifs from his 'Índice general de motivos' which have comparative connections with other variants at my disposal. These latter have been given abbreviated titles as follows, for ease of reference:

**Ecuador - Cañar**

CA1 Cañar JMD (Tale 23)
CA2 Cañar JSA
Ecuador - elsewhere

CH  LS/CH/8
CO  GS/CO/1
IM  JC/IM/26
SG  Saraguromanta: 6-11

Peru
QU  Gow (R.) (1976:4-5) - Quispicanchis
LU1  Arguedas (1960-61:176-193) - Lucanamarca
LU2  Arguedas (op.cit.193-195) - Lucanamarca (7)
HU  Orconi (coll. Hoggarth 1957) - Huantura

The Morote Best entry is cited, then followed by a listing of those variants in which the same motif is to be found; any additional relevant detail not specified in the definitions is shown in brackets.

"1. El oso rapta a una muchacha volviéndose de diferentes medios"

CA1 (woman strays into forest); CA2 (woman married already)
CH (woman married, goes for water); CO; IM (girl collecting berries on mountain); SG (girl herding cows)
QU (girl pasturing animals, bear appears as fine mestizo); LU1 (girl left alone while husband goes to town); LU2 (left while husband goes on business); HU (tending flocks)

"2. La encoierra en su cueva y allí la sustenta,"

CA1 (bear steals cooking utensils and fire for her); CA2
CH (only given meat to eat); CO (not allowed cooked meat); IM (stone across entrance, only raw meat, no fire)
LU2; HU

"3. La mujer se ayuda con el animal y conoce un hijo."

CA1 (child hairy from waist down); CA2
CH; CO; IM; SG
QU (half bear, half boy); LU1 (covered in hair with human head);
LU2 (called 'Juan Oso'); HU

"4. Huy en madre e hijo/s"

CA1 (send bear for fire, escape in his absence); CA2 (send bear for water)
CH; CO; IM (bear's son (BS) moves stone from entrance); SG
QU (send bear for milk-white cow, BS rolls stone away); LU1; LU2;
HU (send bear on difficult task)

"5. El animal persigue a la mujer...."

CA1 (BS helps mother cross river); CA2 (BS helps mother cross river)
CH; CO; IM; SG
LU1 (BS helps mother cross river); LU2 (BS helps mother cross river)
"...y llega a la casa de ésta,"

QU; HU

"5a. Hay un animal que interviene en la huida de la madre,"
LU1 (frog impersonates sound of her washing clothes while she flees)

"6. La mujer y los hijos hacen una trampa para matar al animal,"
QU (pot of boiling water); HU (pot of boiling water)

"7. Llega el oso, cae en la trampa y muere."
QU; HU (8)

"7a. El hijo mata al padre,"
CA1; CA2
CH (by burning); CO; SG
LU1 (9)

"8. El hijo es entregado a un cura,"
CA1
QU (baptized); LU1 (baptized); LU2; HU

"9a. Tiene fuerza descomunal: mata a los hombres,"
CA1 (trick with 'corpse' in coffin)
QU (hurls would-be assassins from bell-tower); LU1 (hurls would-be assassins from bell-tower); LU2 (kills them disguised as condenados); HU (pushes would-be assassins into pit/from bell-tower/'corpse' trick)

"9b. Destruye la iglesia y sus santos de yeso,
(Tale 58 contains this episode) (10)

"9c. Mata a sus compañeros de escuela,"
CA1; CA2
CO; IM (11)
QU; LU1 (12)

"9d. Va al monte en pos de leña. Lo envía el cura con el propósito de que lo coman las fieras, pero vuelve con ellas cargadas de leña,"
QU; LU1; HU (13)

"9g. Destroza unas calaveras que tratan de asustarle una noche,"
CA1

"9h. Lucha con un condenado y lo vence,"
CA1; CA2 (condenado named 'Sansón')
QU (BS carries wooden doll for defence); LU1; LU2; HU (carries wooden doll) (14)
"10, El 'condenado' agradecido porque le ha 'salvado' le entrega un tesoro."

CA1 (hacienda and money); CA2
OU (marries condenado's daughter also); LU1 (marries condenado's daughter); LU2 (marries condenado's daughter); HU

3.2.2 Comments on the above comparison of episodes

From the above comparison of episodes it can be seen that of the available Ecuadorian versions, it is the one from Cañar presented here that proves to be the most detailed and, by extension, to have the most points of comparison with the Peruvian ones. As mentioned, the other Ecuadorian variants terminate after the episode recorded in the 'Indice' as "7a. El hijo mata al padre." They then proceed to an assortment of atypical and on the whole inconclusive terminal episodes as follows:

CH BS and mother return to her rightful husband and the family settle down to live a happy life
CO priest expresses admiration for BS's strength
IM BS is publicly executed in punishment
SG mother takes up residence in town, BS must stay away because of abnormal hairy body

This truncation of the tale cuts out the episode with the condenado, so important in Peru, occuring in 36% of the versions studied by Morote Best, and 100% of the additional variants referred to above. The incidence of the fuller version in Cañar provides reassuring evidence of its survival in Ecuador, and there is nothing to suggest that further versions of the fuller kind do not exist elsewhere, waiting to be collected. Meanwhile its survival in Cañar, at least, is surely due to the active rôle played by the ambiguous figure of the Bear's Son for a people experiencing the dilemmas of bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism. JMD's rendering left me in no doubt as to his and his audience's identification with the hero, in particular during the episodes that take place in school, and I shall discuss this point further in §4.0. Further to the alternative endings found in the
shorter versions, variant endings in many Peruvian texts relate the
death, rather than the triumph, of the Bear's Son, as Morote Best
records:

"18. Es empujado desde una torre; muere
17. Muere quemado dentro de un horno
18. Es muerto por su madre"
(loc, cit.)

The negative resolution of the hero's dilemma is found in the
Imbabura version (IM), and the Saraguro version represents a compro-
mise, allowing the BS to remain alive but ever ostracised from society
(SG). The variant endings are structural inversions of each other,
making room for either a positive or negative outcome according to
local tradition, or perhaps the whim of the narrator (cf., the alter-
native outcomes in the turkey buzzard tales).

In the comparison of episodes, I included: "9b. Destruye la
iglesia y sus santos de yeso", for whilst this does not occur in
Tale 23, it is to be found in Tale 58: 'Taita curitahuan huanhuahuan', which I believe to be a part of the Andean tradition of the
Bear's Son tale despite the fact that the informant from whom it wa
collected seemed to be unaware of the fact. That tale comprises the
adventures of a 'priest's boy' (with some variation in motif), and
has been placed in Section D (a): 'Bawdy priest tales', due to the
fact that it was related to me as such, out of the context of the
tradition to which it clearly belongs.

There remains one final comment to make on this comparison of
episodes: the motif of the condenado that falls limb by limb from
above to the hero's side is not listed in Morote Best's summary. It
is to be found, however, in two of his individual summaries, for
tales from Ayacucho and Cajamarca, described as follows:

"Huananga, Ayacucho,... cae desde el techo una mano, luego
otra, Después caen las piernas, el estómago y cae, por
fin, la cabeza...
That author postulates an indigenous origin for this motif, drawing comparisons with the dismemberment of spirit beings in other contexts in Peruvian lore (op.cit.,166). However, due to the close affinity of the motif with Thompson's H1411.1, found in A-T326 (see listing with text), we cannot discount the possibility of the episode in Andean tradition being the result of a fusion between borrowed and native categories with which the borrowings were compatible.

4.0 Sociological implications of the tale in Cañar

If we are to understand the tale of the Bear's Son as a study of conflict and its resolution, the next step is to ask ourselves what this conflict might be in the real-life context of the Indians of Cañar: what underlying symbolism operates to keep alive this tale in all its details in 1976? What does the story say to its narrator and his audience? Other tales examined so far have found their raison d'être in their function as expressions of local beliefs, or as vehicles for a didactic message. The Bear's Son tale, I believe, touches on areas more sensitive than these and therefore more intangible and less accessible to the outsider's understanding. Nonetheless the answer to these questions seemed only too evident from the emotive rendering of the story supplied by JMD in the presence of several members of his family.

The sending of the Bear's Son to school and the taunting to which he is subjected there is the episode or set of episodes with which the narrator and his audience appeared to identify most strongly.
Much verbal emphasis was lain on the jeers; "Oso! Oso! Vos sois animal!", as the narrator recited the episodes, repeating them four times over for greater effect. It is legitimate, I think, to interpret the Bear's Son as a living symbol of the Indian, caught between two cultures and two languages. The scenes in school are those which invite us most readily to enter his predicament, for there the Spanish language dominates, representing all that experience has told the Indian to distrust, and yet that which every day is being sold to him as desirable and worthy of attainment. (15) The quasi-humorous episodes involving the church authorities focus attention on yet another institution belonging to the national culture which has encroached upon and undermined the native lifestyle over the centuries. Folktale provides a medium for satirical comment on the theme.

I have suggested that this tale may be read as an allegorical expression of the individual's attempt to analyse and come to terms with social conflicts that beset him in his day to day life; the applicability of such imagery to the specific context of Andean society has encouraged the tale's development in and adaptation to that environment. The following observation upon the nature of myth and tale gives theoretical backing to this interpretation:

"At the level of specific content, narratives such as myths and tales typically concern the most obsessive, complex and problematic situations and relationships of the social order... Symbolic narratives, in short, represent cultural models for coping with typical patterns of subjective stress involved in the orientation of individuals to problematic situations in their social and cultural orders. They are, in a sense, meta-categories, dealing with the reintegration of divergent and often traumatic individual experience with the normative order of categories."

(Turner op.cit.35-36)

The Bear's Son, as I demonstrated in § 2.0, can indeed be said, symbolically speaking, to confront certain "complex and problematic situations" in the social order, and we can now give these concrete
form in the context of present-day Cañar.

Perhaps, however, the analysis so far has tended to over-simplify the message of the tale. Turner spoke of a "final state of equilibrium" at which myth and tale typically arrive; also of the unambiguous relations" in which elements stand one to the other by the tale's end (see §2.0). As we now consider the tale's message in its concrete setting, such a generalized statement serves a limited purpose. While the hero's defeat of the condenado in the final move represents another step towards the reestablishment of order, (16) can we as easily say that his inheritance of the hacienda in the last episode corresponds to a "final state of equilibrium"? I think not: the significance of this concluding episode in the social context of the tale is at best ambiguous and at worst a contradiction in terms. Taking the Bear's Son to stand for the Indian in search of his place in society, as has been done, this outcome calls for the question: what is an indigenous hacienda? Rosalind Gow, in her structural analysis of the tale in Peru, posed this same question in her summing up (1976:45). Her study goes beyond my own in that it seeks to place the tale in an historical framework, thereby tracing a continuance of structural categories of mythical thought from the 16C to the present time. Nonetheless some of her observations are of value in considering this particular question:

"The Ukumari myth in its entirety reflects the ...convergence of Andean temporal and spatial structures...the dual process of this convergence is most dramatically seen in the final image of the hacienda owned previously by a greedy and unscrupulous misti but inherited by the Ukumari.... In spatial and evolutionary terms (the hacienda) is the highest point of mythical civilization, symbolizing like Cuzco not only wealth and power but also intrigue and corruption. By regaining their patrimony the Indians have also inherited the potential destruction of their precursors."
(op.cit.41-42)

The apparent triumph of the Bear's Son is therefore a two-sided coin,
and no doubt reflects ambivalent attitudes towards the world of the *mestizos*, which currently appears to the Indian to be at once distrusted and yet desirable. It is relevant here to remember the symbolism attached to the *hacienda* elsewhere in the material; in the devil narratives, for example, where the devil is the *hacendado*, and his *hacienda* hell.

**FOOTNOTES**

(1) see Morote Best (1957:158), Gow (D.) (1976:229-232), Barrionuevo makes explicit association between Juan Oso of the tale and the ukuku of the *fiesta* (1968:183), for description of Cafiar's *ruku yaya* see Appendix VI.


(3) Whereas the analytical approaches of Lévi-Strauss and Propp respectively tend towards the extraction of one or other of these elements in a tale's structure (see Dundes's introduction to Propp (1968:xii)), Turner sets out to show that the key to both the structure and message of a narrative is to be found in the "dialectical interplay of synchrony and diachrony." (op.cit.34,sic.).

(4) Dramatic form is given to narrative in the same way in other branches of Andean oral tradition; in the tale 'Ch'acha son of the wind', a hero in his childhood accidentally kills his schoolmates in a similar incident (Mitchell 1973:138-146); the same structure prevails in the tales in Section B regarding the excessive unruliness of the Christ Child; neither is it a pattern confined to the Andes; a reference in Propp gives us a hint of similar events in a Russian tale type: "a son or grandson causes trouble or makes a fool of himself (tears off the arms and legs of passers-by). The townspeople complain, and the grandfather drives out his grandson." (op.cit.76)


(7) The Argüedas texts are accompanied by a commentary in which he draws comparisons between Morote Best's material and Spanish versions contained in Espinosa (loc.cit.).
(8) The low incidence of Episodes 5a, 6 & 7 can be explained if we take them to be incidental intrusions from the Peruvian 'Condor and the shepherdess' type, where the sequence is common.

(9) The similarities between the 'Indice' end here with the sole exception of Tale 23; the terminal episodes of the other Ecuadoran versions are summarized in the comments below.

(10) The relationship between the Bear's Son tale and Tale 58 is further mentioned in the comments below.

(11) In Ecuadoran variants, this occurs before the episodes with the priest.

(12) In Peruvian variants, this occurs after episodes with the priest.

(13) cf. Tale 20, where buzzard tames wild bull as test.

(14) Here is an affinity between the BS of the tale and the ukuku of ritual, who is described as carrying a doll on his person (Morote Best, op.cit.158).

(15) An interesting corollary to the implications of the 'school' episode is to be found in the tale '¿Imasam mana iscuelman miyta manancho? (¿Por qué no se quiere ir a la escuela?)', collected by Ortiz Rescaniêre in Lima (1973:143-149); the same author also refers us to his article: '¿Por qué los niños no van a la escuela?' (1971).

(16) Recalling that the condenado is thought to be the soul of a man who has broken the taboo governing incest between compadres (see sub-section (c)).
Section A sub-section (g); The Snake Sister tale

Tale 24: Haina ouelvebramananta

Shug soltera causana nin mana casarash. Mana huahayu oana nin chaicoa.
Causana nin pai solita ni pi d'arirhuan mana casarasha nisha na.
Chatmana nisha na huariata myungapa. Chatpia shug olilebra tuwarihsoa nin.
Culebra tuwarihshoac manohashishoac pataac. Chatpia nisha na: - Ay olilebra!
Huigsa junda olilebrauen nisha na. Cha'i olilebraac huigsoa junda oachho na,
Causana oachoa tiempopica entonoes pusshol huigseyu tarinvisho.
Pat huigseyu tarinvisho paioa yuvarisho: -nimmamata
Huaaca huaigseyu twiani? Huoa mana pi d'arirhuan aariac - nisha na -,
Nimmamata?
Chatpi nisha na musuupi cha'i olilebraac: - Ana manoharichu. Huaomi
compica oani - nisha na.

Enthenoes chatmana ha punsha pagtagpica huachashoa nin ishoa huaishata cha'i huaimica.
Shugoa oachho na olilebra, shugoa oachho nin cristiano.
Chat cristiano olilebrahuan ishoa huaishata tarvishoa umata ruhanata
mana pudihsa nin.
Enthenoes tuta musuupi ricurisho na inmanoana
shug olilebra. Nins nin: - Ca, monita, Huaacatua maxipimi ca manohariroa-
ngui chatilipita hurashoac out.
Chat muooshoata yuvarishho cha'i huaia olilebraata jipihsa maita
manoharishoac puestopi saquingapa inina nin.

Enthenoes cristiano huahuataca huaishchi caillanishoa nin. Chaicoa
huahaoac na huahaoac, ha jatun solterea pagtashoa. Solterea oashpaa
nin, juin sumag oana nin cha'i huaimi huaishoa. Achoa novlocana tiyan
pero mana casavha nisha na ni pi huan, mana uentallata, mana
caarashna nin.
Enthenoes chatpia causashoac ha; - shug shamanoha nin
caru llaqtamanta. - Huoa mana cao llaqtata oasaarashoa, caru
llaqtamantaci oasaarash - nisha na.
Chatya yuvarshpa puriyuppi chaumishoa nin caru llaqtamanta shug alli
rina ha pai getashoa nin caaamangapa. Na causasho hurashoac nin,
Chat manoac juin huarmita o'uyag oashoa nin juin sumag traatash.
Chatpia casarash oasashoa nin.

Chatpia casarash causashoac ha achoata causashoa nin, alli causasahpa-
lliata nin. - Cunanea hua famliliawaanatusa nin viuningapa. Vistsash
autigrinina hua familiata - nina nin.
Ari nish chatpi saquirin nin. Huarmi huasiipia saquirigpica ohaat
olilebra huanacaa shamuma nin paipaman-Canaa ailia casarash naisha
caana cha'i tuwacoangi - nina nin -. Cunanea imashi tuawngui.
Cunanea cantaca apapita shamanacauin. Patpa familihuan camba ooa shamungandi,
aparingami. Cunanea shug alli bestiaanu ellaashoa umaicaminan
shamanga. Alli ooballo ellaashoa umaicama aberoauna hurashoa shomanga.
Pero caana listito oangui ringapaa, Apangu caana puhoac, tijeras,
alogó, jadro, fragoa, apangui shinami - nina nin -, chaatac ha
maleta ruhaish listito oangui. Pero pagta caana montangumah vill alli
bestiapica. Canoa burritopio montasha ningui - nina nin.
Ari nish entonoes oashina aberoish saquirina nin.

Na ooea autimuna nin achoa paiipa famililaowahuan. Cuna autimushpa ha
paikan shug bestiata entregan nin chatpia montashna. Chatpia nina nin:
- Masa, Huaaca mana montashaoac chatpia. Huaaca uamashami, mana
montanata yaachisho. Shug burritopio montasha - nina nin.
Enthenoes cha'i paiipa Hain aulebrallata burro tuwushoa nin.
Cha'i burro
tuwaish cha'i montasha ha imena haaxallapita. Muni shi entonoes :
callarisho paioa, Maleta apashoa; tijaras, algodon, puhoao, nagaha, Jabon. Entonces chaita apash paizaoa nishoa man nin, humpapi churasha nishaoa nin. Pero nin nin: - Huacua mana humpapi mana rishaou.
Huacua huachatam risha burritopica, Huacua euarishami, Alli beeta-
waacua burrotoaca sarungami - nin.
Chaimanta nin nin: - Chugipipi churashun.
- Ni chugipipi peor mana rishaou. Huacua huahata c'atishallami,
cannuna humpachi.
Entonces ha tanto nin nin chugipipi churashun, humpapi churashun, nada.
Mana uyapi al fin ha rihuna ha pahta huahata c'atishish.
Tigaritaurasho reiushpallata rinuna nin ha cunyarihpa chaita. Sin
fin rinahoa paicunaac.

Na haendapi shayanuna nin. Haendena oai infierno oana nin.
Chayashpaca nin nin, amanca ha suegrooa nin nin nin: - Huacata
waiouchishun, nuacata waiouchishun. Caipi ha bestamanta uraiouchishun
nuacata. Huacata tapashun nich na cutinonunari, Maita pi paioa
burritopica jichurishhoca nuacata, Jichurishpaca ha ahoata aonita
shitarin paicunaac burro montasha. Cutimui callarisheacuna, Suegro
mana tariripica noviotoca tapashun oahashoa, huamrita tupamishun. Chai
novioea diablo oana nin, Shamuna nin, tiyarahoa. Na avanesa aeroa
nin burro montashaacu. Na avanesa aeroa eapagica algodon pedaso
shitasho nin hoip. Algodon shitagpica semejante p'uyu tuacuh libre
tuayash jaraaasheo nin chaita. Ini shina mana otoa pani kalasho
p'uyagh, Cutin chaitapish ha atish pasamana nin.

Cutin jabonta shitana nin. Jabonta cuti shitagpica tounia nin lluahoa
tuacuh jaraashoa nin. Diablo mana otoa pani valisheo lluohoaacu
umashpa. Umashpa jatarish pashoa in chashna ha huamrita japingapa.
Chaimanta ashto ha cutin aeroa eapagica ha cutin nagaha ha shitaasheo
nin. Nagaha shitagpica tuacuhoa nin semejanite oasha nin, tina mundo
oasha tuacuh jareac nin hampi. Chai oaslapanhe mana asahashpa ha
pasamullata nin. Na al fin ha huasman shayan aeroa nin. Entonesha
ha nagahoa tuwarihipo puhoata shftana nin. Puhoaoa ima mundo oasha
angu tuacuh nin, Chaipe entonesic lariishoa, sharuunana lariish umash
mana pani valin nin na. Puhoaoa oshnapihish atish ha pasamullata
nin. Ultimota na tiyerasia shitanana nin. Tijerasia shitagpica chupi
hampi ha jatan verdru amus tuacuh jareacu nin. Na huasman shayan
aeroaci. Chai jatan verdru amus tuacuh jaroagpica, chaipe diablo
tugyas ourtin, Cusa oana nin.

Chaimantaca diablo tugyas ourtirhsha qu'ipaa ha siali oylebraacu ha
burro oashpa cutin culebra tuacushoa. Cutin culebra tuacushpaca avertish
sauquirin: - Cunanoa pagta casarasanguman. Casarasangpaca pi mai pobro-
cunata, huagohasunata casarangui, ama pi carumanta casaraush ninguchu,
Huar oshu aunar rigetihoaanuata casarangui. Caruca ha
quishpichishpamiquiquishpini. Pagta casaranguman fuyafmacahuan,
rigetihoaanu casarangui.
Chaipa ari nin sauquirin shina mana casarash purilaseh.
Cutin ha casaruna nin, Chaipica casarana nin ha cristianohuan. Chai
cristianohuan casaransh casaracuw nin, ha alli casaracu nin, Alli
causaugpica cutin punta novio, chai diabloca, cutin chai paita oueaca
novia tuacuh cutin yaicuna nin. Cutin chai novia tuacuh yaiushpa
entonces tiyarin nin chaipe na. Na chaituan taririshpa paita juvin
p'ëñai ollaria nin oueaca. Sunamana huarmi nin pai cutin, Alli
huarmi paitaca juvin p'ëñan nin. P'ëñash ha macaushpalla mana puhashe
causasha nisopa na, Nonoa anahuta ohuashpa saachapi shizangapa nin nin
eweaca. Chai huarmihan causaouchpica, pero mana chai huarmi oana nin,
chai diablohuan.
Chaimanta ha saohapi shitashoa ūa, ūahui mana rioci valin, ūahui churulla chaiipi huacawana nin paioa. Chaii huacawuglica outin chaii ūahianca huayana nin, oulebraca, manapaman pero. Momatana nin: - Comba huahuaa ūina layataasha curseuon? Ri apamui shug vaso yaouta - nin nin -; causha huasti esquina, huasti alar esquinapi huuaashpa pacarichishun - nin.

Chaja vaso yaouta apamui oahipio ohausen nin, huasti esquinapi huuaashpa. Cayandica pacarin nin chushag yahuar yaacua. Chaiipi nin nin chaita: - Riqui maiša comba huahuapa caasatica cashnami - nin -; uumana jaou riushun - nin nin.

Chaiipio paioa yachashoa nin maipio caagata ūa. Ūa saohapi caasha nin, ūahui churushaoa shitashoa, ūahui illogila viruaashoa huuaashpa.


Entonees ūahui marupioa churashoa nin saha pangata japisipa, pero caashtushoa nin, caashish muuaah pulvish ūahui marupi churashoa nin. Ashtami unalapioa riouaashoa nin ūchiipi, libre. Chashma juraiashpa entonees: - Jau cuumana rioua oapa causeita riushun - nin.

Arīta nišh rinana nin. Entonees harthestapi ohayana nin. Chayashpaca nin: - Posadati cui - nin.

Chaiipioa nin nin chaita: - Arī, poada tiyarnī. Shug huallpaouna duguaanua susunua wouta riushhina nin chioairishun -; Chaiipi suenutshun - nin nin.

Arīta nišh chaiipio susuungapa siturinouna. Chaiipi suenucun nin, ūa chaiipi caomata ruahan, piĉhanna nin, tuuni sumaaṭa alliohinouna nin, susuna oamata ruhauci callarinauna nin.

Entonees paioa caashna lado woullapi oasha nin. Pat suenuna cashnana oajigaro (?). Entonees chaiipioa parlanaouna nin, juito parlanaouna nin. Chaiipioa entonees oahi ouuaa nin nin: ūina nišh ūuaa huarmi shineata rimarïn? ūuaa huarmi shineami rimarïn, chashnata.

Dinta tu nominate, juito susuusan nin, chaii moza huarmica suenumana nin. Paioa ouacui nin caassili, - ūuaa huarmi shineata rimarïnun.

Chaiinanka entonees jatariish rioungapa riina nin ūuaa huarmi oanga nišh.


Chaiipi entonees camapi suenucun nin paipia huarmico, moza huarmico.


Chaiipioa: - Arī.

The snake sister

There was once an unmarried young girl. She had no children and she lived alone with no man, for she wished to marry nobody. One day she went for a walk in an orchard. There a snake appeared before her and frightened her. "Ah, snake!" she cried. It happened that it was a pregnant snake that the woman saw. Some time went by and then she found that she too was pregnant. On finding herself with child she thought: "How have I become pregnant? I have been with no man. What is the cause?"

Then in a dream that snake spoke to her: "Do not be afraid, I have impregnated you."

When her time came, the woman gave birth to two children: one of them was a snake and the other a human being. When she found that she had two children and one of them a snake, the woman didn't know what to do. But at night in a dream the snake appeared to its mother and said: "Mother, take me to the spot where you were frightened that time, and leave me just there."

When the woman recalled the dream, she took the snake-child and left it at the spot where she had been frightened.

Then she began to raise the human child. The child grew and grew until she became an attractive young girl. She had many suitors but she didn't want to marry any of them, just like her mother. Then a young man came along from a distant town and the girl said: "I shall not marry someone from my home town, I shall marry someone from a far-off place."

She was thinking that when a handsome young man arrived from afar and she liked him enough to marry him. So with him she braved marriage. That man loved the woman very much and treated her very well. So they married and lived together.

A long time passed after they were married; life just went on. Then one day the husband said: "Now I am going to see my family. I will come back when I have visited them."

His wife agreed and stayed behind. While she remained behind in the house her snake-sister came to her: "Although you wanted to make a good marriage, look what has become of you," she said, "now what will happen to you? They will come to take you away. Your husband will come with his family and take you away. He will come with a fine well-bridled horse. But you be ready for him: take with you a ball of wool, a pair of scissors, some unspun cotton, some soap and a comb. Pack these things and be ready. But be careful not to mount that fine horse. You demand to ride the little donkey."

Thus the snake-sister left her with this warning.

Then the husband returned with a great number of relatives. Upon returning, he gave his wife a horse for her to mount. But she said: "No, I will not mount that beast. I'll fall off, for I do not know how to ride. I shall ride on the little donkey."

Then her very own snake-sister turned into a donkey. So the woman mounted on the back of her own sister. Once mounted, they set out. She carried in her bag the scissors, the cotton, the wool, the comb and the soap. Then her husband's relatives wanted to place her at the head of the file. But she said: "I won't go in front. I will travel behind on the little donkey and follow in your tracks. The better animals will tread on me if I go in front."
Then they said: "Then let's put you in the middle."
"Worse still. No, I won't go in the middle. I shall just follow behind, you all go ahead of me."

For some time they tried to persuade her to go first in front then in the middle, but to no avail. When she wouldn't heed them, they finally let her follow on behind. At first they kept looking back to see if she was still there, but later they forgot to do so. They travelled on and on without end.

Then at last they arrived at a hacienda. The hacienda was Hell. When they arrived, the girl's father-in-law said: "Let's make my daughter-in-law dismount. Let's get her down from her horse."

And now they did all go to the back of the line to find the daughter-in-law. But she had gone astray who knows where on the back of the little donkey. They had strayed far away, donkey and rider. The girl's in-laws set out in pursuit, but when her father-in-law couldn't find her, he sent the husband to find her and bring her back. Now that husband was the devil. He soon began to catch up with the girl on the donkey. When he was close to catching up with her she threw the piece of cotton onto the road. When she threw down the cotton it turned into fog: everything grew dark and the devil was impeded on his way. He couldn't progress quickly with the fog stopping him. But then he overcame the fog and continued on.

Then she threw down the soap, whereupon it turned into rain and made the road slippery. The devil couldn't move on quickly for he fell on the slippery surface of the road. Slipping and sliding he finally passed the obstacle and continued his pursuit of the woman. After that he grew nearer to her and this time she threw down the comb. As she threw the comb it turned into a great thorn bush and blocked the road. But the devil took no notice of the thorns either and just passed on. Then at last they came near to the girl's home. As the effects of the comb ended she threw down the ball of wool. The wool turned into a creeper that wound itself around the devil's feet causing him to fall and preventing him from walking. Then he overcame the obstacle of the wool and just came on his way. Finally she threw down the scissors. As she threw these down a tall green cross sprang up in the middle of the road and barred the way. They were now close to the girl's house. When the tall green cross barred his way, then the devil was overcome and turned back. He was her husband.

Then after the devil had been vanquished and had gone back whence he came, the snake-sister turned from a donkey back into a snake. On doing so she left her sister with this warning: "Now beware of marrying: marry a poor man or a rich man as may be, but do not marry a stranger. Marry someone you know from your own neighbourhood. I leave you now having rescued you. But beware of marrying outsiders, marry someone you know."

The other, agreeing with these words, remained behind and for a time did not marry.

Then one day she married again. This time she married a human being. She lived happily with the man she married. Then one day, as they were living happily, her first husband, that devil, took on the form of the woman and entered the house. Having taken on the appearance of the man's wife, the devil came into the man's house and sat down. When he was discovered with the devil-woman the woman's husband grew angry, beating her, and telling her he did not want to live with her, the
husband put his wife's eyes out and took her away to the forest. He was living with that woman who was really the devil.

The woman was now blinded and abandoned in the forest where she wept constantly. While she was weeping, her snake-sister came to the house of their mother. She said: "How is your daughter's life going? Go and fetch a glass of water. We shall leave it to sit overnight in the corner of the balcony of the house."

So they placed a glass of clear water at the corner of the balcony and the next morning it had turned all to blood. Then the snake said: "Look, this is how your daughter is living somewhere. Let us go and see her."

For she knew of the woman's whereabouts already. The woman was abandoned in the forest with her eyes put out she lay crying and unable to find her way out. Then the snake-sister arrived and scolded her saying: "I warned you not to marry any outsider whatsoever. Now let's go and see how your husband is faring."

Then she picked some leaves from the bushes, chewed them in her mouth, then having well masticated them she placed them on the woman's eyes. After a while she completely recovered her sight. Then the snake said, still rather crossly: "Let's go now and see how your husband fares."

The woman agreed and they set off. They arrived at the hacienda. On arriving; "Give us lodging," they said.

"Yes, there is room," replied the other.

Then he showed them to a room where the pigs and chickens slept so that they would be apart. "Sleep here," he said.

They agreed and lay down to go to sleep. That is where they slept: they made the bed there, swept the floor and cleaned the room beautifully.

Now the husband lay just on the other side, just in the neighbouring room. They were talking among themselves and he said: "Why is my wife talking to herself like that? My wife is talking to herself like that."

Now that devil-wife was fast asleep. The husband was listening quietly: "My wife is talking to herself like this."

Then he got up to see, thinking it might be his wife. And of course it was his wife. Then the snake-sister said to him: "Hey, why did you make my sister suffer so. You made her go through all this, why did you do so? You have a lovely wife. Now let's go and see your other woman."

Now his devil-wife was sleeping in bed. Lighting a candle he looked at her. That snake-sister was still talking as he looked, and a great horn appeared on the creature's head. The horned creature was sleeping like a dog, with a tail. Just like a sleeping dog it was lying with its head buried in its tail. The snake-sister spoke: "Look, your real wife is sleeping separately. You have made my sister suffer so much, and she is a lovely wife for you."

"Yes," said the husband.

Thus the snake-sister spoke, and the bed and the devil vanished in a puff of air. That snake-sister hadn't been a snake after all, but an angel. As the angel was speaking, the devil was vanquished and disappeared from the room. Then the angel turned into a dove and flew away from them to heaven,leaving her sister with a better life. That's all,

Informant: GGC, 5th November, 1976
Obstacle Flight

Miraculous conception

Human offspring of marriage of person and snake

Woman gives birth to a snake

Animals born from primeval mating of snake and person

Congenital helpful animal. Born at the same time as master and (usually) by same magic means

Snake as messenger

Magic knowledge from dream

Marriage restriction

Tabu: marrying outside of group

Devil as well-dressed gentleman

The devil as abductor

Humiliating marriage as punishment

Transformation: serpent to other animal

Family of demons

Devil marries disdainful girl; she escapes

Sisters rescue sisters

Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path

Devil's power avoided by cross

Green as symbolic colour

One's own kind preferred to strangers

Devil in form of woman

Wife banished

Disposal of cast-off wife

Life token; water turns to blood

Transformation: water becomes bloody

Snake heals mutilated maiden with magic herbs

Magic healing plant

Blindness magically cured

Sight restored by animal

Devil has horns

The devil's tail

Angels as rescuers

Angels save person from devil
1.0 Introduction

This text falls into a category somewhere between that of folk-tale and local legend: in its complexity of narrative structure, and its detachment from a specific location in time and space, it is a folktale. It does contain, however, certain features of theme and content that link it to those narratives that are more clearly in the category of legend: the heroine's failure to adhere to social expectations resulting in an unnatural union, and the identification of the devil with hasendado, and her abduction to the other world, for instance.

Only one version of it was found, and no variants were found in the comparative texts, unlike the case with the Bear's Son tale. The sequence of the heroine's escape from her non-human spouse by means of 'Obstacle Flight' is commonly found in Andean tales, particularly in the Peruvian context of flight from a condendado lover, so comparative analysis may be applied to this section of the tale, at least. Firstly, however, let us look at the narrative structure of the text as a whole.
2.0 Narrative structure

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake appears to tell her in dream it has caused pregnancy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H1 gives birth to 2 children: one a snake, the other human</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake child tells H1 in dream to return it to place of origin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rears human daughter as normal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daughter (H2) refuses to marry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H2 marries handsome stranger</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H2's husband leaves to fetch his family</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake sister warns H2 that husband is devil and to take precautions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H2 prepares herself according to snake sister's instructions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sets out on journey with devil-spouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arriving at hell-hacienda they find H2 has escaped</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H2 evades pursuit by devil</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H2 remarries</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>devil takes on H2's form and steals her husband (H3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H3 abandons H2 and lives with devil-wife</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake sister reveals H2's fate to H1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake sister and H1 rescue H2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake sister reveals identity of devil-wife to H3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>devil is overcome</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snake sister becomes dove and flies to heaven</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The repetitive features of this tale's narrative pattern illustrate the cyclical nature of narrative commonly found in the Andes; the Bear's Son tale was another example of it. In the present text, cyclical progression is marked firstly by the transference of heroine rôle from mother (H1) to daughter (H2) between Moves I and II. There are also minor repetitive features within the moves themselves, such as, for example, the appearance of snake progenitor
in a dream (Episode (iii)) and the appearance of snake child in a
dream (Episode (iv)), both occurring in Move I. Between Moves I and
II a structural repetition can be noted, firstly in the initial
situations. The mother's refusal to marry, and subsequent encounter
with the snake is repeated in her daughter's rejection of suitors and
eventual marriage to the stranger-devil. As has been seen, a breach
of social norms is a structural necessity for the subsequent encounter
between human and non-human protagonists, and the ensuing relation­
ship between them, in all tales of the section. In Move III, H2
becomes yet again victim of deception by the devil, but this time in­
directly, through the medium of her husband (H3), who is also taken
in by the former's false appearances. All three repetitions serve to
illustrate cyclical progression: at each move the sequence of events
appears to repeat itself, yet at the same time the action progresses
a stage further on from the last.

The oppositional relationship between mortal and supernatural
spouse is represented on three different planes during the course of
the tale. The pattern can be described as follows:

H1 : snake :: H2 : devil :: H3 : devil

The text describes a series of relationships in which mortal is
opposed to non-mortal. The relationships do not end there, however.
Consistent with Lévi-Strauss's definition of mythical thought processes,
which may operate in folktale also, these sets of oppositions are med­
iated by a third party in an attempt to bring about a resolution of
the conflict expressed by the oppositions (1972:224). I shall now
show how his statement is applicable to the text under study. The
mediating function here is performed by the snake sister, product of
the first of the preternatural unions, or oppositions, who after her
birth detaches herself from the family unit and becomes the linking
factor between the moves that ensue, by playing an active rôle in the resolution of the conflicts that each of those describe.

Move I: 'H1 : snake', stands for Lévi-Strauss's "two opposite terms with no intermediary". It results in the birth of two children, and as the narrative proceeds we see how the first opposition is replaced by another in which one of the children is opposed to the devil, and the other child acts as mediator. Thus the original opposition has fulfilled Lévi-Strauss's statement by being "replaced by two equivalent terms which admit of a third one as mediator". This pattern also provides a structural comparison with the devil legends in which a 'split hero' feature was found - whereby a shift in function on the part of one hero figure enabled him to act as mediator on behalf of the other. The present case could be viewed as a variation upon that pattern. Move II, therefore, describes a set of relationships which can be represented by a triad as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{H2} \\
\text{devil} \\
\text{snake sister}
\end{array}
\]

Thus it is shown schematically how the snake sister's mediation assists H2 against the threat from her devil-spouse. From now on the narrative presents permutations of relationships which can all be described by this triangular model, and Lévi-Strauss's statement: "then one of the polar terms and the mediator become replaced by a new triad and so on" can be seen to apply. As with Tale 20, these triads represent conflicts which in turn can be said to arise out of social preoccupation with marriage and the identity of in-laws. (1)

In Move III, a mutually positive relationship is seen for the first time – perhaps to be expected as it holds between two mortals: H2 and H3 – which is shortlived, however, due to renewed threat from
the devil:

\[
\text{Move III (a): } \begin{array}{c}
\text{H2} \\
\text{(-)} \\
\text{devil} \\
\text{H3}
\end{array}
\]

The text does not make clear the initial situation that gave rise to this new threat: H2 has presumably made a blameless marriage to one of her kind this time - the husband is referred to as a 'bristiano'.

Out of the deception of the husband develops a set of totally negative relationships, brought about by the doubly negative influence of the devil:

\[
\text{Move III (b): } \begin{array}{c}
\text{H2} \\
\text{(-)} \\
\text{devil} \\
\text{H3}
\end{array}
\]

We see that H3 has now shifted his position in the triad and occupies the 'slot' previously filled by the devil, that of threatening intermediary between two spheres. The negative influence of the devil causes the husband to adopt a uniquely negative mediating attitude towards his wife.

This situation is resolved by the reappearance of the snake sister in a positive mediating rôle, thus:

\[
\text{Move III (c): } \begin{array}{c}
\text{H2} \\
\text{(-)} \\
\text{devil} \\
\text{snake sister}
\end{array}
\]

This final mediation brings about the resolution of the series of oppositions set up between human and non-human spouses. Move IV culminates in this final resolution, in which a mutually reciprocated, positive relationship between H2 and H3 is finally established. Thus the narrative has progressed: the original conflict in Move I is resolved and a harmonious relationship is set up in which no further mediation is necessary.
By tracing the shifts in relationships between the actors of the tale in the way set out above, the pattern seen to run through the narrative suggests relationships between parts of the narrative which a syntagmatic layout of episodes alone would not reveal. The initial opposition (Move I) and final resolution (Move IV), can be seen in paradigmatic terms to be in structural opposition to each other. Moves II and III both contain triads in which H2 and H3 are threatened in turn by devil-spouse, and in each case the threat is mediated by the snake sister. They are thus structurally parallel to, or repetitions of, each other. The relationship between the moves constitutes the inner structure of the narrative, and reveals its symmetry. This can be summarized schematically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move I</th>
<th>Move IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1's refusal to marry : marriage of H2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abnormal union : normal union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move II</th>
<th>Move III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H2's refusal to marry : H2's marriage sanctioned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2's marriage to devil : H3's union with devil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediation by snake sister : mediation by snake sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devil overcome : devil overcome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that, despite the apparent structural repetitions which can be traced by comparing the relationships of H1, H2, and H3 in turn, with supernatural spouses, the outcome of the narrative is a positive one in which these conflicts are resolved: H2 remains to live 'happy ever after' with her human husband. Thus we are made aware that the tale follows a spiralling type of progression: the outcome is a step forward from the initial situation. From disunity and lack of harmony there is a progression to unity and harmony. The element that made such progression possible can be traced back to the very disunity at the outset: H1's abnormal impregnation results in the birth of the snake sister, whose existence makes possible the gradual move towards unity, by her acting out the role of mediator. Thus it
is that myth or, in this case, folktale, provides itself from within its own structure with the means of resolving the contradiction it poses.

3.0 Comparative analysis

Comparative analysis is restricted to a study of the nature and distribution of the 'Obstacle Flight' motif.

3.1 D672 Obstacle Flight: Indo-European tradition

In Indo-European tradition, this motif belongs primarily to A-T313: 'The Magic Flight. From the ogre's house. The fugitives throw magic objects behind them which become mountains, wood, or sea; or they change themselves into various animals or objects'. It is also to be found in A-T 314: 'The youth transformed to a horse', where the heroine is assisted by her companion's transformation into a horse that bears her, akin to the snake sister's transformation into a donkey in the Cahar text. The diffusion of the tale of the Magic Flight in Indo-European tradition has been well charted by historical-geographical analysts. Their efforts have been reviewed by Utley in his detailed account of paths of folktale migration to the Americas (1974:7). The tale is believed to be of far-flung and ancient origins recorded, for example, as a part of official Shinto myth in 8C Japan (Kroeber 1948:544-545, cited by Utley, loc.cit.). Its diffusion has also been discussed by Boas (1940:464), Aarne (1930), Thompson (1946:289), Sapir (1949:412-27), and von Sydow (1948:192).

3.2 D672 Obstacle Flight: Andean tradition

In Andean tradition, the 'Obstacle Flight' motif is most commonly associated with a certain sub-type of condonado tale to be found most
commonly in Peru, and documented by Morote Best (1958a). In this work he sets out to thoroughly invalidate Kroeber’s remark that the motif had been found in oral narrative on all the continents but South America. (3) Basing his analysis on 15 variants of the tale type from an area including Junin, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac, Cuzco, and Puno, Morote Best summarized their motifs under 12 general headings (op.cit.799-800). Below I give a shortened version, in translation, of his summary. Motifs 9 and 10 correspond to the 'Obstacle Flight':

1. A young couple have incestuous relations.
2. They leave their home town for the high mountains.
3. The man returns home to steal food or money.
4. The parents kill him thinking him a thief; they discover his identity and bury him.
5. The condenado returns to his lover.
6. The lover does not realize at first he is a condenado, despite his odd behaviour.
7. He takes the woman with him on a long and difficult journey through the mountains.
8. They arrive at the house of an old woman who reveals the man’s secret to the girl.
9. The old woman provides the girl with objects to help her escape: soap, a comb, a mirror, a needle, a ribbon (the objects can vary).
10. The girl flees the condenado throwing down the objects in his path: the soap becomes a slippery mountain, the comb a thorn bush, the mirror a lake, the needle a river, the ribbon a long road.
11. The girl is saved and takes refuge in a variety of places.
12. It is revealed that the old woman is the Virgen. (4)

Apart from Tale 17, there is no further incidence of the motif in the Cañar material. An instance of D642.7 Transformation Flight, which is closely linked, is to be found in Tale 33: ‘Niño Jesusmanta’, where the Christ Child transforms himself into a cotton tree and a cockerel in order to elude the devil-Jews. The 'Obstacle Flight' motif is found, however, in the comparative texts, eg. LS/CH/9, in which a comb thrown onto the road by the fleeing Christ Child turns into a forest in the path of the devils, and a mestizo version is included in Carvalho-Neto’s collection (1966:No.47).

This is a motif with great adaptability to a variety of contexts as has already been seen, and as can be seen further by reference to
Morote Best's listing of other tale types in which it is to be found (op.cit.833-839). These include, of particular relevance to the present study, the "Cuento del oso que robó a la chola", in which the fleeing mother and her bear-child use the devices of 'Obstacle Flight' in order to escape the bear: a comb which becomes a thorn bush, a needle a river, a ribbon a very long bridge. Apart from this sequence, which fits so neatly and logically into the context, the pattern of the tale's episodes follows those typically found in the Bear's Son tale in Peru. The wholesale incorporation of the motif into different Andean tale types was no doubt encouraged by the way in which it was possible to fit it as a self-contained unit into almost any tale which contained a flight sequence, without necessitating any alterations in the structure of that tale. Carvalho-Neto's No. 47: "Las hijas del rey", referred to above, is a tale of evident European descent, in which a king's daughters defend their kingdom by these same devices. The variability of context in which D672 Obstacle Flight can occur in Andean narrative may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pursuer</th>
<th>Pursued</th>
<th>Where found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>condenado</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>Peru, Ecuador (Cañar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devil</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>Ecuador (Cañar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devils</td>
<td>Christ Child</td>
<td>Ecuador (Cañar, Chibuleo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witch</td>
<td>little girl</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mustas</td>
<td>wild animals</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This summary is limited to the texts I had available; there may well be other type contexts to add to the list.

4.0 The tale in the context of Cañar

Whilst, unlike the local legends, this folktale cannot be closely related to the context of the local belief system, it is worth summing up the several levels at which it can be seen to fit into the context of oral narrative tradition in Cañar, and the Andes as a whole. It
contains certain elements that link it to the devil legend tradition; the abduction of heroine by non-human spouse is a familiar theme; the 'Obstacle Flight' motif has carved a niche for itself in Andean narrative, and this text contains a valuable example of it; at the level of deep structure it can be seen to describe a series of oppositions such as those between human and non-human, this world and the other world, and so on; and in tracing the sequence of events we find functions such as initial situation (violation of social norms)→encounter→journey→mediation→overcoming of non-human agent, giving it much in common with the structure of other texts in the section.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For a N. American example of the narrative expression of this preoccupation, see Hymes's study of a Clackamas Chinook myth (1971).

(2) Citations from Utley (loc.cit.)

(3) Cites Kroeber (1948:213).

(4) For further study of the tale type by the same author see Morote Best (1955); for full texts representing the type see Arguedas (1953: 150-153); an as yet unpublished variant was collected in Quechua by Pauline Hoggarth in Calca (1977); additionally Tale 17 of the present collection may be taken to be a derivative of the Andean tradition of the flight from a condenado lover.
I am going to tell a story. Look: there lived a widower who had two children. Then he married again, and his second wife couldn't stand those children. She would beat and scold them. One day she said to the man: "Take your children and leave them somewhere, then I shall live with you."

So the man toasted maize for the road and took the children to leave them in the forest. Then he told the children: "You stay here, I am going to collect firewood."

"Yes, father, we'll just wait here. Come back soon," they replied.

"You stay here. I'm going to chop wood," he said as he went off into the forest.
Then in the forest he asked a frog to make a chopping sound. And the children said: "Our father's cutting wood."

Then when he didn't return, they fell asleep right there. The next day they went along throwing the toasted maize to the ground so as not to get lost in the forest. Then they went to look in the place where the wood was being chopped. "Where's father?" they said. But their father was nowhere to be seen, he had gone. So they said: "Father has gone already."

So following the trail of toasted maize they came out of the forest.

When they had emerged from the forest they arrived at their house. Arriving, they stood just behind the house. Their father was having supper now with his wife and he spoke, saying: "Oh, my dear, at least I have put a little dish of broth where my children used to sit."

Thereupon, the children called out: "Here we are father!"

Then their father's wife said: "I've got terrible toothache! I've got terrible toothache!"

And she began to roll on the ground in anger.

So after that, the father carried the children to the forest again. This time he went to leave them further in and farther away in a place from which they wouldn't be able to get out. This time, truly unable to find the way out, they climbed to the top of a tall tree and looked out from it in the hopes of spying a house. Then they saw a house in a clearing deep in the forest. So together they followed the trail through the woods towards that place.

They arrived at a hacienda and there there was a large old woman cooking over a pan. So the children went forward stealthily and stole some food. Then one of the children said to her brother: "You come too, you come too. There's a person here."

So saying they stole food from the pan. Then the sister took an egg and hid it in her bosom. Then the old woman came and caught the children and said: "Come here, children, come here."

And she put the children indoors.

When they were indoors she told them: "Climb upstairs or my children will eat you when they come home."

So then the children climbed upstairs and crouched in a corner. When they were hidden in that corner, the woman said: "My children are back now."

Her children filed into the house and as they entered said: "I can smell meat up there, there is a smell of meat up there."

Then those old woman's children all gathered in and sat down together in the room. They put together a list of all the things they had done, where they had been, and what they had been up to. Then again they said: "Mother, there is a strong smell of meat from up there."

But the old woman answered: "No, my son, no."

After that the children went off to work again. When they had gone out the old woman spoke to her captives: "My little treasures, are you fat yet?"

Then the Virgen Mary gave them a mouse's tail so that when the old woman said: "Let's see your finger, are you fat yet?" the children showed her the tail of the mouse. "Not yet, children, you're not fat yet," said she.
Then one day they lost the mouse tail. Having lost it, they showed her their own fingers, and when they did so she declared: "Ah, my treasures, now you're fat."
Then she got a big pot ready in order to skin the children. Now as she was preparing to skin them, the little girl suddenly found she had a baby chick, which had hatched from the egg she had taken. Then the old woman's children came home in order to eat the children, beginning with the girl. As they were getting ready to eat her those male children said to their mother: "The child is fat now, mother, let's have some soup."
And the mother replied: "Very well."

Then as she was getting the water ready in the pot, she called to the little girl: "Come here. You are going to have a wash here."
And she sat her on the edge of the pot. She sat her there in order to push her into the boiling water. But the little girl said: "You sit here first."
And the girl pushed the old woman into the water instead. Then as she got out of the pot, she rolled over and got herself covered in ash from the fire. Then the boy children said: "The white cockerel is ours. The black cockerel is ours."
But then the gallo mihicou crowed and thereupon they all ran away, with their hearts bursting: the children, witches and all. They disappeared who knows where.

Informant: JMT, 7th July, 1976

cf. A-T 327A: Hansel and Gretel
S143 Abandonment in forest
R135 Abandoned children find way back by clue (breadcrumbs, grain, pebbles, etc.)
N776 Light seen from tree lodging place at night leads to adventures
G401 Children wander into ogre's house
G422 Ogre imprisons victim
G82 Cannibal fattens victim
G84 Fee-fi-fo-fum. Cannibal returning home smells human flesh and makes exclamation
G82.1.1 Captive sticks out bone instead of finger when cannibal tries to test fatness
G526 Ogre deceived by feigned ignorance of hero. Hero must be shown how to get into oven (or the like). Ogre shows him and permits himself to be burnt
Z65.2 Series: white cock, red cock, black cock
A1751 The devil's animals and God's
G303,25,19 Parliament of devils
D838.2 Magic object taken from ogre's house
G303,16,1 By help of Virgin devil may be escaped

Tale 26: Mama Ahuwardonchuan huahuaownahuan

Chaipi chayashpaca: - Rinimi ñuca yantata p'itingapa - nishpaca huahuitaunata saquisshpaca rina nin,
Ña chaipi ñantata p'itingapa rini nishpaca shug taru, shug pututa saquina nin huarushpa. Huairuanana chaipa 'taj taj' nichanun nin ña. Jutin tardeymuñin ña ña, Tardeymuñpi huahuanacuña rina nin riuungapa. 'Chaipi solo chay motilla huaraauroshsha ñin, Chaimanta huahuanacuña ña cutin rishpaca más desiertarishca más desiertarishca montañapi.


Chashnash ña shug viajepicu ña chupata ohingachisho ñin huahuanacuña. Chaimanta shug viajepicu dedota riñochina ñin ña. -ñamí gordo cashañauna - nishpaca ña Ahuardonacuña.
Chaimanta: - Riñuchi ña shina eirinînta - nishpa ña huahuanacuña ñina ñin.
Cashaña eirinîsh nigpi huahuitaunacuña yugarishchaña ñin. Paitana ñina ladopi eirinçupi tangash shitashe ñin ñinapi.

Ña chaïpiça: - Ñuca quiru nanathuan ñami, camba huahuanacuña entregacha, ñuca quiru nanathuan ñami - nishpa.
Huahuitaunacuña eñada ladopi cashaña satina ñin. - Ñuca mañi camba huahuata entregacha, ñucaman favorita ruhuat - ñina ñin ña ahangu. Chaimanta shug jatun pataman rina ñin ur renown semejante peña. Chai patapi ña ñiquipi llyuochichina ñin piquita. Chaimanta entonces ña chiñ pata ladoman chuaria ñañgu ñañgu ñañgu ñucañcha. Ña llyuochi callariçpi ñshun wu uquipi nishpña ña 'pañu' ña chashna uenita ashuilla cachna riñuñriñcha 'pesu' 'ajo!' Ahuardonacuña ñuca huahuanacuña ñin ña chaipi shunguta tugachish. Chaillami ñuca cownto,
Mama Ahuardona and the children

A widow and a widower, both of whom had children by their first marriages, were married. The woman couldn't stand her husband's children and would feed her own children grain while only giving a little clear soup to them. She didn't live at ease with her husband and one day said to him: "Take your children and abandon them somewhere. Then I'll live happily."

Hearing that, the husband took the children way into the wild forest and left them there.

When they arrived there, he told them: "I'm going to cut firewood." And so saying he left them. Then he took a gourd and hung it on the branch of a tree so that it would bang against the wood in the wind. It grew very late. As it grew late, the children went to see. There was only the gourd banging against the tree. So the children went on getting more and more lost in the forest.

There they climbed a tall tree and slept there. Then the following day they set off walking. From the tall tree they were able to see where there might be a house or a village. Then below on the edge of a clearing they made out a big hacienda. So they headed for that. Then when they arrived at the hacienda on the edge of the clearing, the boy went to take a look.

There was Ahuardona cooking tortillas. The boy went forward and stole a tortilla. Then on the next trip to steal, his sister giggled. Then Ahuardona seized upon the boy: "Aha, my little children," she said. Then she put the children into a tall jar to fatten them up. Then they showed a mouse's tail. Every week instead of showing a finger, they would show a mouse's tail. "Pooh, they're still skinny," Ahuardona would say.

Thus it was that on one occasion the children lost the tail. So that time they showed a finger. "Now they're fat," said Ahuardona. So she began to gather firewood. She collected together a lot and prepared an oven, then proceeded to light the fire. As she was lighting the fire she said to the children: "Come and lie down here beside the fire."

Then the children said: "Show us how to lie down."
The children devised this plan when she wanted them to lie down. When she lay down by the fire first, they pushed her into the flames.

Then the children escaped to the hillside. They arrived at the house of a skunk. The skunk said: "Go and fetch me a hatful of insect larva." So they went and came back with a hatful of insect larva and gave it to him. Then Ahuardona followed them carrying a ball of wool before her. She arrived with the ball of wool before her and asked: "Has there been any sign of my children?"
The skunk replied: "I have toothache, I'll hand over your children, I have toothache."
And he put the children one on either side. "I'll hand over your children if you do me a favour," said the skunk.

Then he went up onto a high ledge of rock on the hillside. There on the ledge he made Ahuardona extract a flea from his backside. He placed Ahuardona near the rim of the ledge. Then as she began to get the flea out, loud noises issued from inside him and then, pow! he threw Ahuardona over the cliff to her death. That's my story.

Informant: SM, 10th June, 1976

as for Tale 25 plus: G552 Rescue from ogre by helpful animals
Tale 27: Mama Ahuardona

Mama Ahuardona dice que era una mujer muy veterana, no. Tenía cabellos bien largos, pero tenía pulgas y piojos y muchas cosas en la cabeza, en todas partes. Entonces los hijos son los demonios dicen, no. Entonces uno se hacía amiga de la Mama Ahuardona. Entonces dos hermanos crecieron, no me recuerdo bien, un día se sentaron a espulgar a la Mama Ahuardona. Quedó bien dormida.

Pero antes de hacer eso díz que tenía a los dos hijos en un cajón para que no viera el propio hijo, no, fue el demonio. Entonces cada vez que veía el hijo o el demonio, le iba ver en el cajón. Y del cajón díz que tenía un rabo de ratón, le mostraron un rabo de ratón así. Entonces cuando ve, de ahí ese demonio díz que diera: - Todavía están flacos, todavía están flacos.

Entonces al mucho tiempo ya iban a trabajar, es que salían.

Bueno, un día es que estaban espulando a la mujer. Han estado espulando díz que ha quedado dormida. Entonces ellos avanzaban a trinoar por los cabellos, amarrar por todos lados. Bien amarrado le iban dejando y llevando todas las cosas de ella.

Old Woman Ahuardona

They say that Mama Ahuardona was a very old woman. She had very long hair, but she had fleas and ticks and lots of things in her hair and everywhere. Well, her children were the devils, right? Then a girl became Mama Ahuardona's servant. And the brother and sister sat down one day to delicence Mama Ahuardona. She fell fast asleep.

But before that they say that she had the two children in a box so that her own son who was the devil wouldn't see them. Then every day when the devil-son came, he went to see them in the box. And from the box they say they showed him a mouse tail, so that when that devil saw it, he would say: "They're still thin, they're still thin." Then after some time the devils would go out to go to work.

Well one day the children were delicing the woman. They say that as they were delicing her she fell asleep. Then they were able to fasten her by the hair, they tied her up on all sides by the hair. When she was secure they left her, taking all her things with them.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tale 25, no additions

Tale 28: Mama Ahuardona añashuan


There was a man who had a mistress. Mama Ahuardona carried that man away to punish him. Tying a woven ohumbi around himself he arrived at Hell. He was shut in there. Then when the children saw the woven ohumbi, they said: "What a pretty striped ohumbi I see, give it to us." Mama Ahuardona went to give an individual a punishment, and to fetch medicine. The devil children meanwhile freed the man and sent him away. When they asked him to give them the ohumbi, he left it for them. The man came out of hell. The children warned him to go quickly and not to delay on the road. So it was true that without awareness of what had happened, he came out of Hell.

There was a big cave and in the cave was a skunk weaving a blanket. The man hid there. Mama Ahuardona came after him with a ball of wool to catch the man. She entered the doorway of the cave and said to the skunk: "Hand that man over to me, bring him out." As she entered with her ball of wool, the skunk said: "I shall hand the man over to you if you do me a favour. As I was sitting here weaving the blanket, a flea crawled up my backside. I can't get it out at all. Get it out for me," the skunk asked her. Thereupon Mama Ahuardona went to get the flea out. As she was extracting it, the skunk expelled gas and put Ahuardona to flight. She left leaving the man behind. She didn't come back again, her ball of wool remained there.

When Mama Ahuardona had gone, the skunk said to the man: "From now on leave your mistress. Love your own wife, care for your own wife. Your own wife is good. Live a moral life." And so the man was saved and came away to live a moral life with his own wife. He left his mistress. That's the end.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

G530.2 Help from ogre's daughter (or son)
B300 Helpful animal
G500 Ogre defeated
1.0 Introduction

These texts shall be discussed mainly in connection with their narrative pattern, and with reference to a number of connected variants from Cañar, other parts of highland Ecuador, and Peru. The main aim will be to discuss how far the tale of the encounter of two abandoned children with a cannibalistic old woman can be said to be an oicotype of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel'. The term 'oicotype' was originally borrowed from botany by von Sydow, and applied as follows to the study of folklore:

"When then in the field of traditions a widely spread tradition, such as a tale or a legend (ie. sagn), forms special types through isolation inside and suitability for certain culture districts, the term oicotype can be used in the science of ethnology and folklore."
(1948:243, note 15)

Dundes, in reference to von Sydow, has clarified the use of the term still further:

"The concept oicotype differs from the notion of subtype in that the oicotype is tied by definition to a very specific locale,...What von Sydow calls oicotypification consists of the regular, almost predictable alteration that takes place when the content of a tale is changed to fit the culturally preferred pattern in a given locale."
(1965:220)

Certain of the texts in this sub-section suggest strong influence by the A-T type: are they then a Cañar variant, or oicotype, of 'Hansel and Gretel', and nothing else? This is the matter to be considered. The original use of the term, as the above definitions show, was confined to the study of typical local features of content that made a tale 'oicotypical'. I shall look at the Cañar texts partly from that angle. However, Dundes has taken the use of the term beyond von Sydow's original application of it, showing how just as there may exist oicotypes of content, so may there be structural forms of a narrative which are oicotypical to a particular locale.
from this latter angle that the 'Mama Ahuardona' texts will be examined in particular. There is evidence that whilst at first glance these texts seem merely to be adaptations of an Indoeuropean tale type, there is much in their structure that owes nothing to that type. They are in fact the result of a fusion of two tale traditions or two tale types, one Indoeuropean and one Andean, rather than simply an oicotype of a borrowed tale. The reasons why such a fusion should have occurred will be discussed, and further support for the views of Hymes and Dundes with regard to the borrowing process—discussed in Chapter 2—will be found. Tale 28, for example, shows that there is an Andean tradition separate from the 'Hansel and Gretel' pattern; Mama Ahuardona is a part of the local belief system, and she may play a part in tales which have nothing to do with the A-T type.

2.0 Narrative structure

Emphasis will be lain in this part of the analysis upon the questions, peculiar to the texts at hand, that have been outlined above. If we are to consider the extent to which some or all of these tales might be Cañar oicotypes of A-T327A, it will help to reproduce here the Aarne-Thompson description of the type, as a point of reference:

"327A. Hansel and Gretel. I. arrival at ogre's house. (a) children are abandoned by poor parents in a wood. (b) but they find their way back by cloth shreds or pebbles that they have dropped. (c) the third time birds eat their breadcrumbs, or grain clue and (d) they wander until they come to a gingerbread house which belongs to a witch. II. the ogre is deceived. The ogre smells human flesh and has the children imprisoned and fattened. (b) when his finger is to be cut to test his fatness the hero sticks out a bone or piece of wood. (d) the ogre's wife or child burned in his own oven (Type 1121). III. Escape."

The discussion will be taken in two parts: a consideration of oicotypical features of content, and a consideration of those of structure.
2.1 An eicotype of content?

Preceding studies of Amerindian versions of the type have, generally speaking, kept their search for the eicotypical elements in the texts to the level of content. An example is Powellson (1974), who attempts to explain transformation in motifs in his Peruvian Amazon version in terms of Yagua material culture. The same approach could be applied to my own material to explain, for example, the substitution of maize kernels for breadcrumbs to mark the trail home (Tale 25); why a gourd replaces the dead branch of European versions to sound like an axe against wood (Tale 26); (2) and why the old woman figure lives in a hacienda rather than a gingerbread house (Tales 25 & 26).

Sometimes such transformations may be explained by the narrative traditions of the culture, rather than by material or sociological features of it. In Tale 25, for example, the father enlists the aid of a frog to make the sound of wood-chopping, which motif surely derives from the Andean tale type 'The condor and the shepherdess' - described in sub-section (e) - where the heroine typically asks a frog to make sounds of washing while she escapes from her condor lover. This same motif recurs in the Canar fox and rabbit cycle, incidentally, where the rabbit employs a frog to make wood-chopping noises to keep the fox happy while he, the rabbit, escapes (Tale 38). The recurrence of the motif in these three different type contexts can be explained in terms of the tales' structure: in each case the narrative demands a device whereby the heroine or trickster be enabled to escape from the villain or dupe, as the case may be. In each case the device is the use of sound to deceive the one into thinking the other is close by and hasn't escaped at all. The effectiveness of the frog motif in the traditional Andean type has caused its spread to those other contexts where the tale structure invites it.
2.2 Structural oicotype?

It is straightforward enough to account for transformations at the level of content when a tale is borrowed from an outside culture. Oicotypical features of such a tale's structure are less obvious, and in order to identify and explain them, it is necessary to examine the tale in the context of the narrative patterns typical of the culture area. I shall compare the narrative structure of the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales with that of other tales in this section, and show how each of them is either a structural oicotype of A-T327A, or belongs to a separate narrative tradition, or represents a fusion of both of these trends. In order to establish which is the case for each of the tales, I shall look at each in turn.

2.2.1 Tale 25

This tale is a structural oicotype of A-T327A whose originality is to be found in the intrusion of episodes that belong more usually to the narrative pattern associated with devil legends of the Group (ii) variety. These were tales in which, to recap: the hero, wandering from home, climbs a tree to take his bearings, then comes to a deserted hacienda. As he shelters there, sometimes finding food, a party of devils arrive and hold a meeting; the eavesdropping hero is saved by the crowing of the cockerel or other typical means. The form of this local legend invited the introduction of A-T130: 'The animals in night quarters', which fits the structure almost exactly. I believe the motif N776 Light seen from tree lodging place at night leads to adventures' came into Cafiar tradition via that borrowing, and it is now to be found inserted into many tales where the narrative structure invites it, such as the present.

The intercalation of features of local devil legends into Tale 25 is made easier by the fact that Mama Ahuardona herself is, in my belief,
no immigrant witch of Indo-European origins, but rather a well-known figure of the local belief system whose functional similarities with the old woman in A-T327A suited her for this present role. Comparative material to be looked at later will support this suggestion. As a part of the belief system, she is thought to be mother of the devil, and it is this association that encourages the insertion of devil-legend sequences into the present text. The table below has been arranged so as to make clear the interaction of the two traditions: the Indo-European type and the local Andean legend:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>widower remarries, stepmother illtreats children (Hs)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>father abandons Hs in wood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>Hs return home</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Hs are abandoned again</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>Hs arrive at old woman's hacienda</td>
<td>3/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Hs steal food including an egg</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>old woman captures Hs and fattens them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>devil children come home and smell flesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>devils list sins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>devils leave 'for work'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>Virgen gives Hs mouse's tail</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii</td>
<td>Hs lose tail, old woman prepares pot</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>stolen egg hatches</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>devil children return</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>H pushes woman into own pot</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>cock crows, old woman and devils overcome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tale 25: Huahucumahuan jatun mamaruquhuan
The fusion of these two traditions is so well-established in this version that it has developed its own inner logic to account, for example, for the crowing of the *gallo mishicu* that traditionally puts the devils to flight: the theft of the egg (Episode (vi)) is a preparation for its hatching out (Episode (xiii)), and this in turn inferably accounts for the timely crowing of the cockerel (Episode (xvi)). The introduction of this final episode has even brought with it the traditional formula with which the devils announce the crowing of the different coloured cockerels, none of which affect them but the *mishicu*. Episode (viii) is somewhat debatably placed in the column of those episodes that derive from Cañar devil legend. On the one hand the flesh-smelling ogre is a feature of the Indo-European type ('G84 Pee-fi-fo-fum'), yet at the same time it has become such a well-integrated attribute of the devil in Cañar legends, that I consider its intrusion into the present text to be due to that tradition rather than any other.\(^{(3)}\)

2.2.2 Tale 26

In this tale the old woman figure is named, whereas her identity as Mama Ahuardona in Tale 25 had to be inferred from close similarities between the two texts. This tale again follows A-T327A closely up to a point, but develops in such a way that its identity as an oicotype can be firmly asserted - if we allow for what amounts to the fusion of narrative traditions to count as the formation of an oicotype. Unlike Tale 25, this tale does not owe its originality to an interweaving of structural features deriving from local devil legends; in fact, all those episodes listed in the second column of that table are lacking. It does follow the sequence of episodes that correspond to A-T327A up until Episode (xii), where instead of preparing a cooking pot, the Mama Ahuardona lights a fire into which the children succeed in pushing
her. She does not die, however, but pursues them as they escape, and another move develops. There are one or two other points of variation in the tale's content up to the end of Move II: for example, the successful return home of the children by following a trail of maize is missing; the father's first attempt at abandoning them succeeds. As the tale develops into Move III, the point of divergence from A-T327A is reached, and the sequence of events is then as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I &amp; II as for Tale 25</td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>He arrive at house of skunk</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>He fetch insect larvae for skunk</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ixx</td>
<td>Skunk hides Hs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>Mama Ahuardona arrives looking for Hs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxi</td>
<td>Skunk denies knowledge of their whereabouts, asks MA to remove flea from backside</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxii</td>
<td>Skunk releases gas in MA's face, she falls over cliff</td>
<td>10a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fusion of this sequence of events with the foregoing narrative is not unique in the Andean area. By looking at some of the comparative data we can appreciate more fully how the Cañar texts constitute at least an Andean, if not a Cañar, oicotype by dint of this characteristic. Ortiz Rescanière records two versions of the Peruvian myth of 'Wa-Qon'; in one version, this cannibalistic monster captures and devours the mother of the divine twins, offspring of 'Pacha-Kamac' and 'Pacha-Mama'; the twins then escape from him by tying him up by the hair while he is sleeping (Tale 27 contains this motif). They then take refuge in the home of a skunk, who sets a trap for the Wa-Qon when the latter comes in pursuit and causes him to fall to his death in an abyss. (4) The myth unravels further, describing how the
twins eventually ascend to the heavens and transform into Sun and Moon. While the outer structure of the myth differs, the sequence concerning the skunk forms a self-contained unit which has been effectively transplanted into Tale 26 whose context at that point demands it, and whose structure easily accommodates it.

Also in Peru, tales are found of a cannibalistic female known as Achiquee. Ortiz Rescanière records two versions, one of which opens with an account of the abandonment of two children due to famine; they encounter Achiquee who devours the brother. The girl escapes carrying her brother's bones and is sheltered by a skunk; later the boy is revived from his bones by God. (5) We should look forward here for a moment, and note that the girl's escape sequence is found in GS/CA/14, to be reviewed below.

The Ecuadorian Chificha tales, which appear to form an oicotype for Imbabura, have much in common with Achiquee and, by extension, with Mama Ahuardona. Typical versions are: JC/IM/6: "Chificha payapaj parlu", LS/IM/3: "La taita huahuacumahuan", LS/IM/2: "Shug llaatapi taita-mama tiashoa", and Parsons's two variants of "Chipicha" (1945: 131-134). In Jose Chavez's version, while again beginning according to the A-T327A pattern, the children then encounter the cannibalistic Chificha who asks them to delouse her. While doing so, they discover a second mouth in the back of her head, the one she uses to devour human beings. They escape when she falls asleep and are sheltered by a condor who hides them in his nose, and denies knowledge of their whereabouts when Chificha comes looking. The children then ascend to heaven in a paila and Chificha, attempting to follow them, falls to earth and is killed. The first of Parsons's variants recounts the devouring of the brother by the Chificha and his sister's escape carrying his bones with her.
The connection between Tale 26 and the traditions found for other parts of the Andes lies in the development of the narrative beyond Episode (xvi'), that is to say, in Move III. The children's protection by the skunk and the latter's deception of the Mama Ahuardona when she comes in pursuit, is reminiscent of sequences taking up similar structural positions in the narrative in the Achiquee and Wa-Qon traditions in Peru, and in the Chificha tales of Imbabura. In the case of the latter, I take the rôle of the condor to be structurally equivalent to that of the skunk elsewhere. As we look at the remaining texts from Cañar, more lines of comparison with other versions will become apparent.

2.2.3 Tale 27

This text is incomplete due no doubt to the informant's rather hazy recollection both of the narrative details and the sequence of episodes. It is worth including, nonetheless, as it provides evidence of fusion between features belonging to devil legends (as also found in Tale 25), and features found elsewhere in Andean narrative tradition (as also found in Tale 26). Despite its brevity, we can find a hint of the devil legend connection in the reference to the Mama Ahuardona's devil sons, who leave to 'go to work' (cf. Tale 25, Episode (x')). The delicing motif is a common one in the Chificha tales, and the device of tying her up by her hair in order to escape recalls the twins' escape in the Peruvian Wa-Qon myth. (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>children (Hs) in MA's service</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hs kept in box</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td>MA's devil children smell human flesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td></td>
<td>devil children leave for work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hs delice MA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>MA falls asleep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hs tie her up by hair and escape</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is also of interest that this variant has dispensed altogether with the sequence of events leading up to the children's capture by the old woman, deriving from A-T327A; its theme and content belong entirely to local and Andean folktale traditions. Although in rational terms this omission can be explained by faulty recollection of the tale on the narrator's part, it is interesting that that which is disremembered is that very portion which we assume was introduced from outside in the first place. When folk memory begins to fail, so it would seem, it is the locally traditional which is the last to be forgotten.

2.2.4 GS/CA/14

I now introduce a comparative text which, belonging to the same culture area, contributes valuable evidence to the case for the existence of a Cañar oicotype, or set of oicotypes, of A-T327A, (7) It is a text to which I have already referred in connection with the ullaahu tales, where we saw that the sequence where the heroine escapes carrying her brother's bones, from which he later revives, had been inset into GS/CA/18: "Ishaat huanquilinta", due to the structural similarities between the two narratives at that point, and an apparent categorical association between the ullaahu and the Mama Ahuardona. The early part of Schulze's text follows that of my Tale 26, that is to say the lines of A-T327A, with one or two minor points of difference: broad beans instead of maize kernels are used to leave a trail, and that episode follows logically on to the children's successful return home after their first abandonment; as in Tale 25, the second attempt at abandoning them is successful. The Mama Ahuardona fattens them on the flesh of unbaptized children; this detail is of relevance to my discussion of her structural connection with the Mama Huaca figure found in local belief elsewhere in the province, and a possible assimilation
in some aspects with lore surrounding the *uwu mama* (see § 4.0 below).

Whereas Tale 26 diverged from the A-T pattern after the children have pushed the old woman into her own fire, this variant diverges at an earlier stage, as soon as the old woman finds the children to be fat. At this point, she takes the brother into the house to sleep with her and the next move, which becomes Move III, develops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as for 26 to Move III</td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>MA takes boy child to sleep with her</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>girl child hears cries in night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>next morning finds her brother reduced to pile of bones</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>girl (H1) escapes with boy's (H2) bones</td>
<td>2/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>meets <em>caballero</em> who tells her to look away while H2 revived</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xviii</td>
<td>H1 breaks looking taboo, H2 revives as dog only</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>xix</td>
<td><em>caballero</em> (God?) gives them religious token and sends them on their way</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>Hs arrive at deserted <em>hao‘iendaa</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxi</td>
<td>devils gather below</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxii</td>
<td>devils list sins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxiii</td>
<td>overcome devils with religious token</td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxiv</td>
<td>continue journeys</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxv</td>
<td>arrive in town where water has dried up and king is dying</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxvi</td>
<td>use overheard knowledge from devils to put things to rights</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxvii</td>
<td>father and stepmother called for, stepmother killed in punishment</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, this text diverges from the A-T pattern onto quite a different 'tack' from that of Tale 26; the similarity between the two texts is only in the episodes they both owe to the Indo-European tradition. GS/CA/14 strikes one immediately as being more complex and rich in detail than the versions in my own collection. Moreover, it elaborates many of the features drawn from other areas of
Andean tradition, already discussed in relation to that collection: after setting the scene along A-T327A lines, it develops at Move III into the 'escape with the bones' sequence also found in the Chificha and the Achiquee tales; at Move IV, the heroes arrive at a deserted hacienda, which event triggers off a sequence which coincides almost exactly to the Group (ii) devil legends of this collection. The sequence constitutes a tale in its own right in the case of Tale 12. The final episode of GS/CA/14 does not fit in with the pattern of tales in this section, no function can be applied to it. It derives, I believe, from a borrowed tale type - A-T707; 'The three golden sons' - at the end of which a wicked stepmother is punished in the same way, and a version of which was related to me by EDC, although not included in this study.

2.2.5 Remarks in summary of § 2.0

So far, I have discussed those tales involving the Mama Ahuardona which to a greater or lesser extent merge elements of A-T327A with structures derived from more traditional branches of Andean oral narrative, to form idiosyncratic types of both structure and content. The two more traditional narrative patterns with which the A-T327A structure was found to be associated are that of the Wa-Qon myth and related tales, and that of the Cañar devil legends. (8) Tale 25 illustrates how two patterns may be ingeniously interwoven, the resulting hybrid becoming a coherent narrative in its own right. On the other hand, Tale 26 and GS/CA/14, whilst they join two branches of tradition into a logical whole, these are placed consecutively one after the other rather than being interwoven. Tale 25 combines A-T327A with devil legend structure; Tale 26 combines it with the Wa-Qon type structure; GS/CA/14 owes something to each of these. Tale 27, despite its
impoverished narrative style, also provides a link between the Wa-Qon tradition and the devil legend tradition, and furthermore almost entirely suppresses the A-T327A elements.

3.0 Tale 28: Mama Ahuardona in a wider context

The narrative structure of Tale 28 appears to have nothing to do with the Indo-European tradition discussed for Tales 25-27. It presents us with Mama Ahuardona in what I suppose to be a locally traditional context, with some structural debt to the Wa-Qon tradition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>adulterous man (H)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>MA carries H to hell</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>arrives in hell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>her devil children free him, told</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>not to delay on road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>ii i</td>
<td>6/9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>takes refuge in skunk's cave</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>skunk puts her to flight by trick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>skunk issues moral warning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This text is not very skilfully narrated, and several points remain obscure, however, the following are clear: we have here the Mama Ahuardona in her rôle as mother of the devils, but even more, her dwelling place is identified as hell and her function is the moralistic one of carrying sinners off there. In other words, there is a fuller assimilation with the lore of the devil legends, where the devil captures sinners and directs the other devils in the performance of their tasks.

In Tale 28, the victim's escape is curiously assisted by the devil children themselves, (9) and leads to Move II, whose pattern coincides with that of Move III of Tale 26, whose derivations have been discussed. The moralistic rôle adopted by the skunk is an innovation, however, and may well be a later development. As with the *ullišku* tales,
for the perpetuation of traditional narrative structures, a didactic note is added to give the tale a functional purpose relevant to modern usage - once the quasi-religious functions of myths themselves have dwindled. (10) This tale also provides us with a link, at the level of structure, with another set of oral narratives commonly found in an area to the immediate south-east of Cantón Cañar: the legends of the Mama Huaca, in some of which this personage is found to fill an identical structural rôle to that of the Mama Ahuardona.

4.0 Mama Ahuardona and the Mama Huaca

The figure of the Mama Huaca has already been mentioned in regard to her possible associations in popular lore with irou mama (see sub-section (a)). Legends concerning her have been collected in Pindilíng, Province of Cañar, (11) and in Paute, Guachapala, Gualaceo and Chordeleg, Province of Azuay. (12) The variant versions collected by Vintimilla contain a wide range of associations, all linked with this one personage: Version I follows A-T327A with little variation but for a few transformations at the level of content, the most notable, of course, being the introduction of the Mama Huaca into the rôle filled elsewhere by witch or Mama Ahuardona. Version II describes the capture of a sinful man by the Mama Huaca, who carries him to her hillside abode (not specifically termed hell). Eventually he escapes and seeks refuge with a skunk who performs the usual trick when the villain comes in pursuit. Here the Mama Huaca, as I have said, fills the 'slot' corresponding to Mama Ahuardona in a tale which is clearly a variant of my Tale 28. Vintimilla's Version III is less familiar in the context of the Mama Ahuardona tales, but has features which recall the lore surrounding the irou mama: a man out in search of Mama Huaca's beautiful daughter is captured by the old woman and forced to live in
her cave for one year. She has gold guarded by large dogs (cf. sub-
section (a)); eventually he escapes with some of the gold and returns
home a rich man.

According to one of Landívar's versions, the Mama Huaca is a
female who inhabits a cave, possesses golden cobs of corn and feeds
on new-born puppies:

"cuando se acercan los 'cristianos' desaparece, si estos
le llevan perros tiernos y le dejan en la entrada de la
cueva, la Huaca les deja granos de oro."
(op.cit.113)

This is strongly reminiscent of the behaviour of the urcou mama figure,
and encourages me to reconsider Mama Ahuardona, to whom Mama Huaca is
closely related, in the light of the evidence regarding the former
practice of infant sacrifice which was discussed in sub-section (a).

In connection with GS/CA/14, I noted how in that variant, the Mama
Ahuardona fattened her victims on the flesh of unbaptized children, a
motif which clearly derives from an association between her, the
Mama Huaca, and the urcou mama, in the complex of beliefs. My conten-
tion is, therefore, that associations between the theme dealt with in
A-T327A and certain aspects of the belief system of the Cañar region
were responsible for the appeal of the former, and its subsequent
incorporation into the latter. Here indeed may be the already exist-
ing structures which encouraged certain borrowings whose own structures
were compatible; here is support for the theories of Dundes, Hymes,
and the Marandas, referred to in Chapter 2, with which I agree.

Certainly, the Pindilig version of A-T327A recorded by Muñoz-Bernand
where the old woman figure is actually named urcou mana further backs
up my contention (op.cit.6).

Another of Landívar's versions is a variant of Vintimilla's
Version II described above, and contains in addition the detail
whereby the skunk asks the sinful man to collect him some insect
larva in return for his protection; this same motif is to be found in tale 26 (Episode xviii). The data available to us concerning the Mama Huaca, therefore, shows that her rôle in oral narrative in the Cañar/Azuay regions corresponds very closely to that of the Mama Ahuardona in the present texts. The only attribute that does not appear to correspond to both traditions is that of the 'guardian of treasure', which is found in several of the versions of the Mama Huaca legend, but not in connection with Mama Ahuardona, in my collection at least. I maintain however that to all intents and purposes the two characters fill the same categorical and structural 'slot' in the belief systems and oral narratives of the adjacent areas, and suspect moreover that the very name 'Ahuardona' (although some informants pronounced it 'Ahuadona') derives from the Spanish 'guardar', suggesting that she is potentially also the guardian of treasure like her counterpart the Mama Huaca, even if this attribute does not feature in my present data. (13)

5.0 Concluding remarks

The above analysis should have shown that these texts constitute something of a unique case in the collection for the way in which they combine a well-known Indo-European tale type with already existing, localized narrative traditions. Mama Ahuardona is a feature of the local belief system with many categorical associations beyond those with which the functions of the European witch figure coincides. Certain oicotypical forms of A-T327A have evolved in Cañar which take that fact into account. Moreover, we may find tales of the Mama Ahuardona which are quite independent of outside influence. The formation of oicotypes of A-T327A has had far-reaching effects upon narrative traditions in this area. By being able to combine with local forms, the originally borrowed structure has set down roots and is well
on the way to becoming 'Andeanized'. Tale 12: "Diablo apashoa huarmioa" (sub-section (b)), is an example of this process: the initial situation there is identical to that of A-T327A/Tales 25&26 - a stepmother who cannot abide her husband's children treats them cruelly. However, this time it is the stepmother who deserts her home, and is lured away by the devil to languish in hell for her sins.

In concluding, I wish to point out two further levels at which these tales could be examined, which would give them a firmer place still in the system of Cañar oral narrative as a whole. Firstly, the functions that define the tales in this section can be found here too - these tales have much that connects them to the legend pattern, as well as what they owe to folktale tradition. Then they describe a set of conflicts between hero and non-human agent, just as do all the texts of the section too. The lost children, or sinful man, are set up in opposition to the Mama Ahuardona as a result of a disruption of harmony at the outset of the tale: the intrusion of stepmother or the committing of adultery being the respective causes of this. The opposition (H : Mama Ahuardona) is then mediated by a third party, either gallo mishiou or skunk, and the initial opposition is resolved, harmony is restored. This system of relationships could be formalized as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
H & \leftrightarrow \text{Mama Ahuardona} \\
\text{helpful animal} & \rightarrow
\end{align*}
\]

And we are reminded of the triads representing positive and negative relationships between human and non-human agent that may be extracted recurrently from within the structure of these Section A tales.

To remind ourselves of this level of interpretation for the tales at hand is necessary if we are to understand the reasons for the cate-
gorical associations that account for fusion and confusion between Mama Ahuardona/Mama Huaca/wrco mma/devil, and the overlapping that occurs between these tales and those of Chificha, Achiquee, etc., from other parts of the Andes. These terms are all variables, in the final analysis, that may be seen to belong to a constant structural framework: one which describes the struggles between such perennial oppositions as nature: culture / young: old / this world: other world, and a framework upon which local variants of narratives that express this struggle are worked out.

FOOTNOTES

(1) He has discussed the theory of this point at length (1974:81-82), and has shown how it might work in practice in application to Lithuanian folktale, (1962a) and African folktales. (1971) He does stress, however, that oicotypical features of structure are likely to stretch across a wider area, and even cross-culturally, than features of content which may be limited to a narrow geographical area (1974:82).

(2) See Opie and Opie for an early published version of the A-T type, containing the 'dead branch' motif (1974:241).

(3) It is a localized attribute of the devil to the extent that it is also found in other tale types: viz. Tale 33: 'Niño Jesumanta', where the devils smell Christ's whereabouts.

(4) Ortiz Rescnière (1973:39-44), recopied from Pedro Villar Córdova (1933).

(5) Ortiz Rescnière (op.cit,184-185); see also Arguedas and Izquierdo Ríos (1970:120-123), reproduced in Ortiz Rescnière (op.cit.51).

(6) 'Delicing' is a common motif in Andean narrative, performing one or other of the following functions: a) it leads to the discovery by hero of non-human agent's true identity eg. JC/IM/6; b) it offers a chance for the non-human agent to abduct human victim, eg. LS/CH/6, in which the condor disguised as a young man uses this ploy to bring his victim to his side; c) it offers a chance for the hero to escape, eg. Tale 27.

(7) My grounds for classing this text as a 'Mama Ahuardona' tale lie a) in its theme; b) in its structure; c) in my interpretation of what appears to be a mistranscription in the text. The untranslatable line: "Chaica mama ahuardona cashoa nin, aristianota mcuj" should, I think, be rewritten as: Chaica Mama Ahuardona cashoa nin, aristianota mcuj", which would then translate as: 'That was the Mama Ahuardona who eats people" (GS/CA/14:75).
(8) It may be argued that these are of European derivation and, to some extent, they probably are; however, the fact that they have sufficient life in their present environment to influence other areas of its oral traditions warrants their recognition as integrated members of the local folk culture.

(9) Would it be too far-fetched to suggest this is structurally comparable to the sequence in Tales 20 & 21 where it is the mother of the ullachu who assists and warns the heroine to escape?

(10) Propp suggests such an historical relationship between myths and tales (1968:106), which is partially agreed with by Lévi-Strauss (1960:133).

(11) Muñoz-Bernand (n.d.)


(13) This etymological connection was suggested by Muñoz-Bernand's reference to: "huacae, guardonas, urcutaitas, etc.,", as if they belonged to a common realm of associations, and she has confirmed that there is popular confusion between them (1978, personal communication).
The traveller and the doves

There was once a traveller travelling along with his load. When night came down he took cover in a hut of sticks there. There he put down his load and sat down in the corner. Then a whole flock of doves came along. There were two travellers there taking rest beneath the trees when the flock came by. As they arrived, the doves spoke: "Our president is dying, what would be a good treatment for him?"

Then one of the doves, it must have been the mother bird, spoke: "Be quiet, you old gossip. They will come and catch us unless you're quiet," and as she spoke those travellers looked up and saw them there indeed. Then when it was dark one of them quietly came out of his resting place and climbed the tree in order to catch the bird. He caught the dove that had been gossiping. The bird had been warned to be quiet and now it was caught. Then the dove spoke: "Take our head, our beak, our wings, our tail, our breast and grind it all together on a flat stone. That juice will do him good, with that he'll get better again."
So doing that, the traveller went to where the dying man was and asked him: "How have you been since yesterday? What's the matter with you? What do you feel? I shall heal you, how much will you pay?"

And so, grinding the ingredients on a flat stone, he made the juice and administered it. He cured that president. Then he paid the price. How much might it be? A thousand suoves, a lot. I don't really know how much he might have been paid. Then they drank and ate in celebration. There it ends.

Informant: PTA, 29th August, 1976

N451.1 Secrets of animals accidentally overheard from tree hiding place
N452 Secret remedy overheard in conversation of animals
H512 Medicine shown by animal
F1045 Night spent in tree
B235 Secrets discussed in animal meeting
H963 Tasks performed by means of secrets overheard from tree
Q94 Reward for cure
Q111 Riches as reward

Tale 30: Pueblo nuevomanta

Shug punsha shug animalitoocunaoa tandanaoushoa niroa shug parteman.
Shug punsha nishoa nin allquito ha jutin mayoryash mana pudingoa nin
ladranata. Chaipica nishoa nin oui amoca: - Cai allowoo ima mana
valinohu; mana ladranata yachan ni ima, solo sirishha puacan, Sipish
shitalani.

Bueno allquitoa entendin manahu, pero oui animalitooc solo shimi
llugshina mana pudin. Bueno sentimentohon saquirin animalitooc.
Cha mismo punshallata cutin shug huastip nishoa nin oui mishaa mana
japi pudingu uouchaunata. Paipa humpallatacami pasuuan animalitinaa,
pero mana japiin. Claro mishi ha mayoryashpaa nahui mana riouy, cha-
raiwum mana japi pudiin.

Cutin shug amoca nishoa nin: - Cai burro mana api valinohu. De
adredemt caipi charinohi, ni ima favorita mana ruhuanohu, mana apari
pudin, ni ima.

Cai animalitoocuna tanto tiempo servido ha mayoryashoa, mana pudingoa
llashag cara aparinata. Cutin shug tutamantaa-nishoa nin, mismo
tutamanta, cha rato, chaie semanallata shug amoca nishoa nin: - Cai
gallooa mana utcata cantaan ni hualpacaunata mana empollan. Shinaa
shamauum fafiniawna nuevo nacionmanta, ouan oui gaullotaac atonooesca
chaipimi aslum pelasun. Rouo riushun co tinavara - nishoa nin.
Gallinohna chayashoa nin: - Cai gaullotami pelangui - nishoa nin.
Paipa riouyishoa nin gallootalaa. Bueno chaica ha sentimentohon
gallooa saquirishoa. Twoutipsh ruuyagpi huamahitaacu desprietan
nishoa nin.

Entonoes ha allquitoa madrugasha nishoa ha, utcata amaza paita
stipipi. Tutamanta stipina cara rapipica madrugadota nishoa ha shug
hampi siricushoa. Ishoai hampi: chaie manyoa raquirig cahaa, shuuga
shug ladoman, shuuga shug ladoman, Chaipici tiyasha shug saha yura.
Chaipimi allquitoa siricushoa, Chaipi siriquippica caaguilla mishi
chayan: - Ulimata ruhuan oui caipi cangu?
- Hombre, hucataac caashmani: - Huaa joven caashpaa animalituna
ouidaroani, huaeta ouidaroani, chagraunata ouidaroacani, oumanca
mana pudinichu jatarinata. Amoaa nimmu oanaaa sipish shinamami
nishpa nin. Cai alloqua ima favorta mana ruhu祖先h nishpa nin.
Chairacumi shamananci oaiman. Nuaa riounimi caru llagtaman. Rinimi
pueblo nuevoman.

Mishica nin: - Huatapish pushagri, Huuapish rigrinillatami. Huatapish
shinanllatami nin. Nuaa ruhuvi mana riapqpi wuwaacuunaacu nampa
tuacuata payan, chaiacu mana japtin nishpami, Huataaca huawuchinata
nishpami nin, chairacumi shamuni. Chairacumi oanaaa na ishahai
tucunchuna.

Cutin qu'ipaca na burro shayamun. Burro nishca nin: - Ahora compañeros
pinta ruhusi canuna catpi tiyaongunichi? 
Tuun tiuullla pasacaushoa nin, manara gloriagpi, tuta tuta. Entonoes
chapi nishca nin: - Nuanachi casnami huaatsi Huuanoxita mana rieug
pushagri, lliyeshi shamanacanohi, huawushina nigpi.
Buroaca nishca nin: - Huatapish sipish shiataba nimmi. Allouwuanan
ocaniga vaqueroa allowouna shamurin, huagraouncuan, cai yomana.
Caitaca sipish shiata Huataaca allowuanan oanaa nishpami nin,
Chairacumi shamuni lliyeshi. Pueblo nuevoman Huuapish riounti.
- Nuanopiripsh riounshillatami.
Na quima tucau na.

Entonoes gallo shayamun nin. Gallo pasacuashaia nin, ima shinashari
shug sacha yurapi huagatsirsha alas 'patag' nimmu nin. Chaumanta nin:
- ¿Pita pasacuunichi?
- Nuaa.
- Chaumanta riangu? 
- Nuaa riunti puebbo nuevoman. Chaipishi cauceai tiyan nuancshi
caucui pushagri, mana utaata jatarinata pushagri. Na jucuvi nashpa
utaata qantaqwnacu la una de la maianata. Cunancia manu pudini,
Na guratorunami cantami. Chaumanta oanaaa despendidsha ocaxan
nirim ooineyraman virami rioulingapa amoaa cai galloaca. Pueblo
nuevomantami shamuaacu shug visitantes familias. Cunancia chauman
chaipi preparashun catata preparangui, cai galottam huawushiqun,
nishpami nirou. Cunancia Nuaaca shitag shamunimi de capricho, cai
tuqui tiempo sirwliqhaata pawuna mana agredeshi, chaata ruhaushaa
nin. Na cipaata patapa nangapi mana riungapi ni tempoq ni ano patpa
platiqi mana rioungacuHuataaca. Chaumantami shamuni shiatasha.
Cuprichari shamuni. Cunun Nuanapi tuccu riucnsh quichu Nuaapish
riuntaumti.

Entonoes na tuuci tandacuasha pinauwa nin. Na mishi rin, burro
rin, gallo rin, allquito rin. Tuucu tandanacush pinaawa. Satun
nampa rihschuaa. Tuucu punha purishcauwa, Shug montah riouwha,
na ohshi tuucatu. Nishca catataca burrora loanpi rin. Ratocua
purisha rin. Balotocua shinallata chaquillahan purishpa. Burroocar
mana tanto shayashchaacu canga. Ashunocari mishi, allouca mana tanto
shayushchaacu canga. Gallomi ashun shayuschaacu canga.

Bueno, na tutayun. Tutapacipa oai montahacipa caillapi pacarishun
nishpashi nissanacua. Cai purapica ximashinata rishum? Nanta mana
rigtinaoh, sahitappi rina? Entonoes nishca nin caillapi pacarishuni,
Tuucualltanacush arrimashiuacuunaami. Shug ranxuquito riurishshake
nin, chaipi shug shudita tuuchsua. Chaipi arrimashuacuuna. Gallocoa
como allopi suehun nishca nin, sahata jahuashuca. Shug alto sacha


Dusheoomann a'atimam Huasonhi shhuhasheoa apamushoata nishpaca tuuci susto lligsheirisheoaunawo maipi ima tuucgapa, saahe mai tuuri mitioush.


There was once a farmer who one day remarked that the farm-dog was getting old and could no longer bark: "This dog is useless, it can't even bark. It just spends its time lying down," he said, "I'm going to strangle it."

Now the animal couldn't speak but he could understand his master's words. And he was very upset by what he heard. Now that very same day, in another house, the master remarked that the cat could no longer catch mice: "The animals run right in front of her nose but she doesn't catch them," he said.

For of course the cat was getting old and her eyes were weak; that was why she couldn't catch mice.

Then another farmer was heard to say: "This donkey can't carry loads. We're keeping him here for no reason; he's good for no task at all."

The poor animal had served for many years; now he was growing old and couldn't carry heavy loads any more. Then that same morning another master commented: "This rooster doesn't crow early. Neither does it fertilize the hens anymore. Now, I have some relatives coming to visit me from the new land, so let's skin the old bird for them to eat. Let's go and see the cook," he said.

And he came with the rooster and showed it to the cook saying: "Skin this bird."

Well the cockerel was very upset: "Everyone despises us when we get old," he said to himself.

The next day the little dog got up before dawn, before he was due to be strangled, and went out onto the road to lie down. It was a place where the road forked, one path going one way and the other another. Nearby there was a low bush, and the dog lay down beneath it. As he was lying there, the cat came along unknown to her master: "What are you doing here?" she asked.

"It's like this," the dog replied, "when I was young I looked after the other animals, the house and the fields. Now I can't get up. My master wants to strangle me, saying that I'm no good any more. So I came here. I'm going to a far-off country, to the new land."

And the cat said: "Take me with you, I'm going along too. I'm in the same situation. My sight is failing me and the mice run in front of me and behind me. My master wants to kill me because I can't catch them any more; that's why I've come."

So now there were two of them.

Then a little later, the donkey arrived and said: "Well my friends, what are you doing here?"

He made quite a noise as he came past. It was still night as they all gathered there. The others said: "They don't like us at home and wanted to kill us, so we came away."

And the donkey said: "They wanted to strangle me too. This week the cowmen are coming with the bulls, and they were going to feed me to their dogs. So that's why I came away. I'm going to the new land."

"Why, so are we," said the others.

And now they were three.

Then along came the rooster. It was passing by and landed in the bush, somehow making a great beating noise with its wings, "Who goes there?" cried the other animals.

"It's me," replied the rooster.
"Where are you going?"
"I'm going to live in the new land, because I can't get up early and crow any longer. When I was young I used to crow at one o'clock in the morning. But now I can't. Now I don't crow until daybreak. So the master wanted to get rid of me. He went to show me to his cook. He ordered him to kill and prepare me for some relatives who are coming from the new land to visit. But I was very angry and got out of there. This is how those people repay me for all the time I have served them. But I'll neither be seen in the cook's pot nor on my master's plate. I've come away very angry."
Then he added: "So now let's all go, I'm coming too."

So they all went along together: the cat, the donkey, the rooster and the dog. They went together along the highway. They walked all day and then at nightfall they came to a mountainside. Sometimes the cat rode on the donkey's back, and sometimes she walked. The rooster went on foot. The donkey and the dog were not so tired; but rather the cat and the cockerel grew weary.

Well, night fell and they decided among themselves to spend the night on the mountainside. For how could they walk through that darkness when they didn't know which way the road lay? So they snuggled up together in a little makeshift house of sticks that they found, and there they prepared to sleep. As the cockerel sleeps high up, he climbed to the top of a tall tree, as tall as a eucalyptus, and there he slept. He awoke in the night, when it was nearly time for him to start crowing, and managed to make out a light burning in the distance. So he came down from the tree to tell his friends: "Friends, we are near a house! There's a house and shelter over there. Let's go. Perhaps they will give us a roof. Perhaps they will give us something to eat. For we haven't eaten anything all day. Let's go and ask for something."

So they set off walking together. The rooster would fly to the tree tops to spy out the way: "We're nearly there, we're nearly there," he would cry as he watched out, "it's right here, it's right here," and in this way they arrived at the house where the light was shining. When they got to the house they began to make noises like a band of musicians. First the cock began to crow, then the donkey brayed in a deep bass voice, then all of them struck up different notes in the yard outside. Now, this house was a thieves' den, and when the thieves heard the noise, they thought the rightful owners had followed them to take back all the things they had stolen. So in a great fright, they rushed from the house and ran off to hide somewhere in the woods.

Then the whole band of musicians went into the house where the light was still shining. Inside the thieves had prepared the most wonderful meal. It was just like a party: a cow had been skinned and roasted, and there was a pot of boiled maize, all for them to eat their fill. So when the animals arrived and went inside they had a great meal. Then, as the dog liked to sleep in the doorway, he went outside to lie in the corridor. The cat always slept on the flat stone by the fireplace, so she lay down there and went to sleep. Then the donkey went outside to the yard and lay down wearily on the ground. And so each of the animals took up his favourite position and fell asleep.
Then in the middle of the night when all was quiet and no-one would wake up and hear him, one of the thieves came to the house. The other thieves had been too frightened and did not want to go, but this one was brave and went to have a look saying: "Whether I live or die, I shall go and take a look. All is quiet, those people that were playing music must be far away by now."

But they hadn't gone away at all - they were all asleep in the house!

Well, when the thief arrived, he tried to light the fire as it had gone out. He bent down and tried to light it by blowing on the glowing embers of the logs. And while he was blowing, the cat woke up. When she awoke who was frightened and hissed, raising her paws in the air and sticking out her claws. And when she hissed, the man who was blowing the fire looked up - and she scratched out his eyes!

In a great fright, the thief ran out into the corridor and there the dog began to bark ferociously! He sent him packing, bitten to bits! Then the donkey lying in the middle of the yard took fright and got to his feet. He kicked the thief with his hind legs and sent him rolling along the ground! So the thief took to his heels and made for the woods, running blindly to get back to his friends, hardly knowing where he was going. And he told his friends what had happened: "There was a witch on the ledge beside the hearth and she scratched my eyes out with a sword. Then in the yard there was a guard who attacked me with a spear, covering me with blood and tearing my clothes to ribbons. Then there was a drunkard lying in the middle of the yard who kicked me and sent me rolling on the ground!"

And so the thieves made off - who knows where! And the animals stayed behind to become the owners of the house!

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976

cf. A-T 130: The animals in night quarters (Bremen City musicians)
B212 Animal understands human speech
B296 Animals go a-journeying
N776 Light seen from tree lodging place by night leads to adventures
K1161 Animals hidden in various parts of house attack owner with their characteristic powers and kill him when he enters
J1762 Animal thought to be person
Q110 Material rewards

Tale 31: Runahuan oh'alli huarmihuan

sepultura igual.

Chaiti causahpaac na shug martes punshaca yacuna nin shug shuspi.
Ima sisa asusinahuan captashoa. Chai yaiungpi shusipa huawushina nin.
Tutaa entrees huamohlak apunah Jesu Cristooca revelana nin:
- ¿Mapata shusipa huawushhoangui? Mana shusipicho caaco, fucanari
carcani. Cai mundo huata caan shashna sufringui compromiso ruhuaushoa.
Cunan amplihoangui, entrees aviance de lo miemi yaiuna.
Chai siataasa quima caunin caaco huarmipa fahuapia arua ruhuaush pasangui,
Huarmica entrees na sueho cuantam riguarhinga. Camba huarmi ni ima
mana tuoshua, mana ismuushoa, ni mana chaquishoa, ni ima. Santitom
camba huarmica - nishpa na huacohi apunah Jesu Cristooca nuisuahina
nin, tutu revelana nin.

Entonces ayandin, miécoles doce horostacay, yacuna nin chait shusipica
cuitin na sisallamanta. Chaiti siata jaapishpa shusiptaaca jaapishpa,
uuchashpa, chait sishuuanca huarmipa fahuapia quima orusta ruhuausha nin.
Huarmica na suehina cuanta 'aij' nishpa samaita ateshpa na jatarina
nin. Jatarishaapa nina nin: - Cuiti igual shina aashoangui.
Chaimanta nina nin: - Ari. Cananlla shina suenuan ohangui.
- ¿Caipichu oashoahni? - nina nin.
Cusaca respondina nin: - Imata caainalla canguiari, iehoa chunga huasou
huatumai caipi oana igual - nina nin.
Chaimanta ha: - ¿Ima shinatu Uugashini? ¿Matta Uugashini? -
nina nin.
Chaiti ha panteon, como panteonpico ha ima shina enterracuch oana nin,
chait jahua puruush o'ayana nin. Chai respiracionmanita c'ayapipa
nina nin: - Catta pasahsh cui. Uugshisha ninohi huanocohica - nishpa.
Entonces panteon urui shomuash uggashina nin.

Chaimanta shumana nin, Huasiman shumana nin shumana nin. Maiyha
lamar ladota shamuahpaa entrees ha ana malanooha oasi maltrato
oana. Sueshuca nin, Shug marinero shumushpaa chai huarmita inquitana
nin. Inquitashpaa na baroochipi ohurasha aparina nin. Pai yuapita
japipico ha suehmanita riguarhigpico entrees tronoota oanu
suehuashoa nin. Huarmica qui'en sabe ima horasmi ricea mata chai
marinerohuanoa. Pero chai sisita dolliushoa oana nin.

Chaimanta ha tuta ha maipishari sueho japigpica tomu huahtallapi
shununa nin. Pero semajante lamar yazu ladopi. Chaiti tuta revelana
nin: - Ari. Canoaajina ruhauvipata huarmita oasharih shitangui?
Camba huarmica ha marinerohoan, shuhash, rimni.
- ¿Ima shinata pasahsh? - nina nin - ¿Ima shinata pasash ha cui mundo
laya lamar yausman shug Ladomana?
Chai nina nin: - Ama ima ruhuiosho, Quimoa orusta lamarpia ima arus
ruhuash shitai, Chaimanta sisiopl tiyari, Sisaca paseangallami shug
ladomana - nina nin.

Pasaash na shug Ladomana, Pasash na hayaacuna nin. Chai rey
huawashoa oana nin. Na ploho caunin huata huawashoa oana nin reyca.
Na pi mana purina nin chai rey causam puebho palaoplpi. Pi ni maipi
ni gente ni chuspi, mana purina nin. Alli guardiashoa oana nin,
Paiaa riuna nin ha shuspi caulleta na preso japina nin. Chaiti preso
japipica nina nin: - Ari. Nuaa oashna caaushna shina shintami oaroani,
Compromiso ruhaushpa tal tanto hauatatma fuaaca caipi oashpi naa
shamuchoi huarmi changashish marinerohoan risheca - nish.
Entonces; - Canca huauhtga causahgiipi oashhoangui. Jaau, reyca
cinquantina afios huawahoomi. Chaita causahyingui - nish aparina nin
alli astigash alli asotishpa aparina nin.
A faithful husband and a faithless wife

I am going to tell a story of the old days about two young people who were married until death. They made an agreement that when one of them died the other should live along with his partner in the grave. A young girl and a young man fell in love and he asked her to marry him with this condition: "When I die, or when you die, we must be buried together and there we shall live in the grave until the dead one comes back to life."

And so they were married and lived together happily for a year and five months. Then the wife died. As his wife was dead and he remained living, the man kept to the arrangement they had made. He ordered a specially wide grave to be dug, with a shaft for air, and there they were buried together. There they lived together in the grave for four and twenty years!

One day, a Tuesday, as they were there, a fly flew out of a lily-flower where it had perhaps been trapped, and entered the grave. Seeing the fly come into the grave, the man killed it. That night, however, our Lord Jesus Christ appeared before him and asked: "Why did you kill that fly? For it was not a fly, it was I. You have been suffering all these years for the contract you made. Now you have fulfilled that contract, so I shall come to you again in the grave. Take the lily-flower and make the sign of the cross three times over your wife's body. She will then wake up as if from a long sleep. Nothing will have happened to her; she will not be rotten or shrivelled or anything, Your wife will be alive and well."

With these words our Lord revealed himself to the man in a dream.
So the next day, Wednesday, at midday, a fly again flew out of the same flower. This time the man grasped the flower, took the fly and kissed it, and with the flower made the sign of the cross three times over his wife's body. Then his wife awoke as if from a dream. Gasping to catch her breath she sat up. "My husband, you have been here with me," she said.
"Yes," he replied, "just yesterday we were both asleep here."
"You mean we have been here all the time?"
"You haven't just been here these few days past," said her husband, "we've been here together for twenty-four years."

Then they began to wonder how they would get out of the grave, for there they were buried in the cemetery. They heard people walking overhead and called out to them through the air shaft: "Open up here! We want to get out!"

And so some people dug down into the grave and helped them out.

After that they came home to their house somewhere on the seashore. There the husband fell asleep but slept very badly. While he was sleeping, a sailor came and pestered his wife and took her away with him in a boat. Suddenly the man came to his senses and awoke to find he had been sleeping with his head on a log. Who knows at what hour of the night his wife must have stolen away with the sailor?

But the husband still had the flower in his pocket. That night he was wandering somewhere on the seashore when sleep came over him and he lay down behind a clump of grass. As he lay, Our Lord appeared to him again and said: "Why have you let your wife go? Your wife has gone away with another man, with a sailor."

And the man asked: "How am I to follow her across that great ocean?"

The vision replied: "Do nothing. Just make three signs of the cross over the water, then sit down in the flower. The flower will simply carry you over to the other side."

And so he passed over to the other side of the ocean. He stood up and looked around him. In that land the king had died. He had lain dead now for fifty years and no-one was allowed to enter the palace; not a soul, not even a fly could enter there, it was so well guarded. Well, as the man was walking down the street he was taken prisoner. At this, he began to explain his story: that he had followed an agreement with his wife and had spent so many years in the grave with her. Then she had come back to life, but now he had lost her to a sailor. Hearing his account, the people said: "So you know how to bring the dead back to life? Well, our king has been dead for fifty years. Come on, you must restore him for us."

And they led him off, beating and whipping him as they went.

When he arrived where the king lay, the man made a prayer to Our Lord and then made the sign of the cross three times over the body. At this the dead man arose, gasping for breath: "Ah! Where on earth am I? What on earth has happened to me?"

Then the king declared that the man must marry the princess. They gave him fine foods to eat and dressed him in the best clothes. But the man said: "I don't wish to be married to anybody. All I wish is that I may be made a sea-captain so that I may watch out over the sea for my wife's return."

And so his wish was granted,
He arranged to sail with a whole fleet of ships to the place where the other sailor was known to harbour. On his arrival he took over command of the port and waited there for five years. After five years his wife came back. He could see her clearly as she approached by boat towards the shore. As he awaited her arrival he remained seated in his chair of office. From there he directed the officers of his fleet: "There comes my wife. As soon as she lands, take her prisoner. Then cut her to pieces and burn her."

So the men advanced and captured the wife and her captain-lover. This captain, as he was used to being in charge, approached his seat of office to sit down. But there the other man was seated in his place. And he was taken under guard by all the men of the fleet. Then the wife was brought captive before the palace, and there she was burned to death. That's my story miss, thank-you.

Informant: EDC, 10th June, 1976

cf. A-T 612: The three snake leaves
M254 Promise to be buried with wife if she dies first
S123.2 Burial of living husband or wife with dead spouse
E181 Means of resuscitation learned
E162.0.1 Resuscitation after great length of time
E165 Resuscitation of husband giving up half his remaining life
D630.4 Deity has power of self-transformation
D1500.1.4 Magic healing plant
E105 Resuscitation by herbs or leaves
N817.0.1 God as helper
D1814.3 Advice from God
D811 Magic object received from God
D1766.6 Magic results from sign of the cross
R212 Escape from grave
D1814.2 Advice from dream
D975 Magic flower
Q94 Reward for cure
K2213.5 The faithless resuscitated wife
Q241 Adultery punished
Q261.2 Treacherous wife punished
Q414.0.2 Burning as punishment for adultery

Tale 32: Sapondi, susiandii, apangurandi


The frog, the dream and the crab

A frog, a dream, and a crab set off on a journey, bidding farewell to their homes. When they had gone a long way, they grew tired. So tired were they that they could go no further. They went down onto a flat plain to eat the food they had brought with them for the journey. As they were eating there, there appeared nearby the bones of a dead horse scattered all over the ground, "Let's collect these and put them together," they said, "let's make a horse and mount it, the three of us," So they collected up all the bones and put them together finely, forming them into the skeleton of a horse. Then the horse began to walk with the three adventurers riding on top.

They went on a long way until they came to a hacienda. The main road passed by the gate of that hacienda. The owner of the hacienda lived in that house, and his wife never laughed. Nobody could make her laugh; not her husband, nor anybody. So the three travellers were mounted on their horse of bones. Now the horse had maybe belonged to that hacienda in life. So when that gate appeared, he wanted to go through it into the hacienda. As it was about to go in, they pulled it back. They pulled and pulled, and what do you think happened? The whole thing collapsed to the ground! It all collapsed there in front of the hacienda. Then the woman laughed. When she laughed, her husband got angry: "What are you laughing for? Those three must be lovers of yours." He began to get jealous.

So then he caught the frog, the crab and the dream and imprisoned them behind three locked doors. As they were locked up there, behind the three doors, night fell and they thought: "Now what will become of us? Here we are locked up. How shall we get out of here?"

"Well," said the crab, "I can dig with my claws, and you can follow
scratching with your feet," he said to the frog.  
"I shall come behind when I have put the master and mistress to sleep," said the dream.  
So then in the darkness they began to burrow their way through the earthen floor in order to get out from behind the three doors. The crab dug, the frog scraped, and the dream put the master and mistress to sleep. Then they came out, digging their way past the three doors. After that they came back home. That, they say, is why there are dreams, frogs and crabs in this village. That's it.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

B296 Animals go a-journeying  
F1025 Objects go journeying together  
H341 Resuscitation by arrangement of members  
H341.3 Suitor test: making princess laugh  
Q433 Punishment: imprisonment  
R40 Places of captivity  
R210 Escapes  
A2162 Origin of frog  
A2171 Origin of crustaceans  
A1399.2 Origin of dreams
1.0 Introduction

These tales have been placed in a sub-section apart as, whilst on grounds of their structure they have much in common with the Section A type, their content does not relate them to any of the other sub-sections. This latter is due, in some cases, to the fact that they can be identified as A-T types which have undergone little change in their new environment. I shall examine each of them in turn, placing particular emphasis on those features of their structure that could be held to account for their appeal to and introduction into the repertoire of the Cañar storyteller, and in arguing that compatibility of narrative structure can explain the adoption and adaptation of extraneous material, I shall again show the validity of the theories set out in Chapter 2 with regard to this issue.

2.0 Tale 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>traveller (H) takes refuge under tree for night</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii doves pass by overhead</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii doves' conversation reaches ears of H</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii doves' information reaches president's ears</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii H gains information from conversation (remedy)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II H travels to another town</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v H revives president with remedy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi H gains reward</td>
<td>9c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of this text, as was seen, has much in common with the Group (ii) devil legends. There is an Aarne-Thompson type (A-7613) that corresponds to it closely, and the temptation is to suggest that it is a straightforward borrowing. However, the pattern whereby a hero overhears a conversation between animals regarding the illness of a person in authority, and is subsequently able to follow the instruc-
tions in order to heal that person and receive a reward, is one to be found in the Andes as far back as the 16C, and still to be found over a wide area today. Francisco de Avila collected the tale of Huatya-curi's cure of a local chief's illness by this means (loc.cit.), to which I referred in the discussion of the devil legend Tale 12. There too I mentioned certain modern-day descendants of this type, such as Mitchell (loc.cit.), PM/CT/1, and PM/CT/5. In the latter, as a further example, a poor girl cures her lover after hearing a dove speak with a solitary bird. The evidence therefore reveals a well-established Andean tradition for this narrative pattern, and the degree of influence of the international tale type is questionable; its compatibility with already existing structures would have encouraged any borrowing that did take place.

The content of the tale from Cañar is also linked to a local context, by the appearance of the dove, rather than any other animal, as intermediary. The dove as the animal that divulges the secret and recommends a cure from its own body fits in with local beliefs: this bird is one among a number of animals referred to as brujacuna', thought to be capable of sensing the approach of death, and announcing it in their behaviour, as GGG reported:

"Cusounguca, ohaimi ohai huacagpi, genticuna huamugrin, Urpiptish. Urpi huasi huacaman shamushpa, ohai urpi huacagpi, ha ungut tiyan o huamuguna nin, Chatiranta urpi huacashamanta pinchao quillapi o sugta quillapi ha huastyu huacan. Urpiunapish brujacuna. Urpiunapish huamuguna cagpi huacana nin."

"When the owl cries, people are going to die. And doves too. When doves alight on the roof of the house and cry, then there is sickness or someone is to die. Five or six months after the dove cried, the house owner dies. Doves are 'witches' too. Doves cry too when someone is going to die."

MEZ answered my enquiries about the use of doves in remedies with the assertion that the heart of a freshly killed dove passed over the body is an effective remedy for certain illnesses, and a dove's egg in
agua de manzanilla is good for a 'pulso' (lung infection) - a relative of her grandmother's was reportedly cured in this way.

3.0 Tale 30

Unlike Tale 29, there is a strong argument for the identification of this text with an Aarne-Thompson type (A-T130). I have already examined its narrative pattern with reference to its common ground with Tale 15 of the Group (ii) devil legends. It was suggested that that tale might be an oicotype of A-T130 whose oicotypical features were the result of influence from the devil legend pattern. Such influence, in turn, would have occurred as a result of compatibility between the structure of the two tale types in the first place. Again Dundas's suggestion is borne out, and we can look for reasons for its adoption in its structure rather than its content.

4.0 Tale 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOVE</th>
<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>couple promise to follow each other to the grave</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wife dies, husband (H) buries himself alive with her for 24 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fly enters grave, H kills it</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Christ appears and tells H he was the fly, instructs how to revive wife</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fly emerges from flower again, H follows instructions</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wife revives from dead</td>
<td>9d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>they emerge from grave and go home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>wife elopes with sailor while H asleep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Christ appears again to H and advises</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>H follows advice in pursuit of wife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>H comes to town where king has died</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>as reward H becomes sea-captain and waits for wife's return to port</td>
<td>9c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>wife returns and is punished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The application of function headings to the episodes of this tale is only intended to point up in broad terms the similarities between the pattern of this tale, an apparently wholesale borrowing from undetermined Indo-European sources, and that of the material examined in the rest of the section. These similarities are: a) the initial situation sequence, b) in the acquisition of information by supernatural means and its subsequent implementation by the hero for his own profit. The initial situation may be compared with that found in Tale 17, and some implications of this were speculated upon in sub-section (c).

The second sequence is associated with the Groups (i) and (ii) devil legends: in the first group we saw how a remedy taught by the devil is later used by the hero in return for reward from the person he cures; in the second group, information is also acquired which enables the hero or heroes to set right a situation to their own benefit. Whilst much of this tale must be borrowing, its narrative pattern matches up with the culturally preferred structures of the adopting area.

The initial situation sequence may be closely compared with A-T612, containing some of the motifs listed with the text above. A comparable version in the Americas was collected by Miller, her No,74: "La esposa infiel" (1973:265). The pattern there differs somewhat in that the husband uses the prelearnt method of resuscitation on himself after he is put to death by his wife's lover. The A-T listing does not bring in the use of the remedy on a later occasion at all. It would seem, therefore, that the occurrence of this 'subsequent use of remedy' sequence in the Cãñar Tale 31 is best explained by the popularity of a similar pattern in the other, more traditional material. The narrative context of this borrowed tale type is particularly suitable for the introduction of the sequence, and so we see what is almost certainly an illustration of Dundes's suggestion that a
culture might; "perhaps alter borrowings in such a way as to make them conform to the preferred structural type" (loc. cit.).

5.0 Tale 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>EPISODE</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>dream, frog &amp; crab (Hs) set out from home</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Hs find animal bones which they make into skeleton horse</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>continue journey mounted on skeleton</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>arrive at hacienda where woman never laughs</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>horse attempts to enter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>horse collapses, woman laughs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>jealous husband captures Hs and locks them up</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>using various means, Hs escape and return home</td>
<td>9d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whilst this tale contains a number of motifs traceable to Thompson's Index, and apparently derived from tale sources of Indo-European type, there is no one A-T type to which it can be related as a whole. The initial situation in which the actors set out on a journey can be compared perhaps with that of A-T130 and A-T210, containing motifs 'B296 Animals go a-journeying' and 'F1025 Objects go journeying together', as shown in the listing with the text. We are reminded also of the pattern of Tale 30, the almost unchanged version of A-T310, which also, broadly speaking, involves the journey of animals to a hacienda whose inhabitants they get the better of. Such comparisons, it must be stressed, are only at a broad level of underlying patterns, as is the case with all the tales in this section.

What such a method of analysis helps to show yet again is that apparently extraneous material may be found to have structural similarities with local narrative forms, and its appearance in the Indian
storyteller's repertoire be explained in terms of its compatibility with already used and accepted narrative patterns. Not to be overlooked as an additional factor, in the case of 32 in particular, is the tale's sheer entertainment value. This is a story that appeals strongly to the imagination and sense of humour. The aetiological note at the end of the tale appears to be gratuitous, and probably has no real function in the preserving of the narrative, although it may act as an 'excuse' for its re-telling.
### CHAPTER 4

**Section B: The Christ Child cycle**

**Texts**

**Table 33: Niño Jesusmanta**


Kabiartina ana San Josee.


Burritota samajishpa, qu'huitapish tiyami, burritomam caarash samajish ana nin.


Chaipi tutaa ana. Mamita Virgeneca huacashpa c'atina ana ranouna chtingarish, ranouna mai ca cai chtah puwishe ana, mana tarishpa ha. Huacashpa c'atina ana ha Mamita Virgeneca chaqushi, San Josea chaqushi, Na chaahna revalagperi entonoes ana nin: - Art, airtomt oanga, huca airtomt shitarcongi. Chaipi oanga - nishca entonoes arrepentirish shuayana ana.

Na Mamita Virgen chayana ana.

Chaimanta cutina ana maicha ha cal Parrlso llaqtata cutina ana. Parrlso llaqtata cutishe ana, ca cal Belenman shamuna ana, Belenpica caawana ana ha alguns dias. Casi cha ratocari Tiempo de Dios Padrepicari ana ana nisurfina ana. Casi pichoa quillallapi sajafina ana, Niño Jesus ha naserina ana. Na quimea quillamanca huashamanoa ha estrella tiyarna.
nin ha cielo pioa, semejante estrella ha. Lucero tiyarina nin. Belen, chay lagta recopeka tiyarina nin.

Chaipi cat millat Judasouna, cai millat soldadoosa nina nin: - ¿Ima ruhuashpata chaipi lueoro tiyarin? ¿Ima ruhuashpata?
Mana amirinauna nin juin de una vez mana amirinauna nin: - ¿Ima ruhuashpa chaipi lueoro tiyan?
Achig achish na lueoro tiyarina nin, chay chishl lucero nishoa, semejante brillash, jaganish. Entonees chaipica na cama nin, nacera na nin. Nacerishoa Belen lagtapi.


Shinaspahchi cat mulaca mana ima huachan, mana imana, huarmi mulaca mana huchan, mana ima nin. Cha mula Mamita Virgen maldeciamanta.

Chaimanta cutin huagra chayana nin. Huagra chaayashpa o'aaarishpa entonees acohuan aventana nin. Chaipi Mamita Virgeni ha nina nin: - Comba chaahamanta, cama shina fira genomanta garrote, puya, chioote, alli tuui punsha tutamanta miushooa, tuui punsha mana miushooa allpata yapushpami cainanui - nish maldeciana nin.

Shinaspahchi yuntataca ha tutamanta carashooa tuui punsha mana miush chaashna armpii cainanui nin.


Chaimanta cutin taitaca entonos Mamita Virgenman oarangapa contrata japa nin shug huasi ruhuangapa. Huasi ruhuacuna nin, cemento ta paseauna nin. Paleoa, ni ima yao mana tiyan, mana ima yao cagpi yacuta faromuahpa cementopi libra cachash shitana nin tuui turuyash
shitana fa, - Huambr traiveso riqui imatami ruhuangui, riqui.
Cunana catip osentim tigrangashariari - nin nin San Jose.
Chaipa en seguidita fa imata ruhuang, imanllla, taitapa otimungaoama,
Libre chashna chashna oamanto siriuna nin pambea.

Cutin qu'ipata lo mismo; micungapa yatoona nin wumman. - Na puri hijo,
puri micungapa - nina nin.
Entonoesoa chaia carpenervo chaia obra ruhuador huasi o'ayana nin
micungapa shomuchun nish. Chaipi tuuci iyushoa shuru ishaot
chuhluanataa huahushik uynu, pillush uynu, -iilush cashna migilasha
yatoona nin. Chashna migilasha oanusa chitanaa nin chuhluanata.
Chaipi nina nin: - Riqui caita ruhuangui, cunanoari Jose pagangunic
cau chuhluanataa - nina nin -, riqui huambr travaieso imatami ruhuang
nish:
Paioa aish shayaun nin chaai ruhuashpaca,

Chaimanta humba shaillaipita; - Shitaqri oanshapi shitagri, Cunanoari
ha paganguichariari - San Joseataa ha, Nino Jesus chaai ruhuashaoanta.
Chaipi etonoes ha oanshaman llugeshipaca montonshacoa nino.
Cutin micqiqipipsh micqiqipipsh oanshaman Llugeshipaca cutin huahushoa chuhlu-
cuña libre cutin cuawachipa. Chaanihata cutin ponahqopim 'shirag
chirag' nish migilasha wumman yatoona nin cutin chuhluanahuanoa.
Chaimanta ha: - Jesus Ave Harta yna caonca milagroso shinari oangui -
nishpa nina nin Nino Jesusataa,
Aisicina nin.

Chaimanta micuashpa llugeshina nin. Cutin taita jahuapi nivelaqupiyoa,
cutin paioa serrychota japishpaca vicaonata libre troso troso ruhuang
shitan nin Juan, serrychota japishpaca. - Huambr travaieso, riqui,
imatami ruhuangui? Cunana ha caspiunata mainganta ruhuang, na
madishoa caaroa. Na mediashoa olavanall caaroa. Cunanca zima shinata
aichisha, maipita randoqirisha, maipita imanasha? Ni sulliquita mana
charini, pobresamanta catip trabacaruri - nishpa nina nin p'kharina nin,
Cutin pai uracoush vuentata oungaoama caspiunata enterito oana nin,
vicaonaca.

Chashna puricuna nin, puricuna nin. Shinapish ha cutin chingarina
nin. Na chaimanta ashtawn jatunyashpaca chinigarina nin Juan.
Na tucu novedad oana nin: mihigona riongapa shumuna nin tuuci juin,
Paioa ha jatun, caiproung oana nin. Shinashpami antoona ha parina
paioa ha, chingarishe chingarish chinaringh. Chashna templocunapi
tarirish, doctorona shugpiunapi taririshep. Entonoes shinashupami
ha cai herodes, cai ima shiutunamaca ha o'ati caillarivoo oan, cai
Pilatusouna ha. - Riongapa rishunoh cai Belen llagtapica ina
milagrososhe huaonhipa contrario - ninini -, jauooh biyashoata
riungapa - nish soldadouna, cha Pilatus, cha Herodes.
Chaimanta shumuna nin ha Belen llagtapapi riongapa,

Chaqa sentishpami ladowa nin Nino Jesusaca ha, maite ha, Chaqui
pagtaahtastada Ladyoana nin. C'atinaouna nin, c'atinaouna nin, c'atinaouna
nin Juan. Chaqui jiuin ha cha Pilatus, cha Herodes, cha Satanas
nishoacuna chaitacama ha o'atinaounamari. Na avanaqgupiyoa
algodón yura tuenia nin. Sumanina algodón yura woupi biyashpa cutin
ha pananaouna nin. Rinaouna nin, rinaouna nin, ha maipichari. Paioa
saqiriish ha shug ladota rina nin. Chaai ultimo suhuy, cha Herodes
nina nin: - Mana, mana ina caita rishaochu. Cuti outishun chaai
algodón yuravanta chaitacama cutin mutquingapa maitani rishoa - nina
nina nin chaai ultimo, chaai capatacans, chaai Pilatus nishoacua,
Chai outishpa outin nina nin: - Mana, caitami rishoa. Cunan ha algodòn yuraca illami. Chai caipimi cava, cunan ha algodòn yuraca illami. Mò que paìmi oasaoha - nisha no nii.

- Chaiia mana huasape, chaiia fiiru runapa, fiiru runapa. Chaiia mana huasanchipachu, mana huasanchipachu.
Cantauna.
- Caïtami pasashaanga màs que - nina nín chai Pilatusa húa, Chaiipaca chaïta pasarina nín, caïtun shug ladota rina nín.

Chaiip nîna nín: - Huanahita, chiquillito, caipimi ashì cabaditata jihaonou, taita Diósupa maquipi shrugriounoou - nina nín.


Chai dueñoca nîna nín: - Chiquillo curioso, caanà imaça tapush nîngüari imatapiñ thuapunwasu húa tarpuwunan. Pudinho riuñtapish thuapunwanata - nina nín.
Chai shìna nîsh pasarina nín. Na mañshha rina nín rina nín rina nín.


Chaïpíca na tagushoacuna nin cayandîca: - Adîvîná matjen matênlâlipes huagtarãanco - nishpa nishoa nin sumag Dioscapa cai Pilatuscapaca -, Na que Dios cahaoang hâ dîvînâ pa tûmi huagtarãancohî, matjen matênîl huagtarãancohî - nishpa nishoa nin tatta Diositotaña. Chaïmantami taita Dios inata mana respondisheoa, Mana respondîgpi nishoa nin: - Canoa loco ruma shînami congui - nishoa nin , loco ruma congui. Nîshpa cutin caashahoa nin cai Satanaspa huasiman. Satanaasp haapitími entones ca Diospa shuvunata libre shuarishoa, libre lluyushishioa, destrastehishoa. Pua, patunapa traste, pua traste shuarishoacnaun nin sumag Dioscape, Chaïmantami na casi sumag Diosca na Satanaspa huasîntama presohuan lluyushioa ha, orusta aparishpaca na,


Na mana avançqapim entones cai Pilatushuan, cai soldado Herodes mayoralca nishoa: - Ñama avançangañu? Entones Simón Serenaotu rogash shamanshun, alquilañ shamanşun. Pai siquierra ashañ ayudachun -
The story of the Christ Child

Conception and pregnancy

In the first place there were Saint Joseph and Saint Mary who lived together as man and wife, for the Virgin said to Joseph: "Joseph, let's be together, let's go together."

Then one night she told him: "I'm not empty at all, I am pregnant by you." "Have I by any chance made love to you?" replied Joseph, "have I ever come close to your body? Why are you saying that?" and Saint Joseph was angry.

So he brought a donkey from the meadow and saddled it. He had all his tools packed in sacks: a hammer, a pair of pliers, a chisel, a plane, a saw, a spirit level, and a carpenter's square. They were all the tools of a carpenter's trade, for Saint Joseph was a carpenter and bricklayer.

So loading everything onto his donkey he set off for who knows where, and travelled for about seven days and seven nights. He said goodbye to the Virgin and abandoned her, angry with her for what she had said. Night came down when he was in some remote part, the little donkey couldn't go any farther, and it was time to rest. "I'll take shelter here," he said.

There was pasture for the donkey so he put it to graze and to rest.

Then at midnight the Christ Child appeared to him in a vision while still inside the Virgin's womb: "Hey, father," he said, "why are you going away and abandoning me? Why are you going to abandon my mother? I am your child, don't you recall? Don't you remember how you arrived at the end? You threw a lily flower onto my mother's stomach, didn't you? And so I was conceived. You didn't lie with her but I was born of the lily flower on her body. So why do you abandon me? Why do you leave me behind?"

So said the Christ Child in the revelation.

It was nighttime now and the Virgin was following in tears, losing her way as she wandered hither and thither without finding her husband, She wept as she followed Saint Joseph's tracks. Then when the Christ Child revealed himself to him, Saint Joseph said: "Yes, it must be true. It's true that I left them. That must be it."

And so he repented and waited for the Virgin. Then she arrived.

Birth

After that they returned to the land of Paradise. When they came back to Paradise, they came to Bethlehem and there they lived for a few days. That time of course was the Age of God the Father and it was then that the Virgin gave birth. She gave birth in a space of only five months, and the Christ Child was born. Then after three months there appeared behind them in the sky a wonderful evening star, shining directly above the town of Bethlehem.

Then those wicked Judases, who were something like soldiers, said: "Why is that star shining there?"
And they persisted with their question: "What is that star doing there?" That star they call the evening star twinkled brightly in the sky. And there in the town of Bethlehem he was born.

Adoration of the animals

He was born at a very cold time of year; there was a chill wind blowing and snow and ice lay all around. So then the lion and the tiger collected thatch and sticks and thus built a house, a little thatched house. And there the Christ Child lay. Then the angels arrived bringing cotton, and the news spread that the Child was born. For as that was the Age of God the Father, the trees, rocks, animals, and everything could speak. Everything had the gift of speech in the Age of God the Father. Then Saint Joseph told Mary: "You stay here, I'll be back shortly."

Then the cow arrived and warmed the mother and baby with its breath; the sheep arrived and made a gift of its wool, and also warmed them with its breath; the little pig came and breathed on them; the little donkey came and stood in the way of the wind to protect the Virgin. And then the mule arrived braying repeatedly. He pulled over the little house that had been made for the Christ Child. Taking a mouthful of thatch and kicking with his hooves, he knocked it down. Thereupon the Virgin cursed the mule saying: "You shall always be a female mule, but you shall never give birth. You shall never have children, you shall just go on being a barren female mule."

And so mules never give birth or anything. Female mules never have children because of the curse put on them by the Virgin.

Next the ox arrived. When he arrived he butted and tossed his horns, whereupon the Virgin told him: "Because of that, because of your bad temper, you shall spend all day from dawn to dusk being driven at the plough by whips, sticks and lashes without anything to eat."

And that is why once the oxen have been fed in the morning they go all day in the plough without eating anything.

Infancy

And so the Christ Child grew and grew. He grew to a regular age, about four years old or so. That being so, he got lost one day from his mother's humble cottage. No one knew where he had gone. They hunted high and low without finding him. They searched hard and then he spoke to the Virgin: "Ha ha, where was I? Where was I? While you were out looking for me, I was standing right there at your side."

Then on one occasion Joseph entered a contract to build a house in order to feed his wife. There he was, building the house, and he came to prepare the cement. As yet he had not mixed it with water, when along came the Christ Child and released the water onto the cement, turning it all to mud. "You mischievous child, look what you have done! Now all the cement is going to overflow," said Saint Joseph.

Then the Child did something while his father was gone and all the cement dried up and lay on the floor exactly as it had been before.

Then he played another trick: it was time to go indoors for a meal, "Come along, son, come and eat," they told him.

The man who was having the house built called them to eat. Then the Child killed twelve baby chicks, wrapped them in his poncho and carried them into the house. Then the man said: "Look what you've done. Now, Joseph, you shall pay for those chicks. Look what that naughty child has done."

And the Child just stood there laughing at his deed.
Then they said to the Child: "Go and throw the dead chicks outside." And they told Joseph that indeed he would have to pay for what the Christ Child had done. So then he went out side and placed the chicks in a heap. He went out while they were all eating and the dead chicks then all came back to life. Then he wrapped them again carefully in his ponahoe and went inside, this time with the live chicks. When they saw this, they cried: "Jesus Ave Maria! What a miracle you have performed!"
And he was laughing.

After eating they went outside. Then while his father was up above doing a levelling job, the Child took a saw and cut the beams into pieces. "You naughty boy, what are you doing? Those beams were all measured out and ready to be nailed. Now how shall I replace them? Where shall I buy new ones? What shall I do? I don't have any money. I work here because I'm poor," Saint Joseph said angrily.

Then while Saint Joseph's back was turned, as he climbed down from the upper level, the beams of wood were made quite whole again.

So life went on, and then one day the Christ Child got lost, when he was now much older. The news spread and the shepherds came to see him. He was now grown and would run about from place to place. And thus one day as he wandered he became lost. Then he found himself in the temple in the midst of the elders. And so it was that this Herod and these Pilate people began to follow him saying: "Let's go and see what miracles our enemy is said to perform in the town of Bethlehem. Let's go and see what is there."

Those men, therefore, came to Bethlehem to see.

Pursuit of the Christ Child

When Christ heard this news he departed and went away as far as his legs would carry him. Those Pilate, Herod or Satan men, as they were called, followed close in his tracks. As they were catching up with him, so Christ turned into a beautiful cotton tree. There he remained a long time as a cotton tree and his pursuers passed him by. They went on and on, who knows where. The Christ Child remained behind and then made off in a different direction. Then that hunchback, that Herod, who took up the rear, said: "No, he hasn't gone this way. Let's go back and try to smell out which way he went from where that cotton tree stood."

Those were the words of that so-called foreman or Pilate who came at the end. And so they returned and he spoke again: "You see, he went this way. The cotton tree isn't here any more. It was here, and now it's gone. So it must have been him."

So the Christ Child walked on and on. Then in some place they were about to catch up with him again, so he turned into a cockerel and crowed, "That's not our cockerel," they said, "that's the bad man's cockerel, it isn't ours."

It continued crowing. "He must have gone this way," said Pilate and they went in that direction. Then Christ took another road.

As he was going along that other road he came to a plain where there were people sowing. "What might you be doing?" he asked. "We're scattering a little barley, little one. We are going to place it in the hands of God."

"Yes, yes, my son. Now come tomorrow to look at your field, but you must say that I went by the day you were sowing. Be careful not to say I went by yesterday. Say that I passed by the day you were sowing. For some soldiers are following in my tracks to capture me."

Thus he warned them: "Come and look tomorrow. Come ready to harvest,
with hired hands. Then just as you are about to begin reaping, they will arrive and question you. Then you must say that I passed by the day you were sowing the grain, and now you are reaping it. When they hear that they will stand there. And meanwhile I shall be a long way off."

Thus was Christ's warning. Then the following day the reapers came to look, with helpers and animals for the work. When they came they saw the barley had grown tall and was drooping to the ground, so thick and heavy were the heads of grain. It was the most beautiful grain, almost as if it had been blessed by God. And so when the pursuers arrived, they told them; "A little boy went by this way the day we were sowing, quite a fair-sized little boy he was. He passed by the day we were sowing and invited us to a little cooked potatoes. Then when he had eaten he went on his way."

"Huh, he must be a long way off by now," they said, "there's no point in our following him. Let's just leave it," and they stood there. Others lay down on the ground. But then at the end that hunchbacked, one-armed foreman character arrived and sniffed about: "No," he said, "he's not far off at all, He's just about here,"

And so they all followed on together. On another occasion then, Christ met some wheat-sowers in a similar way. The youngster asked them: "What might you be doing?"

And the owner of the field replied: "You curious youngster, what business do you have to be asking what we're sowing? We could be planting stones for all it has to do with you."

Thereupon the boy said: "Yes, that is your reply, Now come tomorrow to look at your field. There won't be a trace of your ground to be seen, but just barren stones."

Those were the words of God: "Come and look tomorrow. You are hoping wheat might grow, but there won't be a trace of earth left. Your land will be covered in barren stones."

So saying he went on his way, and walked on and on, who knows where.

Capture and crucifixion

In the end, as he was going along that street known as the Street of the Rosary, those Pilate men, those Jews, met with him and took him prisoner. Having captured him they took him between them first to the house of Pilate. There he stood with his hands and feet bound until the hour of cockcrow. After that they made him go on to the house of Satan, so that Satan might command what should be done with him. He was about thirty-three years old when he was taken prisoner. They had pursued him all over the world and then he was captured.

After that, then Satan sent him back to Herod's house. Herod however sent him to Pilate that he alone might command what should be done. Pilate then ordered that he should be punished. He was tied to a pillar with his feet and hands will bound and trussed, with a rope made of sabila ahanua, in order that he might be birched. Thereupon those wicked Herod soldiers punished God with more than five thousand strokes of the rod. They punished him at their will, tying him to the pillar, so that his back, his arms, and his legs became covered in weals.

Then Pilate came out and took compassion, saying; "You beat him too much, Leave it at that."

After that, they carried him off to Satan's house. They arrived there at midnight, and bound him as he stood. They blindfolded him and put a light at some distance from him. Then they set watch over him all night,
First one would approach and beat him; then another would come and kick him. Another would come and birch him, and another would thrash him with rope made of sabita chahuar.

The next morning they questioned him: "Guess which of us were the ones to beat you? If you are God then guess who beat you, which of us were the ones?"

But God answered not.
"You are a crazy man then," they said when he gave no reply.
So saying, they sent him again to Satan's house. There they took off all God's clothes, completely stripping him. Then they dressed him in their own red garments. After that he left Satan's house carrying the cross.

Carrying out the cross, he started to walk towards Calvary. In the Street of the Rosary, he met Mary Magdalene. He chided her saying: "Do not cry on my account, cry for them instead," He scolded her and left her. As he left her he then met the Virgen Mary in the same street. He was sweating and dripping with blood and when she met him she wiped his face with a linen cloth. Then by a miracle, the imprint of God's face remained there on the cloth, an exact replica of his face. After that he continued walking, on and on.

Then when he could go no further, the chief of the Herod soldiers said: "Can't he make it? Then let's send for Simon of Cyrene and hire him to lend a hand."
So then Simon of Cyrene came to help. On they went and arrived on Mount Calvary. There on Mount Calvary, as he spoke the Pater Noster, they crucified our God. There indeed he died on the cross. There the story ends.

Informant: EDC, 27th November, 1976

T510 Miraculous conception
A511.1.3 Culture hero incarnated through birth from Virgen
T532.3 Conception from fruit thrown against breast
T575.1,1.3 Child in mother's womb reveals unjust judgment
T573 Short pregnancy
A1101.1.2 Even trees could speak in golden age
B251.1.1 Animals worship infant Jesus
V232.7 Gifts from angels
A2561.1 Why mule is sterile
A2231.7 Animal harmful to holy person cursed
A527.1 Culture hero precocious
A521 Culture hero as dupe or trickster
A177.1 God as dupe or trickster
A527.3 Culture hero can transform self
D215 Transformation: man to tree
D166.1.1 Transformation: man to cock
D642.7 Transformation to elude pursuers
F971.7 Sowing and reaping same day
H1023.17 Task: sowing rye and bringing crop next morning
Q41 Politeness rewarded
Q20 Piety rewarded
A2721.3.1 Man tells Jesus he is sowing stones. "You shall get stones"
G303.13.1.15 Devil appears as a Jew
G303.5.3 The devil dressed in red
V121 Miraculous image of Christ impressed on napkin
Tale 34: Niño Jesuamanta


Chaqipa niqí niqím: Ñoñeemi faltan - niqí niqípiq rína niqí ñoñeta amarngapa.

ñoñeta amupiaqo entonoes, San Joseito shamaspeca aiswnaun Mamita Virgengapa pehopi shittashpaca rína niqí callipash. Chaqamacuta cutina niqí Mamita Virgen caawarana niqí ña chañmantaca.


Negaarhpa ña entonoes que ña rína niqí ñunruito tuowi laya herrañamentata cangashpa jin ñumqachipí hatta avariarh ña Mamita Virgen ña huígea funda cagpíqa.


Zafarìsh, puoricuush puoricuush puoricuush, ña Judawauna o'atig shamuna niqí ña Ñiño Jesuustaca huawuchingapa: - Nuacañhípa kontromi shaman - niñsh.

Chaqipa ña entonoes maïpí caash trillaocauna niqí. Trillaocañshpaca niqími niqí: - Chaqip huawmía oquillo millai shaman. Quitoq millai shaman, mítiauxichi t'amüpi.


Niqípiq niqími oãiipi: - Û'ushi o'ushi jatari, o'ushi jatari, o'ushi -

Nish niqípiq o'uchiowuna jatariña niqí miñ 'of of' niwasha o'uchiowuuna jin ña. Û'uchiowuna niqísmaca huawuuaunaoca o'ushi jatariña niqí.

Chañshashpachi ña entonoes pasamuna niqí. Pasamugpípihari ña cebadaqu quilpauna niqí. Quillpaunyucpica niqími niqí: - Ñuñuto, ñimataca ña oãiipi chañmunguyd?

Chaqipi niqími niqí: - Quitoq o'wiosopish imatapísh, rumita tarpuvamqichiyd.

Chaqipa Ñño Jesúsoca maldeishaus pasana niqími ñatosa: - Caya punsha riqug shamanqut ñma shinmi - niñsh.

Cayandi punsha shampuqipíca jinu ruixi niqí, saaaweñshu niqí, funda oana niqí, ña.
The story of the Christ Child

Marriage

My grandmother also told me this story, how does it go? The Virgen Mary had three sisters: of the three sisters one was marriageable, one was a devout spinster, and the other was a 'loose woman'. Now the Virgen was to be married, so they brought many people to see if they would marry her. But not one wanted to marry her. Then they said:

"Who's missing? Who's missing? Whom haven't we brought? No-one wants to marry the Virgen Mary."

Then someone else said; "Joseph is missing."

And they went to bring Joseph. When they had brought him to the place where he threw a lily onto the Virgen Mary's breast and then ran away. Then he returned and married her.

Conception and pregnancy and birth

After they were married they were going on a journey. Then Saint Joseph embraced the Virgen. As he held her, the little baby leapt within the Virgen's womb. When it moved like that, Saint Joseph said:

"That is not my son, that is not my daughter. Whose child are you going to give birth to? It isn't mine."

Thus denying the child, he went away carrying all his tools on his donkey which he drove in front of him, and saying goodbye to his pregnant wife.

The Virgen Mary followed after him crying. As she followed him weeping and not knowing where she was going, night fell and she went to sleep. As she was sleeping, the Christ Child appeared in a vision to Saint Joseph: "I am not your child," said he, "I am being born the Christ Child. Why do you deny me, father? I am your son. Why did you create me by throwing the lily onto my mother's breast?"

Thus denying the child, he went away carrying all his tools on his donkey which he drove in front of him, and saying goodbye to his pregnant wife.

And then in some place the Virgen gave birth to the Christ Child,
Pursuit of the Christ Child
She gave birth and some time passed. Then the Judases came after the Christ Child to kill him, saying: "Our enemy is nigh."
Then in one place there were some people threshing grain. As they were threshing, they said: "That wicked little child is coming. The wicked little one is coming, hide in the long grass."
With that, their children hid themselves. Then the Christ Child asked the women: "Who is sleeping here, then?"
"The pigs are sleeping there," they said.
Hearing their reply the Christ Child called: "Piggy, piggy, get up! Piggy, piggy, get up!"
As he said that the pigs rose, grunting noisily. Because the women had replied in that way, their children got up from the grass as pigs.

And so the Christ Child went on his way. As he went he came across some people sowing barley. As they sowed, he asked them: "Little man, what might you be planting here?"
"What do you think, you nosey little boy? We're planting stones, of course," they answered.
Then the Christ Child put a curse on them as he went by: "Come tomorrow to see what things are like," he told them.
And the next day when they came the field was full of stones and weeds.

Then on another occasion, way down in a valley, there were some people sowing more barley. "Little man, what are you sowing?" asked the Christ Child.
"Little one, here I am placing a little barley in the hands of God. May it only grow."
"Come and see your field tomorrow," said the Christ Child, "come and see what it is like."
Accordingly he came the next day and found the grain ripening in his field. At that moment all those Judases came along. As they came past, they asked: "Hey you, have you seen a little boy go by this way?"
"Yes, he passed by here the day we were sowing."
"Where must he be now?" said the others, "where can they have gone?"
Then a deformed, stooping member of the search party spoke up saying: "That old witch must have lain a spell on this place as he went by."
That's how it goes. I don't know any more.

Informant: MEZ, 30th August, 1976

some as for Tale 33, plus:
q584.2 Transformation of a man to animal as fitting punishment
D136 Transformation; man to swine

Tale 35: Diospa bendicolonca

nabitos manaa rishoa. Taita mama rishoa nin mashearingapa aha nabitos manaa, hojitas de borbolin.

Huahuawona saquirishoa ishaoa andilla saquirishoa aam na, huaquirindistwona saquirishoa. Chaioa ima manaa mouni pudishpaa huakaapaa nin huaaanaushpa nin, Shug yuranilia allquitsaa chaqarissha nin, Chaishupish auit huuakasha nin manaa busa pu kwa huaakasha nin. Allquitsish piskuqin nin yatawan nin huabawounaca eqaul. Chaioa huaamiritauunaca inamata ruhuan? Imamata? Shug na jatun. Cha jatullassito allquitsotaa na chagnaawhoami huwashiningapa chatta micungapa nish:
- Allquitsotaa huaahushpa oatta liouni. Imamata ruhaashun?
Cha liouni.

Chaipsaa shug huirauchaa hshamunaa nin. Huirauchaa cha qamun; - ¿Inamata ruhuairingulochi huwaans? - Chaioa mana mouni. Chaioa mana mouni. ¿Inamata ruhuairingulochi?

Nigpìca; - Amito, huacahcha micugrioumu. Casahna mana inmama mana miwamata charishpa, mana imata micumata pudishpa amita huacahcha huawaitigrioumichi. Huacahchi huaahigriishpa huawaitigrioumu, mana
imata micumata pudiooni.


Chaipsaa entonnaiu huaamiritauunacaari ni qpaata twuuta uoqpi p'iohan nin. Liendo wentsi p'iohspa hsaqsa rishoa nin maq amhauvumasp amahlanapa, allquitos shaariish ohiitaahpa mana huawaitigishpa hsha. Entonnaiu na chaipsi allquitos safarin. Patawa shamqipìa gamon nin, ima trigo nin, ima sara nin, ima sebadita nin, tuunia laya granoca, tuunia laya granoca wou funda chaica ashun tupan.


How God's blessing was given

Nowadays those of us who have nothing have nothing. Only the rich people have. In the old days it is said that there was no grain; grain didn't grow. Of course the rich people had something, but the poor had nothing. There were then just two children. They were very hungry and had nothing to eat. Their parents were in the same situation, so one day they said they were going to look for turnip leaves. Those turnip leaves grew in abundance who knew where, but they grew in a field which was as well guarded as a field of potatoes. Well, so the parents went to fetch turnip leaves.

Just the two brothers stayed at home together. They had nothing to eat and wept and sobbed with hunger. Then a little white dog arrived. When nobody gave it any food, it too began to cry. The dog went in and out of the house along with the children. And what did the children do?
The older and bigger of the two trussed the dog in order to kill and eat it, saying: "Let's kill and eat the little dog. What else can we do? Let's eat this."

Then a white man came by and said: "What are you about to do, children? This is not food. What are you going to do?"

When he said that, they replied: "Master, we are going to eat it. Because we have nothing else to eat we are going to kill this dog. We have nothing else to eat."

When they had spoken, the white man said: "Don't kill the dog. It isn't food. Sweep the house well and then go away from it. Leave the house and go for a walk outside. Sweep the house well and go from it leaving it clean."

The children obeyed and swept the house thoroughly. Then they went away outside to play, and set the dog free without killing it. Then the little dog ran off. When they came home they found the house filled with grain of all kinds; wheat, maize, barley, all kinds of grain.

Then the parents came home having found just a very few turnip leaves. And they found their children very happy. For the children had found the room filled with grain. God had blessed them, saying: "Now I am going to give my blessing. You go away meanwhile."

And then the children found the house to be filled with grain. The parents came home having found a meagre supply of food. But the children found a great pile of grain in the house. They found they had a lot of food to keep them alive, God had blessed them. For that white man had been God and he had blessed the children. That's all.

Informant: MC, 9th December, 1976

D42 God in guise of mortal
K1811 Gods in disguise visit mortals
C221.14 Tabu; eating dog
Z142 Symbolic colour; white
A102.2.3 God blesses mortal
Q5 Kindness to animals rewarded
Q66 Humility rewarded
Q10 Material rewards

Tale 36: Diablocunahan taita Dioshuan


Y chai diablocunashcha chashna chatea saquiririca, paiunapu gustohuan mana pagtaroe.


Chai diablocunashcha outishi niroa mana taita Diosha outishpa mioongapu.
They were chasing God in order to kill him. Having killed him they buried him behind a large stone so that he might never get out. Then they plucked that gallo misticu that loved God in a feast called Carnival. The gallo misticu was on the table during the Carnival feast and they were going to eat it. On Ascension Day as God was going up to heaven the gallo misticu came back to life. It crowed three times and then said: "I am a man."

Then those devils were left like that for it didn't satisfy their taste, so they said: "Let's eat God." But God wasn't eaten. Instead, he said to the devils: "Even if you eat me, I have a beautiful hacienda, I shall leave it to you as an inheritance. Let's go, so you can see it."

So the devils went along very happily and didn't chase God in order to eat him. Then each of them took a room inside where everything was shining brightly. They were shut up in those shining rooms and there they live condemned to this day. That's it.

Informant: JSA, 30th January, 1977

G303.25.17 The devil's dances and feasts
A1751 The devil's animals and God's
D101 Transformation: god to animal
E168.1 Roasted cock comes to life and crows
V30.1 The eaten god
K550 Escape by false plea. A captive makes a request or promises an action that permits him eventually to escape
G303.8.3.1 Devil is thrust into hell by God
A177.1 God as trickster
F166.1 Treasure in otherworld

Tale 37: Causarishoa gallomanta

Chaitonaca (chat Judío runauna o mínouna cuocuouna) Jesúta pambasho qu'îpa fiestata ruhuashcauna nin tuvai laya mínouna ruhuashpa. Sumag mínouna ruhuashpa míoununa nin; - Cunanoa chait brujo ruwata ña huanuashcanohimi, pambavanohimi. Cunán huanohti fiestata ruhuashpa - nishpa.

Carnavalta ruhuashcuna nin.


The cockerel that came back to life

Those men (the Jews or devils as they are called) prepared all kinds of food and gave a feast after they had buried Jesus. They prepared a delicious meal, saying: "Now we have killed that witch and buried him. Now let's have a feast."
So they held the feast of Carnival.

As they were holding the Carnival feast, Jesus came back to life and learned that they were eating a meal. They had plucked and drawn chickens and all kinds of cockerel for the meal that they were eating. And finally they had also plucked and drawn the gallo mishieu. When Jesus learned this, he sent a tick to pinch the bird that had been skinned.

When the tick pinched the cockerel, the bird came back to life with a squawk, and lay on the floor. Then the devils said: "That witch has come back to life."
And, afraid, they got up and went to see. But they did not find Jesus.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tales 36, plus:
G303,3,1,15 Devil appears as a Jew
B291 Animal as messenger
E18 Resuscitation by tickling
B515 Resuscitation by animal
1.0 Introduction

These tales belong to a widespread cycle of oral narratives in the Andes concerning the life of Christ. Many of the motifs the cycle contains can be traced to the Apocryphal gospels, and no doubt arrived in this area via missionaries and other outside sources of influence. However, the tradition seems to be longstanding enough to have taken on specifically regional characteristics, and the reworking of the cycle over the years has produced many idiosyncracies explicable in terms of its Indian milieu.

The word 'cycle' is the key to explaining a certain shift of emphasis which occurs in the approach to the analysis of these tales. By it I mean a lengthy episodic tale which may be told as a whole, or be broken down into its various component parts, or moves, which could then be told as independent tales in their own right. This is in contrast with the series of separate folktales and legends with underlying structural similarities of which Section A was made up. The 'Fox and Rabbit' tales of Section C are also treated as a cycle. In such a case, the breakdown of tales into episodes demands immediate textual comparison with other versions from the same cycle. Thus it is that content and comparative analyses are made before turning to structural considerations, rather than vice versa as hitherto has been the case. The comparative approach is twofold: firstly in the context of contemporary Andean material, secondly in the historical context of the Indo-European sources to which certain episodes may be traced.

2.0 Comparison of episodes in Ecuadorean Andean tradition

The tales to be compared with regard to the linear sequence of
episodes they contain are divided into two groups; the Cañar tales; 33, 34, 34a (not presented here as it was collected in note form), 35, 36, and 37; the comparative tales from elsewhere in Ecuador; GS/CA/5: "Jatun Dios purishomanta", LS/CH: "The life of Christ", Version 1, GS/CO/4: "Naupa taitamito purishomanta", GS/SA/3: "Señor Jesus nauba tiempo purishomanda", HD/SA/13: "The life of Jesus", JC/IM/1: "Imashna Jisu Cristuoa japishoa ayacuna", JC/IM/11: "San Pablo ausha parlu", and Parsons's "The Jesus Child lays a curse" (1945:146). What now follows is an index of the sum total of episodes appearing in the Ecuadoorean material, showing their distribution.

2.1 Index of episodes

I Conception, pregnancy and birth

1. Joseph chosen as worthiest suitor
   34, 34a (identified when rose sprouts from his staff)
   LS/CH

2. Joseph throws lily onto Mary's chest
   33, 34
   LS/CH (throws roses)

3. Mary inexplicably pregnant
   33, 34, 34a (pregnancy discovered when child kicks in womb)
   LS/CH

4. Joseph angered by Mary's pregnancy
   33, 34, 34a
   LS/CH

5. Unborn Christ Child (CC) reveals his identity to Joseph in dream
   33, 34, 34a (Angel appears in dream)
   LS/CH (Angel appears in dream)

6. Animals visit new-born CC and are blessed or cursed according to their behaviour
   33, 34a (shepherds and 3 Kings also visit)
   LS/CH (3 Kings only visit)

II Infancy

7. CC removes parts of playmates' bodies for use as toys
   LS/CH

8. CC turns cement to mud then back to powder
   33
9. Kills then revives baby chicks

10. Cuts up beams then restores them

III Adulthood and pursuit by devil-Jews

11. Disguised as white man blesses poor household

12. Turns inhospitable whites into pigs

13. Causes inhospitable whites to die in earthquake

14. Turns into cotton tree

15. Turns into cockerel

16. Rewards respect by making barley ripen overnight

17. 'Devils' told he passed by on day of sowing

18. Punishes disrespect by turning potatoes to stones

19. 'Obstacle Flight': comb thrown onto road becomes forest in path of devils

20. Hides in field of lupins and curses them for giving away his presence

21. Pregnant female devil among pursuers slips on peas and produces multiple birth, seen by devils as punishment for chasing Christ; peas rewarded with bland flavour

22. CC turns into sheep

23. Enters calabash that protects him, blesses it
IV Capture, death and resurrection

24. Captured by devil-Jews
   33, (34 and 34a are inconclusive)
   LS/CH; GS/CO/4 (captured by devils when in form of white cockerel
   which they buy), HD/SA/13 (caught while hiding in calabash)

25. Blindfolded, beaten, and made to guess identity of tormentors
   33
   LS/CH

26. On way to Calvary leaves imprint of face on Mary Magdalene's
    handkerchief
   33

27. Crucified
   33
   GS/CO/4 (in addition to death by cooking)

28. Death by cooking
   36 (symbolically by cooking of cockerel), 37 (cook cockerel)
   LS/CH (symbolised by cooking of cockerel), GS/CO/4 (devils kill
   and cook cockerel into which Christ has transformed himself),
   HD/SA/13 (apparently cook him in human form)

29. Resurrection
   36 (God/Christ reincarnated from cooked cockerel), 37 (cockerel
   revives at same moment as Christ)
   LS/CH (cockerel's body reforms and it ascends to heaven), GS/CO/4
   (cockerel flaps ajì in devils' eyes and ascends to heaven),
   HD/SA/13 (Christ turns into cockerel upon resurrection and flaps
   ajì in devils' eyes)

30. Devils afraid, escape into caves or mountain tops
    LS/CH, HD/SA/13

31. God tricks devils into being locked up in hacienda
    36

2.2 Remarks on the 'Index of episodes'

The 'Index of episodes' does not necessarily present those episodes
in the order in which they appear in the individual texts. There is
in particular some variation in the positioning of Episode 12: "Turns
inhospitable whites into pigs", and the Parsons text is a single epi-
sodic narrative which elaborates this episode in isolation. There is
also variation in the respective blessing and cursing of the sowers
(Episodes 16 & 18): the one may occur before the other or vice versa.
The blessing of the poor household (Episode 11) may also vary its
position in the different versions where it appears. On the whole
such variations do not significantly alter the meaning of the narrative,
but the fact that they occur made it clearer to represent the sum
total of episodes by an index, rather than in the form of a table,
which would have suggested a uniformity in the sequence and distrib-
ution of episodes that does not exist.

The episodes are, up to a point, free-floating motifs belonging
to the cycle which may be drawn into or omitted from the tale at the
narrator's discretion. However, there is a consistent dividing line
between the main sections (numbered I-IV) of the cycle. Episodes 1-6
of part I do not vary in order of appearance, and constitute an integral
unit which occurs only in Tales 33, 34a, and LS/CH. Part II is found
fully developed only in Tale 33. It is part III that contains the
bulk of the motifs, and it is here that some freedom is employed from
version to version as to their order of appearance. Episode 15 presents
something of an anomaly: it belongs properly to part IV, where it is
a part of Episode 28 involving the cooking of Christ prior or subse-
quent to his transformation into a cockerel. In the case of GS/CO/4,
Episode 15 leads straight on to Episode 24, where Christ is bought by
the devils while in the form of a cockerel. From this the narrative
moves to Episode 28. So it can be seen that the 'Index of episodes'
should not necessarily be taken to be a chronological arrangement of
these.

The final two episodes in the 'Index' (30 & 31), do correspond to
the final episodes of three tales in particular, and lend an interesting
aetiological note to the conclusions of those narratives. They offer
explanations for the existence down to the present day of devils in
caves or mountain tops, and haciendas respectively. Although it should
be borne in mind that the three tales (LS/CH, HD/SA/13, and Tale 36)
come from different culture areas within the sierra, it may still be
reasonable to add this apparent structural equivalence between devil as inhabitant of caves and mountains, and devil as inhabitant of deserted haciendas, to my argument developed in Section A (b) that such variations may be considered to be transformations of each other in traditional narrative.

A last remark should be made in connection with the theme of reward and punishment for hospitality or the lack of it as it is dealt with in the tales: one of the episodes that explores this theme is that in which God disguised as a beggar punishes the inhospitable by causing a natural disaster (flood/earthquake). This episode forms a part of the cycle often found quite separate from the context of Christ's adventures as he is pursued by the devils. The flood inflicted by Christ as punishment for lack of hospitality is usually offered as an explanation for the origin of a local lake. Further examples are to be found in Parsons's: "The origin of the Laguna de San Pablo" (op.cit. 130), and in GS/AG/1: "Yahuar ouchamanda", in which a hacienda is flooded. For Peruvian examples see Morote Best (1953a). Tale 35 of this collection no doubt derives from this part of the cycle.

A comparison between the tales at my disposal, assisted by the 'Index', shows that LS/CH is the most complete of the texts (containing 22 episodes). Tale 33 is the second most complete (17 episodes), but does not include Episode 28: "Death by cooking", and episodes that follow it. Instead these are represented for Cañar by a separate text from a different informant. Likewise, Episode 11: "Disguised as white man/beggar blesses poor household" forms part of LS/CH, but in Cañar again constitutes a text on its own, not immediately recognizable, if taken out of context, as part of the cycle. Thus the LS/CH text, although it comes from a different culture area, can be used as a valuable yardstick against which to measure my own less cohesive material, and argue quite viably that the diverse Cañar texts
belong to one and the same traditional cycle,

3.0 **Comparative analysis**

3.1 **The Spanish American area**

Stark has discussed comparative versions from Central America and from elsewhere in the Andes (1976). These include a version from Huaraz, Peru (Pantoja Raúl (1974, II:431-435, 445)), an Ixil version from Guatemala included in Shaw's collection (1972:111), another Mayan variant from British Honduras (Thompson L. (1930:161-162)), and a New Mexican version to be found in Espinosa (1937). To these could be added a further Central American version from Chichicastenango (Tax (1949)), a Peruvian tale of Christ as trickster being pursued by supay and containing many of the same episodes as the Ecuadorean material (*Allanonhe Phuturinaa*, II:23), and Guevara's account in his article on Ecuadorean etiological traditions (1954:61-63).

3.2 **The Indo-European sources**

It is possible to trace several of the episodes and motifs in the Cañar and other versions back to the Apocryphal gospels, and to late medieval European legends deriving from them. I will not venture to discuss paths of diffusion, but simply offer examples of such sources. The episodes occurring during the infancy and childhood of Christ relate in particular to sections of the Protevangelium of James, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour, all of which are contained in *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (ANCL), (1867, Roberts and Donaldson eds.). Summaries of them are also to be found in James's *Apocryphal New Testament* (1953). The incident of the resuscitation of the cock as a sign of the Resurrection is found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, also included in the above-mentioned works. Many other authors have compiled
summaries and commentaries on the Apocrypha, and also reproduce some of the popular legends derived from them. (1)

I shall now point out those motifs found in the Ecuadorean branch of the cycle which can be most readily traced to such sources. For simplicity's sake I shall confine most of the references to James (op. cit.). The numbers refer to the 'Index of episodes':

1. Joseph's rod: James 42 (Protevangelium)

4. Joseph angered by Mary's pregnancy: James 44 (Protevangelium)

6. Adoration of animals: James 75 (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew)
   (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew)
   Cursing of certain animals: Rappoport 51-53 (cites Krauss.1883,II: 121ff.) (popular legend)


12. Turns children into pigs: James 68 (refers to Budge op.cit.), see also ANCL.XVI:119 (Arabic Gospel of the Infancy). In both versions the children are turned into goats. (2)

16. Makes barley ripen: Gaar 62-63 (popular legend: "At that moment they saw a labourer sowing wheat in a field along the road. The child Jesus picked up a handful of the seed and threw it by the wayside. Instantly it grew before their eyes and ripened, ready for reaping. In this tall wheat Joseph and his family hid themselves. Soon Herod's men came by and asked the farmer: "Have you seen a woman pass here carrying a child in her arms?" "Yes," said the farmer, "I saw her as I was sowing the wheat." "The wheat is growing and ripening," said Herod's henchmen, "It must have been sown many months ago," And they went away.")

29. Resurrection of cock: James 116 (Gospel of Nicodemus - Judas's wife speaks to him as follows just before he goes to hang himself: "Say not nor think not so: for as well as this cock that is roasting on the fire of coals can crow, just so well shall Jesus rise again, as thou sayest." And immediately at her word that cock spread his wings and crowed thrice. Then was Judas yet more convinced, and straightway made the halter of rope and hanged himself."

4.0 Structural considerations: the place of the Christ Child cycle in Andean narrative

So far I have considered the cycle at the level of content, in particular with regard to the motifs it contains, and much historical and comparative work may be done on tales like these with such an evident debt to popular Indo-European sources. However, some expla-
ation for their initial appeal and lasting popularity among the Quechua peoples should be sought. This explanation would be expected to be found at the level of structure, rather than one based on affinities at the level of content. Indeed there are certain features in the pattern and underlying structure of the tales that are compatible with that of Andean myth of more indigenous content.

The first example for comparison is taken from Francisco de Avila's collection: "Como sucedió Cuniraya Viracocha en su tiempo y como Cahuillaca parío a su hijo y lo que paso" describes the impregnation of the virginal Cavillaca by the culture hero, Cuniraya Viracocha, and the latter's pursuit of the former when she escapes with her child (1966:23-29). The pursuit sequence contains various elements of interest to the present discussion: Cuniraya, we are told, wandered the earth in the guise of a ragged beggar whom nobody wanted - reminiscent of the present-day tales in which the same rôle is adopted by the Christ figure. Here, however, the culture hero is the one who is in pursuit, whereas in the Christ stories he is being pursued. In structural terms this can be regarded as an inversion in the pattern, rather than a deviation from it. The journey/pursuit sequence includes a 'question and answer' routine, which takes place between the hero and various animals that he encounters along the way. Those that help him towards the whereabouts of his mistress are blessed; those that do not are cursed. The similarity in pattern of the Christ Child's treatment of those who respond favourably, and vice versa, is strong enough to suggest that these already existing patterns may have helped the adoption of compatible material. The structural similarities between the two myths can be extracted as follows:
Table: "Peruvian myth: "Cuniraya Viracocha" vs. "Ecuadorian myth: "Niño Jesusmanta"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>16C Peruvian myth: &quot;Cuniraya Viracocha&quot;</th>
<th>20C Ecuadorian myth: &quot;Niño Jesusmanta&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miraculous</td>
<td>by eating fruit</td>
<td>from flower thrown onto her breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatherhood</td>
<td>child points out his 'beggar' father</td>
<td>child speaks while still in womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revealed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pursuit</td>
<td>hero pursues heroine</td>
<td>hero pursued by devils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question/answer</td>
<td>hero blesses animals who answer favourably - curses those that don't</td>
<td>hero blesses courteous, curses discourteous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second example comes from contemporary versions of origin myths from the Andean area reproduced and interpreted by Ortiz Rescanière (1973), who sets out to show similarities of structure and theme between myths that vary widely in historical and geographical source. The structural pattern most common to Peruvian origin myths is that whereby a first creator fathers a son, often of semi-divine, semi-human parentage, who sets about destroying the first creation and creating a new one. Some of the best known are also discussed by Mishkin (1940). Among Ortiz Rescanière’s material is an Aymara myth "Supaya", in which the original creator figure in the pattern is given the name 'Jesucristo' and his son is Supaya (op.cit.24-26). An almost identical variant is to be found in Cáceres Olazo (1970:23), attributed to Isidro Rojas of Llaviní, Puno. The son stands for all that is bad, thus bringing the notion of morals into play. Jesucristo is poor and ragged, his son is rich, so the myth describes an opposition between father and son, rich and poor, good and bad. This conflict is expressed in a series of episodes in which Jesucristo outwits the scheming Supaya, and it is here that a pattern emerges that I find comparable with the Christ Child cycle in Ecuador: Supaya fills the rôle of dupe in episodes which include the crop-ripening, and the hiding in the sheep's stomach to avoid capture. I would venture that traditional narrative structures included this mythological trickster sequence, enacted
between two figures of a former creation, and onto this pattern have been grafted features of content introduced from popularized Catholic lore.

4.1 The Christ Child cycle in the context of the corpus as a whole

There remains to point out that the tales of the Christ Child are not entirely isolable from the other material of the collection. No classification system for folktales should be held to be watertight, and there are points of comparison to be made both at the levels of structure and of content.

To take the latter first: perhaps the most obvious motif common to this and to the Section A legends is that of the gallo mishiou. In Tale 33, the devils are put off the scent by Christ's transformation into cockerel, upon which they remark: "Chaioa mana Ńwanohipaohu, mana Ŋwanohipaohu". ("That cockerel is not ours") Thus it is demonstrated again that where the narrative context is appropriate, the same formulae are called for over and over again, regardless of tale type. The narrative context at this point calls for the outwitting of devils by the hero; the traditional cockerel device is introduced by the hero's self-transformation. The identification of Jews with devils makes possible the inclusion of other motifs more commonly found in the devil legend type. The pursuers are led by one devil who is 'suchu' or 'huishtu'; the crippled devil of local lore. Moreover, they smell out their quarry, another attribute we have seen to be typical.

Still in connection with Section A tales, certain thematic links suggest themselves between Tale 35 and those devil legends that involve child heroes who leave home and come into contact with a non-human agent that results in good fortune, namely such tales as 12, 25, 26, and GS/CA/14, all of which combine A-T327A with the devil-legend pattern. They commonly relate the rejection of children from a home where food
is inadequate, their encounter outside the home with the non-human agent leads to the resolution of this lack. In Tale 35 also, contrast is drawn between lack and plenty, but this time the children remain at home while the parents set out on a journey. Whilst at home a non-human agent, namely 'taita Diosito', visits them, and they are blessed with miraculous grain. The pattern of Tale 35 could be seen in part as a structural inversion of that of the Section A tales to which I referred:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tale 35</th>
<th>Tales 12, 25, 26, GS/CA/14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lack of food</td>
<td>food denied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents set out</td>
<td>children set out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-human agent enters home</td>
<td>non-human agent encountered away from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact leads to good fortune</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There would appear to be a connection at the structural level between Tale 35 and popular customs and beliefs surrounding Taita Carnaval. He is thought to inhabit the hills, and only comes down to visit the homes of people on the Monday and Tuesday of Carnaval. During this period a table is kept prepared in a room which has been well swept, with all the foods he likes. Should he visit the house good luck will be with the family for the coming year, but the room must be left empty or it is thought he will not visit. My suggestion is that there is a common underlying structure between this set of customs, and Tale 35 in which the God figure instructs the heroes to prepare the house then absent themselves from it whilst the blessing is bestowed. At the same time the theme of the benefactor who blesses the impoverished household is found elsewhere in the Christ Child cycle (see Episode 11 of the 'Index of episodes'), and Tale 35 is also linked to that.

Finally, a few points at which these tales link also with the fox
and rabbit cycle: Tale 36 contains some interesting reminiscences in both theme and form of that group of texts, and also of Section A. God as trickster, about to be eaten by the devils, employs a device common to the fox and rabbit tales whereby he offers his pursuers a better deal in order to evade capture. Not only is the method of deception reminiscent, but the pattern of the dialogue is structurally almost identical. Just compare the following two extracts:

**Tale 38: Conejohuan atughuan**

"- Bueno tio, micanguipish ima ruhuanguipish shug huallpata pagasha, shug pavohuan shug huallpahuan - Nina nin."

"Well, uncle, even if you eat me or whatever you do, I shall give you a chicken and a turkey."

**Tale 36: Diablocunahuan taita Dioshuan**

"- Canouma Aucata micanguipish Ruca charinti shug sumainana haoienda. Chaita canoumanan herenosata saquish faouchi micanguich."

"Even if you eat me, I have a beautiful haoienda and I shall leave it to you as an inheritance. Let's go, so you can see it."

As has already been noted in Section A, Tale 36 also provides us with an aetiological hint as to how deserted haoiendas came to be the domain of devils and buried treasure. Thus, many points of contact can be made out between the Christ Child tales and other areas of the corpus.

**FOOTNOTES**

(1) eg. Hone (1820), Wallis Budge (1899), Donehoo (1903), Dahnhardt (1909), Rappoport (1934), Gaer (1952), and Ballou (1972).

(2) The Gospel of Thomas contains many episodes in which the Christ Child displays a malicious nature, but is always miraculously able to right the wrongs he causes; in the Cañar cycle he acts in character, although it has not been possible to trace each episode to an exact possible source.

(3) See also Trimborn (1952) on cursing of animals in the Huarochiri myth.

(4) See Appendix I for further details; Fock corroborates this and provides further details (Fock and Krener 1977b:4)
CHAPTER 5

Section C: Animal Tales

Sub-section (a): The fox and rabbit trickster cycle

Tale 38: Atughuan oonejohuan

Texts

Rioungui: oonejohuan nin shug huerta ladota. Chai oonejohuan entonoes juin daushedua huertata haciendapi. Chai oonejohuan puishedua, pucho, haciendapi shug huerta daushedua. Chaipica duehoca nishoa: ¿Imata moun oai huertataoa?


Atugua nishoani: - Sobrino huambra, nuata imata nin nisha uyangapa - nishoa nin.

Chaipi entonues rishoa ha tloca.
- Tao, nuaica yalli uahillami cani, oanmi jatun cangui, Casarai - nishoa nin.
- Ari, sobrino huambra, nuaica casarashua. Entonues canoa llusgshi - nishoa nin.

Tugllapi yatauna nina atug.


Chaimanta na fierrota siquipi satiquipa na rishoa nin duehoca. Chaipi huahueh siricuna nin atugua.

- Bueno, sobrino huambra, canan japi oashuam mioush. ¿Nimapata llullan, imapata casarashishua nishpa llullan?

Entonues ha puriuusha nin puriuusha nin.


Chaimanta nishoana nin: - Tao, mioushpi oapi rumi tirashpa tuuid mundo uenterom tiuanga. Can ruhina chaichimui, tlo,
- Ari, sobrino huambra - nishpaca oashua charicama nin jajarash shug ruhita.

Chaicha: - Tao, oanaa charicua, nuaa rini shug oasplia pitirimungupa, Rina nin ha.

Chaimanta uapi sapota rohigaa nin macheetahuan 'taj taj' nioushnum.

Sapota niousha nin 'taj taj taj'. Entonues tlo atugua nina nin: - Bueno, sobrino huambraa pitirimun. Ari, ari pitirimun. Ciertotamun rumi
tigragrioun.
Chaimantaca entonoes nà unat nin ña, caai tuou puinsha chariounlla
murtara chapanashu. Na tuou puinsha 'taj' ninun nin, tuou puinsha,
Pero ña conejocca, sobrinooca, largarishoa maïta. I, sapolla ña manahu
'taj' ninata yashoata. Chaïa 'taj' ninun tuqi puinsha.
Chaïa tardeyamugi ña huiga yaraci jnpipica rina nin ña callparash.
Runuoa shhinalta tiyacuna nín. Chaimantaca niourgrina sapo 'taj taï'
niunun nin. Ñatpi maitam trioa conejoca? Chaimantaca nina nin:
- Bueno, oanancarri miounimi, Lìmpa llullan? Gattapish llullan, ña
  tihaatpi ña. Oanancarri miounimi.

Chaimantaca ña puriuona nin, puriuona nin atugoa utinillata japiha
niiah. Na matpi shug shulla wuupt, shulla wuupt tiyacuna nin conejoca.
Chaïpoca: - Cunancari ña japiha miounimi ña oanancari.
- Bueno, tlo, miourquipish ima ruhuangupishop shug haullpata pagasha,
shug pavoha shug haullpahuán - nima nin.
- Art, sobrino huambra entonoes chaïta pagangu entonoes que mana
  miounoa.

Chaimanta entonoes rina nin shug haullpata amangapa, shug pavota, pero
iliilshhappala. Chaïsha bolaapi amuna nin jatun oashha maruaha nin.
Chaïa chaï atugta rina nin; - Chimbha chimbapi miourgr. Catpica
luenouama c'atimushpoca oantà huallshingami.
Mihpaca entonoes atugmanoca apachish cachana nin - Catpica pavo
huallpa tuautimi - níshepa.
Chaimanta atugca aparish rina nin.

Chaimantaca: - Ayaïl ayaul pavo shillul! ayaul ayaul huallpa shillul!
  niiah riouna nin.
Jiin tugiaoushaanga manohu cahshuunna. Shug huiaupi chayahpoca 'bas'
cahshirish shitana nin. Chaïta paseaun nin 'bas' entonoes que atingomi,
'bas' maqui satishpa japiha nin. Chaïpoca entonoes que t'ultta paseuna
nin, maquita satina nin cachapi. Libre pambaringa nin maiha.
Imata huallpa nivo conga, solo cachha maruaha. Chaimantaca; - Jeeus,
sobrino huambra, saitaoolu ruhanga houataca? Imata ruhuani, oanancari
miounimi - nish chaïpi shishat rina nin cashataca.

Chaimantaca cutin ña puriuona nin cutin puriuona puriuona, Maipícha
shug shullashsua ouplca puriuona nin. Chaïpica tiyacuna nin conejotaca
outin japiha nin locca sobrinotaca. Atugca tlo manohu y conejoca sobrino,
Chaimanta tiyacuna nin. Na p'uaah oanancari ña japaín nin conejotaca
mtoangapa ña.
- Bueno, tlo, miourquipish ima ruhuangupishop, rioushun shimita ña
  miounua pavo huallpa.
Chaimantaca nísheca: - Sobrino oanancarri miourgrinimi.
Entonoes tlootaca nísheca conejoca: - Rioushun quiru siquitwunapi tiyaongami
aloha.
Nísheca entonoes: - Art nísheca nin.
Chaimanta conejoca saltash shimipi yatousha ohomushullita polvushpa
siqit jutonta llugshirishoa nin.

Conejo cutin puriuona nin ña, ña saoha ouanapixi shina ña ohingarishpa;
- Cunancari ña largaririntimi maïta. Mana japi tuemushshu - níshepa.
Cunancarri suakilla purina nin ña waapi, oasi shug ooho ñlas o quhocs
ñlas oana nin ña conejoca. Chaimanta puriuoshpallata ña locca tarina
nin sobrinotaca. Chaimantaca nísheca nin: - Cunancari ña mana
quilispintotohu, Cunancari miounshami, Mioushami oanancari, Al fin ña
tuouita engañangui.
The fox and the rabbit

Now then: the rabbit was wandering in the kitchen garden of a huasiama, doing great damage to the vegetables. The owner said: "What's raiding the kitchen garden?"

The owner must in fact have been the mayoral or a huasiama. Then he caught the rabbit and imprisoned him in a trap. He stayed there in the trap so that the owners might kill him.

Then the fox passed by and the rabbit called to him: "Uncle, uncle, come and get married. I have been caught because they want to marry me off."
The fox replied: "Young nephew, whatever you say, I'm going for a drink."

And he went off his way. But the rabbit called after him: "Uncle, I'm very small and you are big. Get married."

"Very well, young nephew, I shall get married. So you get out of there,"

And the fox climbed into the trap instead.

So the fox got into the trap and the rabbit made off. There the fox remained in the trap. Then the owner of the orchard heated an iron rod and put it up the fox's backside! The fox all the while thought he was going to get married! "I'm getting married! I'm getting married!" he cried.

But then the owner put the red-hot iron up his backside and went away, leaving the fox dying on the ground.

Then after a long time the fox came to himself and dragged himself along slowly to a pool of water. The hot iron had been pushed right up inside him. So he went into the water and lay down in it for two days. Then he revived and said to the rabbit: "Well, young nephew, when I catch you I shall eat you. Why did you lie, saying that you wanted to get me married?"

So they went their ways.

Then one day the rabbit was standing in the hollow beneath a big rock, the fox was due to arrive any minute. Then he came by and said:

"Young nephew, what did you lie for? Now indeed I shall eat you. You said you wanted to get me married. What did you lie for? Now I shall eat you."

Then the rabbit said: "Uncle, even if you eat me, when this rock topples over the whole world will turn upside down. Help me to hold up the rock, uncle."

"Yes, young nephew," he said, and so held up the rock to prevent it from falling.

"Uncle," said the rabbit, "you hold the rock up and I'll go and chop some sticks," and off he went.

Then the rabbit asked a frog to make a chopping sound with his machete. The frog obliged, and so the fox said to himself: "Well, my young nephew is chopping wood. Yes, he's chopping. So it must be true that the stone is going to topple over."

So then a long time passed. The fox held the stone up and watched out nearly all day. All day the 'chop chop' sound was heard. But the rabbit had already cleared off. And it was the frog that was making the chopping sound, wasn't it? He went 'chop chop chop' all day.

Then as it grew late and the fox got hungry he made off at a run. But the rock remained just the same. Then he went to look and saw it was the frog making the chopping noise. Where on earth had the rabbit gone? Then the fox said: "Well, now indeed I shall eat him. Why did he lie? This was a lie too. Now he has tricked me twice. Now I shall really eat him."

After that the fox went on his way, wanting yet again to catch the rabbit. Now the rabbit was sitting in the dew-soaked grass, the fox said to him: "Now I shall really catch and eat you."

"Very well, uncle, even if you eat me or whatever you do, I shall give you a turkey and a chicken."

"Yes, young nephew. So if you pay me that I shan't eat you,"
So the rabbit went off to bring the chicken and the turkey, but just lying. So he brought a bag filled with great maruoha thorns. Then he told the fox: "Go over the hill to eat this. The owners of the birds are coming after you and will kill you."
So saying, he sent the fox off carrying the bag and telling him: "Here are the turkey and the chicken."
So the fox carried the bag and went on his way.

As he went he cried: "Ouch! ouch! That must be the turkey claws! Owl owl! Those are the chicken claws!"
The thorns must have been pricking him a lot, mustn't they? Arriving in a river gorge, he freed his load and threw it to the ground. He opened the bag and put his hand inside. He delved his hand right into the thorns. There was no chicken or turkey at all but just maruoha thorns. Then he cried: "Jesus, that young nephew, has he done this to me? What shall I do? Now I really shall eat him."
So saying he flung the thorns aside and went on his way.

After that now he wandered about for some days. He was walking somewhere in the dew-soaked grass and there he met and caught his nephew the rabbit again. The fox was the uncle, you see, and the rabbit was the nephew. Now this time indeed he caught the rabbit with the intention of eating him.
"Well, uncle," said he, "even if you eat me or whatever you do, let's look inside your mouth to see the bits of turkey and chicken you ate," But the fox insisted: "Nephew, now I am going to eat you."
Then the rabbit said to his uncle: "Let's see if there are any bits of meat still stuck in your teeth."
So the fox opened his mouth and said 'Ah.'
Then the rabbit jumped into the fox's mouth and, destroying his intestines on the way, came out through his anus.

Again the rabbit was going his way. He took himself deep into the forest saying: "Now I shall go far away somewhere, I shall not be caught."
So now he happily wandered for a long time, around a week or two. Then just as he was wandering, the uncle found his nephew again. "This time now you shall not escape," he said, "this time I really shall eat you. For you are always deceiving me."
"Very well, uncle. Even if you eat me I shall pay you a sheep. I shall pay you a sheep and then you shall eat me. I am little and the sheep is big. It will satisfy your stomach."
"Yes, nephew," replied the fox.
"Now I shall go, set the sheep free and send it to you. You watch out in the hollow down below. I shall set free the sheep and send it down to you from the top of the hill. Keep a good look out and then just catch it."

So then the young nephew made a 'sheep' by wrapping a large stone that size in a sheepskin. Then he called out: "Uncle, uncle, uncle! Watch out! Watch out! The sheep is on its way! The sheep is on its way!"
"Yes, young nephew," answered the fox as he opened his legs wide, watching out to stop the sheep. The rabbit sent the 'sheep' rolling down the slope.
"Uncle, uncle! Watch out! Watch out! The sheep is on its way! The sheep is on its way!"
As if it was a sheep! The great stone wrapped in a sheepskin rolled down onto the uncle and flattened him. Well that happened too. Then the rabbit made off. The uncle just came to his senses again.

The rabbit went his way. Then again in the same way, the uncle revived after a long time. Then he said: "Now indeed I am out to eat him. Why has he deceived me so many times? Now indeed I'll get him."

So he caught the nephew rabbit: "Now I'm really going to eat you," he said.

"Very well, uncle. Even if you eat me, or whatever you do, help me dig a well just now. If this well bursts the day of judgement will be upon us. So help me make the well and make the water run in this direction. So the uncle helped to make a big well. Then the nephew told him: "Well, uncle, go down into the ditch and stand with your legs apart to guide the water through. In that way we shall be saved. Otherwise we shall not save ourselves."

So he sent the uncle down to stand astride the ditch.

As he sent him down to the ditch he told him: "Watch out, uncle, watch out. Direct the water between your legs." So he stood with his legs apart keeping a good watch out. Then the nephew sent the water flowing. With a great 'whoosh' it flowed out. And as if the uncle could stand in its path! It flowed out, destroying all the vegetation in its way, and carrying the fox along with it, battering him to bits. As if the water was going to pay him any attention! So then the rabbit ran away, free of the fox. He was carried off who knows where. Then the rabbit escaped with his life, he wasn't eaten.

Informant: JAG, 26th May, 1976

Tale 39: Atughuan conejohuan


- Atji, tlo, wucaca shug lindo huaguchutami charini. Pero canca caillapi shayai, wucaca jahuamanta oacasha singushish chagnashpami oacasha.

Cunanaa rin: - Tapishhallatomi huahuchishhpa mohontarishsha lunkutaan, pues mana oaqishahu fluoride caita ruhuan rucaata, riqui, caati huahuchin. Entonces fia humbrara cuidado purin. Chaínanta nina rin, ima shuhi, shug punshhaoa tupan. - Y lingu, ima ruhuaoongui oan oaripi?


Imata sugau shillu canga! Sino cashauna, tugeuna nin ionopica.


Tloa atug pasoan nin entonces fia: - Huambram huahshoata rioushun.

T'uluta pasoan, t'ului maqui satin, oasha clavarin nin maquipica.

- Ay! Huambram fuera! Na oමәna fia mana pasanga, maasha huahuchisha - nishoa nin.


Entonces fia purin, purin, purin. De repentea entonces tupanauna nin.

- Na huambram - nishpa tiallata rabariarina nin - riqui caita ruhuan, pues owanoca japi shoapa oastigashallami - nishca nin.

Nina nin: - Aij, tla, huambram shahum visitangapa, Shamul visitangui.

Entonces jutupui yatoona nin. Entonces tla sonsoa ootin conefota japi shoashoash muanagaradacu jutupui umata saqishpa mana l'ugohi valin. Cai ota muwarca alli uocharishpa shitarina nin.


- Ay, tla, vida oari! Tlo huahushaashi, huashhpaam ninni. Chaïmi shamuni notisiiagh.

- Arit. Chaïpi huahshoami siruun. Cunaa riou, sobrino, nihata ruhuangi?
- Mana, tla, huahshoaa cashpaa supiirangami! - nishpashi nin.

The fox and the rabbit

There was once a very crafty rabbit. There were also two foxes; a man fox and a woman fox. These were the rabbit's uncle and aunt. One day the fox met the rabbit and said to him: "Hey, youngster, what are you up to?"

"Oh, uncle," replied the rabbit, "I've got a beautiful lamb for you. You wait here and I'll roll it down from the top of that hill tied by the legs."
And the sly rabbit went to the hilltop. He made a 'sheep' by wrapping a sheepskin well around a stone; then he trussed it up and sent it rolling down the hill. The fox was keeping a lookout, thinking a sheep was coming. But instead the stone hit him full on the chest and knocked him out, although it didn't quite kill him.

After that, the fox determined he would only be happy when he had caught the rascal and killed him. He could not let him do such things to him, why he had nearly been killed! So after that the nephew went about with caution. Then one day the fox met the rabbit; "Well, young 'un, what are you doing here?"

"Oh, uncle fox, here I am carrying along a few little things for my aunt, as I heard she has just given birth. Why don't you take them for me?"

Now the rabbit had filled the sack with all kinds of thorns; ahiś̄an thorns, and all the kinds of thorn that one finds in the hills. Now he was free of the burden,

As the uncle walked along, each time the thorns dug him in the back, he cried out; "Ow! Those must be skunk's claws! Ouch! Condor's claws! Ouch! Blackbird's claws!"

But of course they weren't blackbird's claws at all, but thorns and spikes that were sticking into him! Well, he arrived home and giving the bag to his wife, he said; "Take this, the young rabbit met me along the way and sends these things for you to eat."

So the aunt opened the bag with the words; "Let's see what he has sent."

She opened the sack, put in her hand and the thorns pierced her flesh! "To the devil with that young rabbit! This time he won't get away with it, I'll beat him to death!" she cried, for now she was angry. Again, the rabbit took precautions for a while. But soon he stopped heeding their threats and continued to go to his aunt's house. And the stupid uncle fox didn't realise.

So the rabbit went about his business. Then one day they met up again, rabbit and aunt. Now the aunt herself got angry; "Look what you have done, well now I am going to catch and punish you."

Then the rabbit said to her; "Aunt, come and pay me a visit."

So he disappeared into his burrow. Now the stupid aunt wanted to catch and eat the rabbit in order to punish him. She put her head into the hole after him, and it stuck! The rabbit danced around her, covering her face with chili paste! Then he left her there like that.

After that the rabbit set off again, this time who knows where he went? The aunt fox was angry and declared that she couldn't let the matter pass. "Wherever he is, I'll really kill him this time," she said.

Then she said to the uncle; "You lie down and pretend to be dead, and I'll go and call the rabbit to come and pay his last respects. Pretend you're dead, but be careful not to give yourself away!"

So the rabbit came along to see the deceased: "Oh dear aunt! I hear my uncle is dead. I came as soon as I heard the news."

"Yes, there he lies dead," she said, "look at him, nephew, what are you going to do now?"

The rabbit took a closer look and then cried; "Ha ha! Aunt, if he were really dead, he would hardly fart, would he?!

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

some as for Tale 38, plus:
cf, A-T66B; Sham-dead animal betrays self
K1860 Deception by feigned death
Tale 40: Atuqchan onenajohuan

Shug auentittota onenan rini ñuaca a parlangapa, himpay huiñai Cañar parlashaata. Quinquqy; shug onenajohuan shug atuqchan tiyashoa. Tlo nishpa rimanata yahashoa onenajosca atuqtaaa. Chaimanta tloa ungushoa oamapi saquishoa tounóo nishoa nin: - Jace riushun talilata tloan conuidangapa: Tla ungush mana imata muro valuñhi huastip casha - nishoa.

Chaimanta tloa: - Ari, sobrino - nish aparishoa.

Chaimanta nishoa nin: - Jace shug ovejata randishun - nishpa.


Chapitoa niñhoca nin: - Tlo, ovejatami oasharoosan. Canillata mana jaroa lañguini - nishoa.

Chaimantaca sobrinota tloca huastishoam nishpa o'atish purishoa, Sobrinoa atirishoa mataa.

Chaimanta entones ishoa punshapi tupaasha, Chaimanta nishoa nin tlo: - Ñimantaca ana ana caitaca ruhangu ruhacata - nish sobrinoata rimarisho.

Sobrinoa nishoa nin: - Tlo, impapish ñucata maanguiñish, jace shug tratota ruhush - nish.

Chaimanta nishoa entones: - Bueno, sobrino - nishpa.

Nishoa: - Ñucata caitapi cai mundo huallpaunata charini - nishpa cahataaca t'ulipu churashoa.


Chaimantaca tloca ohayashoa huastip nishoa nin: - Hija, ñuaca sobrinoa caitami huallpahuan pavoamañhuam ñuha caahan. Cunanoa paila yaçuata shayashishpami pelapirini - nishoa.

Chaimanta entones ña tloca jatarishpa pailapi yanita shayashishoa. Chaimanta tloca nishoa nin: - Pagta pasoanguim. Huallpahuan pavoioa vularingamis t'ulimanta - nishoa nin.

Alli huatashpa juin cahash cahashpica nishoa nin tloa: - Kom youm tuñhu. Apamit huallpahuan pavonhan pelasha ñuaca sobrino cahosota - nishoa.


Chaimanta entones tlo nishoa nin: - Sobrinoa cahosanai huastishishoma, Cunanoari mana saquishoosha - nishpa ña juin purishoa.


Chaimanta nishoa nin: - Mana tlo, ñuaca pavovuan huallpahuan oonaroan.


The fox and the rabbit

Now I am going to tell you a little story that was told by the folk of Cufar in the old days. It goes like this: there were once a rabbit and a fox. The rabbit used to call the fox 'uncle'. Then one day the aunt fox stayed in bed sick, and the rabbit said to the uncle: "Let's go and get the aunt a little something to eat. She's at home, ill and unable to get herself any food."

The fox agreed and went along with him.

Let's buy a sheep," said the rabbit.

Then he took a black sheepskin and wrapped it in a stone. Then he said to the fox: "Uncle, the sheep is rolling, stop it."

So the uncle stood with his legs apart to block the path of the sheep. Then the stone wrapped in a sheepskin hit him in the chest, knocked him to the ground and killed him. Then after a long time the uncle came round. Getting to his feet, he said: "Nephew, why did you do that?"

But the rabbit replied: "Uncle, I loosed a sheep for you. You yourself couldn't stop it."

Then the uncle went after his nephew wanting to kill him. But the nephew escaped.
Then two days later the uncle met the rabbit and said: "Why did you do that to me?"

The nephew replied: "Uncle, whatever you do, even if you beat me, let's do a deal."

"Very well, nephew," said the fox.

"I have a lot of chickens here," said the rabbit, and he put some thorns in a sack. Then he sent the fox on his way carrying the sack as he went, carrying it, the uncle cried: "Ow! Ow! Chicken's claws! Ow! Owl! Turkey's claws!"

Then when the uncle reached home, he said to his wife: "Here, my dear, my nephew has sent a gift of chickens and turkeys. I'll get a pot of water ready for plucking them."

Then the aunt got up and prepared a pot of water. The uncle told her: "Be careful not to open the sack; the chickens and turkeys will fly out." So he tied the bag securely and put it away in a corner. When he had done so, the aunt said: "The water's boiling now. Bring the chickens and turkeys that my nephew has given me and I'll pluck them."

"Here you are, dear," said the fox and he brought the bag to the fireside. Then when she opened it the aunt found that it was full of cactus spines of all kinds. So she emptied them onto the uncle fox's head: "Get out of here," she said, "you've brought me a bag of thorns. You're always playing tricks on me."

And so the uncle said: "Now, nephew, I really shall eat you. Now I shan't leave you in peace," and he went on his way.

After that the nephew escaped far away again. In three days' time they met again. "Aha," said the fox, "now indeed I shall just eat you. Look at all the tricks you have played on me. You sent me off carrying a bag of thorns."

But the rabbit replied: "No, uncle, I sent you with turkeys and chickens. Why did you do that, uncle? Why did you throw out the poultry and carry home thorns?" So saying the nephew lied. Then he spoke again: "Uncle, now let's let the matter go. Now let's go and look for meat, that you like so much."

"Very well, yes," replied the fox.

So they became friends and set off again to look for meat. The aunt was at home watching out for her husband: "There's no sign of the uncle," she said.

While the aunt was keeping a look out, the rabbit said to the uncle: "Uncle, you wait just here. I'm going to do a deal for a sheep and I'll be back. Perhaps somebody will sell me one."

Then he came back to the aunt's house. She asked him: "Where have you left the uncle?"

And the rabbit lied in reply: "The uncle is just coming."

Then the uncle fell asleep where he was. Later when the rabbit didn't reappear, he came home. The rabbit met him again on the road: "Uncle, I've managed to get a sheep. Let's go and see what you think of it."

So he took the uncle along, saying that he had obtained a sheep. But the uncle didn't want to go.

Then a solitary bird came by. Thereupon the fox asked: "Hey, nephew, how does that bird come to have such a white tail?"

"Oh, that's easy, uncle. If you sharpen a stick and sit on the end of it, your tail will come out white."

So he whittled a stick and made the uncle sit on the end of it. Then
he pushed him down onto the stick. It went up into him as far as his stomach and there he killed the uncle.

In two days the uncle revived. Coming to his senses, he went home. Up until then the rabbit was wandering about peacefully. Then the uncle said: "Now indeed I shan't let him be. I am going to eat him.

And so the fox went his way, wanting to eat his nephew. Then the rabbit came along, bringing a chicken from somewhere. "Uncle, look, I wasn't lying. See how I bring you a chicken," he said.

"Ah, my little nephew, what do you think you're doing? You play me all kinds of trick. But come here with the chicken.

And he greeted the rabbit happily, shaking his hand and chatting. Then the fox plucked and ate the chicken. The rabbit told him: "Uncle, you eat this. I have to go to a party to which I've been invited."

Then the uncle said: "Very well, my son, that's just the kind of thing I like."

So then, after he had eaten, the fox persuaded the rabbit to take him along to the party. Then the rabbit made the uncle cross a river by means of a very small log that had been lain across it. The fox fell into the water and was carried away onto a rock. Then he called: "Nephew, do come and give me a hand."

But the nephew had crossed over to the other side and was laughing. As he laughed he said to himself: "Now I shall see how he gets out of this one."

Then the uncle jumped from the rock into the water and swam until he came out of it some way off. As he emerged from the water the rabbit had escaped again in the other direction.

So, having escaped in another direction, he came to a vegetable plot where he set about eating cabbages, lettuce and onions. There the uncle came after him. Then the man who looked after the plot, the huasi coma, came out and said to the fox: "Aha, so it's you who's been eating the vegetables. That's why you're wandering about.

And he took a stick and knocked the fox on the back. Then the fox replied: "It's not me. I am after the crafty rabbit. He has played a lot of tricks on me."

When the fox made this reply, the man didn't kill him. Then the fox came home again.

When he got home he lay down and his wife said: "Now my husband has died and you don't come to the house, nephew."

With these words she wanted to persuade the rabbit into the house in order to eat him. But the rabbit didn't come in, he just stood in the doorway. As he stood there, he said: "My uncle hasn't died. He's still alive."

But the uncle's wife said: "He's dead. He won't get up any more. He's been lying like that since yesterday. Nephew, come in and take a look at what has happened to your uncle."

He didn't go in. He just stood in the doorway. Then the uncle got up quietly and looked about, so that he could eat the rabbit when he came in. Then when the rabbit heard this movement he ran away, and didn't go inside.

After that episode, some two weeks later he was walking about somewhere and met up again with the fox: "Oh, uncle," he addressed him, "what are you doing? What are you up to? You curse me and want to eat me. Even if you eat me, let's go and see this animal I have."
He took the fox to show him an animal he had, though the fox was reluctant to go. Somewhere or other he found a little curiquinga bird and brought it to show to the uncle: "I have brought this for you to eat, and even so you want to beat me."

So the uncle took it and was about to eat it when the rabbit gave him a great kick in the belly and left him there. That time he killed him. When he had killed the fox the rabbit went away so as not to be found in those parts, for the fox’s family might come and beat him. So he went away to live in some other place. That’s the end.

Informant: JMT, 15th July, 1976

some as for Tale 38, plus:
A2378.8 Origin of colour of animal’s tail
K1000 Deception into self injury
Q302 Envy punished
Q331.2 Vanity punished

Tale 41: Atughuan onejohuan

- Chá jahapimi - nina nin -, Kami huoa oachagriní. Tlo oanea oaiño chahapugui. Nallami huoa huagohuta cachasha,

Tlo ahepá nin uapí chahapumá nín. Sobrinooa shug oavea oarapi jatun rumita pillushpa singuichish cachana nin. Tloca uapí chahapumi.
- Tlo, chahapugui, ri ha japingui, tlo - nina nin,
Chaimanta titoaana. Tlota shunguhi huagatiqpa rupica yacuwan singuichish cachana nin tloca. Tlo maicha uapí lluhshina nin ahoata yau aaparishoa.

Chaimanta cutún sobrinota maschapha rina nin toca miusef nish paite idita ruuhan níshta. Chaimanta níshta nin sobrino: - Nana tlo, canilata pasuqish aqahangui chaico huagohumí oarqa - níshta nin -, tlo ana nucata miconohu, chahimpini shug omejante gorda aichata huoa charini.
- Jau chaiapi.


The fox and the rabbit

An uncle and his nephew went out onto the hillside. When the uncle felt hungry there on the hill he wanted to eat the nephew. The nephew was the rabbit and the uncle the fox. The nephew said: "Uncle, why do you want to eat me? I am small, you will not be satisfied with me. You have a big belly, uncle, I have a lamb for you instead."
"Where’s the lamb?"
"Up there, I’m going to send it down to you right now. You stay here and watch out. I’ll send the lamb to you in just a moment."

where the fox was reluctant to go. Somewhere or other he found a little curiquinga bird and brought it to show to the uncle: "I have brought this for you to eat, and even so you want to beat me." So the uncle took it and was about to eat it when the rabbit gave him a great kick in the belly and left him there. That time he killed him. When he had killed the fox the rabbit went away so as not to be found in those parts, for the fox's family might come and beat him. So he went away to live in some other place. That’s the end.

Informant: JMT, 15th July, 1976

some as for Tale 38, plus:
A2378.8 Origin of colour of animal's tail
K1000 Deception into self injury
Q302 Envy punished
Q331.2 Vanity punished

Tale 41: Atughuan onejohuan

- Chai jahapimi - nina nin -, Kami huoa oachagrin. Tlo oanea oaipi chahapugui. Nallami huoa huagohuta cachasha,

Tlo ahepini nin uapí chahapumá nina nin. Sobrinooa shug oavea oarapi jatun rumita pillushpa singuichish cachana nin. Tloca uapí chahapumi.
- Tlo, chahapugui, ri ha japingui, tlo - nina nin,
Chaimanta titoaana. Tlota shunguhi huagatiqpa rupica yacuwan singuichish cachana nin tloca. Tlo maicha uapí llugshina nin ahoata yau aaparishoa.

- Jau chaiapi.


Chaimanta callari nishpa ricuichishoa nin. Na tloma ha miou callarishoa nin ha siguitama wata satish. Chaimanta tluhan ha wata siligpi yegwa jatarihsha ooroviaahpa rina nin maita tlota huaiuqishish maiqi sittangapa. Chailami huoa auento.

The fox and the rabbit

An uncle and his nephew went out onto the hillside. When the uncle felt hungry there on the hill he wanted to eat the nephew. The nephew was the rabbit and the uncle the fox. The nephew said: "Uncle, why do you want to eat me? I am small, you will not be satisfied with me. You have a big belly, uncle, I have a lamb for you instead."
"Where's the lamb?"
"Up there, I'm going to send it down to you right now. You stay here and watch out. I'll send the lamb to you in just a moment."
So the uncle was watching out down below and the nephew wrapped a big rock in a sheepskin and sent it rolling down. The uncle was watching out below. "Uncle, watch out! Catch it, uncle!" called the rabbit. Then the stone hit the uncle in the chest and sent him rolling into the water. He was carried away by the water and didn't get out until he was far away.

After that the uncle was looking for the nephew who had played the trick on him, wanting to eat him. Then the nephew said: "No, uncle, that was a lamb. You yourself let it go past without catching it. Don't eat me, uncle, over there I have a fat bit of meat. Let's go."

And he led the uncle away wanting to give him some food. So the uncle went along. On a flat plain there lay a mare asleep. She was only sleeping as she lay, she wasn't dead. The rabbit told the uncle: "Eat there, uncle."

He showed the fox the mare and told him to start eating. So the fox began to eat by putting his head into the horse's rear. When he did so, the mare got to its feet, bucked and threw the fox in the air killing him. That's my story.

Informant: ET, 10th June, 1976

additions:
K553.4 Wolf is requested by horse to start eating from the rear; kicked to death

Tale 42: Atughuan conejohuan


Ari nishpaac atugoitoca chariowana nin rumita jattarishpa juin. Rum iina horas shaman nish oparavashoa juin. Vivo na chaimantq; - Bueno, oumancari, oaita ruhuan semejante sobrino, oumancari miushllatamni, japiushllatamni, miushllatamni - nina nin.


Chaimanta nina nin: - Tlo, tlo! Awaata miushquipish, Awaata japingquipish, caipi shug ovejua huahuashoa. Chaitara shamui miushq - nina nin.

Ari nishpa chahta miunawa nin miunawa nin. - Pero cai punumitiota cuuqapa, cai omushhlliotita yanta huatana haunoca ruhuashun - nina nin.

Chapi nina nin: - Ar, sobrino, ar - nishpa nina nin.
The fox and the rabbit

There was once a very crafty rabbit. He used to make a fool of the fox. The fox used to eat numbasura birds and shuta birds. That's how the fox lived. One day the rabbit said to him: "Uncle, uncle, come here." The uncle agreed and went to have a wash. As he was washing the rabbit said: "Uncle, hold up this big rock. But hold it up well. If it falls over it will kill us all. You hold it up." So the little fox agreed and held up the rock to stop it falling over. He kept a close watch out to see when the rock was going to fall over. Then he realised the trick and said: "Well, this is what my rascally nephew does. Now indeed I shall just eat him. I shall just catch him and eat him."

Well after that, one day the rabbit said: "Uncle! Uncle! What are you doing? Even if you are going to eat me, stop the flow of this water. This water is going to carry us away. Open your mouth wide and stop the course of the water."

In agreement, the uncle opened his mouth wide and stopped the water. The water all flowed out and into his mouth. So the rabbit played that trick. Having done that, the crafty rabbit made off in another direction. And the fox said: "Now indeed, my rascally young nephew, I shall really catch and eat you."

Then the rabbit said: "Uncle! Uncle! Even if you eat me, even if you catch me, there's a dead sheep here. Come and eat that first."

So the fox ate it. The rabbit told him: "Keep the sheep's stomach for a usegen and with the intestines let's make a thong for tying up firewood."

"Yes, nephew, yes," said the fox.

"Uncle, uncle, but let's see if any of the meat has got stuck in your teeth. Open your mouth so I can have a look."

When the fox opened his mouth, the rabbit jumped into it and came out at the other end! That's how it is.

Informant: TSA, 20th November, 1976

no additions

Tale 43: Atughuan conejohuan

Conejoca chaipi japirisoha sisa huertapi. Chaipi mana caaharin. Chaipi presorin. Nuqochi compa' Antuqua pasacuha pla ladollata, -limata ruhushapa caahna shayaungquirrel?
Nigpiqı: - Ay, hombre, huaca oachami cani: shug muchacha donellahuon oasarai nishpami aapi huoca presonuna. Presooha tiyaoui - chaipi presorion - ttoa, jatun conqui, alli conqui, ahoata misongqui uriangqui. Huaca imata mana pudishaohu,
Ari nishpa sonso animaloa outin oacharih cachan. Patruchu shai cera turupica llutarish equirin Antuua. Conejoca rin vivota ashu. Rin conejoca largo matta. Chaipa shamuna rin unai unapiqa sisa huertayu-
Onnaca. Na ina horas presorinata fachashpaqha shamushoa rin jatin fierro barrandilla pucailla atisashoa. Chaipica nishoa nin: - Ay, huca oaitaca huaca oasarashallami, oasarashallami,


The fox and the rabbit

The rabbit was caught there in the flower garden. Then he wasn't released. He was taken prisoner there. Our compadre Antucu was passing right by there. "What are you standing there like that for?" he asked.

"Oh, man, here I am like this. They have taken me prisoner because they want to marry me to a maiden. Here I am a prisoner. Uncle, you are big and strong. You can take a lot of food and drink. I shan't be able to manage."
So the stupid animal set the rabbit free and he stayed there daubed in that sticky white mud. The rabbit on the other hand was clever and went off. Then after a long while the owners of the flower garden came by. When they learned that there was someone in the trap they came with a red-hot iron rod. Then the fox called: "Ah, I'm going to get married. I'm going to get married."
"You scoundrel," said the gardener, "marry this if you will."
And he put the heated iron right up the fox's backside. He was burnt and then set free. He went away.

Again the other rascal was watching out for the fox: "Uncle, uncle! Put your arse in the water! Put your arse in the water!"
The fox went his way burnt and battered. Thus he escaped. Off he went, and arrived I don't know where. I don't remember the story well, I just remember a little.

So then they were somewhere on the slopes of a high hill. The rabbit wrapped a large stone in a sheepskin. The uncle came following him. He said: "Ah, young Juanchu, what might you be doing?"
"Ah, uncle, I want to skin this sheep but I can't. I'll give it to you, uncle, for you to skin and eat. You are big and strong."
The fox agreed happily.
"You go down there below and stop the sheep in its tracks. I'll send it down to you."
So the fox went down to the bottom of the hill and stood there. He opened his arms wide and stood ready to stop the sheep. As he was standing there the 'sheep' was set free and as it rolled down, both the sheep and the fox together rolled down into the gorge. "Hey there, uncle! What's happened to you? Where are you going?" cried the rabbit as he ran off in the other direction. The fox and sheep rolled downwards while the rabbit escaped well away. Who knows where he went? Then the uncle escaped too. Who knows where the sheep ended up? And so again that wicked animal went his way, who knows where? Then the fox escaped and went back to following the rabbit again.

This time the rabbit was sitting just on the side of a hill. Now he had made a plan with some travelling tradeswomen from Chimborazo. "Uncle," he said, "even if you eat me, let's do this first. Even if you eat me."
He made a plan with the tradeswomen that they should run from one corner to the other. When the fox heard them they would turn around and run to the other side. "Here's the woman, here's the woman," the rabbit called.
The poor fox ran, he fainted, and he grew tired out. Then his innards burst and he died.
"Oh my dear uncle, my life, who shall care for me now that you're gone? Oh, dear, what shall become of me?" cried the rabbit.
He wept bitterly as he killed his uncle. The uncle died with his innards burst. And the rabbit remained behind with the tradeswomen. I just remember a little of what people used to tell, making us laugh with the story of the women. Who might they have been? The fox heard them here and there and ran after them in all directions without being able to catch them. He died with his guts bursting, That's how people talk, making people laugh.

Informant: JY, 13th December, 1976

additions:
K741 Capture by tarbaby (cf. Tale 45 where the motif is more explicit)
The fox and the rabbit

There is a bawdy tale: I remember what people are always saying. Well, one day the fox met his nephews. The nephews were the rabbit and the weasel. They invited him to the wedding of the cowhand's daughter. Well, the fox accepted. So they were going to the house of the cowhand's daughter, the rabbit as a fiddler and the weasel playing a drum. The uncle went along happily to eat his fill at the wedding. But the nephews were only deceiving him. Then the fox went ahead into the yard of the house where they said the wedding party was. Then the dogs came out and the uncle was caught. The rabbit and the weasel escaped into the drainage channel, and the dogs pulled the uncle to pieces. The uncle went away angrily.

Again he met with his nephews: "I shall punish them. I shall be happy to eat them," he said.

After quite a while he met them and one of them said: "I have a sheep on the top of that hill. I shall set it loose and you catch it and eat it. That way you will be satisfied."

So he rolled a large stone wrapped in a sheepskin down the hill, and called to the uncle on the flat ground below: "Be careful not to let the sheep go by."

The 'sheep' rolled down the hill. It was really a stone. It crushed the uncle and killed him.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

additions:

J514 One should not be too greedy
Tale 45: Atughuan conejohuan

Jillushpa purig carco huertaunata conejoca, Chaimantaa entoonoe shug colamaanta runata ruhuash churarca. Chaipi ná entoonoe chai runataa sentsushpa aši maqui huagtaraa. Maqui pegarivaa: - Oi, tlo, cavação, caaharinpu!
Chulta chaquí lihreama. - Nuca jaitashpacari pero tlo oan ima tuuush mana caaharinpucho!
Lluqui chaquí jaitan, Na ischotai maqui chaqui Na prenderirama caahsma Na goma ruhuashoa runapi, japi tuuungapa Na. Chaimanta entoonee niroa: - Tlo, cavação, caaharinpu!
Umahuwa uma pegarivaa.

Tlo atugoa pasacuwa, - Oi, tlo, tlo, shamul, shamul.
Na caashirish caahagpiqu jahuaman.
Jahua lonamataa: - Tlo, tlo, yaqupi siqui sati, yaqupi siqui sati - niqsha aaparin.
Ari nish tlooa yaqupi siqui sati. Chaimanta entoonee Na liugshirin tlooa liugshirishpaa nín.

Chaimanta tlooa t'ulumanta tomapi caashah t'ugshispucia: - Ayau! ayau!
Chaqia shaqiamu. Tapampa shaqiamumushpa Na t'ulupi maquí satishpa caashah japidin, yura caashata, Maqita riwushpa, yahuar liugshishpaa; - Maldico, mal aristianu, ñu sopri oang! Tapash chaqiantaa rabilriva, Na mana aqshun Na munaysh niroa Na; - Riqui ruca mantención, ruca oasa osi mundo tuuita jadimushpa, chaqtarsht - niqsha.
Shamuwhspaa entoonee Na micuasha niroa tlapish. Chashnom chai bridó conejoca tlooa chai ruhuarca.
The fox and the rabbit

The rabbit used to steal from vegetable plots. Then a man made of glue was put to catch him. When he noticed the man, the rabbit hit him with his right hand, and the hand stuck fast. "Hey, mate, damn you, let me go!" he cursed.

His left hand was still free. Then he hit him with his left hand, and both hands were stuck. "Damn you, mate, let me go or I might kick you!" Then he kicked him with his right foot. That too got stuck. "Damn! Let me go!" cursed the rabbit.

The other foot was still free. "Even when I really kick you, why do you not let me go?" And he kicked with his left foot. Now both his hands and both his feet were stuck like that to the man of glue and the rabbit would now be caught. Then he cursed again: "Dammit! Let me go!"

And thumping with his head, that too got stuck.

The uncle fox was passing by. "Hey, uncle, come here, come here," called the rabbit. For the gardener was heating an iron and was coming to put it up the rabbit's backside. The rabbit deceived the fox: "Uncle, today a bull is to be slaughtered. Today there is to be guinea-pig to eat. You are big, uncle. You have a big belly. I have a little belly. Today the King's daughter is to be married to me. That is why a lot of food is to be prepared. Uncle, you marry the King's daughter."

The stupid fox agreed, and took the rabbit's place, stuck to the tarbaby. Then they came with a great red-hot iron rod and put it into the fox's backside, while the rabbit looked on from the hill up above, clapped his hands, and danced with the fox's wife. "Thief, deceiver, pilferer!" they called the fox.

Then, when they set him free, the rabbit called from above: "Uncle, uncle, put your arse in the water, put your arse in the water!" The fox did so. Then the fox got out of the water.

Now the fox's wife had a child by the rascally rabbit: a snub-nosed baby fox. And the poor uncle fox didn't know how to keep his wife during her confinement. So he caught some different highland birds for her to eat, and was coming along with them all in a sack. The rabbit tricked him, saying: "Uncle, there is not enough here. Go and catch some more."

And while the fox's back was turned he emptied out the birds and filled the sack with brambles and thorns. Then the thorns pierced the fox's back as he carried the sack along, and he cried: "Ouch! Those are the partridge claws! Ow! Dumdadum (?) claws! Ouch! The skunk's claws! Ow! The partridge's beak!"

And so he arrived. As he arrived home to his wife, putting his hand into the sack the thorns dug into him. When he looked at his hand and saw it bleeding, he cried: "Curses on that wicked youngster, what sort of nephew is he?"

The aunt too was angry and now no longer flirted with the rabbit, saying: "Look how he has taken all my husband's game."

Now the aunt too wanted to eat the rabbit. That was what the rascal did to his uncle.

Informant: JSA, 23rd January, 1977

cf. A-T 175: The tarbaby and the rabbit. The rabbit, who has been stealing fruit from a garden is captured by means of
a tarbaby, an image with tar. The rabbit tries to make the tarbaby talk and finally becomes so angry that he strikes it. He sticks to the tarbaby and is captured.

K741 Capture by tarbaby
Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These tales have in common that they relate the trickster-like antics of the fox and the rabbit in a series of episodes which vary in frequency and order of distribution from version to version. The tales belong to a cycle for which a common fund of episodes is available in the local tradition, for each informant to draw upon according to his knowledge and caprice. The relationship between fox and rabbit is an antagonistic one, and further tales were collected which give us explanations for their anti-social nature in relation to the world of men, and to some extent explain their enmity towards each other. Those tales include 33, dealt with in Section B, and Tales 46-49, which I shall look at in Section C (b), below.

Propp's theory of function would be well borne out by the fox and rabbit tales, where the same episodes are performed by different animal actors according to geographical and cultural location. In Colombia, Venezuela, and the Caribbean, tiger replaces fox, but rabbit remains. (1) In N. Central Ecuador the wolf (lobo) is concurrent with the fox (atug/raposo), (2) In S. Central Ecuador (Cañar), only fox and rabbit were heard of. In Peru, the fox (atug/sorvo) remains, but rabbit (conejo) is replaced by mouse (ukuoha), (3) and in Bolivia by monkey (Aymara: kueilu). (4)

The personalities of the animals are stereotypical and remain constant throughout the area of distribution of the tales, despite changes in the identity of the animal in question. In the case of Ecuador: the rabbit is quick, crafty, unscrupulous, a beau, a flirt, and vain. Although his scruples usually bring him out on top in his brushes with the fox, the explanatory tales (46 & 47 in particular) show that his vanity and presumption can result in his humiliation.
The fox is the rabbit's dupe, gullible and brought down each time by his greed for food and his own vanity.

When we meet the fox and mouse of Peruvian tradition, we find the same qualities apply, as Morote Best describes:

"El ratón es el símbolo de la malicia, de la vivencia, de la actividad corporea y mental, del engaño y el fingimiento... El zorro es un sujeto taimado y astuto... No hay animal que no lo engañe; el burro, la vallata, el auyé, el ratón..., pero es a éste a quien debe su fama de gran tonto."

(1958b:21)

Whilst, speaking of the fox and rabbit as found in some Bolivian versions, Paredes Candía gives us an equally apt definition:

"siempre figura con las calidades del ser ruin, trapacero e indigno"

he says of the fox, and of the rabbit:

"el indígena siempre lo representa en su literatura oral como el muchacho guasón, reidor, bromista, que día y noche está planeando jugarretas a costa del zorro."

(1973:14)

Morote Best also refers to the anthropomorphization of the animals in Peruvian tradition, whereby the mouse is typically identified as:

"un jovencito de voz aflautada y vestido plomo, con los ojillos saltones y plecos" and the fox:

"es un apuesto y tonto joven de poncho rojizo, enemigo de los perros y de los cohete, gran ejecutante del clarín"

(loc.cit.)

An explicit anthropomorphizing of the animal characters does not seem to occur in the Ecuadorean material, although they do demonstrate traits of character which are commonly associated with human beings.

It seems relevant to consider whether the Andean fox and rabbit (or mouse) tales should be classed as 'analogistic' according to von Sydow's use of the term. That is to say, whether the animal characters in question speak and act just as a human being would do in the same circumstances, or whether, on the other hand, it is not possible to exchange the animals for human characters; that although they are
made to speak and act as if they were humans, they remain essentially
animals in their habits and personalities (1948:134 sic.), Speaking
for the Ecuadorean material at least, I would say that the depiction
of animal characters belongs to the latter category.

However, if not wholly anthropomorphic, the animals can be said
to play a rôle which is at least allegorical. Although they are un-
deniably animal in behaviour, they display traits of character which
can be said to be projections of human fallibility. In attempting to
understand the original appeal of these tales to the Indian audience,
which has encouraged their preservation and development, it is also
tempting to read allegory into them at the level of social context,
rather than merely at a didactic level. As Mitchell has remarked:

"an interesting factor is that these conflicts most often
involve animals not normally in conflict in everyday life,
and thus the language here may be analogical of conflicts
existing in the culture itself".
(1972:64)

In the Ecuadorean context, this statement is not strictly applicable,
as conflict between fox and rabbit is a realistic notion. Nonetheless,
it might be considered possible to interpret that conflict in allegor-
cical terms of the rabbit as the Indian finding a chance through the
medium of folk narrative to express a sort of wish-fulfillment as he
gets the better of the fox-mestizo. Equally however, one could say
that the reverse is the case, that the tales are the Indian's pessi-
mistic expression of relationships between social groups, where the
rabbit-mestizo gets the better of the fox-Indian, the dupe who is the
victim of his own naiveté in the world of the mestizo. Due to the
subjectivity and flexibility of these interpretations I believe it is
best to avoid them, especially in view of the fact that I never found
any implication in the attitudes of the informants towards the material
that such was its ulterior message. Rather, it seems most sensible for
the analyst as audience, to take the tales at their face value: as good
entertainment containing a strong sense of that rather sadistic sense of humour so peculiar to both Indian and mestizo classes in Ecuador. It is their appeal to that sense of humour that seems to be uppermost in preserving their popularity.

1.1 The tales as myth?

The following comments stem from a comparison between these tales and the well-documented animal trickster tradition of the Winnebago (see Radin 1956). Whilst the fox and rabbit cycle in contemporary Quichua society cannot be said to be placed in a mythological past, like that of the Winnebago trickster, in which trickster doubles as culture hero in his exploits, which trace a progression from both physical and psychological anarchy to order, these tales do contain some features which are reminiscent of mythological trickster cycles of other culture groups, the N. American Indian among them. (5) The Winnebago trickster, for example, is ostracised from society at the end of a former creation. Popular tradition in Cañar tales describes the early curse of both fox and rabbit, as I have mentioned, and their relegation to the periphery of human society. The Winnebago trickster suffers a lack of awareness of his physical limitations; the fox demonstrates an equal ingenuousness in Episodes 25-27 of the cycle (see chart below). The ease with which he comes back to life after lethal treatment at the hands of the rabbit could be seen as part of this 'syndrome'. Wakdjundaga is motivated and duped as a result of his insatiable need and desire for food; the fox's downfall stems equally from his greed.

The rabbit is also capable of classic trickster-like performances, for example Episode 12, in which he enters the fox's mouth and escapes by exiting through his anus. In many of the Cañar versions there is implicit reference to sexual indiscretion between the rabbit and the
wife of the fox; in Tale 45 it is explicit - we are told that the fox's wife has given birth to snub-nosed children fathered by the rabbit. This aspect of the cycle would be read in mythological terms as the breaking of the taboos of incest between blood or ritual kin (depending upon whether we take the uncle-nephew relationship between fox and rabbit to be a consanguineal one, or a ritual one of *compadrango*). The lack of adherence to moral and social laws is another traditional trait of the trickster figure. Thus, whilst these tales are not myths in the strict sense of the word, they do contain elements of trickster cycles which are common with those societies where the trickster is an essentially mythological being.

1.2 **Comparative data**

Before proceeding to the breakdown of the tales, it should be pointed out that animal trickster tales such as these are part of a far reaching folk tradition, that spreads from India, to Europe, Africa, and the New World. The most thorough historical-geographic study of the distribution of the tales is probably that of Espinosa, although this is restricted to the study of the *Tarbaby* motif (1930, 1943). Additionally there are the works of Boas (1912), Hansen (1957), and Harris's collection makes interesting comparative reading (1955). Boas's work contains tales of rabbit and coyote with extensive comparative notes.

2.0 **Distribution of episodes in the Ecuadorean versions**

There were 28 variants at my disposal: nine collected by myself in Cañar, one by Schulze in the same area, others from elsewhere in the highlands in manuscript form, and some were available in published form. The chart which follows maps the distribution of a sum total of 27 episodes through this whole corpus of 28 tales. These tales have
been labelled as follows, for ease of reference;

GS/CA/2: "Atugmanta oonejomanta"
CN/17: "El tlo lobo y el sobrino oonejo" (Carvalho-Neto 1966:no.17)
CN/18: "El tlo lobo" (Carvalho-Neto op.cit.No.18)
GS/CO/3: "Atugmanta"
PN/CT/4: "El sobrino oonejo"
GS/GA/2: "Lobo oonejomanta"
GS/AQ/3: "Conejo atugmanda"
LS/IM/4: "Conejo huertapi purishoa"
LS/IM/5: "Shuj conejo haupa tiempo tiyashoa"
LS/IM/9: "Conejo huambra"
HD SA/27: "The rabbit and the wolf"
JC/IM/8: "Shuj atuj huarmindi shuj oonijuhuan"
JC/IM/15: "Shuj atuj shuj oonijuhuan"
JC/IM/16: "Shuj atuj shuj oonijuhuan"
JC/IM/17: "Shuj atuj shuj oonijuhuan"
YL: "Cunumanta" (Yuquilema 1974:22)
IID: "Lobo oonun" (IID 1975a:33)
PS: "Briars for beans and stones for a goat" (Parsons op.cit.148)

2.1 Structure of the tales

The tales are compiled of a series of episodes each of which is capable of standing on its own as a single unit or of forming one of a string of units, which lead on one to the other by means of a circular pattern as follows:

rabbit tricks fox → fox resolves to eat rabbit → rabbit tricks fox

In more than 50% of the versions, the initial trickery occurs in Episodes 1-8 whereby the rabbit persuades the fox to take his place in a trap (the 'Tarbaby' motif). However, in the other 50%, the traditional antagonism between the two animals is a given from which premise the narrator works, with no real need to set the scene. At the end of each episode the threat of the fox to eat the rabbit is reaffirmed as a result of the latter's treatment of the dupe, and so the necessary grounds are provided for the next episode. Such are the cyclical characteristics of this set of tales, in contrast to those of Section A, which generally followed a linear pattern culminating in a resolution of the initial situation rather than coming round full circle to a repetition of it. The structure of the Christ Child cycle has more in common with the present tales, particularly in the trickster
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPISODES</th>
<th>Table 38</th>
<th>Table 39</th>
<th>Table 40</th>
<th>Table 41</th>
<th>Table 42</th>
<th>Table 43</th>
<th>Table 44</th>
<th>Table 45</th>
<th>Table 46</th>
<th>Table 47</th>
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<th>Table 49</th>
<th>Table 50</th>
<th>Table 51</th>
<th>Table 52</th>
<th>Table 53</th>
<th>Table 54</th>
<th>Table 55</th>
<th>Table 56</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 rabbit steals from kitchen garden (rabbit = R)</td>
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<td>2 R caught in tarbaby trap</td>
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<td>3 R caught in other trap</td>
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<td>4 R tempts fox with 'get married' ploy (fox = F)</td>
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<td>5 R tempts F with 'eat meat' ploy</td>
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<td>6 F takes R's place in trap</td>
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<td>7 F has hot iron stuck up backside (or otherwise punished)</td>
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<td>8 R tells F to put backside in water</td>
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<td>9 R persuades F to hold up rock while he fetches sticks</td>
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<td>10 R asks animal to make sound of wood being cut</td>
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<td>11 R fills bag of poultry with thorns &amp; gives it to F, sometimes as gift for F's wife</td>
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<td>12 R escapes by leaping into F's mouth &amp; exiting through his anus</td>
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<td>13 R sends stone wrapped in sheepskin to waiting F at bottom of hill, knocked out</td>
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<td>14 R persuades F to stop water course with his body, F swept away by water</td>
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<td>15 F's wife gets head stuck in R's burrow entrance, R covers her face with aift</td>
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<td>16 F plays dead, R comes to wake, F gives self away by passing wind</td>
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<td>17 sexual relations implied between R and F's wife</td>
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<td>18 R leads F to river on way to party, F nearly drown</td>
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<td>19 R tells F to eat horse, latter only asleep, kicks F</td>
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<td>20 F taken to wedding feast, bitten by dogs</td>
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<td>21 R distracts F's attention with poultry, kicks him</td>
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<td>22 F set to chase women, dies of exhaustion</td>
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<td>23 R tells F there's cheese in lake, F tries to drink lake</td>
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<td>24 R tells F not to eat whole sheep as needs parts of it for different purposes</td>
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<td>25 F wants white tail, R tells him to sit on stick, F impaled</td>
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<td>26 F wants a pifano, R tells him to remove own shin bone to make one</td>
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<td>27 R tells F certain kind of fruit can be obtained by hitting testicles with stone, F does so &amp; dies</td>
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NOTES: (1) this version was unrecorded, given by PTA
(2) the chuquillo does it under R's instructions, killing F
(3) uses cowhide instead of sheepskin
(4) R's function filled by R and chuquillo (i.e., the R function is duplicated)
sequences. But the surrounding framework of those stories, deriving from the Gospels, gave us a clear beginning, middle and end, rather than a circular pattern as found here.

2.2 Order of episodes

Following on from what has been said about the structure of the tales, it is to be expected that no apparent laws should govern the order in which the episodes are drawn upon by different informants. If we study the order in which they do appear from tale to tale, however, it will be seen that this is not strictly true:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>Order of episodes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38:</td>
<td>1,3,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14</td>
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<tr>
<td>39:</td>
<td>13,11,15,16</td>
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<tr>
<td>40:</td>
<td>13,11,17,25,18,1,7,16,21</td>
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<td>41:</td>
<td>13,19</td>
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<td>42:</td>
<td>9,14,12</td>
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<td>1,2,4,6,7,8,13,22</td>
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<td>44:</td>
<td>20,13</td>
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<tr>
<td>45:</td>
<td>1,2,4,5,6,7,8,17,11</td>
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<tr>
<td>45a:</td>
<td>1,3,5,6,7,8</td>
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<tr>
<td>CN/17:</td>
<td>1,3,5,6,7,13</td>
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<tr>
<td>CN/18:</td>
<td>1,2,5,6,7,8</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS/CR/2:</td>
<td>11,1,2,4,6,7,8,13,17,14,12</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS/CO/3:</td>
<td>13 (repeated for two different foxes)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GS/SA/2:</td>
<td>1,2,4,5,6,7,11,13</td>
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<td>GS/AG/3:</td>
<td>11,13,16,26</td>
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<td>PM/CT/4:</td>
<td>1,2,5,6,7,11,24</td>
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<td>LS/IM/4:</td>
<td>1,2,4,6,7</td>
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<td>LS/IM/5:</td>
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<td>LS/IM/6:</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>LS/IM/9:</td>
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<td>HD/SA/27:</td>
<td>1,2,5,6,7,16,11,23,13</td>
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<td>JC/IM/8:</td>
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<td>JC/IM/15:</td>
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<td>JC/IM/16:</td>
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<tr>
<td>JC/IM/17:</td>
<td>1,2,4,6,7</td>
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<td>YL:</td>
<td>1,3,5,6,7</td>
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<td>IID:</td>
<td>1,2,5,6,7,12,13</td>
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<td>PS:</td>
<td>11,13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The most striking point arising from the above table is the frequency with which a selection of the episodes between 1-8 appear in numerical order and often at the beginning of a tale. These episodes incorporate what I choose to call an 'episode cluster', and describe
a sequence of events closely comparable to 'A-T175: The tarbaby and the rabbit'. They form the starting point for the fox and rabbit tales in 13 out of the 28 versions. The specific features of this particular set of episodes will be more fully discussed in §4.0.

No other episode or group of episodes appears as frequently or shows such a consistent predilection for a particular positioning in relation to other episodes, which leads me to conclude that the addition of other episodes to those of the 'Tarbaby' sequence is an arbitrary decision to be made by the narrator, allowing him room for creativity within the set structural framework. If anything at all dictates the order taken by episodes, it must be the popularity of the episode in question. Episode 13, which makes an appearance in 15 tales, opens 4 of them, and takes second place in another 4. Elsewhere, it follows after the 1-8 cluster. Episode 11, occurring in 10 tales, is the opening episode of 3 of them, and takes second position in 2. I would argue that the more popular the episode, the closer its position to the beginning of the tale: not as a result of any structural necessity for the pattern of the narrative, but simply because its popularity in that particular area causes it to be the soonest brought to mind by the narrator. The incidence of certain episodes and their frequency of occurrence varies within the Andean region. Let us now look at some of the comparative examples from elsewhere.

3.0 The episodes in a comparative context

The Thompson motif listing attached to the texts shows that some of the episodes may be traced to Indo-European and Afro-American comparative sources, some of which are mentioned in §1.1. However, few of these correlations conform in the details of their content, 'K1000 Deception into self-injury' is a case in point; Episodes 25-27 clearly fall under this heading, while the specific examples given by
Thompson do not correspond. There has therefore been considerable innovation at the level of content, and reworking of old themes, in the animal trickster tales of the Andes. Some of these may be the individual creations of the narrator, perhaps unique to him or her, and shortlived in their history. Episode 22 may be an example of such a process. Others have accumulated a traditional popularity in the area, for example 'K1251, Holding up the rock', commonly found in Peruvian versions, but only occurring twice in the Ecuadorean (Episode 9). Morote Best describes other common episodes to the Peruvian variants, including also Episodes 11 and 16. Not found in the Ecuadorean sample, but very popular in Peru are the episodes of the fox getting his head stuck in the mazamorra pot, the 'rain of fire' episode, and the episode in which the fox is duped into burning his own young. (6)

The occurrence of Episode 10 can be traced to another branch of Peruvian oral tradition and its appearance explained in structural terms: its traditional context is that of the tales of the Condor's mistress, where the frog is enlisted to make sound of clothes being washed while the heroine escapes (see Arguedas and Stephan op.cit., 126-138); it will be recalled that the same episode crops up in the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales. Episode 15, which also makes an isolated appearance, is probably derived from the same source; the rabbit overcomes the threat posed by the fox's wife in Tale 39 in the same way as the hummingbird overcomes the condor in Arguedas's version of the 'Condor's Mistress', that is, by rubbing aji in the adversary's face (loc.cit.).

4.0 'A-T175; The tarbaby and the rabbit'

As I have noted, the episode cluster 1-8 forms the starting point for more than 50% of the sample, and it seems reasonable to consider it as the basic motif of the cycle. It derives from A-T175, the com-
parative study of which has been exhaustively carried out by Espinosa (ops.cit.). By comparing the form it takes in the Ecuadorian versions with his findings, a striking similarity is to be noted with the form taken by the Spanish American versions included in his analysis. He divides the tales into 56 'elements', which correspond to those units I refer to as episodes. Elements 43-46 of his analysis are unique to Spanish America, with the exception of one version from the Lesser Antilles and one Anglo-African one. He describes these elements as follows:

"43. "They want me to marry the king's daughter", or "They want me to marry a pretty girl"
44. "They give plenty of food, chicken, etc."
45. The substitute animal is scalded with hot water
46. The substitute animal is stuck with a hot poker, sometimes in the anus."

(1930:189)

The variation in the ploys used by the rabbit to persuade the fox to take his place in the trap is of interest: it would seem that the 'get married' ploy has less in common with the values of the adopting Quichua culture than the 'eat meat' ploy. The persistence of the first of these may also be influenced by the existence in the same culture area of versions of 'A-T1535: The rich and the poor peasant' in which a human dupe is tricked into taking the place of human trickster by similar means. A Cañar version of this is found in Tale 63. The 'eat meat' ploy, on the other hand, has probably been encouraged by its kinship with the values of the society, where meat is accorded a high prestige value, eaten only on feast days. MEZ's remark concerning the fox's fate in Tale 44, made as she helped me with transcription, was that such was his punishment for greedily wanting to go to a fiesta, where he would eat meat: "por bodero, queriendo comer carne". It is also interesting that in Tales 45 and GS/SA/2 the 'marriage' and 'meat' ploys are combined, no doubt through a logical association between weddings and the eating of meat.
The fox and rabbit cycle in Ecuador, therefore, has its main foundation in the 'Tarbaby' tradition. It should be noted that in Cahuar, however, the instances of that are low. In my own collection it is only well developed in Tale 45, and is just hinted at in Tale 43. GS/CA/2 contains only a sketchy version of it. Additionally, it occurs in Tale 46, which has been consigned to sub-section (b), below. In many of the Cahuar tales, nonetheless, the rabbit is caught in some unspecified kind of trap, the fox tricked into taking his place, and receiving his punishment. Thus the narrative pattern of the sequence remains the same, whilst the surface feature of the 'Tarbaby' motif is either lost, or transformed and simplified. 6 out of the 10 Cahuar versions contain this narrative sequence, and where it is well-known by the informant, it comes at the beginning of the text, reinforcing the theory that, originally at least, it was the basis of the fox and rabbit tales, to which many permutations of further episodes could be added.

FOOTNOTES
(1) Hansen (1957): "74K & L; Rabbit is caught and is going to be skinned cooked and eaten. Tiger (fox) passes & rabbit tells him he is tied down in order to eat a cow (or marry a princess). Tiger (fox) exchanges places wit rabbit and is scalded. L; Rabbit tells tiger that King will give princess to whomever eats heifer. Tiger goes to help rabbit. Latter rolls huge stone down hill & tells tiger it is heifer. Latter tries to stop it and is badly injured."

(2) GS/CA/2; "Lobo conejomanta", HD/SA/27; "The rabbit and the wolf"

(3) for Peruvian versions there are many sources, the following is but a selection: Hoggarth (L.), "Huj ukucha" (unpub. ms. coll. Cuzco); Morote Best (1950b) in which the author sets Peruvian versions of the fox and mouse tales in the context of Espinosa’s exhaustive studies of the tradition from India to Europe to the New World (Espinosa A, 1930, 1943); Morote Best (1958b:20-27) for a section entitled "El zorro, personaje de nuestros cuentos populares"; Lauriault (1958:8, 8, 143-150, 150-152) for "Atop y uentun okuwa compadryoq", "Okuhawian utoqpa uentun", and "Wina para uentun", respectively; Tello (1923) contains 3 fox tales; Navarro de Aguila (1946) on fox and mouse tales; Jimenez Borja (1940, 1937); Ravines Sanchez (date?); "Ocho cuentos del zorro"; see also Chartudi (1962).
(4) La Barre (1952:42-45)

(5) see also Hoggarth (P.) (1975) for an appreciation of the Winnebago cycle, and Howard (1975) on animal tricksters in folktale. The 'Pascual and Diego' cycle in Peru appears to be the most explicitly mythological of the Andean material, as this setting of the scene would suggest: "el zorro es el último animal que ha salvado del diluvio universal. Se halla desesperado por su soledad, pero encuentra a Diego (el ratón) y hace amistad con él" (Morote Best 1950b:38).

Section C sub-section (b): Aetiological tales of the fox and rabbit

Texts

Tale 46: Atughuan conejohuan Mama Virgenhuan


Conejooa coco vivoo aparina nin matchari shug ugsahna llagtaman, Semejante ugsa cana nin: oosi shug ooravo oinoo metros largo de ugsaa, Chaitopishi entonoase cat conejooa nina nin: - Shammga, Hallami shammga. Riuangi, tio, auparaxa ugsahhpa.


Chaitopishi tlo huahuoac apaush ugsahnaun nin. Paica tiyash aantaoun nin, maquina huatao nin conejoa.


Ladron, ouanohi millpusho - nishoa nin.

Pero, tlo, Huoa caapariwoananm, huillaowoananm, Huoata riiqu ixiati oshuan - nina nin.

Paillatam cunnaa pelash riouchna nin: - Riqu, Huoa cat trastitaca
líquido shitan - nina nin -, flaca sumaimana trastista líquido shitan - nina nin.
Chaita ha tlo o tuit abromachina nin caganaacataan. Na bestianuata amuca o tuit ha shayaohishpa
Nai urana huichalowmapimi canga,
Chaita oarngaochir rishpooa o otofua; - Canliaata pashaah huasitaman rishpun - nisha o otofua, - huasitaman rishpun. Taitaawina chaip o agpi mana utho ruhuaew - nisha o otofua enonefo shaaratacaaa. Chaita ha shina rina naxari. Huasipica o atyana nina - jali! jali! puri! puri! Impari - nina nin - oai hovaahou shamuanqini oai pi'ti ughahuan? - nina nin,
Chiainata tlooa ha saquirin chaipi ha oai aisashota miangapa, aichata miangapa saquirin ha. Entonoono sobrinoa directo ritari oai huasitaman ugehahuan, suga uma ugehahuan. Cosa que munaar arrepentiohishpa juin, bestiauhan jaitachish, juin anohita oana naxari; vasiwanapi bestiauhan jaitash, chaonganapi bestiauhan jaitashoa. Sucho shamauna nin ha pobre tlo huahuaa juin.
Chaimantaa entonoo ha sobrinoa chayana nin maipi oashpa huiaohish manapapi chayana nin. Chayashpooa nina naxani; - Alaf, simac Dios nucataaa ya ves flua maqui ima shinami ohilchuyaka shamauni. Canouna huasip ti oangi stiuguyiqu - nina nin.
Entonoo chinna oagopi ti oangi stiuguyiqu: - Caya yantaman ri - nina nin.
Entonoo: - Mana, oaita rhuyanginni; ha fluaapu shug sumaimana ttoni tiyan, Chaitami roaggrini - nina nin.
Nina naxari ha ugsua saquishpooa nina nin onefooa tlopanan.
Entonoo tlooa sobrinoa chayanganaamana ni imata mana oaran ni ima, Yaraciopia: - Uaj! - nicuna nin - , uaj! - nicuna nin.
Mani juin bootesauna nin juin. Chayashpooa nina nin oai solterataaa;

Chaimanta bongo, soltera ari nashpooa corriente maíton ovejata oashpooa uen uen aparishpa sumainama millpuna nin. Chaimanta nina
nin: - Cunancarin, ya ves, tto, ouita mana oaran, pero ya ves ovejata oon - nina nin - oalnancari, tto. Canan oashpooa yantaman chashnallata shamuipica oari patipish arangallami.
Ari nashpooa entonoo oari: - Shug enamoradatomi oashirini uraivan uraivan.
Nami chaipa rigrini, jaco tto - nina nin micuohaa qu'ipaca.
Chaimi nina nin, suhuanushpooa jatarina nin, punjata huagtanu nin oonejo 'jaf jaf jaf' nixina nin.
Ha oonejo chayana nin. Coneno ohayashpooa ha, rinashpalla pero, oaruta paiti, omo caicipica mana ima ovejaunui tiyan, n i ima mana tiyanu.
- Canoa pobremi oangi pero enamoradami oangi, mano - nina nin.
Chiapi soltera nina nin: - Ari, fluaaca enamoradami oami oantoco.
Canad oarui tuuui layanama sonoyaqish pingunui - nina nin - , oanoo ningui 'oayaca flua canmano ohayomgui quima oai oueaishatami shuwaunaha canman oarengaapi ningui tlomanoa.
Tlooa oanha huasi siquillapi saquirina ha.
Pe mana ima ngiagahu. - Apupri, titlo, apurati. Ya ves, oaina tardeea ait' avarangui - nishpaa conejo huahuaca tiyash huagtawuna nin ohashaa, 'lalai' cantaas, 'lalai' nish, tuoui layata Juin, Tloua yantamana nin. Munai jumbi shuktsh munai, oosa que desmayana nin yaraipi, uchilla huaha owejata mioushaalla tuoui tuoui tuouri punshami.


Chaimantaoa rina nin nina nin nia entonoes conejooa fa chayana nin, Desoangana nin yantataa fa. Chaimanta fa puriouwa nin puriouwa nin. Cayandi chai donella jatariqshpa; - Riqui, oaisa mana cauranuca oarca, Nuaa allquitomani oarca - nishpaa pobre tloataa, munai chaillapi pegarishha ciqpi tiyashha.
- Shuyai, huaqui, shuyai. Nuaa rinimi canta alimentangapa apamurinimi - nish rina nin niari.
Semejante huagoha oveja oveja oveja shumana nin nà aq shug atugoa ña, shug atug. Entonoes shumana nin nà semejante huira oveja huagohuagohuan, Shumashpami nina nin; - Cuncanari ña, hermana, caita miouvilia. Nuca nini mamita rioengapa, mamitamana shugta apamugrinimi - nina nin - , nuea mamita reecion huahasa ña - nina nin.

Chaimantaca nà loo huahasa manai nà chaiga mioukspa ña sinchiyarinina riñinicas shug huahasheoa ouenta sinchiyarinina nin ña, Sinchiyairishpa Illugshina nin.


- Pero, ño, jina ruhuangui? Nuca nà p'itàti mioukspa, nuaa ni mana tungi avianaahao ña - nisha ña nín.

Chapiqa pobre ño huahasa niouhaa nín; - Ahi, ñona p'ítiti ñaongui, ni mana alli boosedhui ñaongui.

Chapiqisi nishoa nin entonoes: - Maipi tòta o'yaasha ño huahasa fòvor ruhui: maipi shug oveja riñishhi, ñonapu ñau - nina nin.

- Shumui, ño, shumui, Urvellapimi semejante oveja, Chapi japih oua saquinsha - nisha ña nín, Chaimantaca nín.

Entonoes como ñà jùn tanga tanga nioumi, como oaimanta, mat aallpapu putíman oaa, chaiga ñin manada oveja riñishhi. Chaiga; - Tëb, chaipi shug jàthin huagohuaguhua. Chaiga japih miougrt.


The fox, the rabbit and the Virgen Mary

They say the fox was cursed by the Virgen Mary. The sheep made a gift of its lamb to the Virgen Mary when the Christ Child was born. This lamb grew up in the tender care of Saint Joseph, the Virgen mother, and the angels. There is a painting of the Crucifixion in which the sheep, the cockerel, and Simon of Cyrene are all present, in a painting of the Holy Sepulchre. That sheep gave its child the lamb as a gift. The thieving fox stole and ate the lamb. Then the Virgen mother and Saint Joseph said: "You shall not live among men. You shall live in the hills, sleeping at the foot of rocks or trees. You shall live in the hills, not with men. Why did you steal and eat the lamb we loved? Just as you stole and ate it, you must steal and eat your food in future, whether it be sheep, partridges, hens, rabbits, or flies. Some days there'll be food for you, others there will be none. Some days you'll just live on flies," so the fox was cursed.

Now the rabbit was a sly fellow, always dapper and handsome-looking; he would even make the girls cry. One day he called to the fox: "Come on, uncle, let's go and collect straw; there's a pretty girl who will come and join us."

And the crafty rabbit took the fox to the place where you cut straw. It was very tall straw, about 4 or 5 metres high. And the rabbit said: "She'll come, she'll come. You hurry up and cut the straw, uncle."

The rabbit had six mules with him. He tricked the uncle fox so that he wouldn't have to go alone for the straw. "Uncle," he said, "she'll be here soon. She's to come at any moment with some roast meat. My girlfriend will be along soon, you'll see."

Then the uncle hurried to cut the straw. The rabbit sat there singing and clapping his hands. Then having cut the straw it had to be tied up. The rabbit made the uncle tie it all up himself,

(- Nami tlo...Mai urana huichaiownapimi oanga. - This passage is hard to translate; the gist of it is that the rabbit persuades the fox to load the bundles of straw onto the mules, and he gets battered and kicked in the process. The rabbit deliberately pulls out some of his own fur to make a pretence of having also been battered)

And so, making the fox load up, they set off: "Let's go home, my parents will be wondering why we were not there earlier," said the rabbit to the fox.

And so the fox went along. Arriving at the house they shouted at him: "Hurry up! Get a move on! What are you doing coming at this hour with that little bit of grass?!"

"I'm hungry. I asked the uncle to help me do the work. Give him something to eat. I'll be right back," said the rabbit.

And then the uncle stayed there in order to eat roast guinea-pig, and other meat. And the nephew went straight home with the six mule-loads of straw. And so the rabbit made the fox take all the punishment; he had been kicked in his legs and arms by the mules, and went limping home.

Then the nephew arrived at his adoptive mother's house. When he arrived he said: "Oh dear, look how covered in blisters I am. And here you all are lying idle at home."

And they, lying idly, told him: "Go and fetch firewood."

The rabbit replied: "No, I'll do this; I've got a fine uncle, I'll go
and ask him to do it for me." 
And leaving the straw, the rabbit went to the uncle's house.

Until his nephew arrived, no-one gave the uncle any food. He was 
moaning with hunger, and yawning a great deal. When the rabbit arrived 
he said to the young girl: "You give a young sheep for my uncle to eat 
to keep him happy, otherwise he'll eat me. By giving him that we'll 
keep him at bay."
So then the girl gave him a fine young sheep; taking it inside, he 
ate it. "There you see, uncle," said the rabbit, "she doesn't give 
you guinea-pig but look how she gives you a sheep. Now tomorrow if you 
come with me to fetch firewood she'll give you some more."
The uncle agreed and the rabbit went on: "I've got another girlfriend 
down yonder; let's go to her," after the fox had eaten.

Then the rabbit knocked on his girlfriend's door, making her laugh, 
and she got up although she had been sleeping. The rabbit arrived 
there after walking, for it was a long way - as there are no sheep or 
anything around here. "You are poor, but in love, aren't you?" the 
rabbit said to her.
Then the girlfriend said: "Yes, I'm in love with you. But you just go 
around pulling people's legs. You say to the uncle fox: "When you 
arrive tomorrow I shall steal three roast guinea-pigs to give you."
And the uncle just stayed outside at the corner of the house.

Then the poor uncle was taken to load firewood. He had to stand for 
a long, long time, cutting down the dry wood of the huapal tree (?), 
and the quinua tree (polylepis tina r R. et. F.). The rabbit sat back 
singing, and said: "I've got a big family, uncle. I'm just a little 
fellow, I have no strength," he said, singing and chuckling to himself. 
As if it were true! "Hurry, hurry uncle. You saw how I gave you food 
yesterday," said the rabbit, clapping his hands and singing. The 
uncle was chopping wood, sweating and fainting with hunger, having only 
eaten one small lamb all day and all night.

Then they came to loading the wood: "I'm only small, uncle, I cannot 
load up the wood. You load it, uncle," said the rabbit. 
He called him 'uncle' just as we say 'uncle' to people today. Then 
they loaded the wood and came back. The rabbit said: "Now I'll give 
you food. Just go along, and I'll give you food."
As they arrived after a long time, the girlfriend was watching out for 
them. Then that young girl laid a trap. She took some newly-melted wax. 
And she hung some meat up on the wall. "There's your food," she 
said.
And placing the wax, she then put some glue on the floor. She spread 
glue all over the floor. Then when the fox saw the meat hanging on 
the wall he went hungrily to eat it. Then the palms of his hands 
stuck to the floorboards. Then, trying to get up, he sat down, and 
pulling his hands, they stuck there; his tail, his bottom, all of him, 
his legs, and arms, all just stayed there. He was stuck there, unable 
to move in any direction, just looking at the meat. His backside was 
stuck down like that, with his hands he just stayed like that. Just 
looking longingly at the meat. And so staying looking at the meat, 
the next day he said: "Look what my nephew has done to me. Has he 
done this? Now I shall really eat him, wherever he is."

Then the rabbit came along and began unloading the firewood. Then off 
he went. The next day the young girl said: "Look, this meat wasn't
for you, it was for my dog," she said to the poor uncle who was stuck fast here, without being able to move to one side or the other. Then they beat him and whipped him and cut off his ears. Then the poor uncle fox got away. He had to lie down every two yards. Every three or four yards he lay face down on the ground. And in that way he managed to get back to his big cave home, Arriving there like that, he lay sick for six months. He grew very thin and very weak. When he went to get up, he would just fall over again. Wherever he tried to go, he would fall over. He just lived on flies and insects. Then another fox passed by his way: "Hey, brother, hey! Here I am all beaten up like this. I'm only just beginning to get better."
"Wait, brother, wait. I'm going to bring you some food," and off went the other.
Then that other fox came back with a nice fat lamb, and said to his friend: "Now, brother, just eat this. I'm off to see my wife, and to take her another one. My wife has just given birth.
So then the uncle fox ate that meat and grew strong again, Then when he had grown strong he went out of doors.

He walked and walked. One day the rabbit was lounging about playing on his ronddadur. Then the fox came along, dragging his feet a little and weak, for now he hadn't eaten for a month. He had been beaten about, whipped, and his ears cut off. Meeting the rabbit, he said to him: "Now my son, I'm really going to eat you. You're not going to escape from here. Now indeed, you're not going away from here."
"But uncle, what will you do? If you eat me small as I am, I won't even fill you to your gullet," said the rabbit.
Whereupon the poor uncle said: "Yes, you are small, you're not even a decent mouthful. If you love your uncle, do me a favour, go and bring me a sheep where you can find one."
"Come uncle, come. Down there, there are great big sheep. I'll get one for you."
And off they went.

Now as the fox walked slowly and painfully, he couldn't run. The rabbit showed him a flock of sheep. "Uncle, there is a nice fat lamb. Take that one and eat it."
And he went away. Then the owners of the sheep came. They whipped that poor uncle fox, and left him nearly dead. The rabbit had gone away after showing the fox the sheep. He took to his road.

After a while he came to the Virgen Mary. Arriving where she was, he said: "I've done this and this to the one who stole your sheep (ofala= tapish...ntiheca mìn - difficulty with translation)."
Then he wanted the Virgen Mary to make him able to walk just on his hind legs, not on all fours. He said: "Its very hard to live like this, hitting myself against the undergrowth, and getting caught up in the grass. If you make me walk on hind legs, then that won't happen."
Then the Virgen took hold of him and pulled him by the ears, saying it was to make him walk upright. And so the rabbit came to have long ears, She did just that, nothing more. And now the rabbit has to live in little holes in the grass and hide from its enemies. That's what happened in the end. There my story ends.

Informant: EDC, 27th November, 1976
M411.8.4 Animals cursed by saint
A2231.7 Animal harmful to holy person cursed
A2238 Animal characteristics punishment for greed
Q552.35 Punishment for greed
K741 Capture by tarbaby
K553.1 "Let me catch you better game"
K200 Deception in payment of debt
A2232 Animal characteristics: punishment for immoderate request. Dissatisfied animal finds that when his request is granted he is worse off than before
I435 Self-righteousness punished

Tale 47: Conejopa rinriownamanta

Shug punsha conejo taita Dioshuan tupashoa nin. Chaipi tupashpca anina
nin taita Dios: - Oi, taita Dios, imamantaña nuocaoa uchiliita
ruhuarcangulari? Nuocaoa jatunta ruhuashoa oaqpica nuapish all yaqho
runam cakan caca, nuapish aqna cakan caca, ima reypish aqna
caca, president, iapipah cakthin caca nuocao.

Chaimanta: - Cunan nuocao huínachi nuoc aqnta servingapa shug oura
tuusha nin.

Chaipa uyashpa taita Diosca cashna nirca: - Cai couasounat apomugri,
uuoca aqnta jatunyachtsha,
- Unmatap apomusari? - nirca.

Chaipięa nirca: - Ri shug lagarto quimnunai p'ína huagra gauhuan
chaipa apomugpica nuoca cakan jatunyachtshaullami.

Chaimanta nirca huagra gaokuta masoangapa. Uruumna nin, patayan nin,
shug p'ína huagrapa hupapi.
- Huoca caipi shug curitami tarini, ox ruim ucpip. Nuoca mana fueruta
charin, caca, huagraoa, fueruta charingumi. Cai mum ucpip shug
ceri tiyaamu. Cai rumita huaraqao shitaaspox ox uuamanta curita
llugishiun, ishoa tuushpa. Huagraoa areiroa. Ari nishpa: - Caru
caamantana shamushpa umata satish rumita huaraaahsa - nirca,
Pero mana púdrira gaohu chumarirca. Gaohu chumarigpi pat ha gaohuta
japishpa callpavo.

Chaimanta nirca costamuna. Jatun mana cuhha ladoman, Chaipi lagarto
tuarpitira. Lagarto tuarpitri píria: - Ai, compadre, ai tlo, cuhnaa
familian caanaunchi, rigetnischun. Nuoca caipi inallitowuwan bhamuni,
caatja njishpea miuc, wotat - nirca.

Apashoa caca tandu, ima alli miunusa opashoa caca. Y uwaoshingapa
vino apashoa caca. Miunusaa caaraapshia, vitoha wtaoshishpca lagarto
suuqhuishlopa. Lagartota suuqhuishpcao na maqarish suuqhuqppi shug
espihuan lomopi huagtpara. Chaipi lagartoaa atishpa yauum tonaita.

Lagartooca shugounami cangaa nishpa autin tuparova. Pandachishpa autin
shungta laya cuhwanahan tuuahsa rirca conejoa autin tupapawa.
Cutin tupashpaco: - Ai, compadre, ai, tlo, nuoca caipi rigetnischug
shamuni, nuoca ootishoxua panamuni, aica mioushun callpapi - nirca.
Chashnallata nigpica lagartooca mana areiroo. Nin: - Mana caanunaa
mana nuoca familiaachi canguchi. Sauruca shug runs shamuveo chaashnallata,
can shinallata rigetnischpa tuuac laya cuhwanan caca. Nuocatoa nuoca
suuqhuqppi garrotshun huagtpara. Pero mana huaohiroo. Nuoacu
shaco atiqui patapip huagtpao caahpca huauamishpanmi caca. Pero mana
atiqui patapip huagtpara, lomopi huagtpara. Cha mana huaohiroo.
Cunanaa canillateca mana ninicu - nirca.
One day, it is said, the rabbit met God. Upon meeting him, the rabbit said to God: "Hey, God, why did you make me small? If you had made me big I would have been a very wise man. I might have been a priest, I might have been a king, a president, I might have been all sorts of things."

After that, he said: "Now make me grow; I want to become a priest in order to serve you."

Hearing that, God spoke: "Go and bring me these things, and I will make you bigger."

"So what shall I bring?" said the other.

And God replied: "Go and bring a lizard's tooth and the horn of a wild bull. When you bring me those things I will make you bigger."

After that the rabbit set off to look for a bull's horn. He went up into the hills until he came to where a wild bull stood. "I have found some gold here in this rock. I don't have the strength, but you, bull, are strong. There is some gold underneath this rock. By flinging it to one side, let's take the gold from under it, between the two of us." The bull believed him. He agreed, saying: "I shall run at the rock from a distance, butt it with my head and fling it aside."

But the plan failed, and one of his horns came loose in the attempt. When the bull's horn came loose, the rabbit grabbed hold of it and ran off.

After that the rabbit went to the coast, to the shores of the great sea. There he met a lizard. Upon meeting the lizard, he said: "Oh, compadre, oh, uncle, we are relatives, let's get to know one another. I have come here with a few little things; have some of this food and drink."

He had brought bread and all kinds of good foods with him. And to drink, he had brought wine. By giving the lizard food and making him drink the wine, he soon caused him to fall into a drunken sleep. Then, while he was sleeping, the rabbit hit him on the back with a stick. But the lizard overcame the blow and escaped into the water.

Thinking that he would find other lizards, the rabbit met up with the same lizard again. This time he deceived him by dressing in different
clothing. He addressed the lizard: "Oh, compadre; oh, uncle, I have come here to make your acquaintance. I am passing by with these little morsels of food. Let's eat this right here." When the rabbit spoke in this way, the lizard didn't believe him. He said: "You people aren't my relatives. A few days back a man came by just like that. Just like you he wanted to befriend me, he gave me all kinds of food and drink. When I was asleep he hit me with a stick. But he didn't kill me. If he had hit me on the flat of my tail he would have killed me, but he didn't hit me there, he struck me on the back. So I didn't die. Now I want nothing to do with you."

"No," said the rabbit, "I'm not that sort. I'm not that kind. Just take this and eat, just drink this," Whereupon the lizard gave in, took the food, ate and drank his fill. After eating, he became drunk in just the same way and fell asleep. While he was sleeping, the rabbit grasped a stick, hit him a blow on the flat of his tail, killed the lizard, and extracted one of his teeth.

After pulling out one of the lizard's teeth, he carried the two things back and showed them to God: "Now I have brought everything you asked for. I am bringing you these things, now you must make me grow bigger." So God said: "Yes, bring them here. Now you are going to grow, but not all of you."

And taking him by the ears, he held him aloft. Holding him up, the ears alone grew longer. God spoke: "You are an ill-mannered creature for complaining to me in that way. You will go now and live as best you can, in holes in the ground and eating only dry grass. May the fox and other animals catch you and eat you."

So saying, God sent the rabbit on his way with only his ears grown longer!

Informant: GGG, 17th May, 1976

some as for Tale 46, plus:
L420 Overweaning ambition punished
Q338 Immoderate request punished
H1010 Impossible tasks
H1371 Impossible quests
Q512 Punishment; performing impossible task
K100 Deceptive bargains
K1810 Deception by disguise
K2010 Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks

Tale 48: El conejo y taita Diosito

Es que ha dicho el taita Diosito al conejo que vaya a recoger entonces todo los necesarios remedios, para que crezca en poco más. Que vaya a recoger ni sé qué, manténese ese, que vaya a coger el lágrima de donella. Entonces estaba saltando y ha estado exprimiendo vaca, dice, las donellas. Entonces estaba saltando dice por ahí. Por cuentas de vaquería. Dice que ha dicho: - Oye, oye - dice que ha dicho, oye, donella, vos aquí está tranquilo. Taita mama ya han ido matando los ladrones - dice que ha dicho -, oye, deja de exprimir la vaca. En seguidita la donella pone a llorar. Dice que ha dicho: - No llores, ha de en balde caer lágrima en el suelo, espere para coger, Entonces ha cogido pues lágrima, entonces, de donella, conejo. Con eso ha ido ya donde taita Dios, todo recogiendo, todo los necesarios.
La hare now said, "It is lacking the flower of the wind. Does anyone know where it is?" Enraged, he asked the fox, "Where do you think it is? I only want to eat you. How will you fill your belly eating me? If eating a whole sheep you aren't satisfied, I would be only a mouthful. By the way, uncle, do you know what a 'flower of the wind' is?"

The fox said, "Go to that high cliff, there will be some white flowers; take those."

So the hare went to the high cliff and there he fell and rolled down the precipice. And it hadn't even been that flower. So the fox had tricked the hare, just as the latter was always tricking the fox.

NB when asked whether there were other things the hare was told to collect, the informant added pilis huira/fat of a tick, to the list

Informant: EDC, 29th October, 1976

some as for Tale 47, no additions

Tale 49: Conejo Jesushuan apuesto


Chapi nina nin - Bueno - nín Jesuaco.


Bueno entonoes shug punsha cítado na manchahchinapa.
The rabbit has a bet with Jesus

Jesus and the rabbit met one day and on meeting, the rabbit said; "Well, you're very clever, and so am I. You know everything, and so do I. Let's have a bet."

So he suggested having a bet: what was it? "Let's see which of us can frighten the other," he said, "can you frighten me, or can I be the one to frighten you?"

"Very well," said Jesus.

"When shall we frighten each other, then?"

And so they fixed a day for the frightening.

So then the rabbit gathered a lot of moss and completely covered himself with it. Having completely covered himself with moss, when Jesus passed by he made a frightening noise and ran between Jesus's legs. Said Jesus: "That doesn't frighten me. Now I shall frighten you. You have had your turn, now it is up to me to frighten you."

"Very well," said the rabbit, "you frighten me."

When he agreed, so Jesus surreptitiously caused a clap of thunder to echo loudly and the rabbit to roll down a hill in fright. As he ran off, the rabbit called: "What kind of joke is that, frightening me with fire? I'm not frightened by fire. That's no joke!"

That's all.

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

no additions
Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These have been placed in a sub-group apart, due to the explanatory, quasi-mythological genre to which they appear to belong. In this capacity they suggest a wider tradition into which the fox and rabbit cycle may be seen to fit, and provide a link between the trickster and the explanatory tales. As I stated in the introductory remarks in Chapter 2, the commentary is confined to comparative analysis, and also to showing the place these tales hold in the context of Canar narrative tradition. It is considered that a structural analysis would contribute little new to our understanding of that, so it is not undertaken for these or for the tales in sub-section (iii), which are mainly unaltered borrowings.

2.0 Tale 46

This tale in particular suggests an aetiological context for the whole of the fox and rabbit cycle; it begins with the idea that the fox was originally cursed for stealing a lamb belonging to the Infant Jesus, follows the fox and rabbit through a series of trickster-type episodes in the style of Tales 38-45 (although much of the content of these is new, the pattern is the same), and ends with the rabbit returning to the Virgen to announce complacently that he has punished the fox for his crime. The Virgen, however, is displeased at the rabbit's presumption and he too is punished. The curse of the fox links the tale with the Section B tales; as we saw in Tale 33, the fox is only one of a number of animals who are cursed for causing the Virgen's displeasure at the time of the birth of Jesus. The explanatory ending whereby we learn 'how the rabbit got long ears' is found as a narrative in its own right; Tale 47 is an independent variant on the theme.
It appears then that this text incorporates elements of three areas of narrative tradition which are more usually kept separate: the Christ Child cycle; the fox and rabbit cycle; the 'rabbit's ears' fable. Its particular value is as a further illustration of the mechanisms of oral narrative composition whereby associations suggested by the structure, or in this case content, of the narrative should bring about intermingling between different branches of tradition. One branch tells us of the Virgen's curse of the fox, another of traditional enmity between fox and rabbit, another of a primordial curse on the rabbit. What more natural a step then, than for a tale to evolve which seeks to establish a logical link between the three? The present text appears to do this. In addition, it should be added, it gives us further insight into the sadistic sense of humour with which the rabbit's treatment of the fox is popularly described.

3.0 Tales 47 and 48

A variant of Tale 47 was provided, but is not presented here as it contributes nothing substantially new to GGG's version. EDC's account (Tale 48) is included as it provides additional details of the objects 'taita Diosito' is thought to have asked the rabbit to fetch. Also it offers an interesting interlude, counterpart to the usual pattern, in which the fox succeeds for once in deceiving the rabbit into inflicting pain on himself. The incident is so out of the ordinary that the informant himself remarks upon it.

4.0 Tale 49

This contributes further to the popular traditions regarding the cheeky character of the rabbit, who in mythological times, we are told, even had the presumption to challenge Jesus, the culture hero figure, to a bet.

Entonces puhasarishpaca imata pasan...entonces na nin, punquita pasarin chah: - Caiqi yaicuashpa micuilla imatami cao guetanguit.

Tuypana nin entonoes na oai shug ohayug ucuchhaa; - Ñimata pasan?
- Mana ima hombre, ima mana ima pashanchu, Cashna aunque pobremi cauzani huaaca mana huaaca charintochu oac shinaca, pero huaaca ucupica aunque huaruar maruihuoa, tranquilo pasani huaaca, mana cashna susto charintochu. Casi misi avaman. Rira olhui nuca llagtaman. "

Nirca paiña llagtapi causanganu.

The town mouse and the country mouse

There were once a rich mouse and a poor mouse. The poor mouse was from the hills, and the rich mouse from a haoienda. One day the poor mouse met the rich mouse along the way. The latter said: "Why friend, what are you doing in these parts? You look quite faint for want of food. Let's go to my house where there is meat, cheese, ham, all kinds of food. Come along, then you can go home with a full belly."
So he took him with him.

They went in through a door and the rich mouse said: "Go through here and ust eat whatever takes your fancy."
There were lots of hams suspended from the ceiling, and the mouse made for them. As he was hanging onto one of the hams, the maid came into the room with a cat in her arms. Then what do you think happened?
In a great fright, without having really tried a good mouthful of the ham, the mouse fell down and escaped from the cat.

When he met the rich mouse again, the latter asked: "What's the matter?"
"Nothing, friend, nothing. But although I don't have lots to eat like you, although I only live on wild mountain berries, I live peacefully, without threat. The cat almost caught me. I'm going back to my own home."
And he returned to the hills, while the rich mouse stayed in the haoienda. The poor mouse said: "I may only live on wild berries, but
I live peacefully."
And he went back to his own home to live.

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

cf. A-T112: The town mouse and the country mouse. Latter prefers poverty with safety (J211.1)

Tale 51: Ucuhaconapa congreso

The mice's meeting

The mice held a meeting together and addressed the oldest among them:
"You are the oldest of us all. What will become of us, the cat ill-treats us, it chases us, kills us and eats us. What can we do?" they asked at the meeting.

So the old mouse said: "Let's hang a bell around the cat's neck. When it tinkle we shall hear him coming. And when we hear it, we shall be able to escape without him seeing us."

But then they couldn't get the bell around the cat's neck at all. As if the cat was going to let anything be placed around his throat! And so the meeting came to an end.

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

cf. A-T110: Belling the cat. The mice buy a bell for the cat but no-one dares tie it on her (J671.1)

Tale 52: Solitariunda chuacrillundi

The mice's meeting

Ashtan ashtan ha altota volashpaoa outin tapuroa: - Chuacuillito, 
volashpao? - nin, 
Chaimanta: - Bueno yaohaohisha, - niroa - niroa, 
Ashtan ashtan ha aliotra volashpaoa outin tapuroa: - Chuacuillito, 
volashpao? - nin, 
Chaimanta oai shug sonsoo 'ja' niroa, shimita pasecoro. Chaimanta

The solitary bird and the weasel

Here's another funny tale. One day the weasel met the solitary. Said the weasel: "Hey, solitary, how do you manage to fly through the sky like that? You look so pretty with your white tail flashing as you fly."

Replied the solitary: "It's easy to learn how to fly through the sky." The weasel was very envious of the bird's talent. So the solitary said: "Very well, I'll teach you."

And the weasel agreed, "Just hold on to my tail in your teeth and when I am flying very high I shall ask you a question. You must be sure to only answer 'hm'."

So up they flew and when they were high the solitary asked: "Are you flying, weasel?"

"Hm," replied the other cautiously.

Higher and higher they went until again the solitary asked: "Are you flying, little weasel?"

But now the stupid weasel opened his mouth and said: "Ha."

When he opened his mouth like that, he released the solitary's tail and fell far below to his death. You foolish weasel, as if you could ever learn to fly, you just met your death instead. That was another tale from me.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

Tale 53: C'ari tuuushoa sapo


Chai'manta paioa juin o'ari tuuudo: - Nuacoi sarusha ashtan esoaramuusaawata - nircoa. Chai'mantaas nircoa na.


Chaitmantacai cutin shayatishpa nircoa: - Cuan ca'm ves shamupicpa nucami sarusha - nircoa chai sapito,
Here's another funny story. There was once a very bold frog. One day this bold Mr. Frog was on his way to a fiesta. On the way he met a mouse who said to him: "Good-day, Mr. Frog, where are you going?"
"I'm off to the fiesta," replied he, crossly, "I want to see those horses perform in the escaramusa. Come along too."
"Don't be stupid, Mr. Frog. The horses will trample you underfoot."
But the frog went ahead.

Arriving on the fiesta field, he stood there bravely his hands on his hips. Then along came a parade of performing horses and bowled him over, almost killing him but not quite. At that moment the inquisitive mouse came by: "You see now, Mr. Frog, didn't I tell you? That's just what I said would happen."
But the frog stood his ground saying: "When they come by again it will be I who will trample them."
Again the horse parade came by and this time quite carried the frog away in their hooves. Not a trace was left of him on the fiesta plain. That's how the vain frog found his death. That's the end of the tale.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

J652   Inattention to warnings
J652.1 Frog persists in living in puddle on road. Disregards advice of another frog and is run over
Q331.2 Vanity punished

Tale 54: huanchaqa huancamuria


The opossum and the heron

There was once an opossum who was jealous of the heron. "How is it that you are white?" he asked.
"When there was snow on the ground, I went to lie in it, That's how I am white. You do it too."
Accordingly the opossum went and lay in the snow. Then as he grew stiffer and stiffer with cold he called out: "I'm turning white! I'm turning white!" and so saying, he died.
That's how he ended, in that snow.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

Q302   Envy punished
K1000 Deception into self-injury
Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These five texts comprise a miscellany of animal fables of a type much less commonly told than the fox and rabbit tales, each with a more or less overt didactic message. Some are immediately recognizable as indebted to Indo-European tradition, particularly Aesopic sources; others have become rather more integrated into Andean tradition. As commentary on them is brief, I have chosen simply to make a few remarks about them as a group, rather than look at each text separately.

2.0 Tales 50-54

Tale 50 is familiar to a European as the tale of the 'Town mouse and the country mouse' (A-T112), and the message it carries in Cafiar seems to differ little from that. I found no variants, however a version from S. Peru collected by Leslie Hoggarth contains an interesting Indian 'twist' in its ending; the poor country mouse is caught and eaten by the city cat. Tale 51 is an unchanged version of A-T110, of which I found no variants. Tale 52 is to be found in variant forms quite widely in the Andes, and appears to be the most 'native' of the group; Morote Best has made an extensive study of similar tales in which the vain fox achieves the same fate as the weasel in the present text (1958b). Tale 53 is of interest for the local reference it contains to fiesta customs: La Capilla, where the informant comes from celebrates San Pedro each year on 29th June with ceremonial dances on horseback known as 'esoaramusas'. Tale 54 is of a familiar Aesopic type, but also one that is quite widespread in the Andes; comparison may be made with LS/IM/7: "Garzahuan anguhuan", JC/IM/28: "Anga shuj garzahuan", and also with Tale 40 of group (i), in which the fox expresses desire for a white tail. A Peruvian version is to be found in Morote Best entitled "La apuesta para resistir el frío" (op.cit.).
CHAPTER 6

Section D: Humorous Tales

Texts

Sub-section (a): Bawdy priest tales

Tale 55: Taita curita Benitomanta

There was a priest who had a mistress. And he had a plot of land beside his lover’s house. His mistress was married. Grass grew on the land just beside his mistress’s house, so the priest’s cow was put there to graze. The cow’s name was Cachuda. Cachuda the cow would spend day and night in that pasture, the farmhands would go there to care for the cow, moving its stake from plot to plot and...
giving it water. The priest didn't go there. Well, the priest would go to his mistress's house as if he had come to look after the cow.

However his woman was very poor. When her husband came home, she said to him: "The priest's cow is very fat. If we were to eat that meat we would really be able to live a little, we'd really be able to get a living."

And her husband replied: "Wife, tonight let's see if I can skin the beast. So they went to bring the cow from the meadow. They led it in and skinned it, the priest's cow.

Now that couple who had skinned the cow had a son. About a fortnight later, the boy went out one day along the road to play with sticks and stones. As he was playing with the sticks and stones in the road, he began to sing. He had seen the priest's cow skinned, so he sang these words: "My father skinned the cow, Father Benito's cow, skinned it in the backshop, Father Benito's cow."

Now one afternoon the priest was passing by and heard the youngster singing this song. So he took the boy with him to the convent, dressed him in fine clothes and gave him lots of good things. Then he started to preach in the Mass saying: "Everything that children say is the truth; children do no lie," he said.

He began preaching this in the Mass. For the priest was hoping to find the cow and take prisoner the people who had flayed it, in order to fine them.

He took the boy to the Mass to speak out the truth, by the boy didn't heed his instructions. Instead he declared: "Father Benito goes to my mother's house."

And so his sermon declaring that all children always speak the truth didn't come out in his favour. Instead, the people turned against the priest.

Informant: GGG, 20th May, 1976

cf. A-T1735A: Bribed boy sings the wrong song. The sexton steals the priest's cow. The next day the sexton's son sings 'My father stole the priest's cow'. The priest pays the boy to sing in church. But the sexton teaches the boy a new song 'The priest has lain with my mother', and this is sung in church. (see also Tale 56)

X410 Jokes on parsons
V465.1 Incontinence of clergy
K1271 Amorous intrigue observed and exposed
K435 Child's song incriminates thief
K1631 The bribed boy sings the wrong song

Tale 56: Taita curita Marianoca

Taita curita Marianoca charina nin shug vaquitata. Vaquitata shuhuagrin. Shuhuashoa nina nin:- Pi yaoshka, pi notiota huiitachun uvaq shuhuashataca hvacca fuersata cuhca pagashami.
One day someone stole Father Mariano’s cow, and he declared: “I will pay a reward to anyone who can tell me who stole my cow.”

Now one day a silly young village lad climbed up into a capuli tree and, as he picked and ate the fruit, he sang the following words:

“My father stole Father Mariano’s cow. What would the priest say if he knew?”

Thus he sang as he sat in the capuli tree.

Now the priest was on his way to hear confession and he stood to listen. Hearing the words, he made the boy come down from the tree: “Hey, youngster, what’s that you’re singing?” he asked.

The boy told him: “My father stole Father Mariano’s cow. What would the priest say if he knew?”

“Sing, my son, sing,” said the priest, “here are five sucres. Take them home to your mother and tomorrow sing just like that.”

So the child ran home, in his haste throwing away the black cherries he had not eaten, and still singing. “Mother,” he called, “this is how I was singing as I was eating cherries, and the priest gave me a present.”

“What were you singing?”

Father Mariano
"Nothing really, just this: 'My father stole Father Mariano's cow; what would the priest say if he knew?' That's what I was singing," she asked.

"Tomorrow the priest wants me to sing in the Mass, and he wants you to come along too. So you must go."

So his mother eagerly gave her son some tasty food to persuade him to change the song: "No, no son. Don't sing those words. Sing this instead: 'Father Mariano came to sleep with my mother; what would my father say if he knew?' Just sing that."

The priest was very happy when he met the child the next day, taking him by the hand and saying: "Sing, my son, sing just as you sang yesterday, so the people can learn a thing or two when they hear you. For although you are a small child, yet you have a wise head on your shoulders."

So the child began to sing the following: "Father Mariano slept with my mother; what would father say if he knew?"

Hearing that the priest dropped dead of pure shock! He had a heart attack from the shock and the shame! He had known the one song about the theft of his cow, but the child's mother had taught him another one. And when the boy sang it, well, who wouldn't have been ashamed?!

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

as for Tale 55, no additions

Tale 57: Taita ouritahuan yanudorhuan


Chaimanta huauqui oina nin: - Mana huauqui, huua Shinim oan.

Patpa shuti oara cria shhi pero paipa shuti riva Shina nisha;
- Shina shuti oani - niroa.

Entonoes riva taita ourita semanapi shunata semanapi yanudorhuan yanudorhuan ohaquisha nin o mana. Taita ouritahuan tupashpa parlaroa. Taita ourita shrei: - Ar, Yatamui, yami - niroa.

Patpa asallu patpa cullquita charisho aros. Paipa cullquita charishpaa taita aura cushoa cullquita charishpaa, taita aura cushoa cullquita semanapi fattagpaa paipa cullquita munata randishpa tuwui semanapi caxo caxo.

Chai semanapi tuwui allita onagpaa taita ourita semanapi nisha; - Ah, oai yanudorhuan alli caxo, Cunamara oala wari huatamui florahuan cawsanga. Chashna yanahpaa cawaraa iheca quilla, quima quilla, ha umali cawaraa, Chaipeperepere taita ourita niroa; - Cai yanudorhuan nin juin
The priest and his cook

There was once a very miserly priest. The cooks whom he employed in his household would only stay with him a month, others two weeks, and others just under a month. They never stayed very long as cooks there because the priest didn't give them enough money for the housekeeping. He only provided five hundred sures a week and he expected all kinds of foods to be served from this money. Well, there were two young brothers who could see that nobody could stand working very long for that priest. One of these brothers was named Shina ('like this').

And Shina said to his brother: "Hey, brother, I'm off to become a cook at the priest's house to earn some money."

Whereupon the brother replied: "But, brother, what on earth put that idea into your head? That's a very bad idea. Perhaps you think the priest will give you lots of money, but nobody can stand working for him. And here you are thinking you will be able to."

Then his brother said: "No, no, brother, my name is Shina."

His name was really something else, but he went along saying that his name was Shina: "My name is Shina," he said.

So off he went to the priest's house to ask if he wanted to receive him into the convent as a cook or not. The priest replied: "Yes, come on in and start cooking."

Now the new cook happened to have a little of his own money. So as he had his own money and the money that the priest gave him, when the
priest's money ran out for the week he would buy food from his own pocket, and in this way served up meals for the whole week. With the cook operating in this way, the priest said: "Ah, this cook has turned out to be a good one. This one will stay with me for a year to be sure."

And so he lived there two months, three months, and a year. Then the priest said: "This cook really is very good. He makes the money I give him stretch for everything. Now I'm going to throw a party," he said.

And so, calling all his family to the house, he began to give a party. He drank. And when he had drunk, he fell asleep at the table. Then the cook, seeing that the priest was asleep, carried him in his arms and put him to bed. He left him well wrapped up in the bed to sleep soundly. When he was fast asleep, the cook went to buy some paint in a shop. When he brought the paint back, as the priest was still sleeping, the cook painted the priest's face with paint of all different colours. When he had painted his face, he left the priest to sleep and, taking all the money with him, he left the house. Stealing all the money the priest had given him, he left the house.

Some time later the priest got up. He didn't feel that he had paint on his face. When he had got up he went around the shops to ask whether anyone had seen his cook: "Have you seen my Shina?" (or: "Have you ever seen me like this?") he asked. And the people replied: "No, Father, we haven't seen you like this." (or: No, we haven't seen your Shina)

In another shop he asked: "Haven't you seen my Shina?"
And there they gave him the same answer: "No, Father, we haven't ever seen you like this."
And again he asked the same question in all the shops: "Have you not seen my Shina?"
And the people all took his question the other way, and said: "No, Father, we have never seen you like this before."
He had been asking for Shina without realising that his face was covered with paint. "So this is how they reply when I ask for the cook Shina," he thought.
And so when he returned home, he went to wash his face, and looking in the mirror he realised what had happened!

Informant: GGG, 19th May, 1976

X495 Jokes on parsons - miscellaneous
Q276 Stinginess punished
J2496 "I don't know" thought to be a person's name

Tale 58: Taita ouritahuan huiñachishoahuan


The priest and his foster son

The priest had a foster son. He went everywhere together with his adopted son. One afternoon they went out from the convent together. They arrived at the house of an unmarried woman. That young woman was already known to the priest from before. She was very much loved and he had given her many little gifts. And she was very beautiful. This being so, the priest desired her and had been with her.

That afternoon because he was with the adopted lad he couldn't go into the woman's room very early. "I shall wait a little until the youngster's asleep," he said. Spreading out his bed he went to sleep in a separate room. The youngster lay down just in the corner of the same room as the priest. "Now the boy's asleep," said the priest, and he got up quietly and began to leave the room. Although he got up softly like that, the boy heard him. When he heard him getting up he said: "The priest is going back to the convent already."

Or in Spanish: "Adiós taita aurita todavía es noche."

And when the boy said that the priest lay down again.

The lad was lying quietly and once again the priest said: "Now the boy's asleep," and he began to get up slowly. But the boy just wasn't asleep, he was just listening. Yet again he said: "Goodbye, father priest. What's the matter? It isn't time yet."

When he heard him say that, the priest pretended to go to sleep again. That boy still hadn't gone to sleep. The priest was just pretending to be asleep. Yet again the priest said to himself: "Now the boy's asleep," and began to get up softly and silently. But the boy just saw him. He still hadn't gone to sleep. Yet again he said, as the priest was getting out of bed: "Father priest, what's the matter? It isn't time to get up yet."

In Quichua he said: "Taita aurita jima tucungui? manara horaschu."

And so the whole night passed with the boy preventing the priest from leaving his bed. On several occasions the priest got up angrily in the morning but he had no good reason for punishing the child. So he just went back to the convent taking the young lad with him.

After that he had the idea of sending the boy to ring the early morning bell. With this in mind he went early to the bell tower and set out some statues of saints on the stairway. Then he sent his ward in the middle of the night to ring the bell. The youngster wasn't afraid, although he went in the dark. Without any fear he just set off to go and ring the bell.

Reaching the staircase he met some black shapes that looked like people. Thinking to himself: "What thieves can these be?" he began to question them: "Who are you?" he asked. When they didn't reply, he beat them and threw them to the ground. Afterwards he said: "Aha, thief, just what do you think you are doing here?"

As he went on higher up the stairs he found another figure. And he dealt with that one in just the same way. He beat it and threw it to the ground, because when he questioned it it gave no reply.
When he had passed this figure he climbed still further up the stairs and met with yet another. He asked this one also: "Who are you?"

But just as before, there came no reply. So the boy gave it a beating and sent to the ground in the same way. When he had done that, he rang the bell. Now the priest was listening out, hoping to have an excuse for beating the boy when he returned without having rung the bell. So when he heard it ring he ground his teeth in fury. Then when he came back he asked the lad if he had seen anything. The youngster replied: "I wonder who on earth those people were on the staircase? When I asked them who they were, they didn't answer a word. So whoever they were, after that I gave them a good beating, thinking they must be robbers, I left them for dead. Come on, let's go and take a look at them," he said.

But the priest was so angry that he didn't want to go and look. When the boy was asleep he went alone and cleared away the broken saints.

When many days had passed by the priest had another idea: "I'll send the youngster to watch over a corpse," he said to himself.

So he set off to the sacristan's house. And he said to the sacristan: "Go and lie down in the church as if you were dead. I'll pay you for it. At night just move yourself a little bit to frighten my foster son."

When he heard this, the sacristan agreed quite happily to play dead. When he was stretched out like a corpse the master sent his boy off with these words: "Go and keep watch over that body."

The boy agreed cheerfully, saying: "You go and buy me some marbles to play with and I'll go and watch over the body."

So the priest bought the boy some marbles and, contented, the youngster went to keep watch.

He didn't sleep all night but just played with the marbles. Then at midnight the corpse began to move in order to frighten the boy. But the boy wasn't scared. Instead he took hold of a candlestick and beat the body on the head saying: "What are you getting up for, dead man?"

And he beat him again and again. Then when the corpse had lain down again he stopped hitting it. So he watched over the body all night in case it tried to get up again. But the dawn came around and it didn't move any more.

The priest came early in the morning to the church to see how the 'corpse' had slept. When he arrived he asked the boy: "How did you sleep?"

And the boy replied: "I didn't sleep at all well. In the night the corpse started to move. When it started to move I grabbed the candlestick and hit it twice on the head. After that it didn't move again."

In a great fright, the priest went to have a look at the 'corpse'. The 'body' hadn't moved again because it had simply been killed. When he saw that had happened, the priest couldn't say anything. He was very angry inside, but he had no excuse for beating his foster son.

After the sacristan had been buried, then he gave him a hiding. He found an excuse by asking him a trick question: "What do you call a cat?" he asked.

And the boy replied: "It's a 'gato', sir."

And the other reply he gave was 'mishi'. The priest replied that it was called neither 'gato' nor 'mishi', but 'misirirtapish'. (from the Latin miserere? - a play on words) When the boy failed to give the
right answer, he beat him. Then when he saw a dog, the priest asked another question; "What's that?" he said. The boy replied; "It's a 'perro', sir."
And then he said: "No, it isn't a 'perro', it's an 'allou', sir." Thereupon the priest retorted: "It's neither 'perro' nor is it 'allou', it's 'oratilatil!'," (?) And asking those trick questions he found an excuse for beating his foster son. Very angry, the lad took hold of the cat and poured paraffin over it. He set fire to both the cat and the convent and ran away who knows where!

Informant: GGG, April, 1976 (courtesy Live Drange)

cf. A-T326; The youth who wanted to learn what fear is
H1400 Fear test. A person is put to various tests in the attempt to make him show fear
V465.1 Incontinence of clergy
K1860 Deception by feigned death
J1780 Things thought to be devils, ghosts, etc.
(J2496.2 Misunderstandings because of lack of knowledge of a different language than one's own)

Tale 59: hauahauan nin a'urahuan


Entonces ninna nin: - Mana pi auri shamunohu aaiman, huamba lillauumii, - Mana, taita curitaca shamunilama - nin na huamba.

Chaipi o'urut a'urwait nin huarmita: - ¿Imamantata ouahuanca aapipi fuaa illagpi oangui?

Chaipi o'uruta makaashepa na huahuurina nin huarmita.

Na huarmi huahushoa qu'ipa entones na ausaaca mana trabajoman rish huasillapi cathakuna nin. Chaipi na chaat na'uru shamuna nin.

Chaipi huambraa nin nin: -Chaita taititu, riqui, chaaim mamiapamonaa shuamug caroa - nin nin.

Nina a'uruta riouohin nin. - Caimi shuamug caroa.


Ima mupilata huawana nin. Chaipi tuurin.

The child and the glow-worm

There were a man and wife who lived in the country. They had a very rascally child. When the child saw a glow-worm by the house he would call it 'Father'. Why? Well, the design on the robe that a priest wears before the eucharist resembles a glow-worm. Perhaps you know it?
The glow-worm has a pretty design on its wings like the decoration on a priest's robes. For example, the robe that he wears for the All Souls Mass: it is a black design like that. So the youngster nicknamed the glow-worm 'Father',

Every day the glow-worm would come to the house. In the evening when his father came back the child would say to him: "The priest just came to mother's house" The priest is in the habit of coming here," The mother denied it: "No priest comes here, the child is lying," "No, it's true, the priest does come," said the child. Whereupon the father began to beat his wife: "Why are you here with the priest when I am out?" he cried. And beating her like that, he killed his wife.

After his wife had died the husband no longer went to work, but would spend all day just at home. Then the glow-worm came along. The child said: "Look, father, that's what used to come to mother's house," and he showed him the glow-worm, "this is what used to come." Then his father said: "What a child! What did you tell me? This isn't a priest! This is a glow-worm. I killed my wife for nothing because of you." And he wept bitterly. That's the end.

Informant: 'GGG, 5th November, 1976

some as for Tale 58, plus:
J1820 Inappropriate action from misunderstanding

Tale 60: Beatahuán químea antimohuan

Cái ejemplosca asasomi shina químea amigouna tiyashoa, shug beatapa novioouna asasoa, tuosi chahu químea. Juin amigouna asasoa, pero mana parlamasuhua chahu beatapa amigó cashataca, ni pi ni shug ni shug ni shug. Entonces shug tutaca chahu beatahuán citayashoauna, tuparanga. Beataca rishoa: - Hungahuan sueñeh nishpaca a las onces de la noche na shamegui - nishoa shugtaca,

Entonces a las onces de la noche na rishoa palca, Entonces beataca nishhomi: - Entonces na Hungahuan suénhngapaaca entonoes penitenatata cumpi - nishoa - , entonces ri iglesia pungupi hungohoa tucah nishhngapa, shug sabannahuan tarpaishepa - nishoa,
Entonces arita nishkpa rishoa y cumpilshoa shina hua.

Entonces' outin shug chayasha na beatapamana. Shinallata nishca enton': - Ñuca penitenca cumpilha - nishpa cumpiln.
- Ri shug hungohshami iglesia pungupi stiriunganga, Canoa chayashpaca huacaaui. Chaiti huacaaui, bulla runuacui - nishoa.
Na patpish na sueñhngaraioaca rishea cumpilingapa, Ña huacaaushoa ima mundota.

Chaimantaca outin shug amigo na en seguida chayasha. Chatia na nishca hua: - Hunghuan sueñhngapaaca enton' cumpil, Ri chaipimi shugoa huacanoshami stiriungga, shugoa huacaaungomi iglesia pungupica - nishoa.
Chaimantaca chatia: - Canoa ri cuay tuawshpe - nishpa, shug mangata awjeryashoa nin, shibi, nahu, rinri, onga, alaja molde tuawsh ouu shinallata hua.
Chaimantaca chatia mangapica ima mundo na churasheoa nin uupi. Chat manga uupica. Chaimantaca chatia nahu ruhuashoa, shibi ruhuashoa, chaimantaca chitpasauna juin t'aliirioan nin, chati manga uupi nina churasheoca. Chaimantaca chatia vaoa locata shina una jahuapi
ohurashpaca, 'Iglesia punguta callpagri' nishoashi.

Chaimantaca chai huacucoa humparasho na nin nin. Chai huchuasho tuuahhoa huahata. Cutin chai diablo tuuahhoa'ashtan huahata. Chai humparagaoa: - Almami huacata o'atish shamen - nishpa ashtan callpashoa nin.

Cutin chai huandhhoa tuuahhoa cutin: - Diablomi huacata apanapa shamen - nishpa quimena tuuahcallpashoacuna nin.

Chaimantaca ma shug ima mendo lajata lajapi chai huaou maipi na. Singureshoacuna tuucu quimsa.

Chaimantaca na shug pumahhoa tupanaacuna nin shug amigo nin nin:
- Amigo, yangamanta amigo cangui, huacata mana visitangapa shamuacangi - ninama nin shug amigo -. Jinima tuuahshangutari? - nin.
- Huacan ehtina ehtnami pasashoan.
- Hupaapih unguashoami oaroami - nin shugpish,

Shugpish: - Hupaapih unguashoallatami oaroami - nin.

Chai picoa ha tapanaacuna nin. Entonces: - Jau shug traguitota uwaashun - nissama nin fa - parlangapa.

Chaimantaca ha shuga na nin nin: - Huac pasashoacaca hualasha. Huac shug beata oenoradomi tuuacan - nin fa, deolarama nin shuga.
- Parih, parihi - nin na shugouncu.
- Shina ehtnami Huac shug beata oenoradomi oaroami, chaimantaca palhian suenungapaca penitenoca cuoa. Entonces iglesia pungupi huahshoa tuuah struorgui, chaihpi ri struorgui nin, chaihpi shug chuayshpaca jua huacacaura - nin.

Chaimantaca shug amigooa nin: - Chaico haucami oaroami, Huacami huacacouyr, chaico haucami oaroami - nin, chaimantaca chai huacacoupica cutin diabloca shamuac, chaico de puro mendo mat o'acopi singugriconohi,

Chaimi ha unguahoa oashpa mana tupanaacuashcoah - nin.

Chaijica cai shug amigo, chai diablo tuuacu amigooa na nin nin: - Ah, entonoes chaiha huacami oaroami, Huacami diablo tuuashpaca caunamata c'atish callparcami - nin.

Chaihpi ha tuuri chajumata na deolararinauna. Shug jatun wiriapit ha taririnuna nin. Entonces caami diablo oashoangui, shugoo, alma oashoangui, shugoo, huacacou yohoangui, nishpa na deolararishoacuna nin.

Chaimantaca na, caunic a'imatami ruhuanohi chaite beatata oevranga? - ninuuna ha, parlanacunauna ha. Chaimanta nin, shug amigoa nishhi;
- Caicaca mana saquishunou. Entonces paica dooe hoacami iglesiapico raangapara nin - nin.


Chaimantaca nin nin: - Beatita caamca haucacahimantaca juvmnin yuyaringui, entonces haucamahcoa sealomamm apash ninohi oantaca - nin chai San Pedro tuuashpaca na, Chaimantaca: - Impapish taite curitamaa confesari - nishpa ha.

Chai rato cutin ha shugouncu iglesia jahumantaca ha cutin aisanouna nin.

Chaimantaca na beata ha oreishoa chaitaca. Chaimantaca nishca nin shug amigota: - Canca taite curita tuuugri, taite curita tuuugri, na confesionaritopi tiyaugri -nishca nin.
Cai shugara ta taita ourita na tiyausha na nin confessionariopi, Chaipica na beataoa rishoa nin, taita owami nishpa na atiertotami taita cura nishpa. Rishoa nin confessaringapa. Chaimantaa na nishha nin beataoa; Taita ourita - shinami nin, San Pedritomi atielomanta nua oraooy rato chayan, Shinami nin; 'Canoca juin huecanhimanta yuyaringui, chaimantaa atieloman apash ninchini', hin.

Chaimantaa taita ourita nish: Ari, an palaunamanta rengwai, palaunamanta mataringui allimi allimi, Canoca tua tiyausha, tuunde riwasa, tuaui tuaui ima charishaita pobreounman regalai, pobreounman reparti. Chaimantaa shinaquito na tuaui trastis, tuaui camba cai rato churausha, tuaui tuaui. Shina lluchito shug owartitopi na listito amgu, huecanhoca na entre las once de la nochetami chayahun camba huasipi apangapa - nishha na n', pero mana tma ni shug ropahuan canguchu canoa, Lluchito amgu - nishha nin.

The devout woman and her lovers

This story is about the three suitors of a pious woman. They were very friendly with each other but they never told each other that each was courting the pious woman. Then one night they each made an arrangement to meet her. The pious woman told one of them: "If you want to sleep with me, come at 11 o'clock."

So along he went at 11 o'clock. Then the woman told him: "In order to sleep with me you must do a penance, so go and lie down at the door of the church as if you were dead, covering yourself with a sheet."

Agreeing, the suitor went and did so.

Then the next one arrived at the pious woman's house, She said just the same to him, "I'll go and do a penance," he said. "There'll be a dead man lying at the door of the church, You go along there and weep. Make a loud noise of weeping."

He too followed her orders so that he would be able to sleep with her. He went weeping and wailing a lot.

Then straightaway the other suitor came along, To him she said: "Do this in order to go to bed with me. Go along to where there's a dead man lying and another weeping over him at the church door, You go along and pretend you're the devil,"

He took a saucepan and made holes in it for the mouth, eyes, ears and nose, just like a fine devil's face. He put burning embers in the pot and the sparks flew out of the holes made for the eyes and mouth. Then the suitor put the pot on his head like a vaca loca. The woman told him: "Go and run around the church door,"
Well, the man who was wailing went ahead, after the man who was playing dead. Then last of all went the man pretending to be the devil. The man who went first said: "There's a soul following me," and he ran fast away. Then the man playing dead cried: "The devil is coming to take me away," and so saying all three of them took to their heels. Then they all three ran fast and tumbled together down a steep cliff.

Afterwards they met up one day, and one friend said: "Friend, you're a good-for-nothing friend, you haven't been to visit me lately. What happened to you?"
"I've been ill," replied the other.
The other said: "I too have been ill."
Thereupon they all asked after each other. Then they went to have a drink and a chat. Then one of them began his tale: "I fell in love with a pious woman," he declared.
"Tell us, tell us," said the others.
"Well, I was in love with her, and she gave me a penance to do so I could go to bed with her. She told me to lie down and feign dead at the church door, then something came along weeping and wailing."

Then one of the other friends said: "That was me. I was the wailer, then while I was weeping a devil came along, and out of pure fear I rolled off the edge of the cliff. Then as I've been ill we haven't seen each other lately."
Then the other friend who had played the devil said: "Well that was me, I was pretending to be a devil and came chasing after you two."
Then they all confessed the truth to each other. There they all were having a drinking session, and it all came out: "So you were the devil," said one. "And you were the soul," said the other. "And you were the wailing man," said the other, each realising the truth.

Then they wondered what they could do to get their revenge on the pious woman. One of them said: "We can't let her get away with it. She goes to the church to pray at 12 o'clock."
So one of them tied a rope tightly round his waist, and when the pious woman was saying her prayers, he let himself down from the ceiling in front of her. One of the others let him down slowly. He pretended to be Saint Peter, carrying a bunch of keys, and disguised as a Saint. Then he said: "Good woman, you pray to us a lot, so we want to take you to heaven," he said, pretending to be Saint Peter. "So now go and make your confession to the priest."
At that moment, the others up in the rafters of the church pulled him back up.

Now the pious woman was taken in by this. So one of the suitors told another: "You go and pretend to be the priest in the confessional."
So the other disguised himself as the priest and entered the confessional. Then the devout woman went to make her confession to him: "Father, Saint Peter came down from heaven while I was praying, and said: "As you pray a lot to us, we want to take you to heaven."
The priest said: "Yes, you pray for them, you ask blessings of them. Good, good. Now you must give all your belongings and all your riches away to the poor. Then take off all your clothes that you're wearing now and be ready in your little room at 11 o'clock. We'll come to take you away. But you mustn't be wearing any clothes. Be naked," he advised her.
So the devout woman followed his advice. She gave away all her clothes and stood there quite naked. Then the three suitors arrived. Then they took their revenge on her. They took advantage of her nudity and had their revenge on her. They didn't take her to heaven, and there was no saint. Just the suitors who came to molest her. Nowadays there are some pious women like her and people bother them. That's my story in my name.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

K1218.4 Suitors as corpse, angel and devil
K1315 Seduction by imposter
K1315.1.1 Seduction by posing as Angel Gabriel
K1315.6.4 Seduction by posing as Saint
1.0 Introduction

These are the only tales in the collection in which humans interact with humans; they comprise humorous folktales of a social and religious satirical nature. Many are no doubt borrowings, and can be traced to variants through the Aarne-Thompson indices. They were treated more light-heartedly and told more readily than the material in Section A in particular. Paredes Candfa in his discussion of similar material for Bolivia has considered this genre of tale to be the property of the urban mestizo classes, making its appearance in the repertoire of the Indians as a relatively recent result of culture contact (1973:18-19).

Certainly, although the versions presented here were told by Quichua speakers, I heard variations perhaps more frequently on the lips of mestizos; such bawdy narratives were usually referred to as 'cachoes'. Paredes Candfa suggests that sacrilegious anecdotes involving religious motifs are the comic, urban, counterpart of the tales of souls and devils told with serious intent among the Indians. The contrast is therefore between both attitude in telling the tales, and between cultural origins for the tales in question:

"es tanto el afán de concretar picardía o humor picante en los relatos, que hasta los temas religiosos de apariciones, donde están santos y milagros como elementos constitutivos del cuento, que el campesino acepta, cree y relata con respetuosa actitud, al citadino le sirven de argumentos para crear literatura oral de tipo pornográfico."
(loc.cit.)

Perhaps the best illustration of this state of affairs in the Cañar material is to be found in Tale 60, in which the piety of the 'beata' is ridiculed, and motifs such as devils, souls of the dead, and coffins, which in the Section A legends were objects of respect and even fear, are employed to satirical effect.
2.0 Group (i): Bawdy priest tales

These bawdy sacrilegious tales no doubt strike an uncomfortably realistic note with regard to the traditional character of the priest in his relationship with the lower classes, in days gone by at least, and their survival to this day might be explained in terms of the underlying social comment they contain, in addition to their entertainment value.

The A-T types to which they can be compared are listed, as usual, with the individual texts. However, there are one or two other observations to make in order to place them further within the Spanish-American context. The episode in Tale 57, for example, in which the priest's face is painted without his knowledge, is commonly found in the 'Pedro de Ordinales' cycle, of wide distribution in Spanish-America. Miller's "Pedro Ordinalas y Juan de Buen Alma" (op.cit.No.82) also contains the episode. For further variants in South America, see: Aramburu (1944) for Argentina, and Laval (1925) and Pino Saavedra (1966 nos.186&193) for Chile.

With regard to Tale 58, it was seen that this tale is found elsewhere in the Andes as an integral part of the Bear's Son tale, being included in the sequence of events when the hero finds himself in the care of a priest who tries to instill fear in him. An additional feature lies in the use of the priest's play on words to trick the boy—obscure as this may be, the point of the incident apparently lies in the fact that the boy is tricked through an inadequate knowledge of Spanish, and learned expressions in particular. A comparative portrayal of the priest as a libertine is to be found in JC/IM/19: "Shuf taita aura shuf huainahuan". There are no additional comments to make about Tales 55, 56, 59 and 60.
Section D sub-section (b): Other humorous tales

Tale 61: Gallo tuushhoa runa


Chaipi chau huarmitaqa shug runa rirro pasalla inquitangapa. Chai huarmi ohasquishoa ausa trabajopi oagpi, Entonoes shug runaca ausa trabajopi carca yashaqsha oada punsha chau huarmipaman rig cashoa. Chaipi tuucu punsha parlashpa imaumata ruhuagsha miunascha chaipi pasag cashaacuna. Chashna pasacushpa chishtacaa huasiman rig cashoa ha ausa shomana horas.

Shug punsha ausa ha yalli chishiyamug yuyaohigpi tal vez que mana shamungachu pensantscha paioca. Mana shamungachu caillapi suehusha nischa. Cusaa una tutata chayamun. Na chai runaca chau huarmihuan suehuanca. Chai suehushpaca ausa shumugta sentishpa huarmica nischa:
  - na chau yama jatun tinaja uopi tiyagpi. Nuca tapash shurascha.
  - Astahuan yatauran chai jatun tinaja uopi. Pero huarmi nischa:
  - Canta ca chiringamania oat tinaja ucpiu. Cusaa utca llugshig richua ausa gallo tuushhapa cantangui.
  - Canta ca chiringamania oat tinaja ucpiu. Cusaa utca llugshig richua ausa gallo tuushhapa cantangui.

Chaimanta paioca arita nischa cantai callarirca ha una tutu tuucpi, ha ausahuan chai huarmi suehuanca. Paiti mana kumanta gallo tuushhapa cantai callarirca gallo shina. Chai cantacquipi ha huarmica nischa:
  - Na gallo cantan. Uoca jatari. Nami punshayanga, ri trabajoman.
  - Astahuan galloca o' atishpa cantarca. Entonoes huarmica nueva mana jatarinata yachag, mana imata ruhuamanata yachag, chau tutamantacca jatarishpa pai quiqquin cafeta ruhuagsha wiaohirciipa. Chaipi entonoes chaita wiaohirciipa rirro ilugshihoca ausa na trabajoman.

Trabajoman ruhushpa yuyaohirciipa paioca ha yuarcqa mana gallo laja cantarca. Mana gallo laja cantarca wushhapa ashata yuyaita japirciipa nin; pues canta mana gallochu. Entonoes nischa:
  - Ashata ashata imaoha yudgira naman yalli tutapih regrini. Tal vez que trabajopi yalli jumbisha calormantis irudgira yudgira naman yuyaiti. Rini ashata armangapa yaucia tibishpa.

The man who played cockerel

There was once a married man. He was in the habit of getting up early every morning to go to work. At about four in the morning he was already going out to work. His wife would never get out of bed to make the coffee, but he himself would make his coffee, drink it and go out to work. Every day, not one day would he rest at home.
Now there was a man who used to go in secret to pester the woman. The woman would let him in, as her husband was at work. So as that man knew that the husband was at work, he would go to the woman's house every day. And there they would spend the whole day talking, eating and doing other things. They would spend the day like that and in the evening when it was time for the husband to come home, the man would go to his own house.

One day, as it looked as if the husband was going to come home very late, the man thought that perhaps he wouldn't come at all: "He won't come, I'll sleep right here," he said. But the husband arrived back very late at night, and the man was sleeping with his wife. As they lay sleeping, the woman heard her husband arrive and said to the man: "Go and get into that big urn, I'll put the lid on it." So the man climbed into the big urn. But the woman said: "You'll catch cold in that big jar. To make my husband go out early, crow like a cockeral." The man agreed, and in the middle of the night he began to crow. The woman was now asleep with her husband. From inside the pot he began to crow like a cock. When he crowed the woman said: "The cock is crowing, get up early, husband, it will soon be day, go to work." But her husband was still sleepy. He didn't want to get up early. The cock still continued to crow. So the woman, who never used to get up, who never used to do anything, got up that morning and made the coffee herself for her husband to drink. So then, having drunk the coffee, the husband went out of the house to go to work.

While he was on his way to work he reflected to himself that the cockcrow hadn't sounded like a real bird at all. When he realised the truth he decided on a plan: he would pretend that the heat of the day had given him a stomach ache and would go home to heat water for a wash. So returning home he himself began to warm some water in a big bucket. He didn't just warm it, however, but he boiled it. When he had heated up the big bucket of water, he went to get a large wooden bowl in which to wash. The bowl was covering the tall jar. And so he carried the water in the bucket over near to the jar, took the bowl from the top of it, and then he poured the boiling water into the urn. That soon skinned the cockeral!

Informant: GGG, 20th May, 1976

K1550 Husband outwits adulteress and paramour
K1886,3.1 Person simulates cockcrow
K1550,1 Husband discovers wife's adultery
K1553,1 Husband feigns illness to surprise wife with paramour

Tale 62: Burro randidoroa


Entonoes caipimi shug cullquita huanag burroocna o'atunim, Shug o'atunimi na huiroame, rinimi chahta randingapa. Achat chahtami suwerteta aenga. Apri nuyushpa randi na huarmica nimi nin shina caaquisa o'atwiyari, shinashpa cahtita randingui. Cullquita huahaaqppica alittitari caahoari. Chaimanta burroocnata randina nin. Chai o'atunim maahose caahoa. C'atunshoa nin burroocnacu alja qu'ihusacta ashocta caran y siquitmanta cullquita sarig caahoa. Cullquita siquitmanta satin entonoes burro huahana ratooa cullquita umaqhin, qu'ipata huamitota
umashin, huarmi chaita riush pacarin: - Caranha, onancari chayug-yagrintini. Cunanoa burro cullquita huaranta yadoahoa.
Entoneses ha o’atuushpaoa paioa cullquitaoa ha mana pai ruayuqqu pellanoa cullquitaoa burrope siqimanata satishoa, - Qu’iwhata aahata carai, Solo alja qu’iwhata miuahpami ha cullquitaoa chaahna huanan. Bueno cunnhila na rin: Na cullquita oom, burrota randin.

Ari nishha nin, risheoa nin shina ningapa. Burrope humpapi shina nishpa tiyacuna nin. Solo huamata huahana nin, mutta cullquita. Chaipainaai rabiata japihshea cutin atsarish piaqapi o’atuw shitaasheoa nin.


Chaipica pai patmanoo chaata riwusheqa paiao dedoarini randinata ootai mangata. Mangata randigrin; paipish rin allpata juta chaipi imallanata churan, Yanui callarin. Mangaco ima mapi nin tayagyriti timbunago! Tiyacun nin chaipi, De rabiata japihsheoa mangata alli rumipi huaktanaeeusho uro huacuta shitaas oachana nin.
Once a long time ago there lived a dimwit. One day he decided to buy an ass so that he could set up a business. "Without a donkey I have no way of carrying two loads at once," he said to himself. So he bought five donkeys and became a travelling salesman. With his donkeys he set off for the hot lowlands.

Now on the first trip he was carrying a cargo of lard on the asses. As he was going along with this cargo the weather became terribly hot; the lard began to melt in the heat and to leak out of its containers. So very quickly the dimwit began pouring water onto the lard, which hardened it up and stopped it from seeping out. All the way along the road the dimwit kept putting water on the lard and only in that way did he stop it from going to waste.

Well, on another occasion he went on a journey with a cargo of salt. As he was going along with the salt, he got caught in a rainstorm. And the rain began to drip into the cargo. So the dimwit thought he would stop the salt melting onto the ground in the same way as he had dealt with the lard! Hoping to harden up the salt, he began pouring water onto it! The wetter the load of salt became in the rain, the more it began to drip onto the ground, and as the dimwit went further, so his cargo gradually diminished. His salt just dwindled away because he poured water onto it! And so he arrived in the hot lowlands, with just a tiny bit of salt. And there he did his business, but of course he made a loss. He had put a whole load of salt to waste. So after that, he decided the business was no good; he would throw it in and sell the asses. And so he sold them.

Then again, one day he wanted to go and collect some firewood. "But what shall I go on?" he thought. And he decided to buy another ass. "It's much better to go for firewood like this," he thought. Then he decided better still to go back into trading. So he set off again with a cargo of lard. This time he was caught in the rain. In the rain no ill came of the load, it solidified and arrived in good condition. So on that trip he made a profit again.

He had bought himself five asses, and now he set off home with them. He mounted one of them and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself: "One of the asses seems to be missing. I'd better count them." He mounted one of them, and the rest he drove along in front.
And so it was, all the way. After that he arrived home, one of the asses having got 'lost', "This business isn't worth it," he said, "it's too much of a headache. I'm quite exhausted from having spent the whole journey just running round looking for the donkey. So I'm going to sell them off again."

Now, thereabouts, there was a man selling a donkey that defecated gold. When the dimwit was told about this dealer, he decided to go and buy the beast, thinking that it would bring him luck. And his wife agreed that if it were true, he should certainly buy it. For the donkey was giving a lot of money. Now the man that was selling the donkey was a trickster. He had put the money in the animal's backside, given it a lot of alfalfa to eat, and sold it. So when the ass came to defecate, first the gold would come out, but afterwards it would be just dung! In the morning the wife saw this and cried: "Goodness, now I'm really going to get rich! The ass can drop gold!"
And her husband instructed her to give it only alfalfa grass and then it would drop gold. And the gold had to be collected from the dung by scraping it out. And now the dimwit was very happy with having bought the donkey.

But how did the donkey come to have the gold? "Give the beast plenty of alfalfa," the trader had said. But the seller had put the gold in the donkey's backside when the dimwit wasn't looking, and then he had sold it to him. The donkey ate large quantities of alfalfa, nothing else, then it dropped gold. And so it went on until the gold that had been put in its backside was finished. After that, nothing! So the dunce went back to the donkey dealer and told him the animal had stopped shitting gold. Well of course, the dealer had played a trick on him. So he told the dimwit; "Go and ask the donkey: 'Why don't you shit gold?' and say to it; 'Shit gold, shit gold, shit gold'. Then it will perform."
So the dimwit went away to try these words on the ass. He sat for hours by its side repeating them, but it only passed dung, not gold at all. So the dimwit took the donkey, dragged it furiously back to the market place and resold it.

After he had sold the ass, there was a man toting a cooking pot nearby. "Buy my pot," he said to the dimwit. Whereupon the latter replied; "I'm always buying cooking pots, that's something we've really plenty of at home."
"Ah," said the dealer, "but I doubt your pots are like this one, You have to light a fire for yours; they need firewood, grass, straw, coal. They cook with those things. With this pot you make a hollow in the ground and place it there. Then you say the words: 'Cook without fire, little pot. Cook without fire, little pot. Cook without fire, little pot', and then it begins to boil! So in that way you don't need firewood, straw, coal or matches; you don't have to lie face down and blow to get the fire going; you don't have to wave the smoke away from your eyes, or anything."

Later on, the dimwit was going to prepare something to eat, so he hurried to the market to do a little shopping. And the crafty sales- man was there. His trick was to make a hole in the ground and light a fire with wood inside the hole. Once the wood was crackling, he placed the pot on top of it. In that way the pot cooked secretly. So there stood the pot, in the hole that had been dug in the ground;
and any minute now it would come to the boil. Then the dimwit came along, "Come and see how the pot cooks by itself," called the trickster; "Boil without fire, little pot," he recited three times at the pot's side.

And the dimwit stood by watching. And so the pot began to boil faster, its lid about to come off as it bubbled harder. "Now, you see," said the salesman, "that's what it does. It doesn't need coal or firewood. It just does it by itself."

When the dimwit saw this with his own eyes, he resolved to buy the cooking pot. Having bought it, he took it away, and he too dug a hole in the ground, and put a few things in the pot. Then he began to cook. But as if the pot was going to cook without a fire! It just sat there! So the dimwit grabbed it in a rage, bashed it hard against a stone and threw it away into a ravine.

Informant: JMD, 15th September, 1976

J2031.2 There are ten horses; then when he is mounted there are only nine. Why?
J2030 Absurd inability to count
K111.1 Alleged gold-dropping animal sold
K112.1 Alleged self-cooking kettle sold
J1813.4 Boiling pot on the floor thought to be self-cooking

Tale 63: Sonsohuan huaquicunahuan


Cai shug britbona mana cutingagari, sino chaipi aguatan. Curacoa mana caorjentama llugehi valin.

Na chaqamun ima ra to caohepapish. Chaqomushpaoa nihoa nin: - Ah, caramba! Ima milagro! Ima huaira! ¿Imapata shamurcangui?
- Mashnata valin?

Muerto de gusto oai shugoa oajonta ouni. Huascata jaiop, alli liam aparina nin.


- Mana ima chaite oangani - oai shug huaqui atin.
Cai shugoca nina nin: - Patimi ricurngui, patimi chaite alairu purimun, tuaut.
Na chaqamun huari urita cha pasana caoari itanta, paipa huasinaloa,
The dimwit and his brothers

There was once a dimwit who had two rich brothers. One night these two said: "Let's go and dig for gold. We saw some shining in that place over there, let's go."

The dimwit was lounging about doing nothing so they said: "Let's ask him to come and dig too. We can get him to work but we won't give him any of the gold."

When they arrived at the house they said: "Hey, dimwit, let's go and dig for gold. Come and dig with us and we'll give you a share too."

But when they said that, the dunce replied: "No, brothers. I'll not go. If God wants to give me gold he'll leave it in my doorway. If he doesn't want to give me anything, then he won't. The gold will come in through the door if God wants to give it."

So they set off and dug and dug and dug. They found a good sized earthen pot. As they looked, they saw the pot brimming over with what appeared to them to be animal dung, although in reality it was gold. "Look what has befallen us," they said, "let's go and leave this pot of dung on the dimwit's doorstep."

So when the dimwit got up the next morning he found the pot overflowing with gold. He took it and stored it away. The others were furious. They hadn't known what it really was, for to their eyes it hadn't been gold.

Now the dimwit had a cow, and one day the two brothers decided to take it away from him and slaughter it as it was good and fat. They were very thin and felt like eating some meat. So they went to his house and said: "Hey there, dimwit, give us your cow to eat. We want to eat some meat."

"Very well," replied the other, "eat the cow if you wish, but give me the hide to sell. At least I can make some money out of that."

So when they had killed the cow they made the dunce a gift of his own cowhide.

So the dimwit took the cowhide into town to a tanner's shop. When he arrived he found that the tanner was away in the countryside on some errand, and his wife was indoors up to tricks with the priest! When he knocked at the door, the priest climbed into a large chest and had to stay there! The woman told the dimwit that her husband would be back soon, that he should go away and call back later, but he was going to do no such thing, he waited right there. So the priest couldn't come out of the box,
After a while, the tanner came back and greeted the visitor: "Well I never! Long time no see! What brings you here?"
"Nothing much, boss. I've just come to sell you this hide."
"How much do you want for it?"
"I don't want money, boss, I'll exchange the hide for this chest you have here."
Delighted with the deal, the tanner gave him the chest. The dimwit tied it up firmly with twine and carried it away.

As he was carrying it along the brow of a hill, he thought to himself: "I'm stupid to be carrying this old chest along. What will become of it when I get it home? I haven't even got anything to put in it. Let's send it rolling down this hill."
Then the priest inside the box called out: "Hey, what's-your-name, don't kill me. Carry me back to the convent. Take me to my room and just let yourself in without making any noise. When I get there I'll pay you off for having carried me home and saved my life. But don't do anything rash, don't kill me."
So the dimwit carried the priest to the convent, left him in his room, and came away with a good payment.

When he got home, he said to his brothers: "You see, when you thought you were doing me a bad turn, things turned out in my favour. You killed my cow but the hide was so big that I've sold it for a lot of money. See how much money I've made."
But of course it wasn't really the earnings from the hide, but the money the priest had paid him! The two brothers were very angry and at last decided: "Let's kill the dimwit, so we can keep all his money."
And they decided to kill him on a certain day. They would put him in a chest and carry him away.

So one day they went to a bar on the corner and started to drink. As they were drinking, the dimwit came past driving a herd of sheep.
"Hey, dimwit, come here. My brother has taken me prisoner and is going to make me marry the king's daughter. You are much stronger and much more clever, why don't you marry her and I'll go herding the sheep."
So the dunce got into the chest and the other one got out and went off to herd the sheep. So the dimwit stayed there in the chest. The others came out of the bar and carried the poor lad away to roll him down a hill. They rolled him from the top of a hill down into a ravine.

When they got home they ate and drank in celebration. While they were drinking, the dimwit suddenly reappeared driving a flock of sheep along the road. Said one of the brothers: "The dimwit is coming back with some sheep, let's kill him again."
"It can't be," contradicted the other.
But the other brother said: "It is, it is. Look, he's coming along as clear as day."
And sure enough there he was coming down the path that led to his house, herding the sheep and playing on his flute. As he came to the house he entered saying: "Hello there, brothers. You did me no harm, see. In fact you did me a good turn. Each time I rolled over I won myself ten sheep. Look how I've come back with a whole flock. Thank you very much!"
Seeing this the wicked brothers said: "Now let's kill him again and take the sheep away from him. But first let us go and win some sheep by rolling down the hill. We too want to get sheep just as he did."

And they said to the dunce: "Youngster, tomorrow you take us to where we rolled you down the hill and roll us in the same way, so that we too can get some sheep."

So the next day they prepared themselves, and got into a large chest. The dimwit tied them in securely and tumbled them into a deep ravine. But as if they were going to gain anything! They were shattered to pieces! They got no sheep but were killed because of their greed. The other remained behind and inherited all his brothers' goods. And there my story ends.

Informant: MJA, 22nd April, 1976

cf. A-T1535: The rich and the poor peasant; also A-T1725: The foolish parson in the trunk

N511 Treasure in ground
N532 Light indicates hidden treasure
N543.0.1 Only particular persons see hidden treasure in its true form; others see it as coal etc.
J2093 Valuables given away or sold for a trifle
K1218.1.4 Importunate lover is forced to hide in chest
K1555 Husband carries off box containing hidden paramour
K443.1 Hidden paramour buys freedom from discoverer
K842 Dupe persuaded to take prisoner's place in a sack; killed. The bag is to be thrown into the sea. The trickster keeps shouting that he does not want to go to heaven or marry the princess; dupe gladly substitutes for him (A-T1535)

Tale 64: Cullqui masheaq chashua


Chashua nishaq nin: - Bueno, compadre, nucoca llugushipa o'atush saquirisha. Nucaca riacorni, tuutumantani riacorni rupagta. Nucaca senalashpami saquiriranci maipimi rupara - nishaq nin, Chai Ger llagta runaca nishaq nin: - Compadre,
Ulata shiti caasua nin. Chaimanta gerpoca nish an chasua chaygpioca aili carashoacuana nin, aillli uviachishoacuana nin aurita llugushipa o'atush saquirichu.

Paia entonoes chai juiyeteyu, chai huambrocuwa puglanca juiyetetca Cuenamanta randoimushca nin, chusua tuucita. Chaimanta nishaq nin: - Caipica owi tiyanami,
Pata nishaq nin, huallpa nishaq nin. - Caipica owi tiyanami.
Nucaca molde nishaq. - Chatpi owimi tiyan. Chaimantani caipica, owi urupipti tiyan - nishaq nin-, jacu caya allashun - nishaq nin-, riqueqmi nucaca ima shinami canoumanan llugushipa o'atush saquirisha.

Chaimanta compadrectaca owi nishpa na mochete, lampa, barreta nishaq tuucui allangapa. Chaimanta entonoes compadrectaca nishaq nin: - Canea caipi allai - nishaq nin,
Chaimanta allash ima mundo runita llugohishea nin. Chaimanta ima mundo runita llugohigipica nishoa nin: - Jahualliallata allangui. Lami oui tupariqirumi. Ojupi lampata satishpa tuuci p'auquingumi - nishoa,

Chaimanta runa cutirigipica shug jatun rumpi Hittish chorashoa nin chai Cuenoamanta randiunshoataca ha allash. Chaimanta nishoa nin: - Shumul shamu riungui, oatpà ima shinomi oui alairi - nish - maquihuan aspish riiurchishea nin. 
- Bueno, ari compadre. Huoa chaitaca ouxhallami. Huoa rini yunta huagrata o'atungapa domingota compadremen aush caahangapa oui ourita Huoa riiurangapa - nishoa,
Chaimanta domingooama shuyashoa nin aurita o'atungapa chausoa.

Chaimi nishoa nin: - Cai ouritaca caana quimca huuuranga chugnipichari chupurishheka chaipiqo ollquitaaca oarmanoca oada quillis mihuoa huuuranga ruhuanga quimca huuuranga aqupica - nishoa nin.


...
The deceitful gold-digger

There was a rich Indian living in Ger, and there was a chasu from Cuenca traveling about the countryside. He came to Ger and said to the Indian: "Hey, compadre, why do you live so poorly? There are riches to be had. I saw gold shining over on that hill."

"Well, compadre," replied the Indian, "you dig it up and sell it to me."

The chasu said: "Very well, compadre, I'll get it out of the ground and sell it to you. I saw a lot of it shining there and I left a sign on the spot."

The man from Ger said: "Very well, compadre."

The Indian's name was Ulala. Then the people of Ger gave the chasu a great welcome; they gave him plenty of food and drink so that he would sell the gold when he had extracted it.

Now the chasu had come with a few children's toys that he had bought in Cuenca. He told the people: "There is gold here in the shape of a duck, a hen and a cow. They are here inside this hill. Let's go and dig for it tomorrow. You will see that somehow I shall extract the gold and sell it to you."

Agreeing, the people got together with machetes, spades and digging sticks and went to dig for the gold. The chasu told the compadre: "You dig here."

As he worked he dug up a great pile of stones. When he dug up the stones, the chasu said: "Just dig on the surface. The gold will appear any minute now. If you push your spade into the gold you'll break it."

And the Indian obeyed his word. Then the chasu told him: "Now go back, go back. You bring bad luck. The gold will not appear while you are looking for it. I'll dig for it alone."

When the Indian had gone back, the chasu crushed up some stones and placed the things that he had bought in Cuenca in the middle of them. Then he dug the things out: "Come and look, here's the gold as clear as day."

And he scraped it up in his hands to show them. He drew the toys that he had bought in Cuenca out of the ground, all mixed up with the soil. Then the Indian said to him: "Oh, compadre, please sell me this."

The chasu replied: "Very well, compadre, I'll sell it. This is worth five thousand suores. If you give me five thousand suores, I'll sell it to you."

"Very well, compadre, I'll give you that amount. I'll sell one of my oxen at the market on Sunday in order to buy it and send you away with the money."

So the chasu waited until Sunday in order to sell the gold.

The Indian came down to the market place and sold his ox. Then he came back home and gave the chasu a good meal, saying: "Compadre, here are the five thousand suores, I shall have that gold somehow."

The chasu replied: "If you mix this gold with three thousand suore notes, it will yield four thousand suores every month."

So the Indian placed the gold inside three thousand suore notes. Then after a month he went to look at it; it hadn't turned into more money at all, it was just the same as before. After two months he went to look again, and the money was there unchanged. Then in six months he looked again and this time the notes had rotted away.
After that, along came another traveller to the village. When that traveller came, the indian told him his story: "A chasu from Cuenca did this to me; he dug these various things out of the ground and left them for me. He told me the money would reproduce itself but it didn't."

The traveller said: "Take me to see if it really was gold." When he went to look he saw that it wasn't gold after all. It was just a few children's toys. The traveller picked them up and smashed them. He smashed the toys, and the indian lost five thousand suares. And he lost all the food and drink he had given the trickster. It hadn't been gold after all, he had been going about telling lies in order to get money from people.

So the indian who had been tricked set off on a journey also. He told his tale as he went: "A chasu from Cuenca tricked me telling me there was gold in Malal hill. But it wasn't true at all, it was a lie." Then he went about looking for the chasu. He went down to Cuenca asking for his whereabouts. Then it seemed that the chasu wasn't from there at all, but from Lavadi in the direction of the coast. He was going about deceiving people, telling them he could dig up gold and sell it to them. Then the indian and his friends caught the chasu, brought him back to the village and made him pay back the money. When he had been made to return the money, he went away as a prisoner.

That's the end.

Informant: JMT, 15th July, 1976

N511 Treasure in ground
J2348 Dupe is persuaded that money will grow if he buries it
3.0 Group (ii): Other humorous tales

There is comparative material available from elsewhere in Ecuador for Tale 62: in PM/CT/6: "El burro milagroso", a poor brother tricks his rich brother into buying a donkey that defecates gold; PM/CT/10: "Hierve allita" is a single episode variant of the faked magical cooking pot incident. Tale 63 is of a type well-known in Spanish-America; Miller's nos. 75 and 77 both contain the theme of foolish imitation whereby a richer brother tries through greed to imitate the success of his poorer brother, and dies (op.cit.). In connection with the episode in which the dupe substitutes for the trickster, the same pattern was noted in the fox and rabbit tales. Gifford has examined a Peruvian variant, found in Taylor (1977), an episode of which is strongly reminiscent of the Cañar version:


(Gifford 1978)

Tale 63 also contains a comic episode which pokes fun at the priest, a link with the Group (i) tales.

There were no additional remarks to make about Tale 61, so finally let us look at Tale 64. This should be classed, strictly speaking, as a local legend or even a memorat, rather than as a folktale. It is given a local setting, and the incident is attributed to a particular member of the community of Ger. Its realistic qualities as legend/memorat form an interesting contrast with the folktales of this section. The humour of all of those arises from the credulity and gullibility of the protagonists: the woman who believes in the appearance of St. Peter, the man who is taken in by the gold-dropping ass, and so on. Here, however, we have a narration which evidently started life as an account
of the personal experience of someone known to the narrator, and the humour inherent in the fantastical tales of the credulity of others is suddenly sobered by the touch of realism. There is too much truth in the account for it to be merely funny: the audience is brought 'down to earth' as it were, and cannot but see this tale as a wry indictment of the familiar theme of deception of Indians by visiting chazo traders; it acts as a warning against the foolish acceptance of the appearance of things, and the words of outsiders.

Moreover, in the context of the corpus as a whole, Tale 64 can be seen as a corollary to traditional notions surrounding the gold contained in the hills, suggesting an incipient disenchantment with the old belief system. That the tale should exist alongside Tale 1 in the repertoire of the same informant illustrates on a personal level the contradictions and complexities arising as former ideologies shift their ground.
APPENDICES

I

'Taita Carnaval'

According to EDC: people prepare for the good fortune of having Taita Carnaval (TC) visit their houses at any time between the Monday and Tuesday afternoon of Carnival, by placing a table laden with the kind of food he is known to like in their house: ohoha, trago, unsalted ouy, turkey, chicken and shimia mote ("mates que tiene el color de perla"—Cordero (1967)). They place a trail of ash around the table so that if TC comes they will know by the footprints left in it. No-one ever sees him come, and he leaves behind the Buena Suerte. It is also believed that on the Tuesday of Carnival, TC and 'El Cuaresmero' meet in the cerro and partake of a meal together; but as El Cuaresmero is mean and hungry, his food consists only of a small amount of maahoa, nearly all husks ("puro afrecho"), some very small, wormy potatoes, and a small piece of ouy. TC on the other hand, provides all the good foods that he likes, He is ashamed of the meanness of El Cuaresmero. The two eat the food together, but no-one else is present, and they offer this food to nobody. Once the informant was with some friends in Cuchucún, when they thought they heard TC coming, sounding a caja and a pingullilo, but they waited and didn't see anything. There is also the idea that TC only visits rich people's houses. The implication was that only the better off put out the spread for him and also, of course, that the Buena Suerte only comes to them.

MEZ added that the custom during Carnival is to go from house to house eating and drinking. If any household fails to offer food, the party will insult it, saying that it had looked as if it were a house, but after all it was only a pigsty or a dog's kennel. The legendary behaviour of TC is reflected in the customs of the people. The instruments associated with him are often to be heard in the hills at this time of year.

MC told me how Carnival Tuesday is known as auca punsha ("day of the fighter"); on this day one has licence to settle old debts with enemies, fights often break out. This was repeated in comments by MAV, GZP, IA. (ritual battles as such are no longer ostensible, but vestiges of them remain in the attitudes between groups at Carnival time, cf. Hartmann 1971:129, Gifford and Hoggarth 1975:86-88).

II

Contracts with the devil

According to this informant, there was a man living in Quilloac who was very poor and spent all his money on drink, always getting drunk. He was told to have a penknife blessed and to carry a rosary with him on his travels. He did so, and the next time he had such an encounter, he cut off the devil's ear with the penknife and put it into a bag with the rosary. The devil begged him to return his ear, but the man refused to do so until the devil gave him a large amount of money. When this was done, the man further demanded a truck of gold. As each request was fulfilled, the man broke his word, and demanded more. He asked for a house to be built for him in the space of two days; a perfect house with windows, doors, etc. Lots of devils were enlisted to help in the construction, some carried cement, others tiles, panes of glass, others helped build the walls, etc. They worked all night until daybreak when the house was finished. But still the man withheld the ear and demanded a corral to be built and filled with pigs, sheep and cattle. He asked for grain, for cooking utensils, for clothes. In short he demanded everything a man could want and got it. One day, however, he went down to town and got drunk. He lost the devil's ear without realising. The devil got it back. The man was now very rich. The devil told the man to stop drinking or he would take everything back again. The neighbours talked of how rich he was: "casi como un patrón". But he didn't stop drinking. After eight days of bad behaviour, he came home one day and found everything gone. (This account provides a good example of the mixture of factual account of supposed happenings - the memorat - and folktale motifs cf. Honko 1964).

Sr. Cordero of Cañar town, a mestizo landowner had heard of a man, a 'ohazo', very rich, a 'millionaire'. It was said that one day in the cañar the devil had led him to a spot where he found a book filled with writing of different colours. This book contained instructions on: 1) how to reach a place where there were lots of cattle, 2) to take 3 sprigs of rosemary and where they moved above the ground, there to strike them into the earth, dig, and there would be gold. At one point the rosemary divined a spot which the devil's book warned against as it was guarded by a 'rey encantado'. The man later confessed to the priest who told him to take all his riches back to the places where he had found them and he would be absolved. But the informant was sceptical of this remedy, he thought once you had sold your soul there was no forgiveness. Later, he said, the ohazo had died and no-one wanted to pay his funeral expenses.

III

GGG: "en las quebradas ahi vive el diablo dicen, porque ahi es el infierno. Una vez, en el rio Cañar aqui, en ese rio Cañar hacia abajo, frente a Junco casi, hay un botadón de agua alto, bien alto, un poquito de agua que baja en el sector Ayahuaco que dicen. Entonces eso es una profundidad de casi unos quinientos metros, entonces ahí contaban muchos cuando yo andaba al pasto, no, con los borregos. Los otros ohacos contaban ahi, por ahi hay infierno. Si. Entonces yo tenía deseos de verlo! Entonces los otros decían eso; no se ve no más, se ve solamente a las doce en punto del día. Ahí hay una paila, no, ahi la paila que está hirviendo con el agua y con el fuego ahi adentro, está hirviendo dicen. Entonces ahi a las doce en punto se abre esas puertas. Osea es una pata, es un botadón de agua. De ahi por adentro, no, por adentro está botándose agua, en esas peñas se abrían las puertas. Adentro se veían las patas y el fuego quemando, el agua que está hirviendo en la paila. Yo tenia deseos de ver! Entonces una vez nos reunimos entre bastantes para que no haya miedo diciendo llevamos los borregos. Llevados los
borregos nos vamos al frente de iso a pastar allí. Que pues, nada. Nada no se veía! Y muchos contaban que allí hay infierno, se abran las puertas a las doce en punto!"


"Gagones"


"Huairashoa" ('Mal airo!')

GGG, speaking of the remedy for 'huairashoa' as described in his own narrative, Tale 9, said: "En eso yo estaba orello, Había una fiesta vecina a mi casa, no. Mis papás fueron llevando a mi también. Entonces al otro lado hay otra casa, no, al lado no más. Pero esa casa ya era botada, Vivía en otro lado. Por atrás de la casa era camino grande de harramiento. Entonces mi papá salió, seguramente a hacer servicio, no. Ahí es que había una ves que decía - Jurash! Jurash! dos veces, Entonces mi papá con que sueto regresó, Pero él seguramente acertó que era en la casa botada. Entonces pasando esto, con el sueto ya contó
adentro a nosotros y a toda la gente que estaba allí de invitación. Creo que era en Carnaval. En Carnaval era, si. Entonces ya lo que contó, algunos estaban admirados: ¿qué sería? ¿qué sería? Entonces ya vinieron a mi casa, vuelta, a nuestra casa, trayeron a nuestra casa los que estaban allí en esa casa. Estando allí, pero ya antes de venir ya ha tenido un poco de dolor, pero no mucho, dolor del estómago. Ya llegando en la casa, sintió mal dolor, no, gritaba, no, El quería salir de la cocina, entonces salió afuera al patio. A lo que él salió entonces sintió un bulto que salió igual con él, a la izquierda. Estando en toda puerta, en el umbral, entonces salió igualito con el bulto, no. Yasaliendo afuera pasó al otro cuarto, del otro cuarto ya cayó allí ya con el dolor. Entonces mi mamá se acordaba de ese evento que conté. Ella ya pensó eso, no. Sabe de ese evento, entonces por eso ella empezaba a hacer eso, el remedio, igual que contaba de ese cuento que conté. Ella ya pensó eso, no. Sabía de ese cuento, entonces por eso ella empezaba a hacer ese, el remedio, igual que contaba de ese cuento que conté. Dieron en una uchura, no, porque ya estaban remordidos los dientes, ya en la última agonía, no. Estaban remordidos los dientes y le dieron en una uchura no más, Y sanó, Eso yo creo, porque yo vi. El remedio igual, solamente el shalshaou le faltaba. De pavo también le faltaba, solamente de gallina y altamisa y a ooa de puerco, Poquito poquito refregaba en la mano y así."

VI

The 'ruou yaya'

The following observations are extracts from field notes made after attending the Fiesta de San Pedro y San Pablo in La Capilla, June 29th, 1976: "costume: wigs of tangled hair, masks of cloth with zip round mouth, a stuffed cloth nose and woolly beard. Carried Olotes in their hands or slung across their backs, also hung around their persons were gourds for carrying chicha, and string bags containing their auxayu. They wore gumboots and woolly socks pulled over their trousers and usually brandished a bottle of trago in their hand...Their principle activity throughout the fiesta was that of clowning and causing a hindrance to the otherwise smooth-running proceedings. They seemed to have full licence to clown, get in people's way, and be obscene in action and words. They were pretty drunk but not so much so that their wit or their legs failed them. On the Dia del Gallo (the third day of the fiesta) I noticed particularly the strength with which they carried out their rôle during the meal held in the prioste's house. They had a captive audience while people were waiting for the food to come round; rolling about, kicking legs in the air and making jokes which I couldn't understand. All their dialogue was in Quichua whilst that of the (other characters in the fiesta) was in Spanish,..."

EDC had been taking part in this and other fiestas as ruou yaya for 17 years, so he was an obvious person to ask for more information: the prioste (sponsor) comes to contract him, bringing persuasive gifts of trago and bread. He plays the part "por devoción". The ruou yaya is the jack-of-all-trades of the fiesta, being called upon to fetch water, chop wood and other chores. He performs various antics with names such as salto de sapo (leap frog), a type of tug of war, and other feats of strength. While performing these feats, the ruou yaya is watched over by a 'boss' figure and failure to perform well will result in him being beaten and kicked in mock punishment. In addition, the ruou yaya annoys, interferes, frightens the children, kisses the unmarried women, goes around the market asking for alms in a hat and often stealing food from the stalls. The custom is to ask for a special licence from
the police, costing S/10, but which allows the character to steal without reprisals. People will defend themselves from this eventuality by mistreating him, throwing buckets of water over him and so on. The informant, he told me, stole S/15 worth of chicharrón and got away with it; other things to be stolen might be: grass, onions, pots and pans. These may be resold to make money for the fiesta.

The rôle of the mucu yaya in the fiesta is to some extent a trickster-type one: the outsider on the margins of society who is nonetheless indulged by that society, as if it needed a scapegoat, a vehicle to perform ritually and atrociously all the misdeeds disallowed in everyday life.
GLOSSARY

ALTAMISA a mountain bush with bitter berries, used in herbal remedies (Lat? not mentioned in Cordero 1950).

CAJA small drum (see Landivar 1973:57).

CAJA RONCA "devils' drum"

CAÑAREJO inhabitant of Cafiar

CAPULI prunus salicifolia HBK or Cerasus salicifolia DC; grows throughout Andes where temperature does not drop below 10°C, but not on coast or Oriente.

COMPADRE/COMADRE ritual kin established when a man or woman agrees to act as godfather or mother at baptism or other occasion.

CORREDOR the open porch which runs along the side of Indian houses where visitors are customarily received.

CUCAHU food taken on a journey or to the fields during the day's work; generally consists of boiled maize (moti) and potatoes with chili sauce (uchu).

CUÍ  oavia porcellus L, guinea-pig; together with llama, alpaca and Muscovy duck, part of domesticated animal complex of pre-Colombian inhabitants of Peru; one of only sources of meat prior to conquest (Gade 1967 sic).

CURIQUINGA falcoaenius argunolatus des Murs, Bird of prey of the highlands; features in fiestas (Carvalho-Neto 1966:151-2).

CHAWU person who has abandoned Indian in favour of mestizo dress and lifestyle, sometimes synonymous with latter.

CHICHA q. as-hua maize beer

CHICHARRON pork crackling

CHUMBI woven cummerbund, worn by men around the waist to fasten the aushma (tunic) which is worn under the poncho. Elsewhere in Ecuador, the chambi is a female item of clothing (eg. Imbabura, Chimborazo).

ESCARAMUZA ceremonial dance on horseback

FAJA see CHUMBI

FIESTA religious festival in honour of local saint

GALLO MISHICU the coloured cockerel that "belongs to God" in tradition

HACIENDA large estate, worked by Indians for white landowner in system which has undergone some change since the Agrarian Reform Laws of 1964.

HUAIRASHCA sickness believed to be caused by contact with malign influences eg. devil, huacas, etc.
HUASICAMA person working on hacienda under the former system whereby one month's unpaid tributary labour was due from each family.

HUICUNDU an epiphyte of the Bromeliaceae Lindl family, to be found growing on trees, walls and rooftops.

JURACHA! exclamation used to set dogs upon intruders.

MACHCA ground barley, eaten dry or with soups and stews

MACHETE large knife

MAL VIENTO see HUAIRASHCA

MALVA althea officinalis L, ('malva alta') used in herbal remedies, or malva peruviana L, ('cuchi malva'), used as pig fodder.

MAYORAL see MAYORDOMO

MAYORDOMO supervisor of work on hacienda under old system, not a well-loved figure by the Indians.

MESTIZO person of mixed white and Indian origin

MINGA communal work party

MONTAÑA see SACHA

PINGULLO vertical cane flute between 25-50 cms, in length, with 4-5 holes (Landivar 1973:52).

PONCHO male over-garment

PULEO bistropogon mollis HBK ('puleo del pais'). Its odour calms headaches among other qualities (Cordero 1950:108).

REDOBLANTE large drum (see Landivar op.cit,58)

RONDADOR musical instrument not unlike the Bolivian siru (see Landivar op.cit,53). (flute)

SABILA CHAHUAR a fibrous cactus from which rope is made (L?)

SACHA the term used to describe the ecological zone below that of Canar as one descends either towards Cuenca or towards the coast (approx, 2,800m), where the climate is warmer, rain and fog are common, the vegetation low and dense, and there is little cultivation. Can also be applied to a tree or shrub, as a generic term.

SHALSHA (SHALSHACU) Avena fatua L, weed that infests wheat and barley fields, used as fodder, medicinal properties

SUCRE in 1976 S/.25 = US.$1.00

TORTILLAS maize pancakes

TRAGO cane alcohol
UGSHA  tough straw-like grass growing at high altitude (approx. 3,800 m.)
used for thatching

VACA LOCA  features in many fiestas (San Pedro, Corpus, etc.) A cane
frame is constructed in the shape of a cow, covered with a hide and a
pair of horns fixed to the front end. Fireworks are attached and the
dancer places the whole construction over his head. He then cavorts
among the crowd as the fireworks go off, causing screams of hilarity
and alarm.

ZAMBO  term applied by the Cañaris to the culturally distinct, Quichua-
speaking inhabitants of the area around Azogues and Biblián.

ZHUTA  common highland bird (L?), (cf. Garcilaso 1960,II:393).

ZUMBAZURA  unidentified highland bird, cf. dumbadur.
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Abbreviations:

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<td>DAE</td>
<td>Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</td>
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<td>CCE</td>
<td>Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana</td>
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<td>FFC</td>
<td>Folklore Fellows Communications</td>
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<td>HSIAI</td>
<td>Handbook of South American Indians</td>
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<td>JAFL</td>
<td>Journal of American Folklore</td>
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<tr>
<td>IID</td>
<td>Instituto Interandino de Desarrollo</td>
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ADDENDA

Upon the recommendation of the Examining Committee, I wish to make the following bibliographical additions:

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