

SUPERNATURAL FOLK BELIEF EXPRESSION
IN A FRENCH-NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITY:
A STUDY OF EXPRESSIVE FORM,
COMMUNICATIVE PROCESS, AND SOCIAL
FUNCTION IN L'ANSE-A-CANARDS

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SUPERNATURAL FOLK BELIEF EXPRESSION IN A FRENCH-NEWFOUNDLAND
COMMUNITY: A STUDY OF EXPRESSIVE FORM, COMMUNICATIVE
PROCESS, AND SOCIAL FUNCTION IN L'ANSE-A-CANARDS



by

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the supernatural belief tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards, a small French-Newfoundland community located on the Province's isolated Port-au-Port Peninsula. Its aim is to present and examine the contents of this body of folklore, to determine the various oral modes and forms by means of which these contents are expressed, and to discover the social and cultural determinants which influence the oral communication of this tradition in actual performance contexts. As such, the study incorporates information from both the textual and the sociocultural levels in an effort to understand the function of oral communication as it concerns this tradition.

The study distinguishes essentially three oral modes, which are designated as "traditum-intensive," "narrative-intensive," and "discourse-centred." The term "traditum" is employed in this study to refer to the conceptual unit of belief underlying any oral expression concerning the supernatural. Texts which are direct statements of a belief traditum, with little or no explanatory elaboration beyond the expression of that traditum, are "traditum-intensive" in that their primary textual concentration is on the basic unit of belief itself. In contrast, the "narrative-intensive" texts enlarge upon the basic traditum, which is submerged in a body of narrative-contextual elements.

The narrative mode, which is by far the most frequent of the three, is sub-divided into generic forms defined according to the social relationship existing between the narrator and the narrative

protagonist, or "hero." This criterion permits the division of narratives into the following categories: legend, local legend, community experience narrative, family experience narrative, and personal experience narrative.

Through the quantitative analysis of relative narrative frequencies and the contextual analysis of performance, the significance of this narrative relationship as a determinant of communicative competence is demonstrated. Because of social considerations as to what constitutes appropriate narrative material and behaviour for individual narrators, knowledge of a text does not necessarily lead to its performance in a given context. Performance is determined by the identities of the participants, by the combination of social statuses that each brings to the narrative event, and by the relative social relationships, both within and outside the performance context, which prevail between the participants. The folklorist must therefore remain aware that an informant's failure or expressed refusal to perform a traditional text does not necessarily reflect the informant's unfamiliarity with the text or his inability to perform.

Finally, the study considers the process of discourse-centred, or conversational, communication of the belief tradition under examination. In particular, it examines how a complementary process of encoding by reduction and decoding by expansion permits the connotative use of shared knowledge of referents to facilitate communication. Such communication, quite unlike narratives, which are primarily denotative, occurs at a level which transcends the uttered text per se.

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INTRODUCTION

Social and Historical Context

L'Anse-à-Canards is a small, isolated fishing community located on the north-western point of Newfoundland's Port-au-Port Peninsula (map 1). The inhabitants are predominantly of French descent, and most native-born residents over the age of twenty are fluent speakers of the French dialect typical of the area. Nevertheless, English is spoken almost as frequently as is French, and the community can quite accurately be considered as being both bilingual and bicultural.

The majority of the native-born residents of L'Anse-à-Canards trace their origins to two primary sources. One group of families are the descendants of Acadian settlers who, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to arrive on Newfoundland's west coast from Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia. A second group descend from continental fishermen who engaged in France's fishing operations in the region. Until 1904, France possessed exclusive rights to exploit the fishery along Newfoundland's west coast, an area which came to be referred to as the "French Shore." At the peak of this fishery during the nineteenth century, France conducted a relatively large-scale operation. However, of those employed in the enterprise, many were ill prepared for the hardships which they were to encounter. These hardships, coupled with the unpleasant prospect of a period of compulsory military service after the completion of their term of employment, prompted many of the fishermen and "graviers" (the lowly shore-workers) to desert their ships. These deserters would hide in



Figure 1-1

The Island of Newfoundland

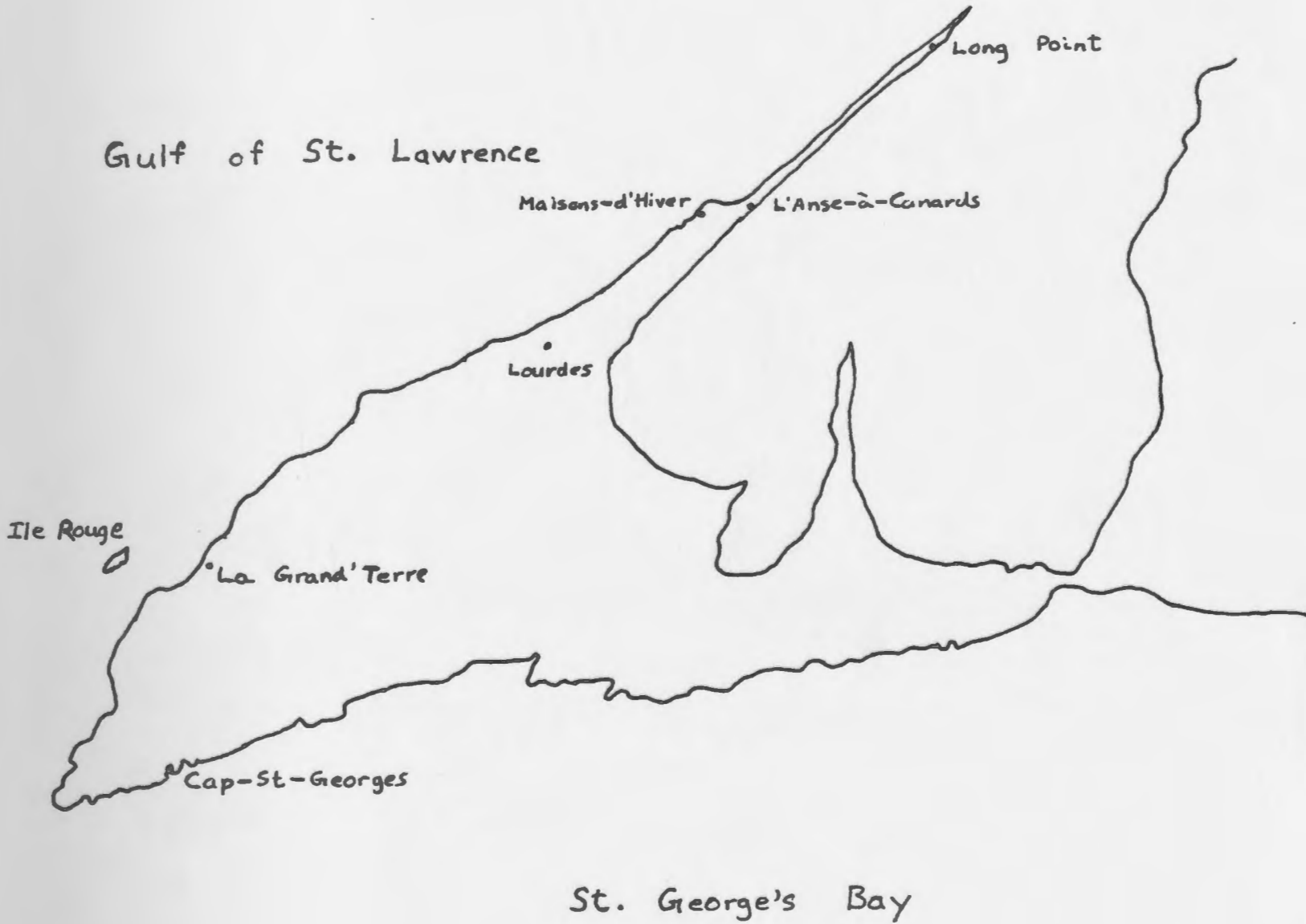


Figure 1-2

The Port-au-Port Peninsula

the wooded areas onshore until such time as the French vessels had left the peninsula and returned to France for the winter. Eventually, these men married daughters of Acadian families, and established themselves permanently in the area. Other families to settle in the Port-au-Port region were those of caretakers from the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon who were appointed to watch over the French fishing facilities during the fleet's absence each winter.

Today, L'Anse-à-Canards is one of four major settlements where the French language and culture remain dominant. The others on the Peninsula are Maisons-d'Hiver, la Grand'Terre, and Cap-St-Georges. A number of French-speakers are to be found on the mainland in places such as the community of Stephenville/Kippens, and in other settlements in the interior of Bay St. George.

At present, the livelihood of L'Anse-à-Canards residents revolves principally around the domestic inshore fishery. Small-scale farming is undertaken, and some livestock is raised; however, these activities make relatively minor contributions to the household economy. The fishing season begins in late April or early May, and lasts until late October. The winter months are a period of comparative inactivity.

Research into Newfoundland's French Culture

Until comparatively recent years, the French tradition of Newfoundland's west coast population was ignored by folklorists and social scientists alike. Pierre Biays, a French geographer, wrote a short article on Cap-St-Georges economy in 1952, but made little

mention of the community's folklore.¹ In 1964, the late John T. Stoker, then Head of Memorial University's Department of French, published an article in which he claimed that the francophone population had "produced no culture, either native to Newfoundland or handed down, and there seems to be little or no trace of folksongs or folktales, arts or crafts."² Despite this gloomy evaluation of the traditional culture in French Newfoundland, contradictory evidence was almost immediately forthcoming. In 1965, just one year after Stoker's article, Kenneth Peacock's three-volume Songs of the Newfoundland Outports was published.³ Along with folksongs collected from English-Newfoundland tradition, this collection contained over forty folksongs elicited from French-Newfoundlanders, and constitutes a direct refutation of Stoker's original comments.

It was not until the 1970s that intensive research into the French-Newfoundland culture was to be undertaken. During this period, Gerald Thomas, founder and director of Memorial University's Centre d'Etudes Franco-Terreneuviennes, completed a doctoral thesis on the narrative tradition of folktale performance among the Port-au-Port Peninsula francophones.⁴ In this work, Thomas examined the aesthetic principles governing the performance of this genre through the analysis of four storytellers representing the communities of Cape St. George and la Grand-Terre. This thesis, in which Thomas develops the basic distinction between "private" and "public" traditions of performance, was later revised, translated, and published.⁵ Since beginning his work some fifteen years ago, Thomas has produced a considerable number of articles dealing with various aspects of the

folklore of French-Newfoundland. In addition, a number of master's theses dealing with the subject have been produced at Memorial University.⁶

My own first contact with the culture of Newfoundland's French population occurred in 1978, when I spent several days with a family in L'Anse-à-Canards, and in 1979, under Thomas' supervision, I entered the Ph.D. programme of Memorial University's Department of Folklore. During the next five years, I returned to the Peninsula several times to engage in protracted periods of intensive field research. In 1980, I spent two months in residence in Cape St. George gathering preliminary cultural data about the French communities in the area. The following year, having decided to focus my research in a single community, I spent two months in L'Anse-à-Canards, and returned for an equal period in 1982. These field trips were sufficient for the collection of the primary textual and contextual data, although shorter periods of follow-up field research were undertaken in 1983 and 1984. In all, a total of 90 hours of tape recordings were elicited, 50 hours of which were collected in L'Anse-à-Canards proper. An additional 10 hours were collected in the neighbouring community of Maisons-d'Hiver. These taped interviews were supplemented by means of participant-observation. This technique was particularly important to the collection of contextual information concerning the natural occurrence of supernatural-belief expression in L'Anse-à-Canards. This information was recorded in the form of field notes written as soon as possible after the communicative event. Shorter textual items were entered on file cards. A total of over 200 pages of field notes, over

350 file card entries, and over 250 photographs taken with a 50mm lens constitute the total corpus of primary data upon which the present study is based.

The Aims of the Present Study

After I had spent considerable time in L'Anse-à-Canards, it became increasingly evident that the supernatural belief tradition could not be examined as a homogeneously-expressed body of knowledge. At the cognitive level, there exist among the inhabitants differences in depth of knowledge of the tradition, as well as differences with regards to acceptance of the tenets of that tradition. At the manifest level of expression, aspects of the supernatural belief tradition are not restricted to a single mode or form of expression, but can be expressed in a variety of different such modes and forms. As such, the tenets of the supernatural belief tradition are very similar to folklorist Alan Dundes' concept of "multiform folk ideas," a term he uses to designate aspects of cultural knowledge not restricted to expression by means of a single generic (textual) form.⁷ Finally, the actual performance of supernatural belief texts is conditioned by a series of social and cultural determinants not directly related to expressive forms or to traditional supernatural knowledge. These determinants stem from the folk group's consideration as to what constitutes appropriate communicative behaviour and expressive material in specific performance contexts.

This study, then, focuses on the variation displayed with regards to these three "levels" of the supernatural belief tradition:

the cognitive, the manifest, and the contextual. These levels examine respectively variation in different residents' active knowledge of the supernatural tradition, variation in textual, formal modes through which this traditional knowledge can be expressed, and the contextual determinants which account for the performance of these textual forms, and give such performance social meaning.

This work thus constitutes a community study which focuses on a particular aspect of the settlement's folk tradition. Chapter One provides a brief overview of the historical background of the establishment of the community, and draws upon both oral history and government documents, as well as upon secondary sources. In this chapter, the establishment and growth of L'Anse-à-Canards from the early nineteenth century to the present are traced.

Chapter Two introduces the aspects of performance theory to be employed in the subsequent analysis of data. In particular, it summarizes theories of the ethnography of communication, introduces the concept of cultural variability as it has been treated in the literature, and delineates the three levels upon which the supernatural belief tradition is to be considered. Chapter Three details the field research involved in the collection of the textual and contextual data, and describes the system of classification of textual forms to be employed throughout the study. This classification provides for the division of textual material according to two distinct criteria. First, the texts are separated according to the area of the supernatural belief tradition reflected in their "contentual" thematic core. Secondly, a system of formal classification permits

the sub-division of texts into categories reflecting the expressive forms and modes by means of which the tradition is overtly manifested. To avoid ambiguity, these categories are fully defined as they are to be understood for the purposes of this study.

The next group of chapters presents the data-base consisting of the accumulated texts. Each text is transcribed as recorded and is annotated with respect to informant, date of collection, and archival designations. In addition, where appropriate, the informant's past and present attitude vis-à-vis the truth of his text is provided. The text is then reduced to a "belief traditum," this being a general statement of the supernatural belief concept underlying the specific text. These traditums--which represent the fundamental assumptions of the supernatural belief system--are further supplemented by a list of supernatural motifs which reflect the specific, overt concepts contained within the text itself. The essential distinction of traditum and motif provides a model which permits the presentation of both textually-overt and textually-covert aspects of the belief system in question.

Chapter Four will deal exclusively with texts concerning supernatural beings; Chapter Five concerns those supernatural signs and omens recognized as significant in L'Anse-à-Canards. Chapter Six treats the subject of magico-religious individuals, both good and evil, who are considered in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition to possess some characteristic which allows them to manipulate unseen supernatural forces to accomplish their ends. Chapter Seven deals with those general magic principles which permit ordinary individuals

to exercise control over nature, either through the performance of ritual acts or the possession of magico-religious artifacts. Finally, Chapter Eight deals with supernatural meteorological phenomena as portrayed in L'Anse-à-Canards oral tradition. It should be emphasized that this study does not treat the function of supernatural belief; rather, it concerns the oral forms in which the supernatural tradition is expressed, the context of its expression, and the function of oral communication involving such expression.

Each of the foregoing chapters will contain a tabulation showing the frequency of expression of each area of the supernatural, the frequency of its expression in each of the six narrative forms, and the distribution of these forms among the three generational divisions of informants. The facts revealed from these tables are compared in a cumulative cross-tabulation in Chapter Nine. This chapter presents many of the characteristics of narrative performance of supernatural belief, and establishes the patterns underlying this mode of expression. In addition, the significance of these patterns, and how they reflect performance and communicative competence, are outlined. The context of the narrative performance of supernatural belief, and the social variables influencing such contexts, are outlined in Chapter Ten.

To this point, the study considers the primarily overt, denotative expression of folk belief in the predominant narrative mode and its associated sub-forms. Chapter Eleven focuses attention on the connotative use of the supernatural belief tradition in the course of everyday discourse-intensive conversation. It is here that

the non-generic use of folklore in oral expression, in the form of folk discourse,⁸ is examined. Unlike narrative performance, folk discourse requires of the participants a prior knowledge of the communication's referent if the utterance is to be comprehensible. This chapter demonstrates the essence of this mode of communication through the analysis of several specific examples.

This study strives to present a comprehensive view of the oral tradition of supernatural belief expression in L'Anse-à-Canards, and attempts to do so through the combined presentation of textual evidence, quantitative data, and folkloristic analysis of participant observations made during actual performance. In so doing, the study seeks to demonstrate the nature and range of cultural variation as it relates to and impinges upon one single area of traditional knowledge and expression.

Notes

- ¹ Pierre Biays, "Un village terreneuvien: Cap-St-Georges," Cahiers de Géographie (Université Laval) I (1952), pp. 5-29.
- ² John T. Stoker, "Spoken French in Newfoundland," Culture V (1964), p. 358.
- ³ Kenneth Peacock, ed., Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, 3 vols. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1965).
- ⁴ Gerald Thomas, "Stories, Storytelling and Storytellers in Newfoundland's French Tradition: A Study of the Narrative Art of Four French Newfoundlanders," Ph.D. Diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977.
- ⁵ Gerald Thomas, Les deux traditions: le conte populaire chez les Franco-Terreneuviens (Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1983).
- ⁶ Geraldine Barter, A Critically Annotated Bibliography of Works Published and Unpublished Relating to the Culture of French Newfoundlanders (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977) contains a description of some of the research conducted in the area. Thomas's study is the only Ph.D. thesis concerning the folklore of the French-Newfoundland population. The only Ph.D. thesis dealing purely with an analysis of the linguistic features of the dialect is Ruth King, "Variation and Change in Newfoundland French: A Sociolinguistic Study of Clitic pronouns," Ph.D. Diss. Memorial

University of Newfoundland, 1983.

⁷ Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of World View," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 93-103.

⁸ The term "folk discourse" was first proposed in Gary R. Butler, "Folklore and the Analysis of Folk Discourse: Cultural Connotation and Oral Tradition in Communicative Events," in Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics, ed. Susan Ehrlich et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), pp. 32-50.

CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE FRENCH-NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITY OF L'ANSE-A-CANARDS

Introduction

The history of Newfoundland prior to the twentieth century was marked by the competition between England and France for control of the lucrative banks fishery off the Island's shore. Until 1713, both countries engaging in this industry possessed fortified bases on the coast to protect their interests, and although England claimed sovereignty over all of Newfoundland, it was not until the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) which ended the War of the Spanish Succession that France officially recognized this claim. However, by the terms of the Treaty, France retained certain important privileges. The treaty states:

it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said island of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and useful for drying of fish....But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish and to dry them on land in that part only...of the said Island of Newfoundland which stretches from Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the island, and from thence running down by the Western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche.¹

This area of Newfoundland was to constitute the so-called "French Shore" until a rearrangement was provided by the Definitive Treaty of Versailles in 1783. By the terms of this treaty, France was to be

compensated for the loss of its earlier rights due to English population expansion into the area. The new arrangement stated that "beginning at the said Cape St. John, passing to the north and descending by the West Coast of Newfoundland to Cape Ray, the French shall enjoy the fishery as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht."² What is more, this newly-constituted "French Shore" was to remain free of settlement, both French and English, and any attempt to establish permanent habitation would be considered illegal by the English government.

This treaty appears to settle the dispute to the mutual satisfaction of both nations; however, the full extent of the privileges it accorded to each side was to be intensely contested throughout the nineteenth century, and would eventually culminate in 1904 with France's final relinquishing of all claims to the fishery along Newfoundland's Treaty Shore.

French Settlement in the Bay St. George/Port-au-Port Peninsula Area³

It is not known precisely when the first inhabitants settled in the area of St. George's Bay and the adjacent Port-au-Port Peninsula. Even though it was officially illegal to establish permanent habitations on this part of the coast, small settlements began to emerge at least as early as the late eighteenth century. According to French historian De la Morandière, there were only two families in the Bay by 1780, one in St. George's Harbour and a second in Grand Barachois.⁴ These were perhaps part of "a small group of southwestern English and French-speaking Jersey Protestants" which

Mannion suggests were the first to settle the area in the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁵ Mannion further notes that from "4 to 5" families in 1801, the population of St. George's Bay increased to 32 families by 1828.⁶

The French-speaking settlers were from two primary source areas. The first group consisted of Acadians from primarily the west coast of Cape Breton Island and began to arrive sometime after 1820 to pursue the cod and herring fishery.⁷ In a naval report on the area, Captain S.H. Ramsay of the 'H.M.S. Alarm' noted the presence at Sandy Point in 1828 of two Cape Breton Acadian families, and seventeen families "of English extraction."⁸ By 1835, twenty-five families of Acadian origin were recorded along the shores of the Bay. This in-migration reached its peak in the 1840s and 1850s, and by 1856, the total population of St. George's Bay was calculated as being close to 1500 inhabitants, "many of whom are descendants of old French Acadians."⁹ In many cases, these Acadian settlers brought with them "their cattle and looms, and [were] located on the shores of the Bay in large numbers, intermarrying with the inhabitants of France [and raising] much produce and stock."¹⁰ For the most part, the Acadian French settled in the area around what is now Kippens and Stephenville, and subsisted on fishing, farming, and raising livestock.

The second major group of francophone settlers consisted of single adult males from source areas in continental France. As has been mentioned, France was engaged in a full-scale fishery off this part of Newfoundland's shore throughout the nineteenth century,

using the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as its base of operations. Most of the fishing vessels involved were owned and operated by companies working out of ports in northwestern France, primarily in Brittany and Normandy, and crews were frequently recruited from villages in these areas. Upon their arrival, many of the crew members chose to desert their ships and remain in Newfoundland, rather than return to France or St. Pierre upon the termination of operations in the fall. There are a number of reasons to account for this. First, many members of the crews were not fishermen per se, but rather were what was referred to as "graviers." These were land-based workers who were assigned the most menial and distasteful chores and who received little remuneration for their work. In order to escape from the harsh conditions of their existence and their commitment to the ship, many of these "graviers" (or "mousses" as they are referred to by older L'Anse-à-Canards fishermen¹¹) jumped ship. A second reason for desertion was the law which "permitted men to become fishermen with the obligation thereafter of a five year period of military service."¹² Although some completed their service and settled subsequently on the "French Shore," others deserted to escape this obligation. These deserters often would marry women from among the already-established Acadian, English, and Micmac populations in the St. George's Bay area..

The presence of metropolitan French settlers is noted as early as 1830 in a despatch from Governor Cochrane to the Colonial Secretary.¹³ In this despatch, Cochrane writes of one Francis LaFillatre, "a native of France" who had been married for some years

to a native English Newfoundlander. Cochrane's despatch mentions LaFillatre's formal application to become a British subject, a request which the governor granted. In 1856, a government report mentions the presence of "several persons established in Trade there [i.e. Bay St. George], who are understood to be natural born subjects of France, and have married women who may be regarded as natives of the place--the names of four of these are given in the margin¹⁴.... [They] originally settled in St. George's Bay after deserting from, or quitting the 'Equipage' of the French Fishing Fleet some years ago."¹⁵ A final factor contributing to native French settlement was the practice of stationing whole families in Newfoundland to serve as caretakers of the French fishing facilities located on the Treaty Shore.¹⁶ Upon the termination of France's influence in 1904, many of these chose to remain in Newfoundland where, in some cases, they had lived for many years.

It is interesting to note the broad differences in attitudes held by government officials towards the various ethnic groups inhabiting the area where, it must be remembered, settlement was supposedly illegal. There were principally four groups: English, French, Acadian, and Micmac Amerindians (300 of whom inhabited an area near Sandy Point in 1851¹⁷), and opinions concerning them varied. The government-appointed magistrate at St George's in 1850, James Tobin, wrote that, of the inhabitants, "English descendants, I am sorry to say, are the only parties inclined to object to law and order." He considers the Acadians and the French to be good subjects and even advocated that "the French possess free and equal rights of

settlement on our western shores, summer and winter."¹⁸ Yet, just one year later, Captain Ramsay of the 'Alarm' was to make the following observations:

the Roman Catholics in the Bay...are a breed of French Canadians and Cape Breton people and called Jack-o-tars....[They] are lazy, indolent people, and I am told, addicted to thieving; in the winter and spring they are frequently in very destitute circumstances; they are looked upon by the English and French as a degraded race, thence styled Jack-o-tars or runaways; they live entirely separate from the English, who are the most respectable portion of the inhabitants.... There are three French families who reside among the English community on equal terms, but they keep aloof from the Jack-o-tars.¹⁹

De la Morandière quotes a similar opinion expressed in a letter written around the same period by a French naval officer, wherein he refers to the Acadians and French in Bay St. George as "des misérables paresseux qui ne vivent qu'au jour le jour."²⁰ From these observations it is clear that settlement of the Treaty Shore, although officially illegal, was known to both the French and English authorities and was tolerated, at least grudgingly, by them. By 1851, the population had risen to the point that Bay St. George was served by a government-appointed magistrate, a school, and a Roman Catholic priest.

The settlement of the Port-au-Port Peninsula by the French was much slower than in Bay St. George itself. Only 6 families were recorded living there in 1857; 15 in 1866; 10 in 1869; and 20 in 1871.²¹ The centre of French activity on the Peninsula was l'Ile Rouge where the fish was processed for shipment to France. From 1825 to 1850, a St. Pierre merchant controlled the fishing rooms on

the island,²² and by 1862, a man by the name of Prud'homme had been there for 16 years (i.e. since 1846) organizing the men (138 by 1862) working the establishment. However, these men, who arrived on or around the 24th of April, returned to St. Pierre or France on October 1st and obviously were not included in the population figures cited above. We are informed, however, that in 1862, settlers inhabited the "mainland"--obviously the community of la Grand'Terre--located on the Peninsula opposite l'Ile Rouge.²³ Interestingly, in 1872, this settlement, whose inhabitants lived by fishing and farming, is described in a naval report as being an English one;²⁴ however, it is quite likely that French deserters were among those living here by this time. By the turn of the century, census figures place the population of the Peninsula at 1600 persons, most of whom were of French or Acadian descent.

Despite this increase, however, the French involvement in the fishery was on the decline. Whereas 15,000 men were employed in the middle of the eighteenth century, the total was just 10,500 working from 372 vessels by 1898. Of these vessels, 177 came from France, with 53 coming from Fécamp, 30 from Granville, 70 from St. Malo and St. Servan, 15 from Cancale, and the rest from smaller ports. The remainder--190 vessels--operated directly out of St. Pierre.²⁵ In 1904, the French renounced all claims to the shores of Newfoundland, retaining only the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as their sole possessions in North America. It is against this historical background that settlement in L'Anse-à-Canards must be viewed.

The Community of L'Anse-à-Canards

The small fishing community of L'Anse-à-Canards (Black Duck Brook) is located on the Port-au-Port Peninsula of Newfoundland's west coast (map 1). Situated on Long Point several miles north-east of the community of Lourdes (formerly Clam Bank Cove), L'Anse-à-Canards is bounded by water on two sides. To the north is the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where the inshore fishery which is the economic mainstay of the inhabitants is conducted. To the south is West Bay, which is itself a part of the larger Port-au-Port Bay. In local terminology, West Bay is referred to as en dedans, or inside, as opposed to the Gulf, which is referred to as en dehors, or outside; seldom, if ever, are the official names of these bodies of water employed by community residents.

Land access to L'Anse-à-Canards is, today as in the past, extremely limited, a fact which further increases the isolation of the community resulting from its peninsular location. Originally, a single gravel road following Long Point on the Gulf side connected L'Anse-à-Canards with the neighbouring community of Maisons-d'Hiver (Winter Houses) and continued on to Lourdes. On the Port-au-Port Bay side, what was little more than a mud footpath extended to Blue Beach (Banc de Galets) at the extreme tip of Long Point and to the south-west to connect the settlements of L'Anse-à-Thé (Tea Cove) and West Bay proper. Eventually, because of the damage wrought by the erosive action of wind, sea, and rains, the chemin en dehors (outside road) was abandoned and a corduroy road was constructed traversing the bar of land to connect with the chemin en dedans (inside road), which

was in turn widened and improved with gravel fill over the years. This is the road which now serves as the only land link between L'Anse-à-Canards and the rest of the Peninsula. The path leading to West Bay fell into disuse after L'Anse-à-Thé was abandoned approximately thirty-five years ago.

The specific origin of their community's name is unknown to the inhabitants of L'Anse-à-Canards. Generally, though, most concur that it draws its name from the brook which flows into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This brook--also called Black Duck Brook--received its name from the sea birds which are often to be found there. It is interesting to note that the brook itself has no French rendering in community terminology, whereas Black Duck Brook as a community place-name is rendered as L'Anse-à-Canards. This suggests that the two names--the English and the French--are not translations at all, but may be of independent origin.

As is the case with any group of people inhabiting a particular location, tradition has provided the residents of L'Anse-à-Canards with a set of place-names designating significant features within their environment in order both to define the limits of their collective habitation and to establish reference points within the boundaries of that unit. It has already been noted that L'Anse-à-Canards residents view themselves as occupying a narrow bar of land between en dedans and en dehors (inside and outside), the two bodies of water on either side of Long Point. Similarly, the community is land-bounded as well, particularly by the community of Maisons-d'Hiver to the south west. This community is perceived as being both

historically and geographically distinct from L'Anse-à-Canards. According to local history, the earliest settlers to this shore were divided into two groups. There were those who lived and worked in L'Anse-à-Canards throughout the year, and those who descended to fish in L'Anse-à-Canards, where somewhat better protection was afforded for the launching and landing of small boats. Although this second group lived there in temporary cabins during the fishing season which lasted from spring to fall, they returned to pass the winter in their permanent dwellings in Maisons-d'Hiver, a practice from which the community derived its name. In recent years, these two communities have grown in size and have been brought into closer contact through the construction of roads and telephone lines, and intermarriage has established kinship links between the two. Nevertheless, the distinction between them has been conceptually retained by inhabitants. Maisons-d'Hiver is considered to end at the point where the present road turns abruptly to the right to cross the bar (map 3). Significantly, the last house just before this turn (no. 13) is located where the first inhabitant of Maisons-d'Hiver is supposed to have settled, and is owned by a direct descendant of this family. At this point as well, the cemetery shared by both communities also serves to separate Maisons-d'Hiver from L'Anse-à-Canards, and does so in two directions. It may, in fact, be seen to represent the neutral territory between the two communities.

The boundary of L'Anse-à-Canards to the north-east is less distinctly defined in the minds of the inhabitants and is generally

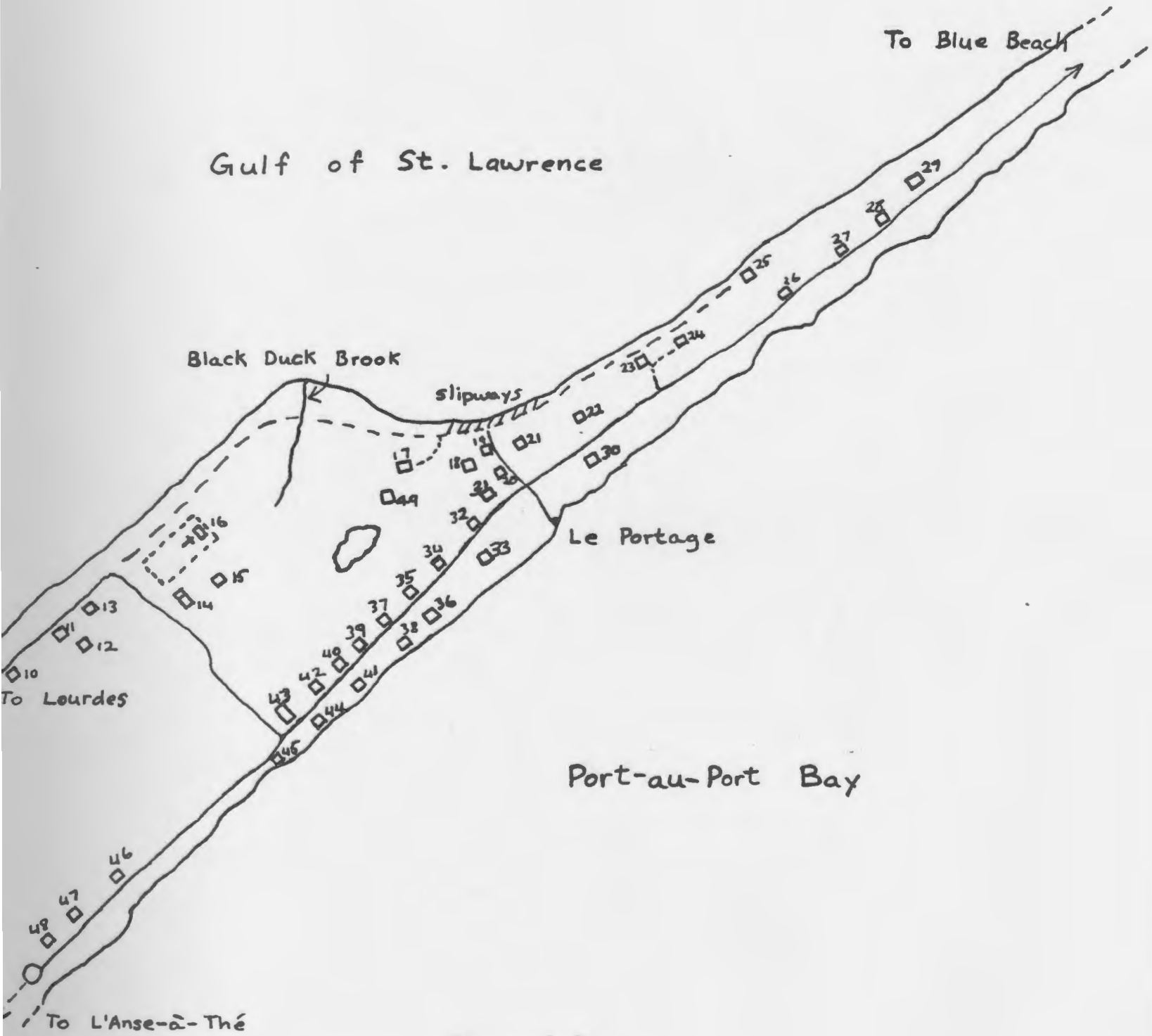


Figure 1-3

The Community of L'Anse-à-Canards

conceived as being represented by the location of the last house on the road (no. 29, map 3). As one proceeds farther along the road, however, one eventually arrives at the site of La Barre, a community which was resettled to L'Anse-à-Canards in 1968. Although there are few signs of this community's former presence, a prominent stone, located in a field on the right of the road and referred to as Le Caillou à Roblot (Roblot's Rock) after the former inhabitant of this piece of land, indicates the end of the grey area between where L'Anse-à-Canards ends and La Barre begins (or began). This rock is still used by residents to indicate relative locations along Long Point, between L'Anse-à-Canards and Banc de Galet (Blue Beach), located at the extreme tip of Long Point.

There is a third land boundary to the south-west along the inside road which follows the path which once led to L'Anse-à-Thé. This road, which parallels the outside road passing through Maisons-d'Hiver, ends at the point indicated on map 3, near a part of the shore referred to locally as La Grande Digue (Long Beach). When one asks a resident to explain the limits of the community, the reply normally refers to the name of the owner of the house marking the above described locations.

Within the area delineated by the above boundaries, the residents of L'Anse-à-Canards have a view of their community which is structured by a number of specific points of reference. The point where the transverse road joins the inside road, forming a "tee", is known locally as Le Crossroad. Perhaps a kilometre north-east of the Crossroad a dirt road known as L'Allée, descends to the shore, where are

located the slipways from which the fishermen launch their boats. This beach area is referred to locally as en bas à la côte (down on the shore), and although these terms are seemingly quite general, they are applied only to this precise part of the shore. The residents of L'Anse-à-Canards have thus removed the natural ambiguity of the words 'côte' and 'shore' by attributing to them, when they occur in the above, formalized (or formular) phrases, very specific referents.

Opposite L'Allée a rough path descends abruptly down the embankment to the shore inside. This path is known to residents as Le Portage and received its name from the initial function it was designed to serve. In the early 1900s, a merchant based in Port-au-Port kept a store on that part of the shore where the fishermen's slipways are now located. In order to avoid having to make the long trip by sea around the tip of Long Point, the merchant's boats would land at Le Portage, where their cargo would be unloaded and portaged across the bar of land, and thence down L'Allée to the shore outside. The final areas receiving place-names in L'Anse-à-Canards are La Plaine (The Plain), a flat section of land near Black Duck Brook (i.e. the brook itself), which is sometimes, but rarely, referred to as La Plaine à Harvey after a French settler who once lived there, and La Plaine à Jean-Louis, a field area not far from L'Allée named after Jean-Louis Benoit, a former owner of the property. Other points within the community are expressed by reference to the dwellings of specific individuals (i.e. Chez Johnny), or to the land owned by them (i.e. Le champ à Gerry, or Gerry's field). Finally, in speech most locations are prefaced by en haut or en bas (up or down). These are

directional devices and are employed to indicate relative movement or location along Long Point to the south-west or north-east respectively. For example, a resident of L'Anse-à-Canards would refer to a location en bas à Blue Beach (Down to/at Blue Beach) or en haut à Lourdes (up to/at Lourdes).

The Establishment of L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons-d'Hiver

Until 1921, the communities of L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver were treated as a single settlement by official government censuses of the area. It is possible, however, to reconstruct the evolution of these communities by correlating data contained in parish records, the 1921 and 1935 nominal censuses, the 1884, 1891, and 1901 numerical censuses, and information obtained from the oral testimonies of residents of the area.

Period of Initial Settlement: 1844-1870

The first settler in this part of the Port-au-Port Peninsula would have been one Amédée Buisson, who arrived from France in 1844, landed in L'Anse-à-Canards and built a rough shelter on a piece of land there. He married Christine Felix from Felix Cove in 1857. Of the children resulting from their marriage, only two daughters--Amelia (born 1868) and Philomène (born 1873)--survived.

The second family to settle in L'Anse-à-Canards were Benoit's from Fox Island River. They arrived between 1852 and 1856 with their infant son, Jean-Louis (born 1852). They had two more children in L'Anse-à-Canards, Elsie (born 1856), and Henri (born 1864). These two

families--the Buissons and the Benoits--were the only inhabitants of L'Anse-à-Canards proper prior to 1870.

Maisons-d'Hiver was equally sparsely populated during this same period. The earliest settler recorded in this area was one John Duphenais (or Duffeney), an Acadian from Margaree on Cape Breton Island. He and his wife moved to the Peninsula sometime before 1847 (purportedly to escape some legal dispute) and settled in West Bay, where they lived until 1861. In 1862, the Duphenais and their six children--Mary (born 1847), Jean (1850), Henri (1852), Pierre (1859), Amelia (1860), and Marcella (1861)--moved to the then uninhabited Maisons-d'Hiver. Thus by 1870, only three houses and three families, each from a different source area, were present in the two communities.

Period of Initial Growth: 1870-1884

Between 1870 and 1874, a family of Youngs arrived in L'Anse-à-Canards from Fox Island, and a family of Gaudets settled here during the same period. Between 1882 and 1884, Jean-Louis Benoit, the son of the first Benoits to settle in L'Anse-à-Canards, moved there from his former residence in Lower Cove, bringing with him his two sons, Henri (born 1877) and Charles (1882), and his wife, Mary (née Duphenais, daughter of John Duphenais of Maisons-d'Hiver). These were the only new arrivals during this period, although Jean-Louis' brother, Henri, who had been born in L'Anse-à-Canards, married Amelia Buisson circa 1884 and established a new household in the community.

In 1872, Adolphe Lainey, formerly of La Grand'Terre near l'Ile

Rouge, moved to Maisons-d'Hiver, bringing with him his wife and his son, Johnny (born 1871 in La Grand'Terre). Although the 1921 nominal census establishes his place and date of birth as la Grand'Terre in 1844, Adolphe Lainey may, in fact, have been born in St. Pierre and, as his descendants claim, have been a French deserter. Lainey was the only new settler in Maisons-d'Hiver until 1880-1884, when Louis Felix (born 1860) moved there from Campbell's Creek and married John Duphenais' daughter, Amelia. Duphenais' three sons --Jean, Henri, and Pierre--all married and built separate homes during the period 1880-1884. Jean and Henri married Susan (born 1853) and Mathilda (1855) of Stephenville.

The 1884 numerical census of the two communities places the population at 86 inhabitants, divided among 13 families inhabiting 13 houses, with two more houses under construction. The information available indicates that, in 1884, the population was approximately equally divided between L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver. As yet, the only continental French inhabitant was Amédée Buisson, and possibly Adolphe Lainey. The rest were either Cape Breton Acadians and their descendants or Newfoundland-born francophones from other communities around the Peninsula.

Period of Community Development: 1884-1891

By 1891, the population of the communities had increased to 107, including 19 families inhabiting 17 houses, with one house under construction. Most of the population increase between 1884 and 1891 was the result of the growth of the already-established families.

Census returns for 1891 indicate that most men were engaged in the catching and curing of fish and in small-scale subsistence farming. Again, data available suggest that the number of households was equally divided between L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver.

During this period, at least two new settlers from continental France arrived. In 1888, one Yves LeBozec settled in L'Anse-à-Canards after having engaged in the cod fishery on l'Ile Rouge, where he was a "mousse" at the age of fifteen in 1875. Sometime thereafter, LeBozec completed his compulsory period of military service with the French navy, finally leaving his home in Guilvinec, in the canton of Quimper in Brittany to move to Newfoundland. In the early 1890s, after having established himself in L'Anse-à-Canards for several years, LeBozec married Sarah Lainey (born 1871) of la Grand'Terre.

That same year (1888), a second Brittany native, Jean-Baptiste LeTacconnoux (born 1869) deserted from the French fishing operation and settled in L'Anse-à-Canards where, around 1891, he married the recently-widowed Amelia Benoit.

During the 1880s, L'Anse-à-Canards became involved in a controversial issue between France and England. For some years, the lobster "fishery" had increased in economic importance and both countries attempted to establish their control over this resource. The French claimed that the treaties signed between the two nations guaranteed them exclusive rights to catch and process lobster like any other fish caught in the area. The English claimed that the lobster, being a crustacean and not a fish, was not covered by the treaties and that, in any case, the establishment of factories to

process it constituted a contravention of treaty restrictions concerning permanent structures.

In any event, in about 1885, a St. John's merchant named James Baird established a lobster factory in L'Anse-à-Canards managed by a Port-au-Port merchant, John Halliburton, and run by one E. LeRoux. Thomson describes the operation as follows:

Whether large or small the factories were constructed on the same principle, with a boiling and bathing room, and one for packing....Fishermen usually contracted with a particular owner and brought their catch to the factory pier where they were paid about 70 or 80 cents per 100."²⁶

The factory was obviously an important source of income for residents of the two communities; however, in 1888, a dispute arose concerning its placement. The French established on l'Ile Rouge complained that the lobster traps set off the shore interfered with their seining operations, and to remedy the situation, "landed at Black Duck Brook, and cut some of the trawls."²⁷ Largely because of this incident, Baird proposed to move the factory farther north the following season.

Period of Final In-Migration: 1891-1904

By 1901, the population of the area had increased to 178, including 30 families inhabiting 28 houses equally divided between the two communities. For the most part, this increase reflects the natural growth of the family units within the communities. However, there was a significant increase in the number of French deserters, six of whom are known to have arrived during this period. In 1892,

a Brittany fisherman named Yves Boloche (born 1874) jumped ship after striking an officer aboard a French naval vessel. After hiding in the wooded area near la Grand'Terre until the vessel had left the area, Boloche moved to settle in Maisons-d'Hiver, changing his name to Rioux, that he might more easily avoid detection by authorities who might come in search of him. He married Elizabeth (born 1878; last name unknown) around 1895.

In 1894, Joseph Secardin (born 1868), formerly of France, moved to Maisons-d'Hiver from St. Pierre with his wife and daughter; Allan Huon (born 1871) settled there in 1895 and married Philomène Buisson (born 1873) of L'Anse-à-Canards; and Jean LePrieure (born 1877) settled in Maisons-d'Hiver in 1900. The other two known French deserters--Victor Roblot (born 1870) and Joseph LeCour (born 1879)--settled in L'Anse-à-Canards sometime between 1895 and 1900.

Between 1892 and 1895, a lobster factory had been re-established in L'Anse-à-Canards by a St. Pierre merchant named Tachan.²⁸ It would appear that Tachan brought a number of French fishermen with him each year to help work the factory, as many as twelve in 1903.²⁹ A cadastral map of L'Anse-à-Canards for 1900 indicates the location of this factory (map 3). Interestingly, a piece of land labelled "Frenchman's House Room" is also indicated on this map. This suggests that the French concerns authorized to establish lobster factories under the terms of the "modus vivendi" agreement³⁰ were also allocated land for their rooms and stores.

Tachan's factory continued to operate until the termination of official French influence in 1904. During this period of operation

in L'Anse-à-Canards, however, Tachan brooked no interference from illegal competitors. Local history holds that in one instance, Tachan despatched a party of men by boat to burn down a competing factory located in nearby Clam Bank Cove. Upon their arrival, Tachan's men were confronted by the factory's owner, who repelled the attack by threatening to shoot the first of them who stepped on his property.

During this period, the first school was built in L'Anse-à-Canards; however, of the 76 children under the age of fifteen living in the area, only 29 attended school during the year 1900-01. This undoubtedly is due to the older children being required to contribute to the support of the family, as was so often the case in rural Newfoundland outports. A mission church had also been built by 1894,³¹ although census returns for 1901 make no mention of it.

The population increase from 107 in 1891 to 178 by 1901 might have been greater had there not been a severe outbreak of diphtheria in 1895. According to family history, Adolphe Lainey of Maisons-d'Hiver lost ten of his fourteen children as a result of the epidemic, which was so feared that afflicted families were quarantined in their homes until the disease had passed.

Period of Post-Treaty Development: 1904-1983

Between 1904 and 1911, the population of L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons-d'Hiver declined from 178 to 133. The number of families also declined from 30 to 26, and the total number of inhabited houses dropped from 28 to 23. This may have been partly the result of

the 1904 resolution of the "French Shore" issue, which may have forced temporary inhabitants tending French fishing facilities to decide whether to remain in Newfoundland or return to St. Pierre. By 1921, the population again had risen to a total of 188 inhabitants. For the first time, the census distinguishes between L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver and lists their populations as 53 and 134 respectively. L'Anse-à-Canards consisted of 11 households and Maisons-d'Hiver 17 in 1921. These numbers remained relatively stable over the next twenty-five years. In 1935, L'Anse-à-Canards had 78 inhabitants occupying 11 houses and Maisons-d'Hiver contained 104 inhabitants in 18 houses. By 1945, L'Anse-à-Canards showed an insignificant decline in size to 74, comprising 10 families occupying 10 houses, while Maisons-d'Hiver declined to 96 inhabitants, 19 families and 19 houses.

The most significant modification of the community culture of L'Anse-à-Canards during this post-treaty period was that resulting from the gradual isolation of the francophone elements on the Port-au-Port Peninsula. Prior to 1904, the majority of the inhabitants and new settlers were of French descent, and French was the predominant language spoken. After 1904, the Newfoundland government possessed complete control over the "French Shore," and the English culture began to exert an increasing influence in the area, doing so through the schools, the church, and business, and through the majority status which anglophone settlement of the area gradually established. In the earliest schools which operated at

intervals in L'Anse-à-Canards, French was prohibited and was never taught nor spoken by the teachers, who were themselves anglophones. Transgression resulted in corporal punishment, and if the students could not understand English, they were expelled from school until they were competent enough to return.³² If the parents themselves possessed a limited command of English, the French students were burdened with a difficult task. Because of these and other considerations, attendance by French-speaking children was sporadic at best, and most left school at an early age. In the 1960s, the one-room school in L'Anse-à-Canards was finally closed, and children were bused to nearby Lourdes to attend school in this predominantly English community.

Religion played its part in promoting English in this area as well. Until 1912, the communities surrounding L'Anse-à-Canards were visited as infrequently as once a year by the priest stationed in Bay St. George. In that year, one Father Pineault, a bilingual Acadian from Prince Edward Island, became the first parish priest for the area. Since his departure in 1928, however, all his successors have been anglophones, and all church services and rituals have been performed in English.

In 1937, an influx of English settlers arrived in Clam Bank Cove from Fortune Bay under a resettlement program. These settlers consisted of twenty-seven families, a total almost equalling the entire population of L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver in 1935. Facilities such as schools, churches, and stores provided to the area were henceforth located in the predominantly English community.

In the early 1940s, an American air force base was established in Stephenville. Although work on the base provided a much-needed economic boost to the Bay St. George area in general, it seems to have had little impact on L'Anse-à-Canards, and only a few of the male residents actually worked there for a short period. The greatest influence this base seems to have exerted was in attracting large numbers of anglophone workers to the region, and in fostering the rise in the prestige of the English culture to a place of primacy over that of the French speakers. The base itself was permanently closed down in 1966, but by that time, the French language in Stephenville and its immediate vicinity had been effectively suffocated.

In 1964, L'Anse-à-Canards received electricity for the first time, and television followed shortly thereafter, a development which further increased the invasion of English into the daily life and habits of this traditionally-based community. In 1968, the inhabitants of the small community of La Barre located several miles to the north-east were resettled to L'Anse-à-Canards, thereby almost doubling its population.³³ By 1982, there were 32 families inhabiting 32 houses in L'Anse-à-Canards itself, and the permanent population stood at about 110. Of the 32 male heads of household, only three were from communities other than Maisons-d'Hiver, L'Anse-à-Canards, or La Barre, while more than half of the female heads of household were from outside these communities. This indicates a strong practice of patrilocality and, to a lesser extent, exogamy governing marriage in L'Anse-à-Canards.

Most families in L'Anse-à-Canards today earn their living primarily through the seasonal inshore fishery, in which the men engage approximately from April to October. Typically, fishing is conducted in small (5-6 metres), open motor-boats and is restricted to the inshore area, seldom at a distance exceeding twenty kilometres from shore. For economic reasons, the crews rarely consist of more than two men, who are usually close blood-relatives or kinsmen by marriage. A father will fish with his son, a brother with his brother, or a man with his son-in-law. There are a few cases of unrelated partners, particularly among bachelors. One crew consists of a man and his wife but this is an atypical case, as women do not ordinarily participate in what generally is regarded by both sexes as an exclusively male-oriented activity.

Although several varieties of fish are marketable in L'Anse-à-Canards, cod is the staple item. A number of techniques are employed, including the use of cod traps, trawls, and hand-line and jigger. The nets and trawls are set in place, hauled, and reset every three or four days; the remainder of the fishermen's time is devoted to cod jigging, and most of the fish taken are caught using this last method. Owing to the unpredictable feeding patterns of the cod, the fish must literally be pursued, and mobility and a thorough knowledge of the fishing grounds ("les fonds de pêche") are essential. The fishermen of L'Anse-à-Canards employ a traditional location-finding technique based on visual triangulation to find and identify each of the ten recognized grounds. Just as community residents possess a traditional cognitive map which structures their community, so too do the

fishermen possess a similar means of structuring the marine environment into significant patterns. The system is what has been referred to elsewhere as the "one-line-position method,"³⁴ and its success depends upon the fisherman's maintaining a course at right angles to the shore as he leaves it. To the south-west of L'Anse-à-Canards are two distinct outcroppings of land, or capes. As the fisherman increases his distance from shore, the relative positions of these two capes seem to change, and by lining up landmarks ("les marques") on each cape, the fisherman is able to determine his position on the open water. These marks possess such names as "dos de baleine" ("whale's back"), "deux caps en ligne" ("two capes even"), and "les échelles" ("the ladders"), descriptive designations which facilitate communication between fishermen.³⁵

A day's catch of 700 to 1000 pounds is considered quite successful by L'Anse-à-Canards fishermen, and a catch in excess of 1200 pounds is exceptional. The fish is brought to shore, where the fishermen clean it and have it weighed. They then sell the fish at the "store" located on the beach; from there, the fish is transported by truck to the fish processing plant some twenty-five kilometres away. Although this seasonal fishery and the much shorter lobster fishery are the only sources of cash income for the majority of families in the community, other activities contribute to the domestic economy of each family. Several families keep livestock, primarily sheep and cows. The animals are marked and allowed to run free during the summer in a government-owned pasture located to the north-east along Long Point. In the spring, the sheep contribute wool and in the fall

several are butchered for meat for the winter. The cows are a source of dairy products and meat. Families keeping livestock cultivate a field of hay, which is cut in mid- to late-August, dried, and stored in the barn to serve as feed during the winter. Although in the past, subsistence-level farming of potatoes, turnips, carrots, and other vegetables was carried out in L'Anse-à-Canards, this activity is no longer performed by the majority of community residents. These items now are bought at a co-operative store located in Lourdes.³⁶

Lourdes is the location of the majority of the essential facilities serving this area of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. The church, the school, the post office, and a service station are all found here, and L'Anse-à-Canards residents must travel several kilometres of dirt road to avail themselves of these services. A bus service transports people to Saturday evening and Sunday morning church masses, and is the means by which children are transported to school during the week. Although one family operates a small convenience store in L'Anse-à-Canards, a trip to the co-operative in Lourdes is necessary once every week or two.

Obviously Lourdes is of central importance to L'Anse-à-Canards, and residents are dependent upon the facilities located there. Significantly, though, inhabitants of L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons-d'Hiver do not consider themselves as being merely a remote extension of the larger Lourdes. Lourdes is an English community with a different sociocultural arrangement and a distinctly separate historical and ethnic background. Underlying this in 1982 was the construction in L'Anse-à-Canards of a community centre owned and

operated by L'Association des Terreneuviens Français de L'Anse-à-Canards. Residents are aware of their cultural and linguistic heritage and, although in 1984, no resident under the age of twenty was bilingual in French, a move is being made to revive the language. Since 1982, a middle-aged female L'Anse-à-Canards resident who was once a teacher's assistant has been giving French lessons to English-speaking residents of both French and English descent. An important characteristic of the association's operation is their inclusion of all residents, both francophone and anglophone, in its activities, in an effort to avoid dividing the community according to ethnic origin or linguistic skill.

Notes

- ¹ D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland (London, 1895; rpt. Belleville: Mika Studios, 1972), p. 258.
- ² Prowse, p. 353.
- ³ For further information concerning the French presence on Newfoundland's Treaty Shore, see Gerald Thomas, Les deux traditions: Le conte populaire chez les Franco-Terreneuviens (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1983).
- ⁴ Charles de la Morandière, Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans L'Amérique septentrionale (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966), III, 1175.
- ⁵ John J. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland," in The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography, ed. John J. Mannion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 234.
- ⁶ Mannion, p. 234.
- ⁷ Mannion, p. 234.
- ⁸ Newfoundland House of Assembly Journal, 1852, pp. 109-110.
- ⁹ N.H.A.J., 1857, p. 247.
- ¹⁰ N.H.A.J., 1851, p. 171.

¹¹ Actually, the term "graviers" is a general one applied to land-based workers, whereas the term "mousse" referred to the young boys making their first trip to Newfoundland to work on the French fishing operations.

¹² Gerald Thomas, "Stories, Storytelling and Storytellers in Newfoundland's French Tradition: A Study of the Narrative Art of Four French Newfoundlanders," Ph.D. Diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977, p. 23.

¹³ N.H.A.J., 1851, p. 173.

¹⁴ These being François Fillatre, Romaine, François Halpert, and Desgrandes.

¹⁵ N.H.A.J., 1857, p. 247.

¹⁶ One such family was located at the fishing rooms on l'Île Rouge, just off the south-west point of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. There, in the late-nineteenth century, a St. Pierrais, François Chrétien, and his wife were stationed. Chrétien eventually settled at Long Point.

¹⁷ N.H.A.J., 1851, p. 150.

¹⁸ N.H.A.J., 1851, p. 172.

¹⁹ N.H.A.J., 1852, p. 110.

²⁰ De la Morandière, III, p. 1179.

²¹ Mannion, p. 239.

²² Mannion, p. 248.

²³ N.H.A.J., 1863, p. 402.

²⁴ N.H.A.J., 1872, p. 670.

²⁵ N.H.A.J., 1904, p. 140.

²⁶ Frederic F. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 59.

²⁷ Prowse, p. 559.

²⁸ Also spelled in various sources as Tajean, Tagan, Tierjean, and Trajean. The form cited reflects that most commonly found.

²⁹ N.H.A.J., 1904, p. 187.

³⁰ See Thompson, 1961, for a fuller discussion of this accord.

³¹ As noted in Elizabeth Carol Sellars, "Aspects of the Traditional Life of French Newfoundlanders of Black Duck Brook (L'Anse aux [sic] Canards, Port-au-Port, Newfoundland) with Special Emphasis on the Role of Women," M.A. Diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978, p. 17.

³² This information on early schooling in L'Anse-à-Canards is based on oral testimonies of several of the older residents of the community.

³³ Although now officially residents of L'Anse-à-Canards, people formerly of La Barre still refer to it as "home."

³⁴ Tadataka Igarashi, "Fishermen's Location-Finding in the Marine Environment," in Human Activity System: Its Spatiotemporal Structure, ed. Hitoshi Watanabi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1977).

³⁵ For a more complete discussion of the location-finding technique

employed by L'Anse-à-Canards fishermen, see Gary R. Butler, "Culture, Cognition, and Communication: Fishermen's Location-Finding in L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland," Canadian Folklore Canadien, 5 (1983), 7-21.

³⁶ For a fuller description of the domestic industry of L'Anse-à-Canards families, see Sellars.

CHAPTER TWO

PERFORMANCE THEORY AND THE ANALYSIS OF FOLK BELIEF-EXPRESSION

Introduction

This study examines the tradition of supernatural belief and the expression of this tradition through oral modes in the French-Newfoundland community of L'Anse-à-Canards, a small fishing settlement located on Newfoundland's isolated Port-au-Port Peninsula (map 1). Following the principles of contextual analysis, the study treats supernatural tradition as a distinct category of traditional knowledge which exists at the cognitive level, and which attains manifest form through its expression within the contextual frameworks deemed appropriate by the members of the community folk group. It is the purpose of the present study to analyze the nature of the relationship which prevails among the cognitive, the formal (or textual), and the contextual components of supernatural belief-expression in the community.

To accomplish these objectives, and to ensure that the results of the analysis are representative of the cultural reality under examination, an important guiding principle will be closely adhered to throughout this study. This is the principle of intra-cultural heterogeneity which dictates that one view the supernatural belief tradition as a distinct body of cultural information which is both differentially shared and differentially believed by the inhabitants

of the community. No one individual can be said to possess a knowledge of the complete tradition and its cognitive and manifest components; nor do all members of the community display identical levels of belief in the traditional knowledge they do possess. Rather, variation in acceptance is the norm, not only from one individual to another but, at times, from one performance context to another for the same individual. Through the analysis of a considerable body of oral material, both narrative and non-narrative, collected from representative segments of the population of L'Anse-à-Canards, the premises underlying the community's supernatural tradition are delineated and the patterns of belief (or unbelief) are established. These patterns (with regard to knowledge of the tenets of the expressive supernatural tradition and belief in the veracity of these tenets) derive directly from an analysis of the cognitive-affective component of the communal belief system.

Obviously one cannot deduce this cognitive component without first examining expressive behaviour and manifest forms. At the level of expression, the study offers an inventory of the manifest oral forms by means of which various categories and sub-categories of the supernatural tradition are verbalized in L'Anse-à-Canards. This inventory constitutes the textual complement to the previously described cognitive component and is the requisite prelude to the analysis of factors influencing the communication (or performance) of such texts within the contextual frameworks available in the community. Ultimately, it will be demonstrated how different combinations of knowledge, belief, and participant identities during different

communicative events are essential determinants of the textual form selected and of the significance and meaning of the message communicated.

This study, then, approaches supernatural folk tradition as a heterogeneous phenomenon which is marked by variation with regard to the folk group's knowledge of its contents, their attitudes towards this knowledge, and their performance and interpretation of this tradition when it is expressed in different oral forms. Because of these variable factors, the meaning of a particular oral communication will also vary from one individual to another and from one context of interaction to another.

In his discussion of religious traditions, Juha Pentikäinen outlines such an approach as follows:

In order to classify an item as religious its functions...the use and the situation in which it actualizes, as well as the truth value and meaning of the item, must be determined. One must, for example, investigate whether or not the tradition item has been believed in and, if so, to what extent this belief has exerted an influence on individual or communal tradition.¹

Unlike studies of artistic genres which naturally focus their attention on individual performers and "folk specialists" in the performance of these genres, this study of supernatural folk belief, in order to accomplish the above aims, must enlarge its informant base to include a representative cross-section of the folk group in question.

Cognitive Variability in Folk Belief Analysis

It is obvious that an awareness of and a familiarity with the propositions underlying the belief system of one's culture are by no

means dependent upon one's also believing any or all of these tenets to be true. Similarly, one need not believe a particular item of traditional knowledge in order to be able to express this knowledge in one of any number of distinct verbal forms. Logic dictates that, within any given folk group, the number of individuals who believe a given proposition can equal but can never exceed the number who are familiar with it. The number of believers can, however, be smaller than the total possessing a knowledge of supernatural belief propositions. The researcher engaged in studying the nature and role of traditional belief-expression within a society must therefore draw a careful distinction between patterns of knowing and patterns of believing, and must realize that although these patterns may possibly coincide with any given informant, they do not necessarily coincide.

The concept of intra-cultural variation in the acceptance of the folk group's body of folk beliefs is a recognized principle among social researchers interested in this particular aspect of the cultural whole. In his introduction to his important compilation of beliefs and practices from Alabama, Ray B. Browne identifies three distinct "levels" of believing. First, there are those individuals who "accept [the beliefs] wholeheartedly and who will do little or nothing that counters them."² Secondly, Browne identifies that portion of the population who are "lukewarm on the subject."³ This includes those individuals for whom "[rationally] the old ideas are thought nonsense, but [who] emotionally...are not ready to abandon them completely."⁴ Browne's final category--which he seems to imply is the smallest of the three--encompasses those who "treat the old

practices with humorous incredulity."⁵ In a discussion of this scale of attitudinal categories, Kenneth S. Goldstein identifies a fourth level of belief which includes those individuals who totally reject a certain supernatural belief and who consequently disassociate themselves from it.⁶ These categories all share the common characteristic of expressing a relationship between a particular supernatural item and a particular individual's attitude concerning the veracity of the item. From this it follows that the category applied to a given individual will either change or remain constant depending on the supernatural belief-item concerning which they are questioned. Although some members of a belief-tradition may accept or reject all of their tradition's supernatural assumptions, it is more likely that many more will demonstrate a variation of attitude, strongly accepting certain aspects of their culture's belief-items while equally strongly rejecting other parts. It is just such diversity of belief, neglected by so many past researchers, which represents the culture's ethnographic reality.⁷

Certainly, this principle of diversity is not restricted to the domain of folk belief but applies to all aspects of culture. As Henry Glassie recently pointed out in his landmark ethnography of an Irish community culture:

Culture is not owned equally. Some have thought harder than others and have sought wisdom with more energy....Some have developed richer modes of expression....There are also differential tendencies of knowledge and expression breaking along lines of sex, age, and religion.⁸

This diversity, which occurs on the dual ideational planes of knowing and believing, is a cultural phenomenon and is the anticipated

result of the moulding of cultural information through and by the unique experience of each individual. John Szwed delineates a number of factors which account for this variation:

By the definition of ideational data, each person will to some degree develop and maintain a different cognitive organization of the data of the phenomenal order. Differences in experience and socialization, variations in perception, historical changes all assure that each person will not hold the same data, nor even organize it in the same way.⁹

What is more, not only does Szwed consider the concept of cultural heterogeneity to be more reflective of reality than that of cultural homogeneity, he also deems the study of intra-cultural variation to be potentially more important:

instead of looking for the extent to which the members of society learn the same things and behave in the same way, it may be more profitable to pursue the possible variations of custom and behavior which a society can manifest.¹⁰

This concept of organizational diversity has important implications for the study of folk beliefs, particularly in light of folklore scholarship's present emphasis on the contextual analysis of performance and function. In particular, it points to the necessity for distinguishing between the definitions of "folk belief" as, alternatively and, at times, interchangeably, a body of knowledge, an attitude, and an expressive form. These essential distinctions of meaning often have been oversimplified by folklore scholars, as well as by researchers in other social sciences. In his classic distinction between "superstition" and "folk belief"--terms often considered by many to be synonymous--Wayland D. Hand initially emphasizes the cognitive element as the basis for definition. Basing

his distinction partly upon the strength of the adherent's faith and partly upon the gravity of the consequences of this adherence, Hand regards superstitions to be "of such importance that they may not be viewed simply as bits of passing fancy but, on the contrary, must be espoused and followed. Moreover, compliance with the dictates of superstition invariably leads to error and eventual harm."¹¹ On the other hand, folk beliefs he regards as "harmless ideas that rest on mistaken judgement or error."¹²

Here and elsewhere in his work, Hand treats superstitions and folk beliefs as "ideas," a "body of knowledge," and "a body of thought." Implied, however, is the view that these ideas represent the interpretation of reality, both seen and unseen, held individually and collectively by the associated members of a given sociocultural group. Hand makes no attempt to distinguish the knowledge of a belief from the believing of the belief.

Although one may decry the somewhat ethnocentric and, at times, even condescending attitude displayed by Hand throughout much of his writings, his approach to belief study is valid as long as one is concerned with that segment of the population whose knowledge and belief correspond. However, unless one is dealing with the idealized situation where each instance of belief-expression is reflective of an acceptance of the belief underlying that expression, no general statements concerning the belief tradition of a culture can validly be made without also considering variability of belief and unbelief--that is, the differential sharing and ideational distinctions--vis-à-vis the belief tradition.

In short, one must first consider both the collective and the individual when analyzing the status of any given tradition at any given period in a community's evolution. In his probing analysis of the general nature of tradition, Edward Shils states:

Unless all the adherents of a tradition move simultaneously at the same rate and in the same direction...there are bound to be differences. There are differences between those who hold tenaciously and entirely to the details of what has been received and those who depart from them; there are also differences among those who depart, in the details they depart from.¹³

There is, then, a pressing need to separate that which is handed down and the subsequent attitudes which might develop towards it, a distinction that is not readily expressed in the term "folk belief." In order to avoid this ambiguity, this study will borrow the term "traditum" and the sense in which it is employed by Shils, who defines it as

anything which is transmitted or handed down by the past to the present....The conception of tradition as here understood is here silent about whether there is acceptable evidence for the truth of the tradition or whether the tradition is accepted without its validity having been established;....¹⁴

Henceforth, the qualified term "belief traditum" (or "folk belief traditum") will be employed in this study to indicate any bit of traditional knowledge which represents a part of the past or present system of core beliefs of a folk group. Belief traditums are the conceptual units underlying collective and individual traditions. They are the "ideas" or units of knowledge which are transmitted through the oral tradition's various textual channels of communication.

A belief traditum, as defined here, is not the text per se, but rather is the information encoded in textual form, transmitted orally through the performance of that text, and decoded by the receiver of the text. Thus, a belief traditum is not an overt aspect of manifest oral tradition, but represents the underlying belief which can be deduced by the analyst from an examination of texts. In this study, the term "belief" will be restricted to designate attitude concerning the truth or falseness of a belief traditum or a belief text.¹⁵

The foregoing discussion indicates one of the principal aims of this study: the separation of belief, belief traditum, and belief text, for the purpose of examining the significance of each of these factors as they operate, singly and in combination, in L'Anse-à-Canards expressive culture. It is obvious that in any oral performance context where supernatural tradition emerges as central, each participant's prior familiarity with the general belief traditum and the specific belief text will influence the ultimate relevance of the expressive interaction. Moreover, the meaning and significance of the expressive context to each participant are further determined by the prevalent attitude of each participant vis-à-vis the truth or falseness of both the belief traditum and the belief text. Participant interaction will be affected by the degree to which attitudes correspond or differ among the participants in the communicative event.

Thus, this study undertakes the presentation of data representative of the general patterns of belief in and knowledge of

the tenets of L'Anse-à-Canards tradition displayed by the inhabitants of this small community. This stage is of prime importance if the full significance of performance-based genres to different segments of the population is to be fully appreciated. By establishing the attitudes of community members towards such supernatural belief traditions and texts, the use (or non-use) of this knowledge in performance contexts can be understood more fully. Ultimately, the aim is to determine not only the "what" and "how" of context-centred behaviour, but the "why" as well, this being necessarily the primary objective of any contextual approach to folkloristic data.

The Manifest Component in Folk Belief Analysis

A further complication in the study of folk belief-expression stems from the practice of employing the term "folk belief" to designate a specific generic form or textual category. Hand defines a folk belief, on the basis of its formal and stylistic features, as short statements which are "usually expressed in a few words and involve a simple prediction...."¹⁶ This concentration of defining the subject matter of folklore on the basis of manifest formal characteristics has long been the norm within the discipline. Paralleling Hand's work on delineating the genre is Alan Dundes' use of the term "superstition" to refer to a precise textual form defined by its formal characteristics. According to Dundes' definition, superstitions are "Traditional expressions of one or more conditions and [one] or more results with some of the conditions

signs and others causes."¹⁷ This definition closely resembles Hand's earlier delineation of "ominant-ominat" and "causant-causat" relationships;¹⁸ however, Dundes does not draw the same generic distinction between "folk belief" and "superstition" that Hand does, but rather uses the second term to refer to all short statements whose structures accord with his definition. Not only is this more consistent with the principle of manifest form (as opposed to attitude or gravity of consequences) determining the genre, it also eliminates the ambiguity inherent in using the term "folk belief" to refer at times to a textual item, at times to informant attitude.

Dundes cites a prime example of potential ambiguity in his discussion of David Bidney's use of a set of criteria which defines the textual form on the basis of informant attitude. Dundes condenses Bidney's view as follows:

Thus if the informant has an irrational fear of a black cat's crossing his path, the collector has found a superstition. If the informant merely remembers a statement about a black cat that his grandfather used to make, the collector has found something else.¹⁹

Dundes espouses the rejection of informant belief as well as objective validity as criteria for definition, and advocates instead the use of textual characteristics inherent in the expressed form.²⁰

Given the practical advantages it offers to contextual analysis, the term "superstition," where employed throughout the remainder of this study, will follow Dundes' usage. This is particularly appropriate since members of the community under study themselves use this term to refer to short belief texts of the sort defined

by Dundes.

The analysis of how the premises underlying a belief tradition are expressed at the manifest level encompasses far more than the consideration of such short textual forms. In fact, the natural expression of superstitions is rare in L'Anse-à-Canards, and often is restricted to the situation of formal elicitation by the researcher. As Hand points out throughout his work, folk beliefs are quite frequently expressed in a variety of different folklore genres.²¹ In fact, fairly often, collections of folk beliefs are composed of "artificial" text; that is, texts deduced by the researcher from a survey of belief-related genres such as legends, memorates, and customs. Even the monumental ten-volume Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens²² contains more entries that are reductions of longer texts to short, conventionalized forms than it does actual texts collected from oral tradition and recorded in the words of the informant. This practice reflects the compiler's assumption that the folk belief which he extracts and artificially reconstructs out of a particular folklore genre somehow accurately reproduces an item of oral tradition. This practice thus creates an ambiguity as to which items are examples of a tradition's manifest forms of expression and which represent premises deduced by the researcher.

Recently, the need to separate the cognitive component from the manifest component in the study of tradition has been elaborated by Dundes in his discussion of what he calls "folk ideas":

By "folk ideas," I mean traditional notions that a group of people have about the nature of man, of the world, and of man's life in the

world. Folk ideas would not constitute a genre of folklore but rather would be expressed in a great variety of different genres. Proverbs would almost certainly represent the expression of one or more folk ideas, but the same folk ideas might also appear in folktales, folksongs, and in fact almost every conventional genre of folklore, not to mention nonfolkloristic material (emphasis mine). However, insofar as folk ideas are the unstated principles which underly the thought and action of a given people, they are not likely to appear in any fixed-phrase form.²³

This concept of the multigeneric nature of traditional, important folk ideas is not entirely new, as it is essentially the fundamental premise underlying the concept of motifs which is the basis of Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature²⁴. And, as Barre Toelken notes in a more recent discussion of what he calls "multiform folk ideas," a folk idea may be "conserved through expression in several different genres."²⁵ It is just such a differentiation between ideational and expressive categories which represents the fundamental assumption upon which this study bases the "traditum-text" differentiation outlined earlier.

Folk belief, then, is regarded here not as a genre, but rather as a set of cultural mentifacts, a body of knowledge or cognitive frames of reference differentially shared by the members of a given tradition. Its distinguishing characteristic is that to it is brought, or has been brought, the attitude component which demands that one take a stance concerning the truth of the folk ideas it represents. This body of knowledge, or set of folk ideas, may be expressed in a variety of culturally appropriate, sanctioned verbal and non-verbal forms. As such, folk belief traditums are

multigeneric, or "multiform," in that they may be expressed in a large number of generic forms, only one of which is that genre commonly referred to as "superstition." They also transcend generic formal restrictions, since they may be expressed in non-generic oral modes as well, such as during informal conversational discourse. The study of folk belief-expression must therefore concentrate on establishing the relationship prevailing between the cognitive and manifest levels of the tradition as it exists within the boundaries of a given folk group.

Performance Theory and the Analysis of Folk Belief-Expression

As has been established already, this study is an attempt to relate a body of traditional multiform ideas--in this case, supernatural belief traditums--to the sociocultural contexts in which these ideas are given manifest oral form. This attribution of manifest form in context is that which is commonly referred to as "performance" in folkloristic theory.

The performance theory of folklore owes much to earlier theoretical revolutions within the disciplines of linguistics and anthropology. In linguistics, Noam Chomsky, the father of modern syntactic theory, was the first to posit a distinction between the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language and his use of language in actual situations. To the former aspect of language, Chomsky applied the term "competence," while the latter he referred to as "performance."²⁶

While Chomsky restricted his subsequent research to purely linguistic phenomena, the concepts he introduced were to take on added

significance under the influence of new anthropological developments. In the early 1960s, a field of study which was to become known as the "ethnography of communication" began to take shape through the efforts of its prime exponents, John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes.²⁷ This communication theory advocated a shift in focus from the cultural item, and its description and comparison cross-culturally, to the context within which the cultural behaviour was situated. The aim of the approach was to determine the factors which influenced the form and function of cultural modes of expression and to discover how context affected the communicative value of textual forms.

This theory of cultural communication was later to adopt Chomsky's competence-performance model in modified form to propose the analogous model of "communicative competence" and performance. Gumperz and Hymes define communicative competence as:

What a speaker needs to know to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings. Like Chomsky's term on which it is patterned, communicative competence refers to the ability to perform. An attempt is made to distinguish between what the speaker knows...and how he behaves in particular instances.... [Students] of communicative competence deal with speakers as members of communities, as incumbents of social roles, and seek to explain their use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities.²⁸

The goal of such theoretical premises is to expand the data-base of cultural research to include contextual information, both at the particularistic level and at the cultural level,²⁹ in the analysis of cultural manifest forms of expression, or performance.

Bauman and Sherzer express this principle as follows:

We conceive of performance in terms of the interplay between resources and individual competence, within the context of particular situations. Performances thus have an emergent quality, structured by the situated and creative exercise of competence.³⁰

One of the major contributions of such an approach is the emphasis which is placed on the individual, as opposed to earlier, superorganic views which treated the members of a cultural unit as bound by the social structure and its strict social rules. Communication is now seen as a compromise between culture and individuals, wherein the individual is neither totally free to act nor entirely bound by his culture. During the process of communication, the individual "first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own cultural background, personal history, and what he knows about his interlocutors. He then decides on the norms that apply to the situation at hand."³¹ It is precisely for these reasons that one may speak of variability of manifest forms of expression, as outlined in the previous sections of this introduction.

The implication of the above concepts is that performance is not in and of itself an ability; rather, it is the observable product resulting from the combination of two abilities present at the cognitive level. Henry Glassie outlines this tripartite process in his application of Chomsky's theory of transformational syntax to the analysis of folk architecture. Cultural products, Glassie suggests, are the result of

an enormously complex and electric transaction in mind between two abilities. One is the ability to compose: "competence." The other is the ability to relate the composition to things external to it in its "context." The result of this interrelation is a person's actual "performance"--the product that can be observed by the scholar.³²

In addition, these abilities are deployed simultaneously, and not sequentially, during the course of actual communicative interaction, making of performance a "synchronous, and sympathetic, negotiation between interlocking planes of thought."³³

Folklore studies were to be influenced by, and, in turn, were to influence the development of this communication theory of cultural phenomena. Where once folkloristic research focused almost exclusively on textual analysis of traditional genres, it soon broadened its perspective to include the consideration of extra-textual concerns. Folklore was now viewed as a process of communication, as well as a collection of traditional items; and central to this approach was the concept of performance. A lucid, succinct summary of the premises underlying the concept of folklore as performance was presented by Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein:

The performer of folklore knows...a set of rules, a system of communication, a grammar, in which the relationship between the attributes of verbal messages and the social-cultural reality are in constant interplay, transforming symbols and metaphors, styles and structures, themes and forms in response to social variables of a situation.³⁴

This statement is clearly an endorsement of the study of tradition in terms of the cognitive and manifest levels previously outlined. It suggests that the cognitive level includes not only the

knowledge of certain traditums, but also the awareness of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in the various social situations (contexts) available to the individual in his culture. What is more, it is only through the study of situated performance that the significance, or meaning, of the communicative event to the participants can be measured.

Yet from the perspective of the contextual approach to folklore, in which its communicative attributes are primary, not only does it make good sense to base the meaning of a text upon both the intent of the speaker and the attitude of the listener (emphasis mine), but also to consider the meaning of messages as interdependent upon their actual communicative events. "Meaning" in that sense is not only the paraphrase of a statement in its logical constituents, but the comprehension of the entire system of relationship that made the communication of an act of speaking possible, including its cognitive, expressive, and behavioral dimensions.³⁵

This study, then, is largely a search for the meaning of supernatural belief traditums in oral performance. By first outlining the range of information involved in the corpus and the prevailing attitudes of community members towards this information, the study attempts to define a part of the "cognitive dimension" of the tradition. The presentation of the manifest forms through which this cultural information is given represents the expressive repertoire available to serve as vehicles of communication. The analysis of a variety of situated performances wherein supernatural belief traditums figure prominently provides an overview of the tradition's "behavioral dimension" in contemporary L'Anse-à-Canards society. These latter two aspects of the study--those involving expressive form and expressive behaviour--in turn provide further

information concerning the cognitive "rules" governing the use of the traditional knowledge of its bearers.

It should be noted that this study treats performance in its broadest theoretical sense, and its usage is not limited to what some scholars consider to be truly folkloristic material. Dan Ben-Amos for example defines folklore as a process involving "artistic" communication, implying that the mere mention of traditional material in the course of everyday conversational discourse does not qualify. He considers folklore as art,³⁶ a quality which might be difficult to argue for simple statements of belief traditums, such as superstitions. It is partially for this reason that this study treats folklore from the cognitive level outwards to the manifest level of expression, rather than the reverse, and makes no effort to eliminate certain expressive forms on the basis of their formal traits or their artistic merit. Generic forms and attitudes towards them may change and evolve, perhaps even disappear as an identifiable genre per se, but the knowledge contained in them may persist long after certain particular forms are no longer employed as vehicles for its expression. Other than so-called artistic performance must be considered since, as Hymes points out, "knowledge and performance of tradition are interdependent, in the sense that the nature of the performance affects what is known, for the persons in a community as well as for the outside inquirer into tradition."³⁷ This study attempts to capture all types of communicative vehicles, "artistic" and other, and the knowledge of supernatural belief traditums they carry, at a given stage in the community's sociocultural evolution.

Notes

¹ Juha Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire and World View: An Anthropological Study of Marina Takalo's Life History," (Folklore Fellows Communications XCIII, 219). (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1978), p. 57.

² Ray B. Browne, Popular Beliefs and Practices from Alabama (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), p. 4.

³ Browne, p. 4.

⁴ Browne, p. 4.

⁵ Browne, p. 5.

⁶ Kenneth S. Goldstein, "The Collecting of Superstitious Beliefs," Keystone Folklore Quarterly 9 (1964), 13-22.

⁷ However, Goldstein notes the need for analyzing such patterns of diversity--and for identifying the social variables responsible for this diversity--to achieve a fuller understanding of the role and function of belief within the group under consideration. See Goldstein, pp. 13-22.

⁸ Glassie, Passing the Time in Balleymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 644.

⁹ John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Inter-Personal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society (St. John's:

Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1966), p. 8.

¹⁰ Szwed, p. 6.

¹¹ Wayland D. Hand, "'The Fear of the Gods': Superstition and Popular Belief," in Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore, ed. Tristram P. Coffin (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. 219.

¹² Hand, "The Fear of the Gods," p. 219.

¹³ Edward Shils, Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 280.

¹⁴ Shils, p. 12.

¹⁵ Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire and World View," p. 57.

¹⁶ Wayland D. Hand, ed., Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina. The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, ed. N.I. White et al., 7 vols. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1952-64), VI, p. xxxvii.

¹⁷ Alan Dundes, "The Structure of Superstition," in his Analytic Essays in Folklore (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 89.

¹⁸ Hand, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions, p. xxii.

¹⁹ Dundes, "Structure", p. 89.

²⁰ Dundes presented this view as early as 1961, when he denied the importance of positive belief for the definition of the term "superstition." He expressed the opinion that "[such] a definition might be achieved by considering what superstitions are, rather than

emphasizing how they came about or whether or not they are true or believed." See Alan Dundes, "Brown County Superstitions," MF 11 (1961), 25-56.

²¹ For example, in his introduction to Vol. VI of the Frank C. Brown Collection, p. xix, Hand states that "Like items of folk speech, which are also short and turn up everywhere, folk beliefs are found in several genres of folklore, particularly in folk legend and related narrative forms." This relationship between folk belief and other generic forms is explored later in this study.

²² E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bachtold-Staubli, ed., Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, 10 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1931-32).

²³ Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of Worldview," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 95-96.

²⁴ Stith Thompson, ed., Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-58).

²⁵ Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979), p. 171.

²⁶ Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 4.

²⁷ Prime among earlier works was John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds., The Ethnography of Communication, American Anthropological Association Special Publications, vol. 66 (Menasha, Wis.: American

Anthropological Association, 1964).

²⁸ John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds., Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wiston, Inc., 1972), p. vii.

²⁹ This distinction closely parallels Malinowski's concepts of "context of situation" and "context of culture." For a discussion of these terms as they apply to folkloristic communication theory, see Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein, "Introduction," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 1-7.

³⁰ Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds., Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 7.

³¹ Gumperz and Hymes, eds., Directions, p. 15.

³² Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), p. 17.

³³ Glassie, Folk Housing, p. 17.

³⁴ Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 3.

³⁵ Ben-Amos and Goldstein, p. 3.

³⁶ As he implies by his distinction of factors which "separate folklore from non-art communication." See Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University

of Texas Press, 1972), p. 10.

³⁷ Dell Hymes, "In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 132-33.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CORPUS: ITS COLLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION

Methodology: Field Research

The data upon which this study is based were collected during the course of fieldwork conducted in the French-Newfoundland community of L'Anse-à-Canards between 1979 and 1983. Three extended periods of field research, each of which lasted approximately 2 1/2 months, were conducted in 1980, 1981, and 1982, with a follow-up period of two weeks in 1983. In each of these cases, with the exception of 1980 when I was centered in Cape St. George, I lived in L'Anse-à-Canards for the entire period of data collection. During these stays, I engaged to as full an extent as possible in both the work and leisure activities of the inhabitants, most of whom I was to know personally after the first sojourn in L'Anse-à-Canards. In all, a total of 8 months were spent in the community.

Although a considerable quantity of data was collected through the technique of active and passive participant-observation, the majority of textual material was collected by means of formal tape-recorded interviews. However, in the majority of cases, these interviews were relaxed, since only rarely were recording sessions conducted before the informant had come to know the researcher socially, or at least had become aware of the nature and purpose of his activities in the community. Care was always taken to explain fully the reasons for the questions asked and the purpose to which the

collected information was to be put. The informants' familiarity and confidence were of particular consequence since the data being elicited dealt with the sensitive topic of supernatural belief, belief traditums, and belief-expression, topics which some residents were initially reluctant to discuss. In several cases, an interview which was initially of minimal success would lead subsequently to a most fruitful session, once the informant had been given reassurances by family members or close acquaintances who themselves had assisted already in the research project. Through the careful application of the interview technique, a total of over 50 hours of tape recordings were elicited in L'Anse-à-Canards proper, with an additional 10 hours collected in the neighbouring community of Maisons-d'Hiver.¹

Additional primary data were recorded through participant-observation. This technique was of particular importance to the collection of information concerning the naturally-occurring situations which give rise to the expression of supernatural belief knowledge, contextual information unobtainable through any other technique. These data were recorded for the most part in the form of field notes which were written as soon as possible after the communicative event had taken place. Notes were never taken during any expressive context. Shorter textual items were entered on 'Folklore Survey Cards,' which are formatted 5" x 8" file cards provided by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) for that purpose. Iconographic representations of belief expression, as well as general activities representative of community life, were

recorded with a 35 mm. camera. A total of 200 pages of field notes, over 350 folklore survey cards, and 250 photographic documents complete the corpus of primary data upon which this study is based.

The approximately 50 hours of tape recordings made in L'Anse-à-Canards were collected from individuals ranging in age from 25 to over 80 years; interviews were conducted in either English or French, depending upon the personal preference of the particular informant. In all, 20 permanent residents of the community were recorded, and a total of 17 of the 31 households in L'Anse-à-Canards are represented in the corpus.

The strong patterns of exogamy and patrilocality which characterize L'Anse-à-Canards dictated to some degree the choice of informants. Of the 31 male heads of household in the community, fully 27 are natives of the place. Of the 29 female heads of household, however, 21 were born and raised in other areas of the Port-au-Port Peninsula, or elsewhere in Newfoundland and mainland Canada. Thus, only 35 of the married adults (i.e. 27 men and 8 women) are native-born residents of the community and whose relationship to a supernatural belief system can be considered to have been moulded primarily by L'Anse-à-Canards tradition and can thus be considered representative of this tradition. Of these 35, 15 males and 5 females were interviewed, these figures representing approximately 55% of all native-born heads of household, and 50% of the total number of homes in L'Anse-à-Canards. Given that native-born males normally remain and establish households in L'Anse-à-Canards while females most frequently marry outside the community

and subsequently move to their spouses' community, the informant distribution by sex is, as might be expected, heavily weighted towards the males.

The 27 male heads of household are represented by just seven family names, and each family name represents one extended family (i.e. all residents possessing the same family name are blood kin). For the purpose of relative informant identification and to facilitate the labelling of texts, each of these family names will be assigned one of the first seven letters of the alphabet; however, there is not necessarily any connection between a family name's initial and the letter assigned to represent it. In the case of married females, the maiden name letter designation will be placed in square brackets immediately after their married name (e.g. M.B[E]).

Of these seven families, six are represented in the corpus of data, with distribution as follows:

| FAMILY | MALE HEADS | FEMALE HEADS |
|--------|------------|--------------|
| A | 1/2 | 1/1 |
| B | 1/2 | 1/2 |
| C | 2/5 | 0/2 |
| D | 3/4 | 0/0 |
| E | 6/7 | 2/2 |
| F | 0/5 | 0/0 |
| G | 2/2 | 1/1 |
| TOTALS | 15/27 | 5/8 |

Finally, although no formal questionnaire was employed during the collection of data, an attempt was made to broach the same body of belief-traditions and their corresponding expressive forms with each informant. In this, both active and passive knowledge of the tradition were elicited and, when active, the form in which this knowledge was manifested was recorded from the informant. By passive knowledge is meant awareness of a particular category of supernatural belief but inability or refusal to transform this knowledge into manifest performance. Active knowledge refers to the awareness of a particular cognitive category of supernatural belief and the corresponding ability to provide examples of how it is (was) manifested in tradition.

Informant attitude concerning belief and truth was elicited at all times. In addition, since many areas of supernatural knowledge are no longer believed by residents, information concerning past community attitudes was also requested, although quite often, these past attitudes were offered with no elicitation of any kind, a fact which subsequently proved to be of considerable significance and importance, as will be demonstrated in later sections of this study.

The Classification of the Textual Data-Base

As has been outlined in the preceding introductory sections, this study is concerned with a particular shared body of traditional knowledge, the manifest forms through which this cognition is expressed, and the contextual factors which determine the significance of the communication of specific information through verbal

performance. This study does not focus on any single genre of folklore, but on the process which produces manifest examples of multiform folk concepts pertaining to the supernatural tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards. This section will be devoted to the organization of this expressive material into representative formal modes.

This organization of textual data will be based on such significant criteria for differentiation as are revealed from an analysis of forms and overt textual features. No attempt will be made to "squeeze" all data into those generic categories currently recognized by folklore scholarship, although where available generic designations prove to be appropriate, they will be employed. In addition, due to the lack of consensus among folklorists concerning the precise definition and characteristics of certain genres² (e.g. legend, memorate, etc.), each category employed will be fully defined as it is to be understood for the purposes of this study. Only categories which reflect expressive forms current on L'Anse-à-Canards community culture will be used.

Since the aim of this analysis is the study of any and all oral manifestations of supernatural belief traditums, and is not concerned solely with genres per se, non-generic material will also be considered. The expression of elements of the supernatural belief tradition through the conversational mode of discourse is quite common in L'Anse-à-Canards. Owing to the spontaneous occurrence of this mode of expression in everyday conversational exchange, it has proven difficult to accumulate a large representative sampling of texts. However, folk discourse is a vital component of the

manifest level of supernatural belief expression in question, and this communicative mode will be examined in some detail in later sections of this study.

Again, it must be emphasized that this study is not a textual analysis in the conventional sense of that term, as it is not concerned with the mere enumeration and description of the texts collected in the community of L'Anse-à-Canards. Rather, it is the study of the relationship between contexts of social interaction, cultural knowledge, and manifest forms. Its primary focus is the manner in which supernatural belief traditums (or "ideas") are transformed into manifest oral forms under the influence of contextual factors, a process whereby the display of communicative competence is achieved in and through performance.

If one is to study expressive forms in context, all three of the factors outlined above can contribute the criteria for the definition and classification of manifest texts. In fact, one must consider all three (i.e. cognitive "idea," textual form, and contextual significance and function³) to achieve a complete understanding of the tradition. The use of textual form alone as a criterion for categorization is inadequate, save as a prelude, albeit a necessary prelude, to contextual analysis. Although the form of expression may remain constant from one context of interaction to another, the different circumstances governing each performance may, and in fact, as will be demonstrated, do alter the meaning (and hence the function) of the text.⁴ Central among contextual factors which serve as determinants is the communicative

intention of the communicator, which is in turn determined largely by the identities of his interactants and by the social context surrounding the communicative event. Since interaction is the major purpose of any instance of communication, the relative social roles and statuses, both ascribed and attained, of the participants in the event determine the meaning of both the manifest form of the text and the manifest form of the behaviour.

What the foregoing implies is that the classification of texts according to purely formal features cannot serve to illuminate the function of the text; hence, function and meaning must not be included in definitions of formal categories. These aspects of the tradition must be treated separately to avoid confusing modal form and the use of form by the members of the culture group. Thus, just as a given belief traditum can be expressed in a variety of different textual forms, so too can a given textual form possess a variety of different meanings in context. One must separate, therefore, the textually-based means of classification from the performance-, or contextually-based approach, since it is clear that textual function is quite different from extra-textual function.

Textual categories serve as vehicles for the communication of a variety of different areas of folk belief; that is, for the expression of a diversity of folk belief traditums or multiform folk ideas. Since we are concerned with the contents of the supernatural tradition, as well as with the expression of these contents in various forms and in various social contexts, attention must be paid

to the distinction of these ideas. Thus, the primary division of the data must reflect different cognitive categories of the traditional knowledge of the supernatural recognized within the community culture of L'Anse-à-Canards. Secondly, the formal modes by means of which these areas of traditional knowledge are manifested must be delineated.

To these ends, the textual data is divided according to general, culturally-significant cognitive categories of the supernatural tradition, each of which is in turn divided into its various specific conceptual sub-categories. Examination of the data yields the following framework of classifications:

I. Supernatural Beings

- A. 'The Devil'/'Le Diable'
- B. 'Ghosts'/'Les Esprits'
- C. 'Fairies'/'Les Lutins'

II. Supernatural Signs and Warnings

- A. 'Tokens' (Death)/'Les Avertissements'
- B. 'Forerunner'/'Les Avertissements'
- C. Miscellaneous Signs

III. Magic: Restricted (i.e. Individual-related)

- A. 'Witches'/'Les Sorcieuses'
- B. 'Seventh Sons'/'Les Septièmes'
- C. 'Charmers'/'Les Charmeurs'
- D. 'Priests'/'Les Prêtres'

IV. Magic: Non-restricted

- A. Magic Acts
- B. Magico-religious Artifacts
- C. Taboo

V. Meteorological Phenomena

- A. 'Les Marionnettes'/'Northern Lights'

Within each of these ideational sub-divisions, the data will be further classified according to a typological schema, the categories of which reflect different relationships between the total text and the supernatural belief traditums for which it serves as a vehicle of expression. Three major groups of texts are recognized through the application of this perspective. First, there are those texts which are direct statements of a belief traditum, with no explanatory remarks or elaboration beyond the expression of that traditum. Such texts as Dundes' "superstitions" would fall into this grouping, which will be referred to as TRADITUM-INTENSIVE TEXTS. Second, there are those texts wherein the basic multiform folk idea is expanded upon and is used as the thematic core around which narratives reflecting individuals' experiences--what Pentikäinen refers to as "casual encounters"⁵--with the supernatural are expressed. Or, the basic belief traditum is the subject of a descriptive or explanatory set of statements by the speaker. In both cases, the essential belief traditum is submerged in a body of narrative-contextual elements. This modal grouping will be referred to as NARRATIVE-

INTENSIVE TEXTS. It should be noted at this point that both of these categories employ primarily denotative communication for the expression of elements of the belief tradition itself.

In contrast to these two denotative textual forms, a third category is recognizable, one which contains texts whose reference to the belief tradition is achieved primarily through connotation. Such texts will be termed DISCOURSE-CENTRED COMMUNICATIONS,⁶ because, one, they often have no literal meaning, but are understood by that which they express connotatively to those sharing similar knowledge of referents; and, two, they are most often short texts, occurring spontaneously during the course of daily conversational interaction, and depend upon their relative positioning in the conversational sequence for comprehension. These texts are highly dependent upon shared cognition and common frames of reference, since they communicate far more than the text alone expresses denotatively. Because of the contextual circumstances of their utterance, these expressive forms are frequently original, and are marked examples of how traditional knowledge is used innovatively in everyday communication, as opposed to the use of traditional learned, formal texts (and their corresponding content) in more restricted contexts. For this reason, there will be no textual sub-categorization of these forms in the following presentation of texts; rather, a detailed analysis of context and function of this mode of expression will be undertaken in a later chapter.

These major typological divisions result in the following classification of textual forms into three distinct modes of

communication; a fourth category consists of reconstructed folk belief traditums not collected in oral communication.

I. Traditum-Intensive Texts

II. Narrative-Intensive Texts

A. Experience Narratives ('Les histoires')

1. Legend (unknown other)
2. Local Legend (unknown other)
3. Personal Experience Narrative (self)
4. Family Experience Narrative (known other)
5. Community Experience Narrative (known other)

B. Generalized Experiences

III. Discourse-Centered Communications

IV. Reconstructed Traditums

Narrative Modes of Belief Expression: The Reflection of Social-Cultural Relationships in Texts

As mentioned earlier, certain of the generic terms for narratives employed in the preceding classification system possess various and sometimes conflicting meanings in folklore scholarship. In order to avoid confusion and to ensure that the use of terms in this study is understood, these ambiguous terms will be defined.

The narrative form is perhaps the most easily recognizable

mode of expression in folklore. Although there has been much debate in recent years as to which genres actually constitute narratives and which do not, the term is applicable here and will be employed in the sense outlined by sociolinguist William Labov in his discussion of personal narratives. As Labov states:

Narrative is a technical term, referring to one of many linguistic devices available to speakers for the recapitulation of past experience. Narrative does this through the basic rule of narrative sequencing (Labov and Fanshel 1977), which allows the listener to infer the reported temporal order to past events from the temporal sequence of clauses in the report of these events.⁸

This is not to deny the validity of recent criticism of the practice of referring to legends and related genres as narratives,⁹ but I am using the term "narrative" here in a different sense by referring to textual content rather than contextual interaction as the primary criterion for definition. The term "narrative" will refer only to those oral stories wherein folk belief traditums are reflected in and illustrated through the episodic accounts of individuals' experiences with the supernatural.

This mode of communication is considered by many folklorists as the most frequent means of expressing folk belief. Otto Blehr defines "folk belief stories" as "stories where the folk belief elements¹⁰ appear in the context of specific events which are asserted actually to have taken place."¹¹ Such stories contain, in varying degrees of precision and detail, "contextual elements," defined by Blehr as being "the minimal units carrying meaning as to time, place, and person in a folk belief story."¹² Compare this with Labov's view that narratives "give orienting information on four

types of data: the time, the place, the participants in the action, and their general behavior before or at the time of the first action."¹³ Obviously, both scholars are describing similar phenomena, and Labov's "narrative" is a close parallel to Blehr's "story." It is perhaps noteworthy that those expressive forms I have listed under the general class of "experience-narrative" modes of expression are referred to as "les histoires" or "stories" in the terminology of L'Anse-à-Canards residents.

In the case of such narrative modes, an important distinguishing feature is the relationship of the communicator to the experience and events portrayed within the narrative text. The significance of this feature, which has been used for formal differentiation, will be fully discussed in later sections (see Chapter Ten). In general terms, however, it soon becomes evident from an examination of texts that the narrator's identity and that of the story's protagonist constitute a relationship of some significance. Glassie recognized the importance of this relationship in his research in Balleymenone, and established a means of differentiating narratives on the basis of "self," "known other," and "unknown other,"¹⁴ a practice which is particularly useful for classifying accounts of experiences according to the relationship between the narrator and his narrative's principal character. Narratives concerning "self" are, of course, memorates, or personal experience narratives, since the narrator is also the story's "hero." Stories concerning "known others" may be classified as family experience narratives, where the narrative character is a kin of the narrator, or community

experience narratives, where the principal character, although unrelated to the narrator, is recognized as being a member of his social and historical community networks. The classification of narratives as concerning "unknown others" implies that the central character is named but is cognitively unidentifiable, except in the most general of terms, by the narrator and his audience. This type of narrative also includes those in which the protagonist is unidentified except in the vaguest of terms.

Such distinctions have been recognized by other scholars, as well, and are viewed as representative of narrative traditions in general. As Blehr points out:

It is, for example, remarkable how many folk belief stories either are about the story teller's own experience, or have been told to him by a relative, or an acquaintance from another community.¹⁵

Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, in his research on Kiriwina oral tradition, also recognized the relevance of this narrator-protagonist relationship, as Lauri Honko notes:

Malinowski...ended up with the following... division on the basis of the relationship which the tradition bearer has to events told in the legend: 1) "historical accounts"--stories about events which the narrator or a person known by him (emphasis mine) has experienced "within living memory", 2) "legends"--stories about events, the historical grounds for which are not as clear as in the former, but are such that they could happen to anybody....¹⁶

It appears, then, that the divisions suggested here are reflective not only of L'Anse-à-Canards expressive forms but also of widely disparate cultures, as well. Juha Pentikäinen employs

an almost identical set of criteria in the classification of the narrative repertoire of an individual tradition bearer. This system of selecting forms and defining them on the basis of observable, socially relevant criteria results in what Pentikäinen refers to as a "natural system of genre classification."¹⁷ In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding in the categories of narrative herein employed, it is convenient to formally define each of these expressive forms.

1. Legend (focus: the supernatural belief traditum)--By the term "legend" is meant the recounting or discussion among participants of a series of events, or an experience, which is based on a supernatural belief traditum, either past or present, contained in or represented by the incident in question. As such, the term reflects many of the views proposed by such modern legend scholars as Dégh, Georges, and others.¹⁸ Important to the definition is that the narrative contains a core belief traditum which "makes its presence felt,"¹⁹ and is the thematic basis of the story itself. Although informants and participants in the communicative event may or may not consider the story or the traditum as true or valid (a feature which relates to the particular contextual factors to be discussed later), there is the general recognition that "its message is or was believed sometime, by someone, somewhere."²⁰

Often, the specific location where the experience purportedly took place is not specified among the narrative "contextual elements," but there is always the implication that the events

supposedly occurred in the real world and sometime within the relevant time depth of the participants. Finally, the term "legend," as employed here, refers to narratives dealing with an experience of an "unknown other," one who is either not identified at all, or whose identification is not relevant to the community's inhabitants.²¹ Obviously, the legend focuses primarily on the belief traditum and the events recounted which reflect an individual's experience. Person, place, and time are all elements of incidental importance, since the person is unknown, the place is unfamiliar, and the time irrelevant in terms of the personal experiences of community inhabitants. It will be demonstrated that the degree of personal, historical, and cultural relevance is of considerable consequence to the narrative modes of expression.

2. Local Legend (foci: belief traditum; place)--This category resembles the "legend" in most of its aspects, with the exception of the place where the events are reported to have unfolded. Local legends refer to experiences or occurrences attached to the community of L'Anse-à-Canards and its immediate vicinity. Although the narrative character may be identified as a past resident of the community, he is not known or familiar to any of the present generations of L'Anse-à-Canards. The central character is thus not a member of the perceived social networks of either the narrator or his audience, but is rather a generalized representative of the community's past generations. Hence, the focus of the narrative is the belief traditum and an experience which is both historically

relevant (since the protagonist is the ancestor of the community's present culture) and geographically relevant (since the experience is described as occurring in locations forming a part of residents' cognitive maps of their environment)²². These factors are reflected in the term L'Anse-à-Canards inhabitants apply to such stories: "histoires d'auparavant."

3. Personal Experience Narratives (foci: belief traditum; identity)--As the category's designation implies, these are narratives which are recounted in the first person as being the personal experiences of the narrator. Relative to the narrator, the central narrative figure is the "self"; to the participants in the communicative event, the narrative figure is a "known other," one who is both textually identifiable and contextually apparent. These different perspectives (i.e. that of the narrator and that of the audience) with regards to the narrative hero establishes an interactive framework which differentiates this mode of expression from all other narrative forms. The time depth of the experience itself is relevant to all concerned; the narrator's very presence causes a disintegration of temporal distinctions between the experience-context and the storytelling-context by bringing events of the recent past into the particularistic present of the communicative event. Such a temporal link is possible to the same extent with no other of the narrative forms employed in L'Anse-à-Canards.

4. Family Experience Narrative (foci: belief traditum; identity)--
 This includes narratives which represent the personal experience narratives of members of the narrator's immediate (and extended) family. The central character is thus a "known other" relative to the narrator and, being a member of the community, is known to the audience, as well. The difference lies in the narrator's perceived position of authority to recount the story, a position based on his affinity with the story's character. In all cases, this authority is established and validated by the narrator's reference to his relationship to the narrative's principal actor.²³

The interactive relationship this establishes between narrator and audience differs from that established during personal experience narration. The temporal link between past experience and present communicative context is less effective; however, the link of authority is established by the delineation of kinship continuance and affinity, and the narrator, just as he may be perceived as a social replacement for the individual whose experience is the focus of attention, is also perceived as the "spokesman" for his family's tradition. This position of authority is particularly important since it permits greater freedom to present the story in different lights, narrative behaviour which would be considered inappropriate to unrelated individuals. This feature will be further treated in later discussions of contextual and functional variability.

5. Community Experience Narrative (foci: belief traditum; identity)--

This category includes those narratives recounting the experiences of members of the narrator's social and cultural (but not kinship) networks. The central character in the narrative is a "known other," both to the narrator and to the audience, and the only possible differentiation between the relationship of each to the protagonist can be that based on relative social affinity. Of the "experience narratives," this is based least on a special authority, since both narrator and audience may be equally related to the central figure in the story. The temporal link between the recounted experience and the present narrative context is that based on a generational connection between narrator and character.

All of the narrative categories discussed thus far contain stories concerning the encounters between individuals and the supernatural domain. The identification of the individual has been emphasized in distinguishing different categories, since obviously this factor plays a vital role in the meaning of the narrative, in terms of both textual and contextual communicative value. It is important to note that while such terms as "known" and "unknown" have been used to characterize the degree of audience familiarity with the narrative protagonist, these terms are relative ones. No doubt, a "known other" is one who is highly identifiable, and information such as name, family alliance, social status and role, character, physical appearance are all realized by the participants in the narrative event. Even though this information may not be directly contained in the narrative text, it can be inferred upon minimal identification

by the narrator (e.g. the name of the protagonist is supplied and the rest is inferred from this minimal information). However, since inference is a personal process for each individual receiver of the information, the identification of the protagonist and one's subsequent attitude towards him in the narrative sequence is directly dependent upon each individual's already existing personal relationship with the known other. In this sense, while the performer employs his own communicative competence to express the narrative experience, the interpretation of that experience is largely created by each member of his audience. In such narrative events, "creativity" is in a sense shared by both the narrator and his audience.

In the case of narratives concerning "unknown others," such intensity and variety of identification is not possible. Inference exerts little influence on the interpretation of such texts, and the identification of the protagonist is largely dependent on the implicit information supplied by the narrator. The "unknown other" is equally related to all participants (i.e. he is not related at all). Here, the narrator is in greater control, as it is his text which is the only source of information upon which the audience can base their interpretation.

In each of the above classes of narratives--those concerning "known" and "unknown" protagonists--there is a process of identification involved, albeit the process is different in each case. The central character is individualized in some way, and is ascribed a character which is somehow relevant to the participants. Through inference, or through the narrator's development of the

character by means of a description of his behaviour and of his quoted statements in the form of dialogue, one individual's reactions to and interaction with the supernatural are presented. The outcome resulting from the protagonist's reactions is thus illustrated and is the central focus of the narrative text.

There is, however, another group of narratives which is to be distinguished from such texts whose content focuses around the individual and his experience. This category includes texts which represent historical accounts of the belief tradition of past periods of L'Anse-à-Canards society. The narrative presents the concept of the supernatural not in terms of actual (or supposedly actual) encounters, but in terms of the potential for encounters as considered possible by the belief system of past generations. Rather than presenting the belief traditum in terms of episode accounts of individuals' experiences, these texts express what, in the past, inhabitants--all inhabitants--believed would happen or be experienced under certain circumstances or in certain areas of the community and its vicinity. Such narratives contain no dialogue or character development, since they contain no character per se. Because of the textual concentration of such narratives, they will be categorized under the general rubric GENERALIZED EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES. Such narratives are largely historical-reconstructional in nature and are more statements about the culture of the past than about the supernatural as such.

Having thus established the basic categories to be employed in this classification, it should be obvious that the previously proposed

separation of text, context and function, and performance is essential to a precise representation of each aspect of traditional expression. The categories have been determined from the examination of the textual contents and oral forms of expression. Equally as important, these categories reflect what might be termed "textual function." Textual function is that which, at the manifest level of expression, serves to meet the needs arising from the performer's intentions. Traditum-Intensive Texts serve as vehicles to express core beliefs in isolation from narrative contextual elements. Experience Narratives shift the focus from the belief traditum itself to the individual, this shift becoming more intense as one moves from legend to personal experience narrative. Conversely, Generalized Experience Narratives present details of the local tradition of supernatural belief, but with no reference to individuals or encounters.

What this implies, then, is that supernatural belief traditums are expressed in textual forms which become increasingly illustrative (or "narrative intensive") and decreasingly direct statements of belief (or "traditum-intensive"). For example, the hypothetical traditum-intensive text "If you throw silver in the water and ask the Devil for wind, you'll receive it" becomes generalized in the form of a text relating how, in the past, fishermen used to do this and the consequences of this act. In turn, experience-narratives illustrating how specific individuals behaved vis-à-vis this supernatural element further introduce narrative contextual elements in which the belief traditum is buried (but by no

means lost). From this purely textual information, a continuum can be developed with "narrative-intensive" and "traditum-intensive" at opposite ends.

The choice of labels for differentiating categories of accounts is based on relative factors. Accounts taken from the community were examined and compared with reference to each other, and principal distinguishing features were identified and employed as a basis for classification. For the general category "narrative," the local term "une histoire" ("a story") was chosen. This local term is normally applied by residents to all "experience-narratives"; and, apart from the term "histoires d'aparavant," no other terminological distinction is made. The distinctions are made, however, in performance, where the recognition of certain proprieties vis-à-vis "ownership" are evident and are consequently made to enter the text. Hence, as the correspondence between narrator and protagonist increases, so does the authority to narrate.

This operational differentiation of narrative modes reflects a view of oral text as a means by which the social relationships among participants and between participants and their community are reconfirmed, and social interaction is initiated. These social relationships are certainly contextual elements; however, their essence is contained in the texts' contents. Pentikäinen elucidates this concept as follows:

When the communication of oral tradition is analyzed as social behaviour, one should examine tradition bearers not only as individual

transmitters of tradition, but also as the possessors of certain social roles, who again are expected by the community to fulfill those roles. In creating a typology for tradition bearers in a community, the social roles of the tradition bearers and the role behaviour actualized in the transmission of different genres should especially be kept in mind.²⁴

In the delineation of these categories of narrative, then, it has proven necessary to make use of the relationship of the narrator (a situational element) to the narrative protagonist (a textual element). This criterion is nevertheless a textual one, since this relationship is a part of the expressive content of the text. The above definitions therefore remain true to our previously stated concern for avoiding purely functional-contextual criteria at this stage of the analysis. It will also be demonstrated that this operational typology of texts reflects a real typology of narrators, in terms of their perceived role vis-à-vis the supernatural tradition as well as the social structure of the community as a whole.

The Presentation of the Textual Data-Base

The presentation of the corpus of textual material will adhere to certain conventions of organization. Each text will be labelled in the following manner to identify the informant from whom it was collected:

(Initials; Age; Sex)

As outlined in the section on methodology, there are seven family names

in L'Anse-à-Canards of relevance to this study, and each has been assigned a letter code. The initials of the Christian names have not been altered. The sex of the individual is indicated by the letter 'F' (female), or 'M' (male). This information will immediately precede the text itself.

Immediately following the text will be the following information:

(Date Recorded; Archival Collector's)
(Designation; Designation)

The Archival Designation follows the system used by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA). For example, the designation F3897c refers to the original taped field recording ('F' indicating 'field', small 'c' indicating 'cassette'). This 'F-number' is immediately followed by a 'C-number' --in this case, C5243--which refers to the copy made by MUNFLA of the original tape. Finally, a number--in this case B55--will supply the collector's own designation of the tape (B55 would refer to tape number 55 in the Butler collection).

Immediately following the text will be an indication of the informant's attitude concerning the truth of the text and of the belief traditum(s) contained in it. Where necessary, the datum will be reduced to the primary and secondary belief traditums underlying the expressive mode. The "primary belief traditum" is that central belief traditum without which the rest of the text would not be possible, or would be quite different. A narrative recounting the

experience of an individual who transgressed a taboo (e.g. "I'll dance tonight supposing it's with the devil himself") would have as its primary belief traditum the recognition of the consequences of taboo transgression. The "secondary belief traditums" would consist of those traditums which could be left out of the text entirely without changing the basic theme of the text, or which serve to supplement and further emphasize the traditum.

The extrapolation from the textual forms of these supernatural belief traditums will permit the reconstruction of the cognitive dimensions of the supernatural tradition which is expressed in and through performance. Because these traditums are at times overt and at times covert, they are not identical to motifs, which are textual elements of manifestly expressed contents. After each text has been analyzed following the above guidelines, a list of motif numbers representing the supernatural motifs contained in the text will be given. These motif numbers correspond to those originally assigned by Thompson in his Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. To facilitate the decoding of these numerical designations, a motif-index is provided in Appendix C. Finally, each text is assigned a number, noted in parentheses to the right of the text, to permit easy reference to the text.

Tabulation of Narrative Material

It is obvious from even a cursory examination of the data that the narrative mode is the most common means of orally expressing supernatural belief traditums in L'Anse-à-Canards community culture.

As has been discussed already in this chapter, this narrative mode is not restricted to a single formal category of expression, but encompasses essentially six such categories: Generalized Experience Narrative; Legend; Local Legend; Community Experience Narrative; Family Experience Narrative; and Personal Experience Narrative. Given the large number of texts which have been collected, it is possible to determine the relative frequency of occurrence of each category of narrative. The tabulation of these data, which is accomplished at the end of each data chapter, provides a non-impressionistic, quantitatively-coded reflection of the supernatural narrative tradition in contemporary L'Anse-à-Canards. Each area of the supernatural belief-tradition is so coded in the appropriate chapter.

While such a quantification provides a view of the relative frequency of occurrence of each narrative category, its value would be restricted to purely textual considerations if information concerning the performer was not included. During my experience as a participant-observer in L'Anse-à-Canards over the course of a five-year period of field research, it became apparent that the major social variable which differentiates performer status in this community is age. By thus co-tabulating this variable of age with that of narrative category, quantitative information reflecting narrator-narrative relationships is readily deduced. These data are tabulated following the model presented below:

Table 4-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of 'Devil Experience Narratives' in L'Anse-à-Canards.

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| 60+ | 1 (1) | 12 (9) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 15 (9) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) |
| 25- 40 | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) |
| TOTALS | 2 (2) | 14 (11) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 18 (12) |

G Generalized Experience Narrative

L Legend

LL Local Legend

CEN Community Experience Narrative

FEN Family Experience Narrative

PEN Personal Experience Narrative

The category of narrative occupies the horizontal axis while the age variable, reflecting the basic generational divisions, occupy the vertical axis. Each cell of the table contains two figures; the topmost represents the number of examples of a particular narrative category collected from a specific age group. The figure enclosed in brackets provides the number of different individuals who provided these narratives. Thus, the above table indicates that 12

legend texts were collected from 9 different informants over the age of 60.

The table thus supplies the following information concerning the supernatural narrative tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards:

- a) The number of narrative texts collected for the belief category designated by the table title.
- b) The total number of different informants able to perform in the narrative mode.
- c) The number of narrative texts collected in each narrative category.
- d) The correspondence between performer age and narrative category.

From the table can be deduced the relative frequency of occurrence of each narrative category for the belief category under consideration. It also indicates the relative narrative competence of each age group, as deduced from the frequency of their actual performance. The table thus provides information concerning both the text and the performer, and the patterns which can be extracted relate the narrative tradition to the general social variable of generational differentiation.

Chapter Nine will present a comparative cross-analysis of the

different categories of supernatural belief and will present quantification of the total narrative data-base, so that general patterns of the narrative tradition, regardless of belief-category, can be determined.

A Note on Transcription

There exist a variety of principles and techniques which may be applied to the transcription of oral folkloristic data, and each reflects the relative perspectives and aims of those who employ them.²⁵ Many folklorists, considering the contents to be of primary importance, choose to transcribe the texts into standard orthographic equivalents and to standardize the grammatical structure of the oral text. Taken to the extreme, this results in a reworked text whose final form bears little resemblance to the original oral text. Such scholars obviously are not concerned with preserving in the transcribed form the oral features--style, pronunciation, and dialectal particulars--of their data.

At another extreme is the transcription technique motivated by a concern with the text as an example of oral literature. For the transcript to be of value, scholars consider it essential that all features of the original oral performance be represented in the transcript. It is just such a concern with oral folk aesthetics and the context of folklore performance which motivated the complex system of transcription designed by Thomas in his ongoing study of the Märchen in French-Newfoundland culture.²⁶

Finally, some folklorists feel that it is only through the use

of linguistic phonetic transcription that the above-mentioned oral features can be fully and accurately represented.²⁷

The principles herein to be followed in the presentation of textual data reflect a position falling somewhere between these extremes. The system of transcription to be employed in the presentation of the textual data-base will involve the application of the principles and conventions of standard French (S.F.) orthography. Hence, the non-standard pronunciation of the Newfoundland-French (N.F.) dialect will not be reflected in the transcripts. There are a number of reasons for this choice. First, no system of prose transcription, standard or non-standard, is entirely accurate in its representation of the phonological system of a language. Full accuracy can only be achieved through the application of narrow phonetic transcription, which is immensely time consuming. Secondly, the pronunciation of lexical items is of little importance to the present analysis since, unlike Thomas' work on the folktale, we are not concerned with the aesthetics of folk performance of artistic genres. Finally, the non-standard pronunciation of North American French dialects is a linguistically predictable feature, so much so that it may be inferred from standard orthography by phonologists familiar with the Acadian varieties of the language.²⁸

This standardization of the orthography does not imply the elimination of all dialect features from the transcripts, and non-standard morphology and syntax are retained. The aim of folkloristic transcription has long been the presentation of the informants' accounts in their own words. Hence, word order, or

syntax, is naturally to be retained here. Non-standard morphology includes the units of meaning (or morphemes) contained in a particular language variety. Non-standard morphemes can consist either of complete lexical items (or words) or of segments of words which convey specific meaning. For example, in N.F., the third person plural form of the verb "aller" ("to go") is [il alɔ̃] ("ils allont") as contrasted with the S.F. [il vɔ̃] ("ils vont"). Both examples consist of two morphemes marking, respectively, action ("to go"), and person/number (third person, plural). This latter morpheme is identically represented in both S.F. and N.F. as "-ont." However, the first morpheme is completely different in each variety of French. Where S.F. employs the radical "v-," N.F. uses the radical "all-," a difference which reflects the regularization of the plural form of the verb in N.F. (i.e. "nous allons, vous allez, ils allont"). Non-standard morphology must be retained in the transcript for two reasons. First, if the "words of the informant" are to be presented, then their morphology, both standard and non-standard, must be presented; there is no other choice possible. Second, to standardize non-standard morphology would be tantamount to changing a carrier of meaning. If this principle is adopted, then the entire transcript may be reworded, causing a distortion of the information content communicated by the informant. Hence, both standard and non-standard morphology is necessarily to be retained, and is represented through the consistent application of standard French orthography.

To summarize, then, an internally consistent technique reflecting

the needs of the present study has been selected. Transcription will involve the orthographic standardization of all non-standard dialectal pronunciation. Thus, the Newfoundland-French word [ʔeriv] (S.F. [gériv]) is transcribed using the standard orthographic representation "guérir." Non-standard morphology is reflected in the transcription through the analogous application of S.F. orthography. Thus, the N.F. [iʔgardø] (S.F. [il ʔεgard]) is transcribed as "ils regardont." The syntax of the original recording is retained at all times. Finally, English words which have been integrated into the dialect as nouns or verbs are transcribed using English orthography. Thus, the Newfoundland-French verb form [il ʔεbak] is transcribed "il reback." All such borrowings from English, as well as code-switches from French to English during the course of speech, are underlined in the transcripts.²⁹

A number of transcription conventions are used in the presentation of texts. These are as follows:

- ... pause
- / interruption in speech
- () non-textual aside
- [] indistinct word or words

Punctuation marks (such as commas, periods, question marks, etc.) carry their standard meaning.

Notes

¹ All recordings were made using a Sony TC-142 cassette tape recorder and Sony LNX-60 cassettes. Equipment was provided by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA).

² Wayland D. Hand, ed., American Folk Legend: A Symposium (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). See also Linda Dégh, Folktales and Society: Story-telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community, trans. Emily M. Schossberger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 131-34.

³ Juha Pentikäinen notes that in "defining the limits between memorate and legend, special attention has to be directed to the examination of content, function, and structure." See Juha Pentikäinen, "Belief, Memorata, and Legend," Folklore Forum 6 (1973), 233.

⁴ Alan Dundes cites an example where an identical text can be considered to be either a superstition or a proverb, depending on the context of its utterance and the function it subsequently serves. See Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of World View," in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. 94.

⁵ Juha Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire and World View: An Anthropological Approach to Marina Takalo's Life History." Folklore

Fellows Communications XCIII, 219. (Helsinki: Academia Scientarium Fennica, 1978), p. 122. According to Pentikäinen, a "casual encounter is generally unexpected and surprising in nature. The experiencer believes himself to be at the mercy of the supernatural being...."

⁶ In modern theories of discourse analysis, the term "discourse" is often used to refer to meanings beyond oral formal content. However, the term is used frequently to refer to conversational interaction, and it is in this sense that it is intended here. For a fuller discussion of the various uses of the term, see Deborah Tannen, ed., Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1982). The particular concept of "folk discourse" is defined and discussed in Chapter Eleven of the present study.

⁷ "Les histoires" is the ethnic category applied by the residents of L'Anse-à-Canards to designate experience narratives of the type discussed in this study. This category is primarily in contrast with the term "les contes" which refers to fictional folktales proper. Truth is a major trait distinguishing the two general categories of narratives, and it is not uncommon to hear a resident pass judgement on a particular story of saying "Ce n'est qu'un conte, c'est pas vrai, ça."

⁸ William Labov, "Speech Actions and Reactions in Personal Narratives," in Tannen, ed., p. 225.

⁹ Linda Deġh and Alexander Vazsonyi, "Legend and Belief," in

Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 93-123.

¹⁰ That is, folk belief traditums.

¹¹ Otto Blehr, "The Analysis of Folk Belief Stories and Its Implications for Research on Folk Belief and Folk Prose," Fabula 9 (1967), 259.

¹² Blehr, p. 259.

¹³ Labov, p. 226.

¹⁴ Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Balleymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 70.

¹⁵ Blehr, p. 260.

¹⁶ Lauri Honko, "Genre Analysis in Folkloristics and Comparative Religion," Temenos 3 (1968), 58.

¹⁷ Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire," p. 127.

¹⁸ See Hand, ed., American Folk Legend, passim.

¹⁹ Dégh and Vazsonyi, p. 119.

²⁰ Dégh and Vazsonyi, p. 119.

²¹ Blehr sees this as a basis for the separation of belief legends and belief stories (i.e. experience narratives), because the former "lack the contextual elements specifying the protagonist, his trustworthiness, and also the place where the event occurred...." (Blehr, p. 261).

²² W.H. Jansen defines local legends as "local because they record events, locations, people, or opinions of the community which in some way includes the performer, the auditors, their families, and perhaps their ancestors." See William Hugh Jansen, "The Raison d'Être of Some Local Legends," in Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), p. 259.

²³ See Chapter Ten of the present study.

²⁴ Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire," p. 16.

²⁵ For a discussion and comparison of various transcription systems, see Vivian Labrie, Précis de transcription de documents d'archives orales (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1982).

²⁶ Gerald Thomas, Les deux traditions: le conte populaire chez les Franco-Terreneuviens (Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1983), pp. 187-93.

²⁷ Labrie, Précis de transcription.

²⁸ In addition, the presentation of non-standard phonology can result in "difficulties in reading." See Patrick Mullen, 'I Heard the Old Fishermen Say': Folklore of the Texas Gulf Coast, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), p. ix.

²⁹ For a discussion of anglicisms and code-switching in the Newfoundland-French dialect, see Gary R. Butler and Ruth King, "Discourse Strategies in a Bilingual Context: Conversational Code-

switching in L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland," to appear in Papers from the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistics Association, ed. T. Gordon (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1985).

For information on the dialect of Newfoundland French, see Ruth King, "Le Parler français de l'Anse-aux-Canards/Maisons-d'Hiver (Baie St-Georges, Terre-Neuve): Etude phonologique et morphologique, suivie d'un lexique," M.A. Diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978. A quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of certain features of the dialect is to be found in Ruth King, "Variation and Change in Newfoundland French: A Sociolinguistic Study of Clitics," Ph.D. Diss. Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Introduction

Supernatural beings occupy a position of prominence in the belief tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards, and although the belief of residents is not as strong or as general as it once was, the knowledge of the supposed nature of these beings has remained quite widespread in the community.

Three supernatural beings are recognized in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition, these being 'le diable'/the devil, 'les esprits'/ghosts, and 'les lutins'/fairies. Of these, the first two are the most generally familiar, and both young and old bilingual speakers are able to identify these concepts in both English and French. The third category--'les lutins'/fairies--is known to younger speakers only by its English term. No speaker under the age of 45 was able to identify the meaning of the French term, a fact which indicates a decline in belief-expression with regards to this particular area of traditional knowledge. Indeed, only two informants, both over the age of 70, could provide narrative forms of expression, and even these were somewhat incomplete. In addition, both narratives were personal experience narratives, wherein the informants interpreted encountered phenomena in terms of remembered traditional knowledge. Neither informant could provide texts of narratives they might have heard performed in the past, whereas every other category

of supernatural belief contains examples of other than memorate forms.

Obviously, the 'lutin' tradition has been in decline, both in terms of belief and of belief-expression, for many years, possibly since before the turn of the century. This is further supported by a statement made by one of the informants that it was "rien que les Français qui en parlaient..." ("only the French from France talked about it...").¹ Since the European French no longer frequented this area after the treaty of 1904, this statement helps determine a time-depth of roughly eighty years since the beginning of this tradition's degeneration in L'Anse-à-Canards. Of course, it is also possible that the tradition was never firmly established in the first place.

In contrast, 'le diable' and 'les esprits' are still universally recognized cognitive categories among L'Anse-à-Canards residents, although communicative competence, or ability to perform, shows considerable variation. This may be due to a number of factors, the most probable being the connection between these categories of supernatural beings and the doctrine of institutionalized religion. L'Anse-à-Canards residents are, without exception, adherents to the Roman Catholic faith, and religion plays an important role in the enculturation process in this community. This is by no means to imply that residents display strong belief in the possibility of encountering these beings, but rather that the Church provides an ever-present frame of reference which continually gives significance and meaning to the notions of spirit and devil. This secondary

frame of reference tends to complement the primary framework of meaning represented by the community's tradition of supernatural belief-expression. This complementary relationship provides L'Anse-à-Canards residents with a sufficient validation of the existence of the devil and the spirit, although the definition of these concepts differs from that of the community tradition. Traditional belief-expression concerning encounters with ghosts or the devil thus focuses on whether or not these sacred beings can exist in the profane world and interact with human individuals. This was a fairly widespread belief within living memory in the community, although it is much diminished in strength at present.

The above discussed supernatural beings are all examples of what are commonly referred to in anthropological writings as "sacred" beings.² In particular, the devil and ghost concepts are obvious categories deriving from L'Anse-à-Canards folk religion, past or present. These beings are perceived of as occupying a level of existence beyond the sphere of the natural, or "profane" order, and human beings are usually presented as being at the mercy of these supernatural beings. Interaction with them is generally considered to be undesirable and fraught with danger.

This idea of the danger of entering into contact with sacred beings is expressed clearly in the majority of L'Anse-à-Canards texts concerning the devil. With a few exceptions, these legends and local legends relate encounters with the devil, and the harmful (1, 14), often fatal (5, 6, 8) consequences of these encounters. Similarly, apart from several negative texts which debunk the belief

itself, texts concerning ghostly apparitions contain an implication of danger, and that contact with the spirits of the dead is to be avoided. This danger derives directly from the impossibility of controlling the nature and direction of interaction once the encounter has been initiated.

A. THE DEVIL/'LE DIABLE'

Variant Terminology: 'La vilaine bête' (common)

'Le boubou' (infants)

'Le serpent' (rare; one example)

'Le monstre' (rare; one example)

Traditional Terms: 'Le pain du diable' -- mushrooms

'La médecine du diable' -- herbal concoction
given to cows shortly after they have calved

AI. TRADITUM-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Superstition I, Text 1 (F.E.; 70; M) (1)

F.F.: Plus que tu nommes le diable, plus proche qu'il vient.

(15/07/80; Card 115)

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: C432

Superstition I, Text 2 (M.B.[E]; 60; F) (2)

M.B.[E]: The more you speak of the devil, the closer he comes.

(20/08/82; Card 116)

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: C432

Superstition II, Text 1 (W.E.; 27; M) (3)

W.E.: If you walks around the house at twelve o'clock with the
ace of spades, you'll meet the devil.

(27/05/82; FS957c/C5880; B78)

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.6.1.1

Superstition III, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M) (4)

E.E.: Si tu faisais bien, si tu as comme devenu riche ou de quoi
de même, bien, ils disaient que tu t'engageais au diable.

(12/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.22.5

III. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Experience Narratives

Legend I, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M) (5)

J.E.: Bien, il y en a un qui avait fait un...un, un gros party, là. Vous savez, eh...puis là, il ch/ il cherchait un joueur de violon...Puis il pouvait pas en trouver. Pas de joueur de violon. Puis asteure, ah...il y avait pas de joueur de violon, [].

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Puis il a rencontré un homme. Il avait un chapeau noir sur la tête puis, euh...Le premier lui parlait, il dit "Je, je cherche un joueur de violon," il dit. "Je peux pas en trouver un," il dit. Quand même que ça serait le diable," il dit, "je le prendrais pour, pour jouer du violon."... "Bien, moi," il dit, "je suis pas le diable, mais je peux jouer du violon." (laughs) "Oh, bien," il dit, "si tu peux jouer du violon," il dit, "viens-t-en!" il dit. []... Bien, il s'en va. Mais quand qu'il a commencé à jouer du violon, il avait des, il avait des, il avait pas de pieds. C'était pareil comme des pattes de cheval...Et ça tapait tout dur, eh. Oui. Anyway, il s'en [] puis là, ils dansaient, dansaient, dansaient. Mais ils pouvaient pas arrêter!...Ils pouvaient pas arrêter puis ils dansent et dansent. Ils ont dansé toute la nuit puis le lendemain toute la journée puis, oh!...Ils ont dansé si longtemps qu'il y avait plus rien de reste. Il y avait plus que les têtes, ça (laughs)...Puis il avait des, la place qu'il a [] avec ses pattes de cheval allaient.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

J.E.: Asteure, bien, c'était dit pour la verité.

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Il a dit, bien, quand même que ça aurait été le diable, il l'aurait pris. Je pense, le diable, c'était peut-être lui, puis il savait ce qu'il avait dit, vous savez?

(23/06/80; F3487c/C4824; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in fatal fulfillment of request.

SECONDARY TRADITUMS: The devil is human in form, except for his feet, which are horse's hooves.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.3.1; G303.51.; C12.2; *G303.9.8.2; G303.4.5.3; D2061.1.2

Legend I, Text 2 (W.C.; 75; M)

W.C.: Oh. oui. (laughs) Oui, oui, oui. Oui, oui. Oui. Oui, oui, ils avaient pas de... Ils étaient pour [] un party, puis là, il pouvaient pas trouver personne pour jouer, eh. Ça fait, [] a trouve, euh, ils ont trouvé..."Je vais, moi, trouver un joueur de violon," il dit. "Je m'inquiète pas," il dit "quand même c'est le diable," il dit, "je m'en vais, je m'en vais trouver un joueur." Ça fait, il a parti puis il a rencontré ce gars ici, vois-tu? Puis, euh, il avait son violon. "Bien," il dit, euh, "je ch/ je cherchais justement," il dit "pour," il dit, "pour... Nous avons un,

un time," il dit, "puis nous avons pas de joueur." "Bien," il dit, [] Il dit "oui." Ça fait, il a venu puis il a, il a commencé à jouer. Et ils ont joué...ils ont dansé, bien, jusque, jusque, ils avaient plus de jambes de reste. [] ils ont viré sur leurs têtes. Puis ils dansaient.

G.B.: Dansaient sur la tête?

W.C.: Oui (laughs) C'est une histoire, c'est une histoire d'un conte.

(20/08/82; F5965c/C5888;B86)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in fatal fulfillment of request.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.3.1; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2

Legend I, Text 3 (M.E.; 45; M)

(7)

M.E.: Il avait, ils avaient une danse, euh, de, de...bien, pas ici asteure, mais dans une école, je sais pas où...Et puis, euh...il, il y a quelqu'un qui a dit, euh, il dit, "As-tu quelqu'un pour jouer ce soir?"..."Non," il dit, "mais je vais trouver quelqu'un," il dit, "quand même c'est le diable!" ... (To G.B.) Il t'a pas conté ça?

G.B.: Euh, vas-y.

M.E.: Et puis, euh...il était sur le chemin, anyway, puis...il rencontrait un, ce gars ici...à pied...chapeau dessus puis

le violon...Puis il marchait..."Ah!" il dit, "Où est-ce que tu vas?" "Oh" il dit, "on rodait." Il dit "Tu viendras de, jouer pour la danse ce soir?" il dit. Il dit "Oui."
 "Bien," il dit. "Oui, j'irai."...Puis ils ont [] c'est 'Le Jig du Diable.' []...Il était là puis là, il...il commençait à jouer puis les, les, le monde a commencé à danser...Puis ils pouvaient pas arrêter de danser. Ils ont dansé, puis leurs hardes tombaient de dessus...Puis il y avait quelqu'un qui a aperçu qu'il a...tu sais, les pieds, eh... Les pieds, c'étaient des pattes, des pattes de cheval, eh. Des pattes de bête...Puis quand qu'ils ont vu, mon (laughs). Ils ont fui. Ils ont passé la porte puis là, son chapeau [] s'en était de dessus puis les cornes ont sorti puis (laughs)...Oui.

R.B.: Ca, c'était un joke, ou quoi?

M.E.: Non. Là, c'était vrai, ça qu'ils disaient. Oui.

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in harmful fulfilling of request.

SECONDARY TRADITUMS: The devil is human in form, except for his feet, which are animal hooves.

: The devil is horned.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.9.8.2; *D2061.1.2; G303.4.5.3.1; G303.4.1.6

Legend I, Text 4 (M.A.; 60; F)

(8)

G.B.: Et, euh, je sais pas. J'ai entendu une histoire comme...
ils cherchaient un musicien pour une danse ou quelque
chose puis...

M.A.: Oh, oui!

G.B.: de quoi que...

M.A.: J'ai entendu parler de ça, oui.

G.B.: Oui?

M.A.: Ils voulaient un joueur de violon, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.A.: Et le gars...le gars de la maison, bien, il dit, il dit
"Quand même que ça sera le diable qui rentrerait," il dit...
il dit "je l'aurais pour jouer." Il a dit ça comme ça,
mais...Ça s'a fait pareil! Il a rentré...bien, c'est
celui-là comme je disais asteure, qu'il avait un pied pareil
comme un...comme une bête.

G.B.: Oui.

M.A.: Puis le pied, un pied pareil comme un, une personne, là.

G.B.: Ah, oui. Et qu'est-ce que...?

M.A.: Il s'est mis à jouer. Et jouer, et jouer, puis il arrêta
pas. Puis eux, eh bien...ils étaient sur la place. Et
c'est ce coup-là asteure que le monde a, a pas arrêté
de danser. En dernier, ils dansaient sur leurs têtes!

(01/06/81; F3891c/C5237; B49)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results
in fatal fulfilling of request.

SECONDARY TRADITUMS: The devil has one human foot and one animal
hoof.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.4.5.3.1; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2

Analysis, Legend I

Although all texts (See Appendix A for additional texts) show some variation in detail in the description of the devil, the majority are remarkably consistent with regards to one particular feature, this being the jokingly blasphemous remark made by the dance organizer that he'd accept anyone to play the violin, even the devil. Of the nine complete texts, fully seven of them (Texts 1-7) centre on this detail:

Text 1: "Quand même que ça serait le diable [] je le prendrais pour, pour jouer du violon."

Text 2: "Je vais, moi, trouver un joueur de violon [].
Je m'inquiète pas [] quand même c'est le diable."

Text 3: "Non [] mais je vais trouver quelqu'un [] quand même c'est le diable."

Text 4: "Quand même que ça sera le diable qui rentrerait [] je l'aurais pour jouer."

Text 5: "Quand même, quand même c'est le diable [] S'il peut jouer le violon [] je m'en vais l'avoir."

Text 6: "...quand même il serait le diable, il...il l'aurait pris."

Text 7: "...je m'en vais aller chercher un gaillard pour []

Je minderais pas comme c'est le diable."

In text eight, the devil asks to play at the dance, and in text nine, he is invited, but the blasphemous remark is not present. In addition, the consequences of the remark are identical in most cases, this being the unhappy fate of the dancers. The one exception is Text 3, where the dancers are able to flee. The legend is obviously a didactic one similar to those outlined by Halpert in a recent article.³ Significantly, in most cases, the informants are over sixty years of age and all describe having heard the story told as true in the past, although none believe it to be so at present.

Finally, the one remaining text (Text 10), which is more a description of the legend's contents than a performance, omits the key element. This text was elicited from an informant 45 years of age; no informant under the age of 40 was able to perform the legend, and no informant under the age of 30 was even remotely familiar with it.

Legend II, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(9)

G.B.: Oui...Mais est-ce qu'il y a avait des gens qui croyaient au diable comme ça, euh, sur terre?

J.G.: Oh...auparavant? Oui, dame! I guess!...Bien, il y avait une femme...Madame LaFlame, là...Elle était mariée avec un

Français à St. Pierre, là. Un jeune homme qui s'est fait noyer. Et puis elle est revenue. Elle restait avec mon grand-père après, là. Et puis mon frère m'a dit la même histoire. Puis elle m'a dit la même affaire, là, pour un captain, Léon Ecosse. Ah, oui, qu'il a, Captain Léon Ecosse... un Français qui l'a...et puis euh...Il était un pêcheur, tu sais, un captain de pêcheurs. Anyway, il manquait un homme...pour son équipage. Il voulait...aller en pêche mais là, il, il manquait un homme puis ça, ça le retardait. Il dit une journée, quand même que ça, enfin, c'est le diable, qu'il aurait rencontré, il l'aurait engagé pour...Comme de fait, Il s'en va à terre puis bientôt, il rencontrait un homme. Il lui a demandé s'il voulait s'engager et..."Oui, sûr!" Ils s'en vont. [] Ils s'en vont au...en pêche. Ils arrivaient sur le...fond de pêche...y ont mis à pêcher puis... [] Ça arrivait le soir que...le diable...qu'il était sur le watch--comment, je m'en rappelle/comment est-ce que vous disez ça en français?--Mais lui qui était regarder sur le watch anyway, là...Il y a un des matelots qui s'a levé... et puis quand qu'il a, quand qu'il a monté sur le pont...bon, le goëlette est prêt à, prêt à couler. Il était plein d'un bout à l'autre de morue (laughs). Tout ce, c'était ligné des deux bords (laughs) des deux bords du bateau tout plein de petits diables qui halient la morue (laughs)....Puis...puis il faut pas leur dire que c'était pas vrai, eh. []... Anyway, il a venu à St. Pierre...[] il arrivait là. Il,

il [] le captain vois-tu. Le captain euh ça. Il les a, il les arrêta...Il les arrêta de pêcher puis...oh, il arrivait à terre, bien, il s'en va voir le prêtre...Puis le pr/ il lui demandait quoi faire. Bien, il dit c'était, il... il avait le diable qui pêchait avec lui. Le prêtre lui dit..."Donnez...sa même part comme tu donneras aux autres, comme tu l'engageais." Puis il dit, "S'il y a, il y a un sou de différence, coupe-le en deux," il dit, "puis lui donner." []...pas pour/ Là, il voulait, il/ Le diable voulait pas en prendre..."Oh, oui! Oh," il dit, "Oui... Tu vas être obligé de le prendre." Anyway, il l'a fait le prendre puis le diable, en partant, il enlève le coin de la maison (laughs). Il a parti, mais il a enlevé le coin de la maison (laughs).

G.B.: Le diable?

J.G.: Oui...Mais asteure...c'est, c'est [] si tu veux. Moi, je l'ai pas []. Non. Mais il y en avont, ils savent cette histoire-là, je te garantis des Français qui venaient de St. Pierre, oh! Ils avont ça, oui. Ils savent tout.

(23/06/80; F3489c/C4827c; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance can result in establishment of diabolic pact, which must be fulfilled exactly.

SECONDARY TRADITUMS: The devil is human in form.

: The devil has demonic assistants to do his bidding.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.3.1; G303.17.2

Legend Analysis

This legend is much less widely known in L'Anse-à-Canards than is the previous one, and in fact, apart from a similar version told as a local legend (Item No. 14), this is the only example collected. Although quite different in content, this legend is similar to Legend I in that its primary belief traditum focuses on the danger of carelessly expressing a willingness to accept the devil's help. It differs in that the pact so established is not inescapable.

Legend III, Text 1 (M.G.; 70; F)

(10)

M.G.: Ah, oui. Bien, il y a eu ceux, qu'ils avaient...ils avaient joué dans une maison puis ils jouaient aux cartes, eh. Rappelles-tu de celui-là, là?

J.G.: Non.

G.B.: Non.

M.G.: Oui, ils étaient en train de jouer aux cartes puis, il a eu un game avec eux. Asteure, un, ils ont perdu une carte en dessous de la table ou quelqu'affaire, puis...quand qu'ils se sont baissés pour ramasser la carte ils ont vu que... c'était une patte de bête qu'il avait. Euh, il avait un, un, un pi/ un pied puis l'autre, l'autre pied, c'était...c'était

de bête. Bien, c'est comme ça que...c'était comme ça qu'ils avont su que c'était le diable, eh.

G.B.: Et qu'est-ce qui se passait?...Pourquoi est-ce qu'ils joui^{ent} aux cartes?

M.G.: Bien, là, le Bon Sang sait que faire que quelque/...Je pense qu'ils manquaient un pour faire leur game puis...tu sais...Ils auraient, ils avont, ils disient, bien, ils avont demandé au diable pour venir jouer avec eux, je pense. (laughs)

G.B.: Est-ce que vous connaissez cette histoire?

J.G.: Non!

M.G.: Non.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil can assume human form but is recognizable by one of his feet, which is an animal's hoof.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: Soliciting the devil's aid can result in the fulfillment of the request.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12; G303.4.5.3.1; G303.6.1.5

Legend Analysis

This legend, unknown even to the informant's spouse, is the only example of the legend of the devil as cardplayer, although a 'conte' (i.e. a Märchen) collected from another resident informant contains this motif.

This text is less clear as to the cause and the consequences of the devil's presence at the card game. In fact, the primary traditum in this text concerns the manner in which the devil can be identified.

Legend IV, Text 1 (T.D.; 35; M)

(11)

T.D.: Yeah. That's just like 'The Devil's Jig.'... 'Devil's Jig.'...I think, yeah. Remember that one []. 'The Devil's Jig' or something like that? 'Devil's Reel' or something?

R.B.: Yeah.

G.B.: And what's that?

T.D.: It, it, it's euh...this person, and he was going to be hung, eh. And he was in jail so he was...He didn't know any music or something like that, anyway. He was supposed to be hung the next day...and he, and he composed a, a reel or jig, whatever...they calls it 'The Devil's Reel' or something.

R.B.: Yeah.

T.D.: Well, you heard E. play...

R.B.: Yeah.

T.D.: Uncle R. and Uncle J., they all know the jig.

R.B.: But what happened to you when you finished, you know?
Or, or nothing happens?

T.D.: I don't know if it means anything but...well just...just

that, euh, he didn't know how to play, eh. You know, he didn't know how to play the violin when he...euh...he just made up the jig and...

R.B.: Oh, that's where the tune came from?

T.D.: That's where the tune came from.

G.B.: Why would they call it 'The Devil's Jig?'

T.D.: I don't know...

(18/05/82: F5953c/C5876; B74)

Legend Analysis

Although this legend contains no belief traditum as such, the legend displays a knowledge of the special status this fiddle tune has been accorded in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition. There is an implication of supernatural elements, such as in the unusual circumstances of the tune's composition. This is further reflected in R.B.'s question about the consequences of playing the tune. Hence, although the text contains no supernatural traditums, it makes both nominal and indirect reference to the tradition's beliefs concerning the devil.

Legend V, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(12)

E.E.: Toujours il y avait un homme un coup...Il gagnait sa, il était un pêcheur...Puis il pouvait prendre la morue. C'est, il en prenait, mais dame, justement pour...et puis il y en avait d'autres, c'est des/ ça chargeait! Puis lui, Il

pouvait pas prendre rien. Bien...par un jo/ une bonne journée, il était assez découragé, il savait pas quoi faire...Il trouvait ça dur que les autres preniot en masse de la, de la morue, puis lui, il en prenait pas...Mais, il dit..."Garde!"...Il va en bas à la côte pour pousser son dory. Pousser son dory au pl/ auprès de le, le, le, de l'eau. "Bien," il dit, "A matin," il dit, "le diable," il dit, "je m'engage à toi,"...il dit, "que si tu mé, me donnes un," i dit, "un dory [] de morue," i dit, "c'est ça," il dit, "Tu es mon homme." Il dit ça. Puis il s'en va...Bon, que je te hale dedans! Puis il a voulu de la quitter mais il vo/ il allait couler. Bien, il se pousse pour la terre...Puis il travaille ça, puis il s'en va encore. Puis que/ lui, là, il gagnait tout, là. Oh, il était le champion des pêcheurs après!...Tu vois? Ca a peut-être jamais arrivé mais c'est justement pour dire, vois-tu, ah?

G.B.: Oui, oui.

E.E.: You know.

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: One can sell one's soul to the devil in order to become successful.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G303.22.5

Legend Analysis

This legend is similar to previous ones with one important difference, this being the nature of the making of the pact between human and devil. This legend represents a voluntarily and deliberately made "contract."

Legend VI, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(13)

Resume noted on "Folklore Survey Card":

A lumberjack hears a sound one night like someone chopping wood. He goes out with his lunch and lays it on a tree stump. He then addresses the 'diable' saying that, if he would cut his wood for him, he could have as much of his lunch as he wanted. This was done.

It was necessary to offer some payment to the devil, or else the devil could take your "âme à l'enfer avec lui."

(07/05/82; Card 21)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil can be made to perform services with impunity, as long as some payment was offered and paid.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.22.9

Local Legend I, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(14)

M.B.: Bien, c'est pareil comme là, celui-là, le pêcheur que je

te contais jus/ je te contais d'ailleurs.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.B.: Bien, celui-là qui voulait le...le...un, un équipage. Un crew member. Un crew member, c'est un équipage en an/français.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Il voulait un homme []. "Bien," il dit, "peut-être je vais trouver un cette soirée-là. Aujourd'hui il faut que j'en trouve un, quand même que c'est le diable."...Et comme de fait, il a venu, euh...je crois que ç'avait arrivé au Portage ici. Il a rencontré un homme là sur le chemin puis habillé encore comme un monsieur. Puis ça sort encore "Bonsoir, capitaine." puis "Bonsoir, monsieur." Puis... "Bien, je suis en train de chercher un homme, là," il dit, "pour un, pour venir sur mon bateau."--C'est un 'goëlette à pêcher' que dit des Français--"Oui? Bien, moi," il dit, "ce que je cherche," il dit, "un...it's a...un job." Je sais quoi faire, il cherchait de l'ouvrage ou il.... Je sais pas si c'est un job sur un bateau, mais dame, je m'en souviens pas comment euh...beaucoup comment l'histoire allait euh là...Anyway, il l'a, il l'a engagé dessus le bateau, mais au soir...dans le, dans le soir il y avait du ...Il y a tout le temps eu un guard, eh, mais euh, jamais sur le pont du bateau, eh.---Le pont du bateau c'est le...

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: le deck, eh, mai...ça fait il...Ça fait il a entendu du

train, c'était euh...Non, mais la soirée-là, bien, le, des... un des...un, un de les guards—je sais pas, je peux pas le dire en français--Mais lui, il avait [] en train de travailler. Il entendait du carillon...Puis il était en train de travailler. Il était en train de commander, eh. Il comman/ commandait du, comme il commandait du monde.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Il les commandait à travailler...Ça fait, il a été le dire au captain, et le captain se levait...Puis il dit, "regar/ Il y avait peut-être comme deux ou trois cents petits diables tout autour du bateau. Ils haliont la morue, quoi, ce qu'il a coulé le ba/ (laughs) gallion à mor/ (laughs) à, à, tout/ chaque une fourchette.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Puis le vieux qui commandait, eh, il, il les, il les drivait, eh. (laughs) Mais dame...il attrapait en temps que ...le, le capitaine l'attrape/ l'attrapait en temps, bien, il l'arrêtait. Bien...bien, il était obligé, je sais pas, il était obligé d'aller voir le prêtre après puis... c'était tout le temps le prêtre qui venait dans l'histoire, là.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

M.B.: Il était voir le prêtre pour le...pour voir ce qu'il pouvait faire. Puis il pouvait pas se claircir claircir de lui, puis il était...juste engagé. Bien, il dit "Asteure, ça, tu peux te claircir," il dit,..."C'est euh...lui donner

tout euh...deux tiers de la pêche." Deux tiers de la morue, eh, qu'il avait là...deux tiers de l'argent que, que ça valait. Et, oui, mais il voulait pas, il voulait pas avec/ se claircir avec ça, oh, encore, tu sais? Il voulait demander tout. Bien, le prêtre était obligé de venir après ce temps-là. Il avait de l'eau bénie puis (laughs)... de l'eau bénie, that's holy water, eh, comme...Bien, ils avont ça...avec sa canne, puis il dit, "Je pourrai pas ouvrir/ je peux pas le faire sortir [] la porte." Mais là, il fallait qu'il le faisait sortir [] le trou de la clé.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.B.: Oui mais (laughs)...je crois qu'il a [] dessus pour (laughs)...Mais euh...les histoires qu'ils avont dans ce temps-là, c'était euh...

G.B.: C'est qui, qui avait conté cette histoire-là?

M.B.: Bien, c'est encore la vieille Philomène, eh.

G.B.: Philomène Gasté?

M.B.: Oh, oui, Philomène Gasté. Toutes des histoires dans dans son temps, ça, asteure...Mais dame...

G.B.: Mais il l'a contée, elle l'a contée comme euh, comme vraie?

M.B.: Oh, bien, oh, oui! Oh, à/ à eux, c'était vrai! oui, c'était...

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.B.: Oh, ça avait arrivé. Elle n'avait pas vu, elle, mais euh...

mais c'était vrai pareil.

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance
 results in unwittingly establishing a pact.
 : Priests have the power to exorcise the devil
 with holy water.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: The devil is human in form.
 : The devil has host of demonic assistants to
 do his bidding.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.3.1.2; G303.16.7; G303.16.14.1

Legend Analysis

This local legend, purported to have taken place at the Portage in L'Anse-à-Canards, is similar to Legend II (Item No. 5) in most of its details; however the role of the priest is more an active one.

Local Legend II, Text I (E.E.; 70; M)

(15)

E.E.: ...Mon père m'a conté...Il y avait un homme...les/
 temps de les Français. Il s'appelait Raoul...quelque
 chose comme ça. Bien, dans ces temps-là, bien, ils appellent
 ça du mauvais monde. C'était de/un/ du mauvais monde.
 Bien, il y en a encore, asteure, puis...Bien, asteure, bien,

c'est tout du bon monde! Le mauvais monde de ces temps-là, c'est du bon monde asteure...mais...Toujours, c'est bien. Il est mort. Puis avant que, avant qu'il est mort, je veux dire...euh, il vivait ici, là, là, pas loin d'ici, là. C'est où Tajeau avait son factorie en bas là. Heh!... Asteure, l'histoire que je conte, bien, proche d'ici, eh. (laughs)...Tu sais...toujours...cet homme-là...il a tourné vilain.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

E.E.: Il a tourné vilain...Il a tourné comme euh, oh, 'La Vilaine Bête.' Il a tourné tout hors de shape, tout euh...vilain! Vilain. Puis c'était pas un vilain homme. Je crois qu'il était bien...Il a tourné vilain. Puis c'est tout ce qu'il, tout ce qu'il [] parlait, c'était le, au diable. Le diable. C'est tout quand, quand que, qui, quand qu'il se mourrait, eh.

G.B.: Il parlait de ça, eh? Oui.

E.E.: Après qu'il était mort...[] soirée, il y avait des, des...lumières euh, des...verte et jaune, gris. Ils avont pas venu [] blanche qui shinait dans les chassis...Il y a personne qui a pu aller euh, euh, passer la nuit. Tous étaient peurés à mort...Il a resté toute la nuit tout seul... Puis le lendemain, il a mort, eh. Oui...C'est beaucoup/

G.B.: Et tu dis qu'il a, qu'il est devenu vilain.

E.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Et comment euh...?

E.E.: Vilain. Là, tout euh...

G.B.: Oh, le visage?

E.E.: Oui, oui, oui! Vilain dans sa figure. C'était tout déformé comme...ils disient qu'il ressemblait à 'La Vilaine Bête,' ils disient.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Vilain.

G.B.: Toi, tu l'as jamais vu, euh...? Non?

E.E.: Non, pas moi. Non, mon, mon père m'a conté ça, vois-tu?

G.B.: Oui

E.E.: Oui, oui. Et pas lui. Lui, il l'a pas vu non plus parce qu'il était trop jeune, mais son père...Il lui avait/
Et sa mère lui avait conté ce qu'il y avait dans le temps de leur jeunesse en ce temps-là, oui.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Oui...Quand qu'ils étient jeunes, vois-tu? Ce qui arrivait dans le temps de Tajean puis euh...[] Là.

G.B.: Et Ils pouviont pas expliquer ça.

E.E.: Non.

G.B.: Non.

E.E.: Non, non. Bien, non. Ils pouviont pas [] là. Mais ils disient qu'il est perdu sur le diable.

G.B.: Ils croyont que c'était le diable?

E.E.: Ah, oui! Ah, oui. Oh, oui. C'est ça qu'ils disient
Eh, oui. Il était/ Il était le, le, l'homme du diable.
Oui....Ils disient, il était, il était terrible!...Ooh! Il

était un terrible...

G.B.: Est-ce qu'il faisait du mal à/

E.E.: Tandis qu'il était, tandis qu'il était sur la terre, tu sais, il était...

G.B.: Il faisait du mal euh?

E.E.: Oui, oui. Il faisait du mal au monde. Il était, il était un homme en/ ...en, ensorcellé, vois-tu? Un, un...

G.B.: Oui.

(16/07/80; F3506c./C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil can possess the souls of the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: M211

III. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Generalized Experience

Text 1 (D.W.[B]; 35; F)

(16)

D.W.: ...Ils disaient que le, le pont en bas là (i.e. the bridge which once crossed Black Duck Brook)...ça a fait une croix...le chemin va comme ça ici...

G.B.: Oui, oui.

D.W.: le pont va comme ça...Puis ils disaient que si le diable te courrait, quand qu'il arrivait au pont, le, le, les []...comme que le cheval que tu, tu, tu ridais devenait

tout euh, chargé (laughs)...Mais euh, la minute que tu pouvais passer le pont, bien, tu...c'était alright, eh. Mais avant que tu passais le pont, bien, le diable te courrait peut-être et puis/ Mais dame, il sa/ il passe pas la croix, eh (laughs). Il peut pas passer la croix.
(01/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil cannot cross a bridge because of the crucifix-like configuration it makes with the river.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.16.19.13; G303.16.3

Text 2 (M.B.; 60; M)

(17)

M.B.: Auparavant c'était toujours des bateaux à voiles. Quand qu'il n'y avait pas assez de vent, les pêcheurs jetaient de l'argent dans l'eau et souhaitaient du vent au nom du diable. Mais quand qu'ils faisaient ça, le plus souvent il y aurait trop de vent, ou un tempête. []. C'était toujours au nom du diable. Puis ils disaient que, s'ils jetaient pas l'argent, le diable les prendrait à l'enfer.
(07/05/82; Card 19)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: One can solicit the devil's aid with impunity as long as one pays the price.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: Although the devil must fulfill the pact, there can be dangerous, unforeseen consequences.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.22.5

AIII. DISCOURSE-CENTERED COMMUNICATIONS

Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M) (18)

"Le diable lui aurait pas fait peur."

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

Text 2 (E.E.; 70; M) (19)

"Il y a rien que les cornes qui manquent."

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

Text 3 (M.B.; 60; M) (20)

"Il est saoul comme le diable."

(12/06/82; Card 25)

Text 4 (M.B.; 60; M) (21)

"Ça sent comme le diable!"

(10/08/82; Card 26)

Text 5 (M.B.; 60; M) (22)

"Il y a trop de diables en bas là."

(05/05/82; Card 20)

- Text 6 (R.B.; 30; M) (23)
"The devil was on your side, Tom."
(18/05/82; F5953c/C5876; B74)
- Text 7 (R.B.; 30; M) (24)
"Comment ça va, mon, mon diable?"
(17/05/81; Card 54)
- Text 8 (M.A.; 60; F) (25)
"Ils avont fait la diablerie."
(01/06/81; F3891c/C5237; B49)
- Text 9 (J.G.; 75; M) (26)
"Ils auraient mangé le diable, eux!"
(23/06/80; F3490c/C4828; B11)
- Text 10 (N.D.; 27; M) (27)
"Dont't worry, you won't meet the devil."
(Butler 1982; Field Notes)

B. GHOSTS/'LES ESPRITS'

II. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Experience Narratives

Local Legend I, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(28)

J.E.: Mais il y a un endroit aux Trois Cailloux, là...Il y avait un homme là qui passait...Il y a, il y a un couple d'hommes qui m'a dit là qu'ils l'avont rencontré. Mais dame, c'est-ti vrai, moi, je ne sais pas. Et puis, je me rappelle plus qui c'est asteure qui s'en allait là avec un...Bien, dans ce temps-là, bien, dans l'hiver c'était tous des chevaux puis, vous savez, des traines et chariots...Et puis le cheval, quand qu'il arrivait dans la même place là, où ils voyaient l'homme, là...Bien, il n'a pas voulu passer. Il était, eh...Il a quasiment tout brisé les menoires et tout ça...Puis il [] arrive à l'autre bord. Puis le lendemain, dans le jour, il a passé, mais il avait essayé dans la nuit ...Puis c'était encore la même affaire, là. Asteure, le cheval voyait de quoi, je sais pas. Je peux pas vous dire.

G.B.: Et qu'est ce qu'il y avait? Tu sais pas?

J.E.: Je ne sais pas. Mais il y avait/ Ils disent qu'ils avont rencontré un homme là. Un, euh...

G.B.: Un homme.

J.E.: Je crois c'est un homme...Puis ils savont pas qui c'est. Personne ne connaît...

23/06/80; F3487c/C4825c; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUMS: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Uncertain.

MOTIFS: E421.1.2; E272

Local Legend II, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F)

(29)

N.E.: Et...un coup, il y avait, euh, il y avait un autre aussi,
il s'avait battu avec un boeuf.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

N.E.: Il s'avait battu sur la Plaine...Oh, oui. Il croyait c'est
un esprit...C'était un boeuf (laughs).

G.B.: Et il s'avait battu avec?

N.E.: (laughs) Oui...Il essayait de faire puis le boeuf a...le
boeuf a eh, ah...ah...il s'avait poussé après lui, je
pense...Puis il savait pas que c'était un boeuf. Il
croyait ça, c'est un esprit. Il croyait dans les esprits
(laughs).

(20/05/82; F5954c/C5877; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts may pursue the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: E272.4; F402.1.12; J1782

Local Legend II, Text 2 (N.G.; 45; M)

(30)

N.G.: Oui...Mais, euh, j'ai entendu aussi, étant/ j'étais petit euh, les gars qui avaient descendu []...Ils avio[n]t descendu ici, dans L'Anse et puis, euh, ils avo[n]t arrivé i... en bas, c'est, je sais pas si c'est chez E. ou chez euh, c'est de le père de E, tu sais. Qu'ils étio[n]t, étio[n]t peurés à mort, ils s'avo[n]t battu avec un esprit...So, tous le croyoient, c'était vrai. L'homme a attrapé un si dur de peur, il faut que c'était vrai, il avait...Mais le lendemain, ou surlendemain, ils avo[n]t, ils ont eu des nouvelles qu'il y avait un gars de, de, de Maisons-d'Hiver qui avait trouvé son veau...crêvé dans la Plaine. Un veau blanc. Puis c'est ça, puis il dit ça paraissait qu'il avait été battu. So, ils ont mis à penser, il faut croire que que c'est ça que ce gars avait, avait/ en marchant la nuit, avait tombé à travers sur le, sur le veau...

G.B.: Le veau, oui.

N.G.: ...veau était couché. Puis quand il a, il l'a senti avec ses mains, c'était des poiles dessus, puis il était blanc, il a eu peur, il s'a fait peur assez qu'il croyait que c'était un esprit. So il s'a mis à battre le veau (laughs). Il a tué son veau. So c'est...ça, c'était tout des []. J'ai entendu ça quand que j'étais petit, mais était dans...

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts may be encountered by the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: F402.1.12; J1782

Local Legend III, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F)

(31)

N.E.: J'ai entendu les autres, là, parler, Mais j'en ai pas vu moi-même.

G.B.: Oui? Qu'est-ce que les autres disaient?

N.E.: Euh, ils, euh [] Une, euh, une soirée, il y avait, eh, ils avient vu un, un...un homme. Il y avait un gars, il avait vu un homme...[]. Il avait fait le tour, tu sais, il était, il était, il avait peur...et sa, son [] et puis, euh, quand il s'a venu là, c'était un cheval.

G.B.: Un cheval?

N.E.: (laughs) ...Il croyait c'était un homme.

G.B.: Oui, mais, mais il croyait que...

N.E.: Mais s'il aurait pas été le voir ce que c'était...

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Il aurait cru que c'était un homme qu'il avait vu.

G.B.: Oui. Puis il voulait aller voir...

N.E.: Oh, non!

G.B.: Pourquoi faire qu'il, qu'il voulait pas aller voir?

N.E.: Il avait peur, eh. Parce ils parlent des esprits.

G.B.: Oh, il croyait que c'était un...

N.E.: Oh, oui!

G.B.: Ah, bien.

N.E.: Mais joliment ils disaient qu'ils voyaient des esprits et des affaires de même. Mais c'était rien que leurs idées. Peut-être des fois/ des fois c'était de...c'était de quoi en vie.

(20/05/82; F5954c/C5877; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts may be encountered by the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: J1782

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (F.D.; 60; M)

(32)

G.B.: Est-ce que vous vous rappelez du monde qui, qui disaient qu'ils voyaient des esprits?

F.D.: Oui, oui!

G.B.: Qu'est-ce qu'ils disaient, par exemple?

F.D.: Le, le défunt Johnny Gaudet m'a dit qu'il a descendu un, un coup puis il y avait...il y a, il y avait...puis il a quitté de, il, il quittait de Black Duck Brook ici puis, là, il restait en, en bas, en bas à peu près, oui, quatre milles d'ici, eh. Quatre/ je crois plus que ça. Cinq milles d'ici, je pense. Où je restions nous autres, eh. Il était, il était tout proche de nous autres...Puis il a dit que, qu'il y a, il y a un, un esprit...Puis qu'il a débarqué dans son dos, là, à descendre. Puis il pouvait pas le voir, eh...

Il a dit là, il a charrié cet esprit jusqu'en bas chez lui...Là, asteure, tu sais...C'est pas vrai, tu sais, eh.

G.B.: Il...Oui, qu'est-ce qu'il disait...?

F.D.: Il disait que, il, il pouvait pas le voir.

G.B.: Oui.

F.D.: Mais il dit il avait une charge. Et ça, c'est un esprit, eh.

Il dit...

(16/06/81; F3900c/C5245; B58)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: One can have physical encounters with ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos/Neg.

MOTIFS: E262

C.E.N. I, Text 2 (S.D.; 60; M)

(33)

G.B.: Puis euh, j'ai, j'ai entendu que...le monde, ils parlent beaucoup d'esprits dans ce temps-là.

S.D.: ...Oui, oui. Oui, oui. Bien, défunt Johnny Gaudet nous a dit, il, il avait descendu un coup de West Bay puis...Puis quand qu'il arrivait à une distance--sa cabin est à La Barre puis il pêchait en bas là--il dit, "Il y avait un esprit," il dit. Il y avait un gaillard qui sautait, qui avait sauté sur son dos. Puis il dit il l'a [] un grand bout...Puis quand qu'ils avont [] à la cabin, il s'a, il s'a débarqué de sur son dos puis il...pas vu après. Jamais revu. C'est pas vrai, ça.

G.B.: Mais lui, il disait que c'était un esprit qui lui avait sauté dessus?

S.D.: Oh, oui! Oui, oui.

G.B.: Oui?

S.D.: Oh, oui, il croyait là-dedans.

(02/06/82: F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: One can have physical encounters with ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E262

Comments

These are the only two versions of the narrative collected in L'Anse-à-Canards. Interestingly, the two informants are brothers, and their versions are very similar right up to the concluding statements:

Text 1: "C'est pas vrai, tu sais, eh."

Text 2: "C'est pas vrai, ça."

C.E.N. II, Text 1 (S.A.; 45; M)

(34)

S.A.: Bien, un soir, E. E. disait qu'il...il a vu ça à Mainland, à Trois Caill/ Je crois qu'il t'as dit pour...? Quand il avait monté avec son cheval et...T'as-ti dit?

G.B.: Bien, je sais pas. Bien vas-y.

S.A.: Il avait monté avec son cheval puis...chez B., eh...Après il était voir puis, à descendre il...Quand il arrivait chez...

je crois chez George M., là, je sais pas...Son cheval voulait pas passer!...Il a tapé dessus, son cheval voulait pas passer...Son cheval est venu fou, eh. Il était obligé de monter back chez B. et rester là cette soirée-là. Puis le lendemain matin, son cheval, il...[]. Il t'as pas dit?

(01/06/81; F3890c./C5236; B48)

PRIMARY TRADITUMS: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E272; E421.1.2

C.E.N. II, Text 2 (J:G.; 75; M)

(35)

J.G.: Puis un autre coup qu'il s/ Il a descendu de...il descendait de Trois cailloux...Et puis il a jamais pu descendre! Son cheval a jamais voulu aller.

M.G.: Oui.

J.G.: Il avait été obligé de le virer de bord. Puis aller coucher chez les Dennis là. Il a pas pu...Il a pas pu passer.

M.G.: Avez-vous vu E.E.?

G.B.: Oh, oui. Je le connais.

J.G.: Il contera ceux-là.

M.G.: Oui.

J.G.: Il peut [] le conter.

M.G.: Il vous-a-t-il conté ces affaires-là?

G.B.: Quelques-uns de ces affaires, oui. Des choses de même.

M.G.: Parlez avec lui. Oui, oui, oui.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E262; E421.1.2

Comments:

This example illustrates well the sense of propriety of L'Anse-à-Canards residents concerning "ownership" of certain experience narratives. This particular experience is that of a resident of the community and the informant and his wife take great pains to suggest that I speak with him for further details, although it is obvious that J.G. knows the story and could perform it if he wished.

C.E.N.III, Test 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(36)

J.G.: A.E., là.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.G.: Son grand-père...Son...son frère s'a noyé...il était dans le Gulf à quelque part...Sa femme...sa femme, asteure, le, le grand-mère à A. là...Elle était dans le bois chercher les vaches une soirée. Asteure--le défunt, me, il me racontait ça souvent. Bien ça, c'était...c'était joliment vieux pour

moi (laughs)...Asteure, des soirs, je disions toutes leurs histoires du vieux, ça, tu sais?--Elle a entendu, elle a commencé à, à voir les arbres et les feuillages bou/ bien ça faisait du, ça faisait du train, tu sais. Puis elle dit, "Bon Moses de Dieu! Qui est là?" Il dit, "C'est moi, Jean Buisson," il dit--C'était comme ça que Me/ M. me le contait ça, vois-tu?--Il dit, "C'est moi, Jean Buisson." Puis il dit, "Je veux avoir des messes. Je veux avoir des messes de dit." Puis le prêtre était à St. Georges dans ce temps-là. Elle a venu chez / chez elle. Elle l'a dit à son vieux... Et le lendemain matin il s'a greyé puis il a marché à St. Georges faire dire des messes pour son frère...Dire...

G.B.: Il s'a noyé?

J.G.: Oui, il était, il s'avait noyé.

G.B.: Et c'était la femme à A. qui...

J.G.: Le, le, ah?

G.B.: La femme à A. c'était?

J.G.: Le, la grand-mère à A.

G.B.: La grand-mère à A.

J.G.: Oui.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.G.: Tu sais, c'était son beau-frère, vois-tu, qui s'avait, qui était noyé là.

G.B.: Et ça c'est vrai, ça?

J.G.: Ah?

G.B.: Ça, c'est une, c'est une vraie histoire, ça?

J.G.: C'est une vraie histoire comme je/ My gosh! Tu penses...
 Je pense si tu aurais dit à A. que c'était pas vrai, il
 t'aurait te...il t'aurait sauté sur le corps!
 (23/06/80; F3489c/C4827; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The spirits of the unburied dead may return to
 request from their kin that masses be said for them.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E414; E412.3; E321

C.E.N. IV, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(37)

J.G.: ...il y avait un homme à, à, à,...le père à A.B., là...Il
 m'a dit ça lui-même, là. Il avait, il avait euh...un ami
 étant jeune. Oui, mais cet ho/ son, son ami restait par le
 Creek (i.e. Campbell's Creek) à quelque part là...Et euh,
 quand il sortait ici, bien, ils étaient toujours ensemble...
 Et puis anyway, le dernier coup qu'il avait sorti...il a dit
 à A., le père là à/ "Oh," il dit, "Je vais te revoir encore,"
 il dit "Les temps de Noël, par là," il dit. "Je reviens
 m'en vais sortir les temps de Noël." Asteure, A., dans ces
 temps-là, il restait en haut où-c-qui est la maison
 abandonnée, []...à Winter Houses là, tu sais? La petite
 euh maison qui est abandonnée, là?...Là qu'ils restient, le,
 le, son père dans ces temps-là...Bien, lui, il descendait en
 bas par ici pour voir sa, sa, sa blonde tout le temps, tu

sais...Mais il m'a dit que le, il montait cette soirée-là.
 Et quand il a dépassé le p/ le pont []--il y avait un
 pont sur le ruisseau et asteure ils avont le, mis des tuyaux
 là-dedans, tu sais--[]...Il dit sa/ son ami a venu...
 Puis il a marché, il a marché au ras de lui, à son côté...
 jusqu'à la barrière chez eux...Il m'a dit ça pour une vérité!
 Oui...Mais euh, c'est peut-être, peut-être bien qu'il pensait
 à lui, là, vois-tu en remontant. Puis ça a venu dans son
 idée et puis...Just the illusion, vois-tu?

G.B.: Oui, oui.

J.G.: C'est, c'est comme ça que je le prends, moi. C'est pour
 ça asteure, que je crois pas dans (laughs). Oui.

(23/06/80; F3490c/C4824; B11)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Spirits of the dead return to fulfill promises
 made during life.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: E300; E340

C.E.N. IV, Text 2 (J.G.; 75; M)

(38)

J.G.: Je m'en rappelle d'une. A.B., là...il est mort. Bien, le
 père à M....Il était jeune garçon. Il m'a dit [] que
 son, son ami n/ est mort...Et puis il l'a suivi une soirée,
 là, du pont à...à Winter Houses là. Ailloù-ç-qu'était
 le ruisseau à Winter Houses, là. Là, il restait en haut

à...en haut de chez, où-ç-qu'est, où-ç-que...où-ç-qu'est
la vielle maison abandonnée asteure, là.

M.G.: Oui.

J.G.: C'est là que le vieux, le ruisseau []. Il m'a dit qu'il
l'a suivi cette soirée-là...Son ami!...M'a dit pour une
vérité qu'il l'a suivi dans...parce il lui avait/ avant
ça...un couple de mois avant ça, il restait à Felix Cove
à quelque part là, ce gars-là. Et puis il lui avait dit que,
quand qu'il a parti d'ici...Il dit, "Mort ou en vie, je
vais venir!...Je vais venir te voir." Cette soirée-là, il
s'en allait chez lui...quand qu'il arrivait là, justement
à traverser le pont...il l'a, il l'a vu! Puis il a marché
à, jusqu'à chez lui, il m'a dit...Jusqu'à la barrière.

Oui.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Spirits of the dead may return to fulfill promises
made during life.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: E300; E340

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M) [SON] (39)

M.E.: Le vieux, là, le vieux, il descendait, il a, il avait été
voir sa fille, lui. En bas à Lourdes puis il descendait le...
Puis il voyait [] le...un esprit, tu sais?...Bien, c'est

rien que sa/ c'était rien que son idée, ça. Il pensait qu'il, parce qu'ils disaient, tu sais, quand que tu passais le graveyard en dehors, bien, les, les...les morts... sortaient, vois-tu?...Sortaient de les g/ les...leurs graves. Puis une soirée, il descendait puis il avait vu des, a/ un esprit. Puis il avait, il avait tenu à descendre, puis là, l'esprit le courrait en bas...Puis quand qu'il arrivait à...quasiment à, quasiment à la maison chez lui, il a venu un peu brave, eh. Il lui a demandé ce qu'il voulait puis...s'il lui voulait de quoi, bien, faut lui demander, vois-tu?...Puis avec ça, il dit, il l'a tapé. Tapé l'esprit, puis il dit c'est pareil comme tu aurais tapé dans la laine (laughs).

G.B.: Oui?

M.E.: Oui.

M.E.: Mmmm. Oui, il a tapé l'esprit puis c'est pareil comme, il dit, tu l'aurais tapé dans la laine.

G.B.: Oui. Et qu'est-ce qui se passait après?

M.E.: Eh?

G.B.: Qu'est-ce qui se passait après?

M.E.: Il a disparu.

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The dead sometimes leave their graves to pursue the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E272.4

Comment:

This second text is more an attempt by the informant to explain the experience than a narrative description per se. No other versions of this narrative were collected, although four members of the family (a son, a nephew, a niece, and a daughter-in-law) all admitted knowing the story, but could not recount it. In all four cases, the attitude towards the reported experience is negative. A contemporary of the narrative hero also admitted to knowing the narrative, but indicated it would be inappropriate for him to tell it. He suggested I ask the individual himself for details.

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M) [SON] (41)

G.B.: Mais dans, dans le temps de ton père, par exemple, est-ce que c'est dans ce temps-là que le monde croyait, ils croyaient dans...?

M.B.: Bien, oui, Dans son temps. Lui, aussi, il croyait, il croyait dans les esprits, lui.

G.B.: Oui, eh.

M.B.: Ah, oui. Il venait, il descendait de Clam Bank Cove un coup...il nous contait, puis il avait...Il descendait à cheval puis il y avait...tu sais, où-ç-que R.H. reste à [].

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Il y avait un petit pont, il y avait un petit pont là-bas

en ce temps-là. Asteure ils avont rien qu'un culvert en travers du chemin, mais avant, il y avait un pont, il était...peut-être bien comme d'ici à la télévision, eh. Peut-être dix ou douze pieds de long.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

M.B.: Puis le cheval arrêta tout net là.

G.B.: Au pont?

M.B.: Oui, au pont. Bien dame, il dit euh/ puis il a essayé à driver [] forcer le cheval, le driver. Il était obligé de le fouetter. Puis il a/ mais même quand il a passé, le cheval, il dit, bien, il a...Il y a rien qui l'aurait attrapé...Mais lui, il était sur là, sur la, il y avait un [] en ce temps-là. Ça fait qu'il a fait le tour de la, dans la barrière [] Mais il était, il avait bu aussi...Le, quand le cheval a fait le tour dans la barrière, il a tombé dessus [] puis il s'a tapé la...dans le pôteau de la, le pôteau de la barrière, eh. Quand il a venu, il avait la figure toute défoncée, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Oh, oui. Il était tout en sang. Mais...

G.B.: Par la barrière du, du pont?

M.B.: ...le, ça/Non, la barrière chez nous, ça, là.

G.B.: Oh, ici.

M.B.: Oui, ici, oui. Une barrière, c'est un, un, quoi. Ça que j'appelons ça un gate, eh, comme...

G.B.: Oh, oui.

M.B.: Quand qu'il a, le cheval a fait le tour, mais le cheval était mmm, pareil comme le cheval a venu euh [] nerveux. Bien, il dit, "Je sais pas ce qu'il y a par dessous du pont, là." Mais je crois, moi qu'il a drivé le cheval de même. Il était jagué (laughs) puis...Ou bien sans [] quelqu'un était caché en dessous du pont.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Ça, ça...ça aurait pas [] une personne [].

G.B.: Mais lui, il disait que c'était...

M.B.: Bien, il, il y avait un esprit là.

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E421.1.2; E272

F.E.N. III, Text 1 (W.C.; 75; M) [SON] (42)

W.C.: Oui. C'est mon défunt père qui a vu ça. Oui. Il s'a levé dans la nuit, il faisait clair de lune comme dans le jour. Bien, il pouvait...c'était quasiment comme il, la, la, [] allumait. Anyway, il a sorti dehors, puis le, quand qu'il a rentré...il s'a assis dans sa chaise, là [] il s'asseyait dedans.

G.B.: Oui.

- W.C.: Bien, il était dans la même place. Puis quand il a, il a, il a [] il a regardé, il l'a connu tout de suite, c'est son frère, eh.
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: Il avait mouré avec le, le brain fever, la fièvre de la tête, le...
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: ...l'avait tué. Bien, s'il a souffré assez, tu pouvais entendre crier pour un mille...avant qu'il a mouré. Ça l'a tué.
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: Et puis il l'a, il l'a, il l'a connu. Quand qu'il a rentré, en rentrant de dehors, quand qu'il a rentré dans la maison, il l'a vu puis il l'a connu, puis il l'a, il sa/ il était bien...surpris, vois-tu, eh?
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: Il a pas eu beaucoup peur mais il dit que ça l'a saisi.
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: Parce qu'il a connu son, son frère, oui.
- G.B.: Oui.
- W.C.: Puis, il l'a connu. Oui, oui.
- G.B.: Mais pourquoi faire qu'il, qu'il était là, le, le frère?
- W.C.: Ah, ah?
- G.B.: Pourquoi faire qu'il était là?
- W.C.: Bien, je sais pas. C'est pour de, des/ mais il a euh... C'est pour des messes de...Il voulait avoir des messes de

dit. Oui.

(20/08/82; F5965c/C5888;B86)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The spirits of the dead may return to request from their kin that masses be said for them.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E326; E412.3

F.E.N. IV, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M) [NEPHEW] (43)

J.G.: Il y a des histoires de même, mon pauvre homme! Il y avait le, le, l'oncle de ma mère, là, un vieux Victor Marche à la Grand'Terre. Ça [] des histoires qu'ils contient, tu sais. Il dit qu'il avait une maison de même un coup qui...Ils étions là trois ou quatre d'eux, là...C'est pas une maison, c'est une manière de, de, un camp qu'ils avient là...Et bientôt, la porte se rouvre. Asteure, vieux Victor Marche, il croyait ni dans un Dieu, ni dans un diable, lui, tu sais...Et puis, euh, il s'en va puis il ferme le, il ferme la porte...Il était à peine rendu...sur son bunk ou sur...ou sur son banc, la porte rouvre encore!...Il prend des clous de quatre pouces puis il clo/ (laughs) Il cloute la porte...Il aurait pas []. Il était à peine rendu (laughs), il était à peine rendu...à/[]. Et voilà, la porte rouvrant. Il, il va à la porte...il dit "Si tu viens du Dieu," il dit, "rentre. Mais," il dit, "si tu viens du

diabla," il dit, "foute-t-en où-ç-que tu reviens!" (laughs)

Il l'a pas entendu après!

(23/06/80; 3490c/C4824; B11)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Formulaic command banishes spirit.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/Neg.

MOTIFS: F420.5.3.4; E451.4

F.E.N. V, Text 1 (T.D.; 35; M) [GRANDSON] (44)

T.D.: ...Yeah, a lot of people talked about that, you know. Like they euh...my father, yeah, I think its my father/ or my grandfather. He was going euh...going outside, he was going out fishing, eh []. And his father or his brother or something was, he had died, eh. But he, he said he saw him, eh. Like, you know, he saw him down...where he usually was at, you know. Down the shore right...he was like working on his gear or whatever he used to do. And he, you know, he swore that it was him, eh...I don't know...

(18/05/82; F5953c/C5876; B74)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts of dead haunt places they frequented in life.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/Neg.

MOTIFS: E326

F.E.N. VI, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

[HUSBAND]

(45)

E.E.: La...ma défunte femme a vu son, son cousin. Son premier cousin. Il était mort. Une semaine...qu'elle l'a vu assis sur le caillou puis elle était pour euh...à lui parler. Bien, c'était lui! Puis quand qu'elle arrivait là, il était parti. Il a disparu.

G.B.: Oui. Mais elle l'a vu?

E.E.: Mais elle l'a vu...Puis quand qu'elle arrivait là, il était disparu.

(16/07/80; F3505c/C4843; B26)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts appear to living kin.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E320

F.E.N. VII, Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M)

(46)

M.E.: Ils faisaient à croire qu'il y avait des esprits, tu sais...
Ils [] pour un temps que les, les, les, ils disaient...
Il y a des esprits bien sur la, la, les euh, les morts
viennent sur la terre.

N.E.: All Soul's.

M.E.: All Soul's Day, oui. Que les morts viennent sur la terre,
tu sais.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

N.E.: Le deux de novembre. All Soul's Day.

M.E.: Puis oncle Jean, mon, mon oncle Jean, là, il est mort
asteure...Il disait ça, il disait que c'était pas vrai,
ça...Puis cette soirée ici, il était en haut chez A. A.B.
Puis T.L., il a pris un, un drap blanc puis il a descendu
en bas dans le graveyard, là. Puis bientôt, oncle Jean
(laughs) oncle Jean descendait puis, il faisait, il marchait
comme ça puis "Boooo." [] Puis il a pas eu peur non plus.

G.B.: Non.

M.E.: Non, il a tenu à marcher. Puis il n'a pas parlé, il n'a pas
parlé de ça à personne, eh.

N.E.: Non.

R.B.: Pas sûr, je pense (laughs).

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The spirits of the dead return on All Soul's Day.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C94.5

F.E.N. VIII, Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M) [GRANDSON] (47)

M.E.: Le défunt...mon défunt grand-père, là, il, il, il a vu
des esprits aussi, lui (laughs). Il a vu un esprit sur le
(laughs) sur La Plaine en dehors, eh. Il faisait noir...
C'était no/ c'était blanc, eh. Il a [] puis il l'a tapé.
C'était un boeuf (laughs), un boeuf blanc. Boeuf blanc.

Il l'a tué, le boeuf à A.B.

G.B.: Oui! Il l'a tué?

M.E.: Il l'a tué. Il l'a ca/ il a cassé les côtes ici, là. Il croyait c'est un esprit aussi...Oui, il a tué le boeuf.

G.B.: Mais il croyait que c'était un esprit?

M.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Mais il n'avait pas peur?

M.E.: Non! Le diable lui aurait pas fait peur, lui!

(laughs)

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: One can have physical encounters with ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: J1782

F.E.N. IX, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M) [NEPHEW] (48)

E.E.: Oui, bien...euh, il y avait mon oncle Yvon et...il, il était, il venait chez nous souvent, vois-tu, auparavant.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Et puis il a, il (y) avait un ruisseau ici, là, eh...Bien, une soirée il descendait...et puis un homme...qu'il dit qu'il a vu un homme sur le bord du Cap, eh...Avec pas, pas de tête! Rien que les épaules puis les bras et tout!

G.B.: Ah, oui. Oui, juste la...

E.E.: Garde! Oui. Un homme avec pas de tête. Rien que les

épaules puis les bras. Puis il le suivait. Il marchait avec lui. Mais dame, il était loin de lui. Il était, il marchait sur le pont ici, il y avait à l'entour comme euh... oh, je dirais comme...soixante verges, je pense...Puis il le suivait. Puis il faisait une belle soirée aussi...Puis il le suivait à...à descendre comme ça. Il le voyait là-bas sur le bord de, le bord de l'eau, eh, tu sais. Le bord du, du Cap, eh. Oui...Avec pas de tête!

(16/07/80; F3505c/C4843; B26)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E422.1.1; E272.4

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(49)

E.E.: Ah, oui...Bien, j'étais un jeune dans ces temps-là...J'avais l'âge de dix-sept ans...et j'avais une fille puis j'allais la voir à tous les samedis au soir. Des samedis après-midi. Puis je restais là, chez son père cette soirée-là. Puis le lendemain, bien, j'allais à la messe...Et puis euh... Ah, dans l'entour de neuf heures par là, je quittais de de delà puis je me, je descendais chez nous. Parce que dans ces temps-là, il fallait être à la, il fallait être à la maison pour dix heures. Parce le, le vieux monde d'avant, bien, c'est tous les soirs, c'est leur chapelet,

chapelet, chapelet, tous les soirs, tous les soirs, tous les soirs...Puis c'est bien. Bien, je quittais à l'entour de neuf heures, comme ça, ça me prenait une heure pour venir à la maison, bien...Pour être euh...Parce que j'avions pas, je pouvions pas faire comme je voulions par/ avant j'avions vingt-et-un ans. Quand j'avions vingt-et-un ans, bien dame, j'étions sur notre...bien, notre own, tu sais...Si vous étiez à la maison en dessous de la couverture du vieux... heh, heh! Tu vas pas faire comme tu veux!...Toujours, cette soirée-là...j'ai descendu--c'était dans mars que c'était. Dans le mois de mars--Puis, je marchais, je marche. Puis il faisait une belle soirée...Pas trop noir...Et puis euh... quand j'arrivais au cimetière--Parce que quand j'ai passé le cim/ je passais le cim/ la cimetière, bien, je faisais mon signe de croix puis...je disais une petite prière pour les âmes...puis euh--ça a toujours été mon habitude, que ça, c'est des Protestants ou que ça, c'est qui-ç-que c'est. Quand je passe, si, s'il y a du monde enterré, je dis une petite prière pour eux.--Puis euh, c'est bien. Ah, j'ai passé le cimetière, j'ai dit mon signe, mon signe de croix puis j'ai dit ma petite prière puis...Là, j'arrivais... l'autre bord...Je marche...Tout d'un coup...je regards à mon côté droit...une e/ une squelette! Une squelette!... C'était des os, c'est, c'est, il y a, il y avait pas de chair dessus. C'était des os. C'était des trous des yeux et tout en grand. Les dents et tout!...Puis je m'ai mis à

parler puis je...je lui parle...Je dis euh, "Qu'est-ce que tu veux?" Bien, ça répond pas. Bien, je dis, "Si tu es sous la protection de Dieu," bien, je dis, "répond! Puis dis-moi ce que tu veux puis je vais le faire pour toi. Si c'est possible." Puis je lui dis, "Si tu es sous la protection du diable," bien, je dis, "va-t-en au nom de Dieu!" Puis là, il s'en va...Phht! Parti!...Là!...Té... Là, je marche...peut-être bien une vingtaine de verges ou de quoi de même...Je regarde, il est là encore!...Puis ça a tenu aller jusqu'à temps que j'arrivais...quasiment chez nous ici, là...Puis je peux vous montrer la place où-ç-que c'est/ ailloù-ç-qu'il m'a quitté le dernier coup. Où-ç-qu'il m'a quitté. Bien, j'ai marché un bon bout. Bien, je dis, "Il est parti."...Je dis, "Je serai pas dérangé avec lui, il est parti."...Et euh...Oh, ça allait, c'est ça. J'avais pas peur. Pas peur du tout, du tout, du tout. Mais je pensais à moi-même, là, tu sais. C'est si curieux! Et qu'est-ce que ça pouvait être? Puis je dis, "C'est une squelette," je dis, "Pour sûr," je dis, "c'est une squelette." ...Toujours, j'arrivais à la côte ici...Grand Seigneur de Puissant! J'ai vu une manière de quoi comme euh...je regardais, je m'ai viré de bord puis je regardais. Oh, oh, oh, oh! Il était piqué debout tout droit, là, eh! Puis les bras tous...pendus, là...Puis la tête! Oh...c'était comme un cochon. Des trous des yeux et les dents, tu sais. Tu vois, les grosses dents, ah (growls). Oh!...Bien, j'ai perdu

connaissance. Je tombe...en arrière. Puis il y avait un morceau de bois, tu sais, un euh, gros billot. Bien, c'était dans là, dans la beach...Et là, j'ai tombé là dessus...Puis je perdais connaissance. Puis je ne sais pas comment longtemps que j'étais là, moi...Toujours, c'est bien. Bientôt je revenais à moi-même. Et quand je revenais, c'est pareil comme si tu aurais pris un seau d'eau puis me... foutes sur le corps ou me jetais à la mer ou me [] dedans. Puis me foutes là. J'étais s/ pissant d'eau! Pissant d'eau! Puis je dégoutais. Là...(coughs) excuse...C'est bon. Là, j'essaie de me lever. Puis je tombe encore. Puis j'essaie de me lever puis je tombe encore. C'est pareil comme si j'avais pas de jambes. Pareil comme mes jambes étions parties. Pas d'usage de mes jambes du tout, du tout. Puis j'essayais, puis là, je frotte et frotte...Puis essaie, essaie. Puis je tombais puis je lève, puis tombe! Ah! Après un bout, oh! Mais j'avais plus peur après! Puis je regardais partout mais j'ai rien vu. C'est pa/ tout parti. C'était tout parti. Parti!...Là, après un petit bout, bien, j'ai commencé à voir venir la vie dans mes jambes. Ça commençait à venir...Et puis euh, là, je m'ai piqué debout et je commençais à essayer à marcher, mais dame! J'allais [] comme j'étais plein da la barrique. Ha! Puis/ Bien, je pouvais pas me tenir sur mes jambes. Ils marchiont, mes jambes, tu sais. Oh! Gee! J'avais un dur de choc, mon vieux! Puis je regarde et regarde...Rien à voir. Rien!

...Rien, il était parti. C'est parti!...C'est bien. Je monte à la maison [] je restions sur la butte, où-ç-que mon frère, J., est là asteure. J'avions une maison là. Pas la même maison, là, mais c'était une autre. Et j'ai monté en haut. Bien, je m'ai dragué en haut de la butte, quelque façon...Rien à voir. Rien! Et quand j'ai mis mon pied sur le plafond pour rentrer dans la maison, pour prendre le poignet de la porte, j'ai mis mon pied ici comme ça, puis le plafond est là, là. Et quand j'ai arrivé là, j'ai regardé comme ça. Il était piqué debout là. J'ai pas rien dit...J'ai pris le poignet de la porte...puis j'ai rouvri la porte...Et quand j'ai rouvri la porte, j'ai rentré, mon père et ma mère étaient en...justament à genoux pour...dire le chapelet...Et ils avont sauté debout. Il m'a dit, "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a tant de wrong avec toi?"... J'ai dit, "Rien."...Parce mon père, il, il croyait pas dans de, des esprits ni de quoi de même, tu sais. Il croyait pas ça. Non! Il dit, "C'était de l'im/ imagination," il dit. Et toute sorte d'affaires comme ça, tu sais...Oui. C'était pas imagination pour moi. Je sais quoi-ç-que j'ai vu, puis...euh, c'était là. Mais je lui ai pas dit donc. J'ai pas dit à lui...Non. Mais euh...ils m'avont demandé si je voulais me coucher puis j'ai dit, "Oui," je dis, "je vais aller me coucher." Ah, j'étais tout faible, faible, faible! Tu sais, à peine tenir debout. J'étais me coucher...avec mes frères parce j'avais deux, deux

frères sans moi. Puis je couchions tous les trois dans le même lit...Et puis je m'ai couché, mais Dame! J'ai pas dormi cette soirée-là. J'ai pas dormi. Et puis, après ça, j'étais...passé deux ans que je pouvais pas aller dehors tout seul la nuit...C'est après ça que j'ai eu peur. Là, c'était/ m'a venu tout dans l'idée, là, après ça...Puis je pouvais pas aller dehors tout seul la nuit. Il fallait que j'avais...quand j'allais voir ma fille après, il fallait que j'arrive ici avant la nuit...Puis [] nuit du tout, oh...[] que j'arrive...ma/ mes soeurs avec moi ou me, mes frères ou...un, un, un friend, vois-tu. Bien là, c'était alright. Mais si tout seul, tu m'attrapes pas dans la nuit, là. Pas la nuit.

G.B.: Tu l'as jamais revu?

E.E.: Eh?

G.B.: Tu n'as jamais revu le squelette?

E.E.: Jamais revu après. Non, non. Au bout du platform, là. Du plafond, c'est là que le dernier, le coup je l'ai vu. Puis j'ai pas revu après. Non. Puis là, c'était il y a quelques années...et puis j'ai composé le reel là, puis je l'ai baptisé le, le, "Le Reel du Squelette." Comme ça, mon histoire vivrait toujours. Parce là, c'est la vérité. C'est, c'est, c'est pas des mensonges. C'est pas des histoires de, de, de, de cinq ou six siècles de ça. C'est de ce siècle ici...Ça, c'est la vérité.

(August, 1979; F3511c/C4848; B00)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts may be encountered by the living.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: Formulaic command banishes spirit.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E272; E272.4; F420.5.3.4; E273; E422.1.1.1.4

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(50)

E.E.: Oui. Mais je m'en vais vous conter une histoire, moi, quoi-ç-que j'ai vu. Puis c'est la franche vérité. C'est vrai, ça. Il y a euh...vingt-huit ans de ça asteure.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: J'étais aux Trois Cailloux, là...Et euh...c'est bien. J'étais là, j'avais monté [] pour haler du bois pour mon frère...Puis, puis ma soeur était, elle restait là aussi, elle était mariée avec un Dennis...Je dis, "Tiens!" je dis, "Je m'en vais aller/--J'avais un, un cheval. Un, un beau cheval, aussi. Et puis j'avais euh...--Je dis, "Je m'en vais aller voir," je dis, "ma, ma soeur."--Notre soeur, vois-tu?--"pour un bout," je dis. Puis à l'entour de neuf heures, je vais revenir back à la maison. Puis il faisait une belle soirée! Clair de lune et tout en grand...Toujours, c'est bien. Je m'en vais...Et puis j'avons [] là un bout puis tout en grand. J'étais la comme deux heures, je pense. Et puis...c'est bien. "Là," je dis, "[]. J'ai dit a B.," je dis, "J'allais prendre ton mare," je dis, "chez lui dans les entours de neuf heures, par là." Je dis,

"Asteure, je vais m'en aller." Il m'a dit, "Si j'avions une place pour le cheval," elle dit, "tu pourrais rester ici." "Je sais bien, vois-tu? C'est ça." Mais je dis, "J'ai promis à B." je dis, "j'allais retourner back..." Toujours c'est bien. Puis il faisait beau!...Il faisait beau. Clair de lune...C'était dans, dans l'hiver. C'était dans, dans...le mois de janvier par là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Mais il était une belle soirée! Toujours je m'en vais avec mon cheval. Il fallait que je traverse le champs puis... j'arrivais à...à la gate. Puis j'arrive à la gate et oui euh j'ai sorti mon cheval. J'ai refermé la gate. Puis là, je rentre back à bord de mon...de ma traine...et euh... je commençais à descendre...Et quand j'arrivais comme euh... à l'entour d'une trentaine de verges ou une trente-cinq de verges euh...je fais mon cheval courir. J'ai dit, "Va-t-en! Go on!"...Je lui parlais en anglais. J'ai dit, "Come on! [] Come on!" Puis là, il se prend à courir. Tout d'un coup, le cheval arrête...Je dis, "Quoi-ç-qu'il y a avec toi?"...Il était là [] Je commençais à gard/ à regarder là. J'ai arrêté, tu sais, puis je commence... puis il était là! Je regardais comme ça...Bien, j'ai dit/ Bien, j'avais entendu dire...quand un cheval était arrêté comme ça...eh, bien, tu regardais entre ses deux oreilles, tu aurais vu quoi-ç-qu'il voyait.

G.B.: Ah, bon.

- E.E.: Oui, oui. Dans le...[] les vieux d'avant, eh. S'il te/ oui.
- G.B.: Oui.
- E.E.: Vous savez...euh, si [] puis avant, vous savez... C'est, c'est, c'est changé un tapé.
- G.B.: Oui, eh.
- E.E.: Changé une tapée mon vieux! Je m'en vais finir mon histoire, là. Puis je vais vous conter après, là...quoi-ç-que je crois. Euh...c'est bien. Là, bien, le cheval...je regardais puis je pouvais r/ je pouvais remasser...eh, heh! un verre n'importe d'où à, à cinquante verges ou euh...n'importe quoi. C'était si clair puis la neige qu'il y avait là!... Il y avait une bouchure en, en, en wire...et puis je regardais dessus la bouchure puis je regardais voir s'il y avait du papier à l'entour ...Puis il faisait tout calme et il y avait pas de vent...Je dis, je dis, "Va-t-en!" Puis quand je lui dis ça, il reback encore...Bien, je dis, "Tu es fou pour la peine!"...Je dis, "Va-t-en!" Puis je redis ça, il reback encore!...Bien là, là, là, là...Là, je je [] J'avais pas bu un coup ni rien. J'étais bien jeune...Là, je [] là, je regarde, et regarde, et regarde encore. Et il regarde. Puis il était là quand il regardait comme ça, puis je regardais sa direction où-ç-qu'il regardait. Puis il était là quand, quand je le di/ quand je le disputais pas, c'est bien...Il était, il ga/ il bougeait pas. Puis il regardait, eh. Puis il faisait ça (makes snarling sound)

...Bien...Ah, je dis, "Bien, tu es fou!...Tu as pas de bon sens," je lui dis. Je dis, "Tu perds ta tête, toi!"...Je prends mon, . mon fouet...et je dis, c'est/ voilà la parole que je lui ai di, eh, "Mon son of a bitch!" je dis, "Va-t-en!" Puis je lui ai euh fouette, un coup de fouet sur la derrière. Bien, un/ bien, avec ça...il s'a reviré, my son! Pareil comme une toupie! Il a marché dessus ses pattes de derrière...Puis j'ai quasiment tombé de sur la traine mais je m'ai crocheté sur la, la, la...sur le [] de la traine. Je perdais les cordeaux puis ça a viré de bord...Puis mon, mon ami! Il s'a pris...il bond en haut de la, la gate encore...Mais moi, quand je/ quand que, que j'arrivais à la gate, bien euh...je, je, j'ai pu attraper les cordeaux, vois-tu. Mais quand qu'il arrive à la gate, il arrêtaît là ...Parce qu'il avait descendu, vois-tu...Bon, c'est bien. Bien, je dis...ah, ah, ah, ah! Je, j'étais emporté, moi. Je pouvais plus rien [voir]...Mais euh je...il était si vite pour moi [] je perd/ je perdais les cordeaux, j'ai perdu mon fouette puis [] la traine. Parce seulement pour ça, j'aurais resté là sur le chemin.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: J'ai crocheté sur le, le piquet de la traine. Puis là, je reviens à moi-même, vois-tu, puis...bien là, il était arrivé à la gate, là. Il arrête. Alright. Là, je débarque...Là!...Là, je l'accorche par les halters, là, eh. Ah? Je dis, "Vien-t-en!" Puis garde, c'était pareil

comme si cette bête-là me parlait. Il se tapait sa patte.
Puis là (makes neighing sound). No, sir!

G.B.: Non.

E.E.: No, sir! Il aurait pas viré de bord! No, sir! Il aurait pas viré de bord. Et quoi-ç-qu'il a vu là, c'est pas joli...!

(16/07/80; F3505c/C4843; B26)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E272; E421.1.2; D1821.3.4

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (N.E[A]; 45; F)

(51)

N.E.: Ça m'arrivait aussi à moi, ça.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Euh, la, la soirée que mon petit frère a mourri.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: J'avais un cheval avec moi. Notre cheval avait rien qu'un oeil, eh. Et puis, euh, il voyait pas de ce bord ici, eh. Là, il pouvait voir, eh, mais pas...Quand j'arrivais à l'autre bord chez G. en bas là--Je m'en venais [] chez [], eh--Et le cheval s'était [] à demi. Non, c'était défunt Papa, mon vieux. J'avais été en bas là pour le wake. Et puis euh, je descendais avec un [] à courir, là. Puis

my son, il a vu de quoi sur ce bord là. Il avait couri... tu sais, moi, j'ai pas vu. Mais lui, il parait il l'a vu. Puis il [] par là, puis ça poussait!...Bien, my son, c'est pas joli à voir aller...Je croyais [] il aurait resté derrière.

M.E.: Des, des chevaux, je parlais pas des chevaux.

N.E.: Et, et quand mon petit frère a mouré moi, et j'ai sorti de la gate...

M.E.: Des chevaux de quoi, ils voyont de quoi bouger puis...tu sais.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Puis j'ai resté en haut là jusqu'à trois heures du matin, eh. [] peur, tu sais.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Ou quatre heures du matin. Et c'était calme comme de l'huile. Et quand j'ai sorti de la maison pour descendre en bas ici...il y a...pareil comme une brise de vent qui a pris dans la gate, eh. Mais il ventait pas...C'est rien qu'un gros train dans la gate...a tapé...Oh, tout le long en descendant j'ai prié...prié tout le long. J'avais peur, jusqu'à ce que je [] dans le, en bas dans le champ [].

(26/05/83; F5956c/C5879;B77)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E272; E421.1.2

P.E.N. IV, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(52)

J.E.: J'ai vu de quoi!

G.B.: Oh, oui?

J.E.: Mais dame, c'est peut-être bien mes yeux qui ont fait ça ou de quoi. Je sais pas. Bien...Oh, oui! J'ai vu du monde marcher là...le, le vieux J.L., eh bien, lui, c'était un vieux-t-ami à, de mon défunt père, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

J.E.: Et puis je m'en allais sur le chemin en, en dedans ici, là. A descendre...Puis je l'ai vu. Il s'en venait, il s'en venait, il, il me...il me rencontrait là. Mais ça tenait, j'ai regardé à l'entour. Mais quand j'ai relevé ma tête, il était parti...Il a disparu, dame euh, c'est peut-être bien mes yeux qui ont fait ça. Je peux pas dire mais je... Puis sans mentir, je l'ai vu, oh...

(18/05/81; F3882c/C5232; B40)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts of the dead may return and be encountered by the living.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??/?

MOTIFS: E272

J.G.: ...Asteure, moi, je descendais un coup de Maisons-d'Hiver, là. J'étais un jeune garçon dans ce temps-là. Il était vers trois heures du matin...dans l'automne que c'était. Une belle soirée. J'ai doublé le pont, j'ai marché--il y avait un pont là sur la rivière, le, au ruisseau que c'était--J'ai traversé le pont, j'ai marché à peu près, je pense, dans les vingt pas ou vingt-cinq pas ce bord ici du pont. Bientôt, j'ai entendu ça. Il ventait pas. J'ai entendu du quoi qui a s/ qui a sauté dans l'eau. Pareil comme un []. J'ai viré de bord. J'avais mon flashlight avec moi. J'ai viré de bord...j'étais voir, flashais mon flashlight partout. Non. Rien...J'ai parti à m'en venir, là. Quand j'arrivais quasiment le même endroit, la même affaire...tombe dans l'eau encore. Je revire de bord encore puis je vais voir. No sir! J'ai rien vu. "Bien," j'ai dit, "tu peux sauter si tu veux (laughs) mais je reviens, je reviens plus voir." J'ai parti à m'en venir... et puis ça resautait encore. C'était le same splash dans l'eau puis...J'avais un jeune chien asteure qui sa/ un jeune, un chien qui était...il était pas, il était pas tout light, eh. Une manière de show chien. Là, jamais il m'aurait coursé. J'ai pensé c'est peut-être mon chien, ça. Je l'appelle...comme de fait, c'était le chien. Il avait jamais été à l'eau []. Je pense que quand qu'il me voyait

partir trop loin, il sautait dans l'eau...Puis là, il
 (laughs) il se/ il prenait le bord du Cap encore (laughs).
 Mais là, si j'aurais été peureux, pas virais de bord pour
 voir...bien, peut-être c'était un...c'était de quoi.
 (23/06/80; F3489c/C34827; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: J1782

BII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Generalized Experiences

Text 1a (M.B.; 60; M)

(54)

M.B.: Il y avait toutes ces, toutes sortes des histoires là.

Sur La Plaine pareille, eh. Ce que j'appelons La Plaine,
 il y a/ autour d'ici, là. Sur l'entour justement en haut
 de chez J.G., là.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.B.: Tu vas voir là, La Chaîne, là. J'appelons ça une chaîne...
 c'est euh...comment s'appelle ça en français euh...a ledge.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Le/ ledge en anglais. J'appelons ça une chaîne en français,
 puis c'est tous des cailloux. Oh, oui, ils croy/ ils
 croyaient, du monde. Oh, oui! Sur La Plaine il y avait un

pont là aussi, là. Bien, il y a encore un peu du pont qui est là encore. Il y a un ruisseau là, eh, qui sort, le ruisseau qui passe dans mon morceau là, c'est là qu'il sort en bas.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.B.: Oui [] qu'ils appellent ça Black Duck Brook.

G.B.: Oh, oui, parce que...

M.B.: Parce ça, c'est ça, c'est ça le ruisseau, c'est B1/ il y avait des black ducks qui...qui...je crois que dans le, dans le vieux temps passé, bien, il y avait des black ducks. Bien il y en a encore mais...

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: En été, ils n'ont...Oh, il y avait tout le temps un homme là qui...qui passait, qui traversait là. Ils disaient qu'il y avait un homme, un esprit qui traversait le pont. Mais moi, j'étais là [] là dans la nuit, j'ai jamais vu, j'ai jamais vu rien. Mais...Parce j'ai pas de croyance là-dedans, mais...s'il y avait eu un homme là, c'est un homme en vie (laughs).

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: []. Il y a rien là, je crois. Je crois que les morts, ils reviennent pas.

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E272

Text 1b (M.B.; 60; M)

(55)

Resumé from field notes:

There is a place on the shore "outside" near Black Duck Brook (i.e. the brook itself) where people used to say they encountered "des esprits." In the past, the residents of L'Anse-à-Canards told stories of how a ship had come ashore at La Chaine. The victims of the wreck were buried there, near the brook on La Plaine. On calm nights, the ghost of the ship could be seen, its sails flapping. M.B. doesn't understand how the sails could flap if there was no wind. The ghosts that were encountered near the brook were those of the shipwrecked victims.

(01/07/83; Survey Card 39)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The ghosts of the dead haunt the site of fatal disasters.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E275

Text 2 (E.E.; 70; M)

(56)

E.E.: Asteure, ils disient...que...c'est les pirates d'auparavant, tu sais (laughs)...Ah, je sais pas. Des pirates d'auparavant, bien, ils euh...ils euh, ils cachient de l'argent

Eh, bien des trésors ou de quoi de même...Puis là, ils, ils coupiont la tête de l'homme puis là, ils...Ils le mettiont là pour...pour garder le, la, le trésor, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Bien...

G.B.: Et le monde disaient que c'était euh...l'esprit d'un de ces...

E.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Un de ces pirates-là?

E.E.: Oui, oui. Oui, oui. Bien, ils, ils, ils disiont, ils enterriont leur argent, eh. Le, le, le trésor. Parce qu'ils voliont les, les...les diamants et toute sorte d'affaires comme ça. Et du jewellery et tout ça, eh...Puis là, ils veniont euh sur des côtes ici puis ils, ils cachiont ça. Ils enterriont ça.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis ils disiont, bien...

G.B.: Il y avait des pirates par ici?

E.E.: Oh!

G.B.: Il y en avait, eh.

E.E.: Je pense bien qu'il y avait des pirates! Oooh!...Il y avait deux bateaux, deux bateaux qui ont été...C'est encore dans le ruisseau là, le vieux bois des bateaux d'auparavant, vois-tu?

G.B.: Par là?

E.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Oui, eh.

E.E.: C'est tout noir, c'est tout euh...oui.

G.B.: Mais qu'est-ce que tu penses de cette histoire euh...de, de...
de l'homme sans tête?

E.E.: Bien, asteure, moi, je ne sais pas.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Mais dame, euh...je croirais parce ce que j'ai vu moi-même...
Je croirais que c'est vrai, oui.

(16/07/80; F3505c/C4843; B26)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt location of their graves.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: E422.1.1; N476.3

Text 3 (J.G.; 75; M)

(57)

J.G.: Oh, ils disaient que (laughs) ils voyaient des hommes sans
têtes et tout ça (laughs).

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.G.: Oui. Mais vois-tu, ça, c'est rien que du illusion. Ils
croyaient...bien, au ruisseau là, asteure, ils disaient qu'il
y avait/ parce qu'il y a venu un wreck à terre là, vois-tu.
Il y a, il y a venu à...Et puis ils disaient qu'il y avait
des coffres d'or d'enterrés et puis euh...des pirates. Puis
des pirates, ils laissaient un homme, ils tuaient un homme
puis le laissaient pour (laughs)...oh, pour euh, garder le

trésor...Et pour ça, quand ils passaient là, ils avaient peur et de quoi de même puis il étaient [], tu sais.

(23/06/80; F3489c/C4827c; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt location of their graves.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E422.2.1; N576.3; E275

Text 4 (S.D.; 65; M)

(58)

S.D.: Ils me disient en haut là, je sais pas, une place [] à West Bay. Avant, il y avait une manière d'un bog là []. Un swamp.

G.B.: Oui

S.D.: Et uh, tout le monde--je ne dis pas, je ne sais pas si c'est vrai ou pas--Il y avait une manière d'un pont bâti là... Et tous les coups ils arrivaient dans la nuit là...

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Il entendaient de quoi. Ils entendaient du quoi qui faisait du train comme du monde qui se plaignait.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Asteure...asteure, moi, je, je travaillais à Piccadilly un coup, j'ai passé là puis j'ai rien entendu...Le temps que j'avais passé environ onze heures dans la nuit.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Rien entendu, mais ils disient...une tapée de monde qui ont

entendu [] monde.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Je sais pas quoi-ç-qui était là.

G.B.: Qu'est-ce qu'ils disaient que c'était? Où qu'est-ce qu'ils croyaient que c'était?

S.D.: Euh, bien, ils croyaient que c'était un, un, un personne qui est enterré, tu vois.

(02/06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt locations of their graves.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/Neg.

MOTIFS: E275; E272

Text 5 (D.W[B]; 35; F)

(59)

D.W.: Ils croyont pas de quoi comme ça asteure (laughs). Non... ils disent quand tu passais ici, là. Droit ici, les chevaux devenaient tout chargés.

G.B.: Par ici, là?

D.W.: Droit ici (laughs).

G.B.: Ah, bon...

D.W.: Ils disent qu'il y avait des esprits là.

(01/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Ghosts haunt certain locations.

: Horses are highly sensitive to presence of ghosts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E272; E421.1.2

C. FAIRIES/LES LUTINS

II. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Experience Narratives

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(60)

E.E.: Non. Je croyais pas qu'il y avait les lutins...Hah!...

Oui. Bien, dame, j'étais à la grange une matinée...J'avais aperçu que mon cheval...le crin son crin était tout, euh, chiffonné. Là!...[] Là, bien, mon ami, j'aurais bien voulu avoir un caméra pour prendre le portrait...C'était pas bien tressé, eh. C'était pas bien tressé...Mais un, c'est une petite tresse ici puis une petite tresse là, puis c'est tressé comme à l'entour de quatre pouces de long...

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Mais c'était pas fini au bout...

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Bien, si tu aurais vu ça! Ah?...Que/ j'ai miné ça, moi.

J'ai examiné ça asteure. Bien là, euh, là, j'ai pensé aux lutins, que j'avais entendu mon père parler de...parler. Ah hah! Bien, puis c'est ça. Garde! Tu as la preuve ici, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis je l'ai démêlé. Bien, mon ami, j'ai eu de la misère!

G.B.: Ah oui?

E.E.: Oh, c'était tout brouillé ensemble! C'était tout crocheté en [] comme ça, là. Mais c'est lacé...

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis il y avait trois [] c'est lacé. Mais mon ami... celui-là, ...Tu as du poil, toi. Les cheveux ou du quoi de même. C'est pas dur/ aisé à défaire, eh. Mais c'est dur à délacer, mon vieux!

G.B.: Qu'est-ce que ton père disait que c'était, des lutins?

E.E.: Oui, oui. Il l'avait entendu mais il a jamais vu, lui. Il a jamais vu.

G.B.: Oui, mais qu'est-ce qu'il disait que c'était?

E.E.: Euh, des lutins, oui. Oui. Des, des, des...oui, oui, des lutins. Et c'est []...Bien, c'est pareil comme...il me disait qu'ils étaient comme des souris-chauves, vois-tu?

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Il disait que c'était comme des souris-chauves qui volent, là, les...Ils avont des ailes pareils comme le, le...

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Non. Ils disient pas des...les...des ailes de...

G.B.: Mais des bêtes ou des animaux...

E.E.: Des bats, là, vous voyez? Les bats, les bats, oui. Des bats, des, des, des souris-chauves qu'ils appellent ça. Oui, oui.

G.B.: Et les lutins, c'est des, c'est des animaux ou euh..?

E.E.: C'est des petits mondes...Que c'est présumé, c'est du petit monde. Là! Je parlions asteure, là...J'écoutais la télévision là, Ils avont de les, euh...des flying saucers, là, eh...Des g/ les, les soucoupes volants (laughs). Et il, il y a du petit monde. Il y avait du petit monde là-dedans.

Bien...Et bien, c'est, c'est vrai, ça, tu sais. Ah...ils avont présumé ça.

G.B.: Tu crois que c'est vrai?

E.E.: Oh, oui! Oh, oui, oh, oui! Oh, oui, oui. Je crois ça, oui. Oui, je crois ça. Oui...Bien, j'ai peigné mon cheval. Mais mon ami, j'étais un bon bout avant que j'ai pu détresser ça. J'avais là, la, la...la peigne, vous savez. Avec les grandes dents, là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis euh, je faisais/ je l'ai défait. Mais il fallait que je prenne du bois. Puis c'est crocheté ensemble! Là, bien, tu parles d'un ouvrage, toi!

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: C'était pas tressé naturel, tu sais. Mais c'est, c'était tressé.

G.B.: Et pourquoi est-ce que/

E.E.: Il y en avait euh...comme euh dans tout son euh, son mane qu'il avait dessus la tête...Il y en avait comme cinq...cinq ou six. Du quoi de même, vois-tu? Une ici et une là et une là, et une et là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Ah...J'ai vu ça! [] à la grange, je regarde ça!

G.B.: Oui. Mais pourquoi est-ce qu'ils faisaient ça?

E.E.: Ils, ils, ils ri/ ils, ils ro/ Ils, il ridiont ton cheval, qu'ils disent. Ils embarquient sur le dos puis là, Il peut/ ils ridont ton cheval.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Mais pourquoi? Pour juste...

E.E.: Oh, je ne sais pas. Puis là, ils tressient le, le, le...

G.B.: D'où viennent-ils, les lutins que...Tu sais, d'où viennent-ils?

E.E.: Ah?

G.B.: D'aillouè est-ce qu'ils viennent?

E.E.: Ah, je sais pas. Bien, ça vient, ça vient de quelque part...

D'un autre planet ou/ moi/ ou à quelque part.

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Fairies steal one's horse from the stable, ride it,
and tress the mane.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: F366.2

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(61)

G.B.: Et euh, est-ce que vous avez jamais entendu parler des
histoires des lutins?

J.G.: Des lutins?...Ah, dame! J'en avais un dans ma grange, moi.

G.B.: Oui?

J.G.: J'avais un, j'avais un, une petite jument...

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: ...et puis euh, je pouvais pas peigner ses, je pouvais pas
peigner ses, son crin...qui est tout le temps assez...

assez matte et tout, je pouvais pas le peigner.

G.B.: Mais comment est-ce que ça se fait?

J.H.: Eh?

G.B.: Comment ça se fait que...?

J.G.: Euh...Bien astheure, le...[] les histoires, les lu/
...les vieux avaient dit que c'est des lutins qui le faisaient,
vois-tu?

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.G.: Parce que...Ils disaient ça...qu'ils, s'ils tressaient de
quoi de même, bien, il fallait pas que tu le défaisais,
vois-tu?...Mais cette-là...il y avait de quoi qui broyait
ses, son crin...Mmm. Je sais pas si c'est des lutins ou si
c'est la...Non, elle était trop lâche pour se peigner
elle-même (laughs)...J'ai essayé à les défaire. J'ai pas pu
le défaire.

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: Non, j'ai pas pu le défaire...Je pouvais pas. Non.

G.B.: Mais qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un lutin?

J.G.: Ah?

G.B.: Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un lutin?

J.G.: Lutin? Je sais pas (laughs)...Ils disaient que c'est du
petit monde. Du petit monde.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.G.: Comme, comme les, les Irlandais astheure, ils ont leurs
fairies, là, et leur...leur petit monde. Ça qu'ils les
appelont, ceux-là, là.

G.B.: Est-ce qu'il y en avait ici? Est-ce que vous croyez qu'il y avait des lutins?

J.G.: Non, non, non! J'en ai pas entendu parler. C'est rien que mon, mon cheval...Je dis ça, c'est le...le crin...son crin était tout broyé de même...Il y a du, il y a du/ Prend des bêtes ou du quoi de même, c'est...le poil est tout broyé ensemble, vois-tu? Non, je croirais pas là dedans non plus (laughs).

G.B.: Est-ce qu'il y avait des gens qui, qui croyaient?

J.G.: Oh...J'ai jamais entendu parler de ça...C'est rien que les Français qui en parlaient du quoi de même.

G.B.: Ah, oui. Votre p/ votre père en parlait?

J.G.: Oh, oui!

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.G.: Oui. Il en parlait aussi, lui.

(23/06/80; F3489c/C4827; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Fairies knot the hair of horse's mane.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: E366.2

TABULATION OF NARRATIVE DATA: SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Table 4-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Devil Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| 60+ | 1 (1) | 12 (9) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 15 (9) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) |
| 25- 40 | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) |
| TOTALS | 2 (2) | 14 (11) | 2 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 18 (12) |

Table 4-2: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Ghost Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|------------|
| 60+ | 5 (4) | 0 (0) | 2 (1) | 6 (3) | 7 (5) | 4 (3) | 24 (8) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 1 (1) | 3 (1) | 1 (1) | 7 (4) |
| 25- 40 | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) |
| TOTALS | 6 (5) | 0 (0) | 4 (3) | 7 (4) | 11 (7) | 5 (4) | 33 (14) |

Table 4-3: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Lutin Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|---|---|----|-----|-----|----------|----------|
| 60+ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 (2) | 2 (2) |
| 40- 60 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 25- 40 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTALS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 (2) | 2 (2) |

Notes

¹ F3489c/C4827; B10; Text 61.

² The use of the terms "sacred" and "profane" follows the definition outlined by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. See. W.F.S. Pickering, ed., Durkheim On Religion: A Selection of Readings with Bibliographies (London: Rutledge and Keegan Paul, 1972), 113-14.

³ Herpert Halpert, "Supernatural Sanctions and the Legend," in Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century, ed. Venetia J. Newall (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1980), pp. 226-233.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUPERNATURAL SIGNS AND WARNINGS

Introduction

Unlike the belief in supernatural beings which, as demonstrated in the preceding chapter, is on the decline in L'Anse-à-Canards, the belief in supernatural signs and warnings is quite widespread in the community. A number of different categories of interpretation are recognized, but by far the most common interpretation concerns death 'tokens,' or 'des avertissements,' which warn the individual experiencing them of the imminent death of someone known to them. In the vast majority of cases, the token warns of the demise of a family member; however, occasional examples of tokens involving close friends and even oneself, have been collected. These last two forms are extremely rare, however, and are restricted to just two reported cases.

As might be expected, then, the vast majority of narrative modes employed to express this area of supernatural knowledge are either family experience narratives or personal experience narratives. Community experience narratives--narratives told by other than kin-related narrators--are not common, a fact which may reflect a respect for the intimate nature of the experience involved. Such a consideration would thus constitute one of the criteria by which authority to relate an account,--that is, the "ownership" of the narrative--is determined.

Another possible interpretation is that, given that the belief

in death tokens is generally accepted and given that most informants possess a personal or family experience narrative in their expressive repertoire, community experience narratives are neither required nor appropriate vehicles for the expression of this cognitive category of belief knowledge. Here, narrative function must be mentioned briefly. Since acceptance of the belief is almost universal in L'Anse-à-Canards, it follows that the performance of a narrative concerning tokens functions to express not just the knowledge, but also the belief of the narrator concerning the truth of his account. His very choice to narrate indicates the narrator's intention to convince his auditors of the truth of his account, an aim best achieved if the narrator has had personal experience with the phenomenon in question. The farther one moves away from "self" to "known other" to "unknown other," the less becomes the value of the account as "evidence." Hence the predominance of memorates and family experience narratives and the corresponding rarity of other narrative modes in the expression of this aspect of the community's belief system. It might also be mentioned that the general acceptance of this particular belief is evidenced not only by the confessions of the residents, but also by the total absence in the community expressive repertoire of "anti" or "negative-narratives" concerning death tokens.¹

A second interpretation of that which is signaled by an 'avertissement' concerns that variety of phenomena known as 'forerunners.' Such signs usually manifest themselves as the sound of horses galloping at night, and signal the unexpected arrival of

a member of the family. Peculiarly, this category of supernatural belief is restricted exclusively to one family in L'Anse-à-Canards, and no resident outside of this two-household family expressed even the slightest awareness of the general belief or of the expressive examples of this supernatural belief traditum. For obvious reasons, then, accounts concerning this type of 'avertissement' are limited to memorates and family experience narratives.

Although most often a recognized supernatural warning holds a specific meaning or is given a precise interpretation, this is not always the case. Several narratives relating the details of an experienced sign, the significance of which was unclear to the experiencer, were collected. In such cases, the experience and the phenomenon are fully described, while the meaning either is speculated by the narrator or is left unsaid altogether.

Finally, while collecting information concerning supernatural signs and warnings in general, I was able to elicit a number of traditums which seem not to exist in the community's present expressive repertoire, either as traditum- or narrative-intensive texts. Because these traditums would appear to represent cognitive items with no corresponding manifest form outside the direct elicitation context, they will be presented, under the appropriate heading, in the form of "Dundesian" superstitions in a list immediately following the category's textual data.

A. TOKENS (Death)/'ADVERTISSEMENTS'

Variant Terminology: 'Signs'/'Des signes' (common)
 'warning' (common)
 'omen' (rare; one example)
 'forerunner' (rare for death token)

AI. TRADITUM-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Superstition I, Text I (M.B.[E]; 60; F) (62)

M.B.: ...si tu voyais quelqu'un qui s'en, qui s'en/ puis mais
 dame, c'est rien qu'une apparition, c'était pas, pas vrai...
 s'il s'en venait vers toi, c'est signe qu'il allait avoir une
 longue vie. Mais s'il s'en allait, c'est qu'il aurait pas
 vécu trop longtemps...

(20/06/80; F3485c/C4823; B6)

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1; D1812.5.1.7

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Experience Narratives

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M) (63)

G.B.: Ah, oui. Donc tu entends quelque chose puis...tu sais pas exactement quoi-ç-qui va arriver après.

J.G.: Oui, Oui.

G.B.: Ah, oui?

J.G.: Parce qu'il y a (laughs) il y a un gars...[] mais il reste à Stephenville asteure. Il m'a dit, il me disait ça. Il me parlait de ça, une couple, là, une couple d'années de ça. Il restait ici, lui, dans le temps. Pas ici dans la maison, mais je veux dire, il avait sa maison en bas-là, là. Et son, sa grand-mère...Ils pêchiont en bas, près d'une mille, il/ à une mille ou il/ ou deux d'ici...Puis il descendait un dimanche...non! dans la semaine...Puis sa grand-mère lui avait donné un gros coq qu'elle avait. Elle lui a donné...Il s'en venait avec...Et ce coq-là a pas, a pas seulement bougé. Puis quand qu'il arrivait en face de la maison aillou-ç-que L.L. reste asteure, en face du chemin, là, le coq s'a mis à chanter...Puis il a chanté une...une fois ou deux, qu'il m'a dit. C'est tout...Il a pas fait de [] ça, vois-tu...La même soirée, sa, là...la tante de sa femme est morte!...Oui...Elle est morte la même soirée.

M.G.: Ah, oh puis ils marquiont ça aussi, eh, pour les coqs qui chantaient, eh.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

death in the family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

C.E.N. II, Text 1 (M.G.; 70; F)

(64)

M.G.: Oui...Euh, je, Raymond a conté, là, quand qu'il, il travaillait à West Bay dans le bois, là...Euh, quoi-ç-que c'était, la veille de Pâques, eh? Il s'en venait chez eux.

J.G.: Oui! Oui!

M.G.: Puis ça, c'était dans la nuit, eh?

J.G.: Dans la nuit.

M.G.: Vers minuit ou par là ou...Anyway, ils s'en venient chez eux. Puis quand qu'ils avont arrivé par...La Grande Digue par là...Il y a un coq qui s'a mis à chanter. Puis il a pas arrêté de chanter. Puis il a descendu en bas chez lui cette soirée-là puis...c'est ce soirée-là que la maison a brûlé!...Même soirée, c'est la veille de Pâques.

J.G.: Oui! La veille de Pâques! Oui.

M.G.: Oui! Ce soirée-là, il était [] sur la maison, eh...
Je me rappelle quand que la maison brûlait. Bien, après ça, il disait c'était ça, vois-tu? C'était ce coq-là. Le, l'avait averti que, il y avait de quoi qui va, qui allait arriver, eh...Ils aviont toutes ces affaires-là, mais/
Ils remarquiont toutes sortes d'affaires, là, dans ce temps-là.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Rooster crowing for no apparent reason token of
disaster.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.3.1

C.E.N. III, Text 1 (F.D.; 60; M)

(65)

F.D.: Là, J.Y., c'est le garçon à D.Y., eh. Puis []. Bien...
sa soeur, M. était mariée avec B.S., eh. Puis elle restait
en bas-là, à peu près une mille...où-ç-que je restais, moi,
en bas aussi, eh...Mais elle conte ça pour la vérité!...
Elle dit que...quand il arrivait en bas, il y avait une
lumière dans, dans la maison à B.S., eh. Puis ce...il, il
venait de l'ouvrage, lui. Il travaillait au quarry, [],
eh. Limestone, eh. Au quarry.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

F.D.: Puis euh...quand il arr/ il arrivait en face pour descendre
en bas à la...sa mai/ sa maison était en bas dans un
champ, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

F.D.: Mais il savait que sa, sa soeur est mourie eh. Puis il a
entendu comme une pile de planches là, tomber, eh...You know,
elle fait un carillon du Moses! Puis il y avait une lumière
dans la maison dans le chassis, eh. Ça fait euh...il a, il
a/Non, il a, je sais pas comment-ç-qu'il a venu. Je pense
qu'il a marché en dehors, là. Puis c'est à Port-à-Port, là,

tu vois.--Tu sais où-c-qu'est le quarry-stone, eh? Ah?
 Par []--Il a, il a, il a marché, eh...Puis quand il
 arrivait là, il tapait à la porte...personne là! Il rouvre
 la porte...pas de lumière...Il dit, "I wonder quoi-ç-qui
 arrivait." [] tout parti!...Là, mais...il a pas resté
 là! Il descend en bas chez euh, chez mon frère, là, eh...
 Là...Ce soirée-là qu'ils lui ont dit que sa soeur était morte,
 eh...

G.B.: Là, ça, c'était un euh...

F.D.: Un token, toi.

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of planks falling token of death in the family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

C.E.N. IV, Text 1 (T.D.; 30; M)

(66)

T.D.: ...G. was telling me, you know. You remember what G. was
 telling you about the night he was down to Gerry's there?

R.B.: Oh, yeah.

T.D.: And they were having a couple of drinks eh.

R.B.: Right.

T.D.: And his glass was on the table. Just popped right out. He
 had it in the middle of the table, now. [] the coffee
 table. His glass just popped right on the floor...So, you
 know, euh, he was telling me that.

R.B.: Yeah.

T.D.: He was looking at that and...not only him...like he saw it and B. saw too, I think. Gerry, like refilled his glass and he put it up and put it back in the same spot. And it jumped off the table again...You know, eh, it's kind of weird, eh.

R.B.: And a couple of hours after, he got a phone call [] brother ...

T.D.: Yeah.

R.B.: ...just died in an accident. In Alberta, right.

T.D.: Yeah, right. Yeah.

R.B.: So, sort of, you know, he figured it was something like a token or...

T.D.: Yeah.

R.B.: You know, some kind of sign, eh.

(18/05/82; F5953c/C5876; B74)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Glass jumping off table token of death in the family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

C.E.N. V, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(67)

M.B. (Resumé from field notes):

A.L. était dans le bois puis il arrêta son travail pour dormir

un bout. Quand il se réveillait, il voyait son grand-père, le vieux A.L., qui était là. Il a vu son grand-père cette soirée-là puis le lendemain, son grand-père est mort.

(01/07/83; Survey Card 34)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seeing the image of a member of one's family is a token of that person's impending death.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M) [NEPHEW] (68)

J.G.: Ah, il y en a un autre qu'il me disait asteure que mon, mon grand-oncle, là, il restait à...à Berry Head là, lui. Et il montait Berry Head. Dans ces temps-là...la butte de Berry Head était une fois aussi haute qu'il est à présent. Ça, parce les chemins l'avait travaillé, là. Il y avait un...une centaine peut-être plus en arrière et un dixaine de pieds de haut...Ils disent que c'est pareil comme une bande de chevaux euh...des chevaux qui, tu sais, qui/ sur une course. [] a été, a été jeté clair du chemin en haut sur la petite butte, là. Il a pas fait trop de mal... Non, ça, c'est mon grand-oncle...Mais je me rappelle pas quoi-ç-qui s'arrivait après, Il y a quelque chose qui s'arrivait après.

G.B.: A lui?

J.G.: A lui, oui/ euh quelqu'un de ses parentés ou du quoi de même, vois-tu...Il m'a dit ça, c'est la vérité.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: 'Forerunner' portends misfortune for family member.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.5.1

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M) [NEPHEW] (69)

E.E.: Un autre coup, il dit, il était...il était à manger, là...
Et tout d'un coup, il dit...Il a passé un, un [] de vent,
eh...Que la maison a, a shaké comme ça, là!...Et puis une
charge de planches pareille comme un, une épaulée de planches,
qui a tombé, là. Pow!...Il rouvre la porte...il a, il a
sauté debout...puis il rouvre la porte du kitchen...puis il
regarde dehors...Il regarde partout...tout calme...pas de
planches, il y avait rien!...Puis ça, c'était pour son
oncle...Le lendemain, son oncle/ Puis il savait ça []
son oncle.

G.B.: Il a mourri?

E.E.: Son oncle était mort, oui.

G.B.: Le lendemain?

E.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Henri Duffeney.

(20/05/81; F3887c/C5233; B45)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of planks falling token of death in the family.

: Sudden, violent wind token of death in the family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. III, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M) [SON] (70)

G.B.: Et ce qui m'intéresse encore/ ce que vous, vous m'avez dit là, tout à l'heure, euh, sur votre mère là qui...qui avait des avertissements. Quelqu'un [] mort...?

J.E.: Oh, oui, oui, oui. Elle...elle, à tous les coups que quelqu'un allait mourir, eh...

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Bien, elle, elle savait...parce un soi/ une journée ou deux d'avant, dans la nuit, là. Elle entendait ça dans la nuit. C'était pareil comme du monde s'en venait avec un, un, une épaulée de planches, là, puis ils [] ça au, en haut de la maison, tu sais?

G.B.: Oui, eh?

J.E.: C'est, c'est []. Puis ça...oh, ça, c'est vrai! Parce je m'en rappelle de ça moi!

(18/05/81; F3882c/C5232; B40)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of falling planks token of death.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. IV, Text 1 (D.W.[B];35; F) [DAUGHTER] (71)

D.W.: Bien, elle me disait ça, oui, que...je crois que c'était sa mère...qui avait vu un homme venir à la porte...Puis il avait jeté une pile de planches...--tu sais, p/des longues planches--Il les a jetés à la porte, puis il y avait personne là. Et puis un couple de jours après ou le lendemain, il y a quelqu'un qui avait mouré que...qui était euh parenté avec elle.

(01/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of man throwing planks at door token of death in the family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. V, Text 1 (D.W.[B]; 35; F) [COUSIN] (72)

D.W.: Oui. Et puis euh, comme euh, ma cousine...euh, quand que, quand, quand que Grand-mère a mouré--la mère à, la mère à Mommy--quand qu'elle a mouré, euh...la même soirée, ou la soirée d'avant, elle a, elle avait monté en haut du grenier

chez elle--C'est chez Oncle J., ça--Elle avait monté en haut du grenier chez elle. Puis elle avait vu un homme de [] la porte. Et puis il avait un suit noir dessus puis un [] noir. Et puis le lendemain matin euh... Grand-mère avait mourri. Je suppose, je suppose que c'était si c'était un token or...you know...

G.B.: Oui. Oui.

D.W.: Oui.

G.B.: Et on euh...personne ne sait qui, qui c'était qu'elle a vu?

D.W.: Non, non. Il y avait personne là.

(01/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of man, dressed in black token of death
in family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. VI, Text 1 (N.C.; 45; M) [SON] (73)

N.C.: Oh, oui. Ça, c'est mon, mon père...Je crois qu'il, avant que sa mère, défunte mère a mourri...C'est un long bout de ça mais...Je crois que c'est sa grand-mère. Elle avait toujours l'habitude de mettre la lampe sur la table avec la, la chimney tail là-dessus.

G.B.: Mmm.

N.C.: Toujours une lampe était toujours allumée toute la nuit.

G.B.: MmmHmm.

N.C.: Quand que, ailloù-ç-qu'il y avait des enfants, euh, des jeunes enfants. Puis ce soirée-là, bien, sa mère était malade. Il savait bien que sa [] sa grand-mère était malade mais euh...ce soirée, il l'a vue. Il a pas vu la main mais là []. Il croyait que c'était une main. Qu'elle est venue puis déteindre la lumière. Il était obligé à se lever puis la, allumer la lampe. Puis, ah, il dit que/ il conte que tous les chassis et toutes les portes étaient fermés. Puis il y a pas d'air. Puis pas de vent. Puis ce soirée avant que sa déf/ sa grand-mère a mourir.

G.B.: Mhm. Alors, c'était un avertissement pour montrer que...

N.C.: Oui. C'est ça qu'ils croyaient. Que c'est un avertissement.
(20/08/82; F5967c/C5890; B88)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of hand extinguishing lamp token of death
in family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. VII, Text 1 (M.B[E]; 60; F) [WIFE] (74)

M.B.: Bien, mon mari! Asteure, lui, son, son copain qu'il avait là, à, à Deer Lake, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.B.: Bien lui, il l'a vu.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Il l'a vu un soir quand qu'il tra/ il s'a venu du bois. Mais lui, il travaillait à Stephenville. Au base, eh. Mais quand M. arrivait du bois, bien, il a été chez, chez Gerard. Bien, c'est là qu'il restait quand qu'il était là [] à travailler. Euh, puis euh, il l'a vu s'en aller à la maison, eh...Puis quand qu'il arrivait à la maison, il croyait qu'il était caché derrière la porte. Ça fait euh, il, il a che/ il cherchait pour mais pouvait pas le trouver. Ça fait qu'il a demandé à sa soeur ailloù-ç-qu'il était. Où-ç-qu'il s'avait caché, ah. Mais elle, elle lui dit, "Il n'est pas ici, il travaille au base," eh. Et puis il a pas vécu de, des années. Non. Il était tout jeune quand il a mouré.

(20/06/80; F3485c/C4823; B6)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of individual walking away from one is token of short life for that individual.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. VIII, Text 1 (M.B.[E]; 60; F) [DAUGHTER] (75)

M.B.: Bien, je peux vous en donner une qui arrivait à Maman.

G.B.: Ah, oui?

M.B.: Maman, elle asteure, après Papa a mouré, bien elle allait chez

ses enfants. Puis elle, en dernier, bien elle est venue ici rester avec nous autres. Et puis...elle a mouré dans juillet, elle. Le 29 de juillet...Puis ça, c'était dans mai... Dans mai/dans juin...Et puis moi, j'étais en haut du grenier, puis les enfants étaient en bas. M. arrivant justement de La Barre, il pêchait à La Barre...Puis il était en train de se raser...Puis elle était assise tout dans sa chaise à bercer...Mais tout le temps, elle priait, tout le temps avec son chapelet, puis tout le temps priait...Et puis toujours, elle regarde au chassis puis elle voit une femme d'autre bord...[] les hardes, eh...Puis toujours, elle pensait si c'est ses yeux qui faisaient ça. Puis après un petit bout, là voilà, elle la voit encore plus proche. Puis [] encore, si c'est son idée, que c'était, c'était ses yeux...Elle, tiens, elle...elle aimait se faire taire parce des fois, tu sais, tu peux...Mais le troisième coup qu'elle l'a vue, elle était dans le chassis, eh...Une femme habillée en blanc avec une croix rouge dans sa main. Et puis là, elle a dit aux enfants, "Mettez-vous à genoux. Puis venez-vous-en avec moi." Puis elle était se mettre à genoux en haut de la table. Puis M. asteuré, lui, il était là puis quand qu'il a reg/ quand qu'il l'a vue faire ça puis quand qu'il a entendu quoi-ç-qu'elle a dit...bien il arrêtait dans sa... Puis ça, ça l'a tapé tout de suite: "Elle va pas vivre longtemps." Il a pas voulu me dire parce il savait j'aurais été nerveuse...Et puis euh...dans juillet, elle était bien,

elle avait été sur le Cap oh...pour un, pour un marche...
 Puis quand elle s'en a revenu, elle a monté en haut du
 grenier puis elle a tombé sur la place []. Puis elle
 était malade neuf jours. Puis elle a mourir...Mais elle a vu
 quelque chose, eh. Elle a vu, tiens...

G.B.: Une femme euh...

M.B.: Une femme en blanc...avec une croix rouge dans sa main. Le
 premier coup, le deuxième coup, elle croyait pas parce qu'elle
 pensait que c'est ses yeux, mais le de/ le troisième coup,
 elle a venu au chassis eh...Mais ça fait frissonner, tu
 sais...Mmm.

(20/06/80; F3485c/C4823; B6)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of woman with cross token of one's own
 death.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

F.E.N. IX, Text 1 (M.B.[E]; 60; F) [DAUGHTER] (76)

M.B.: Mais Maman me contait quand que le père à J.G. asteure, eh.
 Bien, moi, je suis née le 2 de janvier et lui, il a mourir le
 4 de janvier. Et puis euh, asteure, la soirée d'avant,
 elle était euh, c'était dans la, c'est dans la journée, ça
 me ressemble que c'était dans l'après-midi. Mais elle
 boulangeait son pain toujours parce dans ce temps-là, ils

boulangaient leur pain le soir, puis le lendemain matin, ils, ils euh, ils le boulangaient par dessus puis là, ils le mettaient dans les plats. Ils le cuisinient le lendemain. Et puis elle était toute seule puis toujours là, elle a entendu un bruit, eh. Comme une personne aurait venu puis prendre une charge de planches puis l'a jetée en bas [] la maison, eh. Puis elle a eu peur. Et puis c'était comme un avertissement. A v/ ça lui, ça lui est venu dans son idée asteure. Le père G., dame. Et il a mouri dans/ le lendemain matin.

(20/06/80; F3485c/C4823; B6)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of planks falling possible token of someone's death.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F)

(77)

N.E.: Asteure euh...mon défunt père qu'il a mouri, eh...Bien, le soirée qu'il a mouri, bien, je savais pas [] était mais il était chez, il était chez M.B. pour aller à un party puis...Puis euh, moi puis M., j'avons, j'étions [] d'en bas...dans L'Allée, d'en bas de chez G.L.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

N.E.: Puis quand j'avons monté, eh...j'avons entendu ça par en haut,

pareil comme quelqu'un qui se battait, eh. Un crowd de, de...de monde qui parlent, mais tu pouvais pas comprendre quoi-ç-qu'ils disaient, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Et puis euh...J'ai dit à M., "J'allons arriver," je dis, "Tu devrais phoner, eh." Phoner en haut là parce je savais qu'il y avait un party en haut là puis je croyais qu'ils étaient en train de rower. Mais il y avait personne qui rowait...Yet le lendemain matin, j'ai entendu de/ mon père avait mouré. Qu'il avait tombé [] sur le...l'escalier.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Il s'avait cassé le cou, je crois. [].

G.B.: Oui, oui.

N.E.: Oui...Puis c'est pareil comme un, un crowd qui se battait mais je pensais asteure qu'ils étaient peut-être dedans, ils étaient peut-être à...à rower ou de quoi, vois-tu.

G.B.: Oui, oui, oui.

N.E.: J'ai entendu ça bien...C'était pareil comme c'était tout brouillé, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Tu sais, je pouvais pas com/ comprendre quoi-ç-qu'ils disaient, eh. C'était...

G.B.: C'était des voix?

N.E.: C'était rien que euh...il y avait personne là. C'était pas une personne. Was just...

G.B.: Oui...Juste un bruit, juste le...?

N.E.: Oui.

(20/05/82; F5954c/C4577; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Loud noise token of death in family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(78)

M.E.: Gerard Young, je crois...Oui, j'ai trouvé ça cur/...Bien, j'ai pas de croyance dans les, tu vois, dans les esprits mais tu euh...je sais tu peux voir de monde en vie...Quand même qu'il n'est pas là, puis il, lui, il était pas là...
[] Puis mon...bien, j'étions tout le temps grands...
grands camarades (laughs)...dire grands chums.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Bien, j'étions []...quand j'étais à Deer Lake, j'avais rien que 14 ans.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: [] puis lui, il était, il avait 13 ans. Bien, il allait de, à l'école, moi, je travaillais dans le, bien, l'école. Bien, sur le/ je re/ j'ai resté trois ans avec eux []

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: D'un façon. Mais quand qu'il...asteure, quand je, quand je venais comme le...je crois que c'est le samedi au soir tu t'en venais du bois. Des fois j'ai pas m'en allé pour deux

ou trois mois. C'est [] comment loin que j'étais de, de delà. Si j'étais comme des vingt milles en arrière, bien, je pouvais rester peut-être dedans deux mois. Puis quand il me voyait s'en venir, il s'aurait caché derrière la porte puis...en rentrant, il sautait []. Bien, c'était un clown (laughs)...Puis il était fort.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Fort...Ça se fait, à ce coup-là quand j'ai venu de St-Jean, j'étais deux ans à St-Jean puis j'avais venu. Bien...j'ai venu sur mes vacances. Bien, la première place que j'ai été, bien sûr. J'ai débarqué à Deer Lake de sur le train puis là, bien les...Mais eux, ils restiont à St. Judes. C'est justement, près comme un mille et demi de Deer Lake. C'est euh...C'est par ce bord ici, Deer Lake, puis c'est tout euh ...oui. Dans ces temps-là, c'était appelé Water Chute.

G.B.: Water Chute?

M.B.: Water Chute, oui. Parce que le train, c'est là où-ç-que le train prenait son eau, dans le, le, le train...The water chute to, to water, ça []. Mais asteure, ça chargeait l'eau et des [] chargeait...Ça se fait euh...ce coup-là j'avais venu puis ah...[] la maison...Puis il était dans le champ, bien, puis c'est...c'est sur l'après-midi peut-être, bien deux ou trois heures de l'après-midi j'avais débarqué de sur le, sur le bus. Asteure, je prenais le bus à Deer Lake jusqu'à là...Puis... je l'ai vu dans le champ. Il était là, il me, il me regardait...Avec un suit, une manière

de noir comme euh...Bien, un s/ un suit que je l'avais vu avec, mais c'était un suit qui...qu'il a eu, ça. Je ne l'a vu jamais à part ça mais c'est un suit qui, qui, qu'il avait, qui, qu'il avait acheté...après que je l'ai rencontré, après que je l'ai vu à Stephenville. Mais anyway là...il a [] a marché en avant moi. C'est pas ce/ ça a paru curieux je dis après deux ans []..."Oh! Il s'en va se cacher derrière la porte pour me sauter sur le corps." Et, mais quand j'ai rentré, j'ai rentré tout aisé. Bien, je regards derrière le porte [] la porte du tambour, eh. Il était pas là...Ça se fait, quand j'ai rentré, je ne [] sa soeur était là [] fait peur. Elle avait...elle avait comme euh...peut-être bien 15 ou 16 ans. Elle était en train de laver la place, eh. Laver le plancher...Puis euh, j'ai dit euh...Bien, il était tout le temps appelé Magella, eh. Je dis, "Où-ç-que Magella est parti?" Elle dit, "Magella?" Elle dit, "Il est à Stephenville."--Après qu'elle a venu/ pu revenir à elle-même assez pour me répondre--[] "Non," elle dit/ Bien, elle parlait en anglais. Elle dit, "Magella," elle dit, "is not here. He's working in Stephenville."... Je veu/ je voulais pas le croire! Je vais au bas de la shop [] était pas, il y avait personne d'autre, il y avait rien qu'elle là...Là...Puis/ parce que Magella, Magella est rentré. Bien, ça, je dis, "But who came in here, then a while ago?" "Nobody came in, eh."

G.B.: Mais tu l'as vu rentrer?

M.B.: Je l'ai vu rentrer. Je l'ai vu rentrer dans la maison, eh...
 Puis ça, je/ Garde! C'est aussi vrai que je vais mourir
 un jour. Bien, quand même je mourrai un jour, ça va pas
 dire...Je conte pas là de menteries puis dis aussi vrai je
 vais mourir un jour (laughs), tu sais. C'est...tu sais, il
 y a pas de,...il y a pas, il y a pas rien dedans pour conter
 une menterie ou euh...[] de même.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Mais ça m'a paru curieux. Cette soirée-là...quand j'ai
 descendu à Corner Brook, il avait eu un...un...un party pour
 moi chez Mrs. J.--Ils avioient un, ils avioient le ice cream
 euh...ice cream parlour là. Je l'appelais le ice cream
parlour. Puis ils vendioient le euh, la bière mais pas du,
 pas de bière du même (holds up beer) le...le 'Red Label'
 dans le...

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Dans ce temps-là, c'était le 'Moose Ale' et puis le 'Haig
Ale' (laughs). C'est la bière à bon marché. Mais...ça
 ressemble pas aussi fort comme ça.--Mais moi, j'ai été à
 Corner Brook, j'ai pris du euh...trois ou quatre bouteilles
 puis eux, ils en avioient pris aussi. Bien...[] un beau
 temps...Ça se fait, quand j'ai, quand j'ai venu chez/ à,
 à la maison cette soirée-là, il avait venu. Il avait venu
 de Stephenville...Quand j'au retourné à la maison, chez lui.
 Là...il dit, il savait pas que j'étais venu. Puis là,
 justement, bien, il avait pris malade, là...Il avait pris

malade, il avait/il était TB, eh. Poitrinaire...Puis euh, de delà, bien, il était à St-Jean puis...C'est curieux...

G.B.: Il a mouré?

M.B.: Bien oui. Il a mouré. Il a mon/ il a vécu...peut-être comme un an après, je crois []. Il a mouré à l'âge de 23 ans.
(06/07/81; F3903c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of an individual is token of short life.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M)

(79)

M.E.: Oui. Ça, c'est un autre coup, ça...Là, là, le défunt grand-père m'avait envoyé []. J'avais un accordion neuf, eh...Puis lui, il nous chantait des jigs pour jouer, vois-tu? J'avais une vieille accordion. J'avais un neuf...Puis [] Puis elle était là-bas puis, j'étais là environs une heure puis [] avec moi sur le couch--J'avais un couch en bois-- Assis là. J'avais à peu près...9 à 10 ans, moi, je pense... Puis il nous chantait des jigs, eh. Moi, je jouais, tu sais. Puis il y en a, il y en a que je pouvais jouer puis il y en a d'autres que je pouvais pas jouer, les jigs...Puis il dit euh...il dit, "Je suis fatigué asteure," il dit, "Je m'en vais aller me coucher." Il était une heure debout avec moi, lui. Il était tout le temps au lit, vois-tu, eh. Il était

malade...All right. Je vais, moi. S'il allait être se
 coucher, je m'en, je m'en vais chez nous. Puis là euh,
 Maman qui a/ qui asteure...sa femme qu'il a asteure...elle
 dit, "Tu feras [] à Allan, toi," elle dit, "Je m'en vais
 aller voir grand-père, moi."...Tu vois? O.K....Asteure, le
 petit Alain, qui est là sound asleep...Puis avant ça, je jouais
 l'accordion et ça puis il, il dormait...Tombait endormi
 avec l'accordion. You know, eh. Ça l'endormait...Oui, mais
 euh...quand je prenais l'accordion, il était sound asleep, mais
 là...quand je prenais l'accordion pour jouer, il/ les Moses
 des cris de mort!...Les cris de mort!...Puis là, je
 l'endormais encore puis je prenais l'accordion encore puis
 aussitôt je le prenais et tapais les clés...les cris
 encore...Puis là, anyway, j'ai euh, abandonné l'accordion.
 J'ai pas voulu jouer. Environs...[] une heure après...
 Maman a rentré, puis elle dit que [] il était mort...Il
 était mort, oui.

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Baby crying is token of death in family.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.0.1

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Generalized Experiences

Text 1 (M.G. [L]; 70; F)

(80)

M.G.: C'est ça qu'ils disaient. Il nous disaient ça. Si j'allions marcher le so/ le soir, eh.../

J.G.: Oh, oui.

M.G.: Euh, de pas, jamais marcher dans le milieu du chemin...Tout le temps marcher à côté du chemin...Et [] il y avait tout le temps de quoi dans le milieu du chemin.

J.G.: C'est ça, ça, ça,...ça qui passait là.

M.G.: Oui, s'il y avait un 'forerunner', c'est là qu'il aurait passé, droit dans le milieu du chemin.

G.B.: Oh, oui. Donc il marchait à côté.

M.G.: J'ai toujours eu peur de ça. Parce que []

J.G.: Euh, marcher/ nous-autres, je disons c'est un avertissement, bien...l'anglais le, c'est, c'est, c'est un 'forerunner.'

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.G.: Oui.

J.G.: The forerunner of the thing.

M.B.: Oui

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: 'Forerunner' follows the middle of the road.

'Forerunner' dangerous if encountered.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

AIV. TOKENS (Death): Reconstructed traditums

1. If you hear a dog howling at night, it is a token of death.
(5 examples)
2. If you see someone's "spirit" before he is dead, it is a token of his impending death. (3 examples)
3. If you dream of a wedding, it is a token of an impending death in the family. (2 examples)
4. If you hear a sound like falling planks of wood, it is a token of death. (5 examples)
5. If a bird flies into the house, it is a token of an impending death in the family. (1 example)
6. If a person dies and the body remains warm, it is a token of another impending death in the family. (1 example)
7. If you hear a rooster crowing at night, it is a token of an impending death. (1 example)

B. FORERUNNER (Arrivals) / 'AVERTISSEMENT'

BII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(81)

J.G.: Moi, j'ai entendu euh...pour mon frère, quand qu'il a venu de la première guerre...On savait pas qu'il s'en venait...Mais ce soirée-là, j'arrivions de...Bien, j'avais été en pêche à, au, à La Barre, là, moi puis mon frère...J'avons arrivé ici à minuit, en nuit...Le soirée d'avant mais dame...Et moi, j'étais me coucher puis mon frère restait debout prendre un, un...un lunch avant d'aller se coucher...Et j'ai entendu du train, moi, sans doute...Mais j'ai pas fait de cas parce que...je croyais que c'est mon frère qui draguait des chaises ou du quoi de même sur la place...Dans ce temps-là, il y avait pas du toile, du carpet dessus la place. C'était rien que du bois.

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: Mais un bout après, j'ai entendu mon défunt père se lever... Et c'était minuit quand j'avons arrivé à la maison...Ça fait après que mon frère avait venu se coucher, je lui ai demandé quoi-ç-qu'il savait que mon de/ mon père s'avait levé...Il dit, "Tu as pas entendu le train?" Puis, "J'ai entendu du train mais je croyais que c'était euh...toi qui halais une chaise ou draguais une chaise dessus la place." "Non," il

dit. "Ça a passé au...en avant de la maison," il dit.
 "C'est pareil comme une bande de chevaux qui...sont passés
 au galop." Voilà comment c'était. Et j'avions notre cheval
 en, au...en parké en arrière de ma grange, là. Et c'est pour
 ça que mon défunt père s'a levé. Il croyait que c'était mon
 ch/ le cheval qui était sorti de dans le park...Puis là, il
 était voir, mais non. Le cheval avait pas bougé de place.
 Elle était là au ras de la grange...Anyway, Il l'avait
 laissé de même...Mais au soir, mon frère arrivait de la
 guerre!...La même soirée. Le lendemain au soir [], eh.
 Bien ce, c'est un avertissement! Voilà quoi-ç-qu'on
 appelait les avertissements asteure.

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of galloping horses at night sign of
 imminent arrival of family member.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.5

Text II (J.G., 75; M)

(82)

J.G.: ...Et puis euh...après ça, il a parti à Halifax...puis mon
 beau-frère restait ici...Mais dame, je, là, j'avais pas
 reçu de nouvelles qu'il s'en venait. Il y avait deux ans
 ou, deux ou trois ans qu'il était parti. J'avons pas eu de
 nouvelles qu'il s'en venait...Et le lendemain matin, mon

beau-frère se levait...il me/ il me dit, il dit, "Joe," il dit, "Ta charrette est partie!" Je dis, "Soyez pas si fou!" je dis, "Ma charrette est parti!" Il dit, "Oui!" il dit, "La charrette," il dit, "Il y a quelqu'un," il dit, "Oui a venu le chercher hier soir." Je dis, "Non!" je dis. "Ma charrette est au ras de la grange." Il a pas voulu me croire. Et bien, il a sorti dehors puis allé voir...Le lendemain au soir, qui arrive? Mon frère! Oui. Bien, tu vois, ça/ Voilà asteure c'est de, du quoi de même que j'appelons des avertissements, vois-tu?

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of wagon passing token of imminent arrival of family member.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.5

Text III (J.G.; 75; M)

(83)

J.G.: Et ça, je l'ai entendu ça, j'ai entendu ça ici, oh...mais, j'étais jeune. J'avais rien qu'à peu près six ou sept ans. Le maître de, le maître d'école restait ici, mais il, il allait voir ma soeur, il...Et puis euh, ça arrivait pareil. Ça passait devant le...le front door ce coup-là. La vieille maison, là. Pareille comme une bande de chevaux qui...à la course. Il a pris le fanal...lui a pris le fanal puis il a

été, oh le grandeur pour voir si que les chevaux étiont dans le/ que les chevaux étiont libres. Non! Il y avait pas de bête dans notre champ. Mais dame! Je me rappelle s'il y a de quoi qui arrivait ou pas.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.G.: Là, je pourrais pas te dire. J'étais trop jeune, je pense. J'avais six ou sept ans...Oui.

G.B.: Et c'est ça un avertissement?

J.G.: Oui.

M.G.: Oui.

J.G.: Bien, j'appelons ça un avertissement. Asteure, les Anglais appellont ça un 'forerunner.'

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sound of horse galloping is a forerunner.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

Text IV (J.G.; 75; M)

(84)

J.G.: Ça s'arrivait...Même R. lui-même, là, quand qu'il a venu du, du...il était parti pour une dixaine, quinzaine d'années, je pense. Là [] qu'il a venu ici.

M.G.: Oh, oui.

J.G.: Puis moi, dans la nuit, j'ai entendu la porte se rouvre, là!

M.G.: That's right enough!

J.G.: Et puis je m'ai levé puis j'ai fermé la porte...Et j'étais

pas couché, la porte, eh bien, était...

M.G.: Elle rouvre encore. Oui.

J.G.: Encore rouvre!...N. s'a levé puis il a fermé la porte...Puis elle s'a rouvri le troisième coup! J'étais obligé de me lever pour la refermer. Puis ça a pas, bien, je/ ça a jamais rouvri d'elle-même. Non. Mais le lendemain, il arrivait ici.
(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238c; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Door opening by itself forerunner of imminent arrival of family member.

INFORMAT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.5

Text V (N.G.; 45; M)

(85)

N.G.: Oui, oui. Bien, nous avons vu ça ici, nous, nous-mêmes, eh. But euh...bien, c'est ça je pensons que c'est, que c'était parce euh, chez euh Papa, sa maison [] sous la maison. J'avions trop bloqué en dess/ je pense la [] on appelle en dessous. Et euh...je savions pas que ma soeur s'en venait, elle av/ elle avait, elle a, elle avait joiné le convent, eh. J'avions, elle avait pas venu, il y avait sept ans, là, que je l'avions pas vue, eh. So...

G.B.: C'était Sister G.?

N.G.: Sister G., eh. Et euh...j'étais en bas à un party, une soirée puis j'arrivais chez nous...trois heures du matin.

So...j'ai pris une tasse de thé avant d'aller me reposer...
 Puis la porte s'a rouvri. J'ai senti de l'air...Pas fait de
 train, mais j'ai senti l'air entrer. So [] j'ai pas pu
 fermer la porte, je crois bien. So j'étais...j'ai fermé la
 porte mais elle était dure assez à fermer qu'il y a, on
 pouvait pas la rouvrir aisé assez qu'on n'aurait pas entendu.
 Parce qu'elle frottait la, la, en bas sur le bas de, le []
 de la porte. Touchait. So...j'ai fermé, j'étais m'asseoir.
 J'étais juste assis...elle s'a rouvri. So, ce coup ici,
 j'ai pensé, "Bien, il y a quelqu'un qui essaie à me foutre des
 peurs." So j'ai rouvri la porte, j'ai crié, bien, "Qui est
 là? Si vous êtes là, venez [] ah. Fais pas de fo/ des
 folleries! Venez! Venez vous faire voir!"

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: Ça fait...[] so j'ai refermé la porte. J'ai bien fait sûr
 que la porte en dehors était crochétée...Je rentrais, je
 mangeais...elle s'a rouvri le troisième tour!

G.B.: Encore?

N.G.: J'ai sorti dehors, j'ai pris mon, ma, ma lumière. []
 manteau et j'étais voir. Personne à l'entours. Mais la
 porte avait, s'avait rouvri. La porte en dehors était
 crochétée. La porte en dedans était rouvrie. So...well, so
 le troisième coup, bien, j'ai dit [] "Tu peux la rouvrir
 si tu veux. Je m'en vais me coucher." Elle s'a pas rouvri.
So le lendemain matin à huit heures, j'ai eu un telegram
 d'aller rencontrer ma soeur à, à Stephenville. So, je disions

après, ça c'est, il faut croire qu'à ce temps-là, elle, elle était réveillée puis elle pensait comment-ç-qu'elle allait nous revoir. Pour aller la chercher. C'est tout ce que je peux voir, mais, quoi-ç-qui rouvrirait ce porte-là? Parce qu'elle était si dure à rouvrir.

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Door opening by itself sign of imminent arrival
of family member.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812.5

C. MISCELLANEOUS SIGNS

CII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (R.B.; 30; M) (86)

R.B.: I remember one where euh...I don't know if this is true or not but it's euh...Uncle M. is Dad's brother, eh...And his son...what was it? Oh, yeah. They were ready to go out fishing and they saw this euh, ship on the water. And it was there for a few minutes and when they looked back, it was gone, eh. And they decided they wouldn't go out, go out that day.

T.D.: (laughs)

R.B.: What happened now was after, there was a blizzard, you know. You know, but...

T.D.: Yeah.

R.B.: Well, they figured it was sort of a sign that...

T.D.: (laughs)

(18/05/82; F5953c/C5876; B74)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of ship on the water sign of approaching storm.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??/?

MOTIFS: D1812.5.1.0

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (S.D.; 65; M) [SON] (87)

- S.D.: Bien, ce...mon défunt père me disait une journée..euh son grand-père ce...euh, pas son grand-père, il l'appelait son grand-père mais c'était H.J., là...
- G.B.: Oui.
- S.D.: Et...Il était couché, eh...Puis il s'a levé...Ils étions tous les deux debout...Puis il l'a quitté pendant/ il [] en dehors, puis il avait son, l'autre vieux magasin en dehors, eh.
- G.B.: Oui.
- S.D.: Quand il arrive en bas à la côte, il a vu H.J. rentrer dans le magasin puis il avait un...manière d'un...des, c'est, c'est un marteau qu'ils appellent ça, bien.
- G.B.: Oui.
- S.D.: Et d'un bout sur la tête pour driver un clou puis l'autre bord c'est une manière d'une, une petite hâche, eh.
- G.B.: Oui.
- S.D.: Manière d'une pioche.
- G.B.: Oui.
- S.D.: Puis il avait ça dans la main. Il [] tout proche montrer, eh. [] dans la journée. J'ai entendu ça, oh, joliment des fois, là. Puis mon défunt père, c'est pas un gaillard qui conte, qui contait des menteries, eh. C'est pas un gaillard...c'est pas un homme qui contait des menteries, c'est pas un...no follerie at all.
- G.B.: Sérieux, eh.
- S.D.: Oui. Et [] puis, puis il était sûr qu'il l'a vu ren/ il l'a vu rentrer dans le magasin. Il l'a vu rentrer. Puis il

a été voir...il était pas là. Il était pas en dehors, no/ aucun part...Puis il a pensé à lui-même, "Ça, c'est une curieuse affaire!" Il croyait qu'il était caché là-bas à la côte. Le, le bord du Cap est si proche là. C'est tout bas en bas à la côte.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Il va en bas à la côte, partout []. Rien là. Il va à la maison...le vieux, le vieux était là, à la maison. Il lui a demandé s'il était en dehors. "Non, pas été en dehors." Il dit qu'il l'a vu là...et c'est en plein jour, il dit. []

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Oui, des fois, il y a de quoi tu peux voir, eh.

(02/06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of individual is sign of -?-.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(88)

E.E.: Oui. Tu prends asteure comme la matinée que j'étais ici, là ...Je, je m'a levé bien avant le jour...et euh, j'étais en train de prendre mon déjeuner...Ça c'était à l'entour de cinq heures et demi ou quelque chose comme ça...Je sais que c'était avant le jour...et euh...Je mangeais...Tout d'un co/de quoi/ tout d'un coup, je m'aperçois, de la coin de mon oeil qu'il y avait de quoi qui a bougé. Là, je regarde

...à côté de moi, j'avais un, un, un rosaire, là, de...
 un chapelet pendu sur un clou...Bien, tout d'un coup, tiens!
 Je vois ça, là! Le chapelet qui allait tick, tick, tick
 (makes swing motion with his hand). Ça faisait pas de
 train, non. C'est, c'est...je dis ça, tick, tick. Mais
 pareil comme un horloge. Le balancier d'un horloge, ça
 allait...

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Et ça allait, ça allait. Puis je regardais ça! C'est le
 même speed tout le temps, tout le temps, tout le temps sur
 le même speed...Et euh...Et puis ça c'est curieux!...Bien,
 je suis sûr qu'elle était pour une minute. Oh, c'est sûr!
 C'était une minute...Et euh...après, bien, j'ai jeté un
 coup d'oeil. Là, il arrête! Ping, ping, ping, il arrête...
 Là! Bien, je dis, "Ça, c'est pas mal!" Je dis, "Quoi-ç-qui
 a fait ça?" Je regarde à l'entour voir s'il y avait,
 c'était un petit gibier ou de quoi de même qui l'avait, qui
 avait tapé le, le chapelet puis le faire balancer comme ça.
 Donc, je m'en vais! Puis là, je croche là...la c/ la
 croix puis je le hale d'un côté un petit peu, là. J'essaie
 de balancer, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis ça va euh, deux ou trois coups comme ça et ça arrête!
 Là, j'ai essayé encore. Donner un beau speed, là, tu sais.
 Hale un bon coup, là, puis ah...c'est back encore là. Puis
 ça va byum, byum, byum. Bien ça était/ ça arrête!...Là,

j'ai essayé ça trois ou quatre fois, mais je pouvais pas faire aller le chapelet comme ça, moi!...Bien quoi-ç-qui a fait ça?...Quoi-ç-qui a fait ça?...Je sais pas. Je sais pas si c'était un avertissement pour euh...dire le chapelet plus que tu [], que tu le dis...ou dis-le pas du tout...ou quoi-ç-que c'est. Je ne sais pas!

(20/05/81; F3887c/C5233; B45)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Rosary swinging of its own accord sign of -?-.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(89)

E.E.: La! Un autre coup, j'étais dans le bois...the lumberwood... puis j'étais cookie cet hiver-là. J'étais parti pour cinq mois...Toujours, quand ça arrivait dans le moi de mars...euh... j'allumais le, le poêle dans le, dans, dans le cabin...à tous les matins. Je me levais à quatre heures...Puis là, j'allais allumer le, le poêle. Les poêles, puis il y avait deux vieux, des, des drums, là, tu sais...Et euh...Bien. Bien, cette matinée-là...c'était dans mars...et euh...quand les poêles sont allumés, je sors. Puis il faisait beau!...Là, je regarde, en sortant, je regarde, je vois le chalice...dans le temps! Le chalice! Avec l'hostie dans le milieu, là, tout blanc, eh. Tu sais, l'hostie était à peu près comme ça de grand, je pense. Puis asteure, le, le [] autour, tu sais,

le...Et les, le machin, les, les spears, là, le...ah? Le,
le...quoi-ç-qui est le/ comment-ç-qu'ils appellont ça,
les thorns qu'ils avont mis autour de la tête du Bon Dieu,
eh. Et c'est un, le chalice, là!

G.B.: Ah, oui.

E.E.: Puis la manche dessus et le, le, le, le pied en bas et tout,
eh...Ah! Mais ça, c'était joli!...Bien là, il y avait 70
hommes dans la cabin. Je vire de bord. Je dis, mais...
"Mon monde," jé dis. Puis "Fellas!" je dis, "Get up!"
Je dis, "Get up! Levez-vous! Puis venez voir quoi-ç-que je
vois!"..."Quoi-ç-que tu vois?" Il y avait, je crois, bien,
some/ il y en a qui a crié, "Quoi-ç-que tu vois, un moose?"...
"Un caribou?" L'autre, "Un lapin?" Toutes sortes d'affaires
comme ça. "Non," je dis, "Venez voir quoi-ç-que je vois!"
Bien, asteure...ça aurait été mes yeux asteure, eh. Ah?...
Et là, ça aurait été mes yeux asteure, eh. Ah?...Et là, ça
sort, il y en avait nu-pieds, il y avait avec une boîte sur
le pied, il y'en avait avec des couvertures tout le tour
du, du, du []. Parce il faisait pas trop chaud, vois-tu.
C'était froid [] qu'il faisait beau...Puis euh...ah,
ils ont regard/ "Mais ça, c'est joli!" Je dis, "Avez-vous
jamais vu de quoi de même avant?" Non," ils ont tous dit,
"Non. Et pour/ quoi-ç-que c'est, ça?" il disent. "C'est
la fin du monde?" Il y en a qui ont dit, tu sais. Il dit,
"Quoi-ç-que tu en crois de ça, toi?"...Bien, je dis, "Je
sais pas. Mais," je dis, "c'est pas une mauvaise affaire,

pour sûr!"...Eh..."Vois-tu, ça fait voir que le Bon Dieu est pas loin de nous-autres. Parce il nous montre dans, dans, dans le temps. Il faut croire que c'est pas de quoi de mauvais!" Ah? "C'est beau!"...Bien, ils ont dit, "Oui." C'est de quoi que...Puis c'est le chalice! Lui/ ils avont dit, "C'est le chalice." Je leur ai demandé, tu vois, quoi-ç-qu'ils voyont. Bien, le chalice. Oui...Puis ça shinait comme l'or, là. Puis le milieu était si blanc, eh. Pareil comme la neige, eh...Puis/ oui, c'est colour d'or, colour d'or. Ça, ça shinait. Pareil comme celui-là que tu vois sur l'autel, eh. Ça shine, là, là, l'or. Les points dessus et tout, là. [] là. Pareil comme ça!...Là! Mais quand j'ai arrivé ici, j'ai demandé à joliment du monde voir s'ils avont vu ça, eh...Non! Personne, ils aviont [] en haut et tout ça, puis non!...Non, personne l'a vu, ça. Là! Il y a moi qui ai vu ça le premier...Puis j'ai jamais entendu parler...Personne. Je me rappelle de trois qui étaient là...Puis ils sont morts...Et puis les autres, je me rappelle plus de leurs noms, ni rien du tout. Mais, j'ai pas oublié ça, donc! Ça, là.

G.B.: Non, eh.

E.E.: Je me rappelle de ça.

G.B.: Il y a longtemps de ça...?

E.E.: Oh...oui. Ça, c'est en 1933.

(20/05/81; F3887c/C5233; B45)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Vision of grail a religious sign from God.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: V511.1

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (M.E.; 45; M)

(90)

M.E.: Et moi, j'avais onze ans. Tu croiras peut-être pas mais c'est, c'est vrai, ça. J'étais couché en haut puis moi, j'étais peuré à mort des, des...il parlait du diable et tout ça, tu sais.

G.B.: Oui.

M.E.: J'étais peuré à mort de ça puis tout le temps, tout le temps, je priais []. You know, eh. Oh, j'étais un bon garçon puis...pour du quoi de même, you know, pour prier des prières et tout ça. Et puis une, une matinée je me réveillais, il était grand jour...Puis la statue de la Sainte Vierge était sur mon estomac, eh...Puis ça, it's guaranteed, j'avais, j'ai, je m'ai paqué la tête...puis là, je me dépaquais la tête encore puis j'ai regardé puis elle était encore là, eh...Puis euh, fal/ il fallait pas bouger asteure, tu sais, pour la déranger. Puis d'autres coups après, je dépaquais ma tête, elle était partie. Trois fois, eh.

R.B.: Tu as dormi ou...?

M.E.: Non, non! J'étais grand réveillé.

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Religious vision sign of -?-.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: V510

TABULATION OF NARRATIVE DATA: SUPERNATURAL SIGNS AND WARNINGS

Table 5-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Token (Death) Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| 60+ | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 4 (4) | 6 (4) | 1 (1) | 12 (7) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (2) | 3 (3) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (1) | 0 (0) | 3 (2) |
| TOTALS | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 5 (5) | 9 (6) | 3 (3) | 18 (12) |

Table 5-2: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Forerunner Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 60+ | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 4 (1) | 4 (1) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 1 (1) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) |
| TOTALS | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 5 (2) | 5 (2) |

Table 5-3: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Miscellaneous Signs Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 60+ | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (1) | 3 (2) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 1 (1) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) |
| TOTALS | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 3 (2) | 5 (4) |

Note

¹ The term "negative narrative" parallels the term "negative legend" defined in Linda Dégh, "Legend and Belief," in Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 93-123.

CHAPTER SIX

MAGIC INDIVIDUALS

Introduction

Magic is another aspect of the supernatural recognized by and manifested through the oral tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards. The conceptual ideas concerning magic revealed by an examination of the expressive data base correspond in many ways to the general patterns found in most other cultures. Quite often, magic involves the performance of certain ritual acts, the consequences of which are realized by the individual. In other cases, there is an oral component, whereby the performer of the magic act utters a prescribed, perhaps formulaic phrase in order to achieve the desired results. Finally, there is a general acceptance in this community culture of the inherent or ascribed qualities contained in certain objects, both natural and man-made, to serve as the channel through which the supernatural power passes. These three elements of magical force--ritual act, formulaic expression, and magic artifact--are found in different combinations in all illustrations and accounts of the manipulation of this source of power.¹

In L'Anse-à-Canards tradition, magic is not considered to be equally accessible to all individuals; some manipulations of a supernatural force are restricted to certain individuals who are recognized as possessing certain personal characteristics or traits which set them in closer contact with the sacred domain. These

individuals are considered as "specialists" who are in some way able to serve as intermediaries between the sacred and profane levels of reality; consequently, it is not surprising that precise terms exist in the culture to designate such individuals. L'Anse-à-Canards tradition recognizes essentially four categories of magical individual, these being: 'Les sorcieuses'/witch; 'les septièmes'/seventh sons; 'les charmeurs'/charmners; and 'les prêtres'/priests. What distinguishes these individuals from others is not so much an ability to manipulate supernatural forces, but rather, their ability to channel the force through themselves and concentrate its effect on others. Other individuals are able to employ magic, but they are not perceived as nor regarded as specialists in the deployment of specific aspects of magic.

The specialists recognized in L'Anse-à-Canards culture are almost exclusively and without exception associated with folk religious concepts, and the powers they are able to manipulate are those of the supernatural beings recognized by institutionalized Christian doctrine. Thus, the individual serves as an outlet for either divine or diabolic power, and hence, is associated with the performance of good or evil. Despite this connection with a deity, however, the individual retains the control of the power and of the circumstances of its deployment.

The one evil magical individual identified in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition is 'la sorcieuse,' or witch. The belief in such individuals is no longer current in the community, although some of the older residents still profess a belief in past instances. In fact, only

one resident under the age of 35 was able to give any information concerning 'des sorcieuses' as it related to her own community tradition.² Several informants between the ages of 40 and 55 were familiar with the belief but were unable to elaborate. The majority of informants under the age of 35 had never been exposed to oral tradition concerning the witch-figure in L'Anse-à-Canards.

In most instances, the tradition of the 'sorcieuse' in L'Anse-à-Canards is consistent with other research done on the topic, both in Newfoundland and elsewhere. The witch was often an old woman who, when refused certain favours or services, cast a 'souhait' (i.e. a spell) on the offender, causing misfortune to befall him (95, 96, 97). The source of the witch's power is frequently a 'vesse de loup' (or 'oeuf de loup'), a particular type of mushroom commonly found in the fields in the community (101, 104). In addition, the witch is often implicitly or explicitly associated with the devil, and her power is deployed to the detriment of others. The 'souhait' can, however, be broken through the performance of a ritual act (107), or by the benediction of a priest (95, 96).

The witch-figure is not always female; quite as frequent are stories involving male witches. These males are most often identified as having been Micmac Amerindians, or the offspring of French-Micmac intermarriage (99). Their power is commonly used to place a 'souhait' on other males, and most reports concern the placing of such a 'souhait' on a rifle, thereby rendering it permanently or temporarily useless to the owner and preventing him from performing an essential part of his function as family provider (100, 106).

Unlike the 'sorcieuse,' such male witches are not identified with the devil, and the countering of the 'souhait' is usually performed by means of a counteractive ritual performed by another witch-figure (100, 102).

These traits of the witch-figure correspond fairly well with the description of such individuals outlined in Martin's article on the tradition in other areas of Newfoundland.³ The possible functions of this former belief as outlined by Martin are consistent with social conditions prevalent in L'Anse-à-Canards fifty years ago. All narratives recount inexplicable misfortune, which is blamed on the witch-figure, who thus serves as the scapegoat whereby the inexplicable is explained or blame is shifted from the individual to to the witch.⁴

Much more commonly accepted in contemporary L'Anse-à-Canards tradition is the belief in the healing powers of the 'septième,' or seventh son. The seventh consecutive son born to a family is almost universally recognized as possessing the power to cure a variety of minor ailments, a power directly connected to the circumstances of his birth. This belief is currently accepted by all segments of the community; indeed, it is widespread throughout most areas of French-Newfoundland culture.⁵

In the tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards, the power of the 'septième' is linked to the Roman Catholic religion, and the cure is often accomplished through the mere touch of the 'doctor' (for the 'septième' is indeed referred to as a 'docteur'), or through his making the Sign of the Cross over the afflicted area. The power

manipulated by the 'septième' is always associated with the healer's right hand (i.e. that hand used by Catholics to make the Sign of the Cross). Some of the older informants recounted how the proof of this power was demonstrated. The 'septième' would hold in his hand a common earth worm which, after several seconds, would shrivel and die for no apparent reason. However, this elaboration on the basic belief seems to be restricted to several older residents, and is generally unknown to the majority.

The 'charmeur,' or charmer, is much less widely known in the L'Anse-à-Canards community tradition. Such individuals are said to be able to cure minor aches (usually toothaches) by making the Sign of the Cross (119), or through the performance of an apparently secular ritual act (118, 120) which is sometimes accompanied by a silent utterance of some sort. The knowledge of this category of healer is restricted to a comparatively small number of individuals, and consequently, little information concerning the belief is available.

The final category of individual able to deploy some magico-religious power to benefit others is the priest, although not all priests are considered able to enact cures. Again, the utterance of certain phrases and the act of making the Sign of the Cross are the operational techniques by means of which the magico-religious force is activated to enact the cure. In L'Anse-à-Canards, the belief in the priest's ability to perform good or to counter evil is generally accepted, albeit to varying degrees. However, there are only two reported examples of a cure being performed. One of these

reports takes the form of a local legend (121) wherein the Sign of the Cross stems the flow of blood from a cut. The second cure, more widely known, concerns a local resident, and was accomplished in relatively recent years (123). Despite this, however, the only individuals I have ever heard perform a narrative were the individual involved in the cure and that individual's father. The possible reasons for the relative infrequency of oral expression of this and other commonly recognized and accepted beliefs will be discussed in a later chapter.

A. 'WITCHES'/'DES SORCIEUSES'

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Local Legend I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(91)

G.B.: Est-ce qu'elle avait jamais fait euh, du mal à, à autre monde aussi...que tu connais ou...?

E.E.: Bien euh...je ne sais pas. Mais son homme avait venu euh... il a perdu parole, eh.

G.B.: Son homme?

E.E.: Son homme. Mais...un [] qu'il pouvait dire, dans toute sa langue, tout ce qu'il disait, c'est, "Sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa." Mais quand que ça venait pour dire de, de quoi pour un, si vous avez fait du mal ou de quoi de même, il disait, "Jesus Christ!" Puis il disait ça si bien...que c'est pareil comme il aurait parlé toute sa vie. Puis le reste, il pouvait pas rien dire. Mais il disait ça! "Jesus Christ!" Il disait ça bien! Puis le reste, c'est tout, "Sa, sa, sa, sa, sa, sa."

G.B.: Et il voulait dire...

E.E.: Quoi-ç-qu'il voulait dire avec ça asteure?...Ah, c'est tout ce que...que/ c'est-il que le, la vieille lui a foutu ça? Et puis quand qu'il dit, quand qu'il pouvait parler, il se recommandait à Dieu...Il voulait dire "Jesus Christ, have mercy on me," or something. Ou de quoi de même.

"Ayez pitié de moi."...Peut-être bien le Bon Dieu est avec lui on whatever que c'est! Tu sais, il y a tant à calculer dedans! Il y a tant euh...eh? Mais il y a personne qui peut le faire!

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Il y a personne! Il y a personne! Et pas les, les, les, les, les, les scientists et tout ça. Ils peuvent pas calculer ça!...They can't think about/ get ab/ Ils peuvent présumer... mais c'est tout ce qu'ils peuvent faire. Moi, aussi, je peux présumer...mais ça, meilleur pas rien dire. Parce je sais pas. Puis eux sait pas non plus!

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess power to cast spells on others.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2021.1; G263.4

Local Legend II, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(92)

J.E.: Puis moi, ça m'a été dit, moi. Il y a pas moyen de nommer de nom dessus, mais...ça m'a été dit qu'il y avait une femme en bas ici, là. Puis son homme...je vous l'avais dit tantôt, là, pour ses []...Puis c'était un C., lui. Asteure, la Vieille Marianne, elle restait en bas [] là. Puis lui, là, il restait là, là. A la côte là, il, il avait

une boutique là, en bas là pour, tu sais...un magasin...

Mais il, il n'aimait pas le vieux, le vieux de la, la vieille, là, eh...

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.E.: Puis il avait fait une, une bouchure là pour pas qu'il aurait passé. Il montait avec son cheval puis une charrette...Et puis elle s'a fâché, elle...Puis elle a souhaité qu'il, qu'il aurait, ça aurait jamais [] pour faire une bouchure. Puis il a tombé malade puis il a été/ bien, avant des dessus de lit/ mais plein de, des mals, des bed sores qu'ils s'appelont. ...Bien, elle a souhai/ elle fait [] ça, tu sais...

(23/06/80; F3487c/C4825; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells causing physical harm.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G263.4; G269.10

Local Legend III, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(93)

J.E.: ...Il y a des, du monde/ Avant ils alliont tuer des caribous, là. Parce il y avait pas de loi ni rien, c'était []... Puis elle a dit à un homme un coup, elle dit, "Tu vas aller là," elle dit, "puis tu vas tuer un. C'est tout ce que tu vas tuer," elle dit.

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: []...Ça, ça qu'elle disait. Oui, elle souhaite. Si elle aurait souhaité de quoi sur un homme, ou sur une femme... ça venait. Oh, oui! Ça s'arrivait, là.

(18/05/81; F3884c/C4233; B42)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on others.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1812

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(94)

J.G.: Oh, la Vieille Marianne!

G.B.: Marianne, oui.

J.G.: Oui, ils d/ elle a/ ils disient qu'elle mettait des souhaits, elle.

G.B.: Mmmhmm.

J.G.: Oui. Des souhaits sur la, sur les vaches et de quoi de même, tu sais, de...

G.B.: Oh, oui?

J.G.: Tes vaches auront pas donné de lait.

G.B.: Oh, oui?

J.G.: Oui. C'est ça qu'ils disient. Bien, ça arrivait à A., le père à E., là!

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: A. était trouver le prêtre...Mais le prêtre voulait pas le

croire, mais A. m'a dit après ça, il dit que...il m'a dit que le prêtre ne voulait pas l'entendre parler, lui. Non... Mais il dit après ça, il dit, ses vaches ont revenu au lait...Ils donnont pas de, ils donnont pas de lait! Non. Puis le...

G.B.: Et c'est la Vieille Marianne qui l'a fait?

J.G.: Oui! Ça qui/ bien, il []

(23/06/80; F3489c/C4827; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals have the power to cast spells on livestock.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?

MOTIFS: G265.4

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M) [SON] (95)

J.E.: Ma défunte mère...elle avait cinq vaches. Euh, défunt Papa, vous voyez. Les cinq vaches. Nous-autres, j'étais jeunes, là, dix, quinze ans et...Bien, elle a venu ici puis là, elle a, elle a demandé à notre défunte Maman voir si euh, elle aurait pu les prendre pour une semaine ou un mois, ou... elle puis son vieux. Bien, elle a dit que c'était pas mal dur parce il y avait pas de lit, là, c'est/ Je pense qu'une grande famille, j'étais huit...puis j'étais dix avec les deux vieux! Oui...Elle dit [] elle dit, "Je peux pas vous prendre. Je peux pas vous garder." Elle s'en va. Mais

le lendemain matin quand Maman était tirer ses vaches, il y a pas de lait!...Oh, c'est vrai, ça! Pas de lait...ça sortait pareil comme du lait caillé, là. C'était tout euh... oui.

G.B.: Et c'était le...Marianne qui l'avait fait?

J.E.: Bien là, elle envoyait chez le prêtre à descendre, bien, elle lui contait l'histoire asteure...Il a été, le prêtre, lui, puis là, je sais pas quoi-ç-qu'il a fait aux vaches. Peut-être donnait sa bénédiction ou de quoi, mais...Ça a parti comme ça. Le lendemain, le lendemain, c'était all right.

G.B.: C'était quel prêtre qui, qui était, qui était venu?

J.E.: Je crois que c'était Father Pineault, ça.

(18/05/81; F3884c/C4233; B42)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spell on livestock.

: Priest's blessing counters spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G269.10; G265.4; D2803.1; G271.2

F.E.N. I, Text 2 (J.E.; 65; M) [SON] (96)

J.E.: Asteure, ma défunte mère, elle avait des vaches.

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.E.: Moi, j'étions tout jeunes, nous-autres, eh. Moi, j'avais à

l'entour de neuf, dix ans mais je m'en rappelle bien.
 Asteure, ces deux vieux-là, ils avont venu ici nous euh, avec nous-autres. Bien, j'étions une grande famille, il y en avait huit enfants, vois-tu? Bien, elle était tout le temps malade, ma défunte mère. Elle fablait...puis mon défunt père, bien il gardait cinq ou six vaches []...Puis ça, c'est vrai, ça...Puis ils avont venu ici pour demander voir s'ils aurions pu rester ici avec nous-autres.

G.B.: C'est qui ça?

J.E.: La Vieille Marianne, là, c'était...

G.B.: Oh, oui.

J.E.: Puis son vieux. Il parlait pas, lui. Il avait perdu/
paralyzed ou de quoi. Il s'avait tapé la tête ou de quoi, je sais pas...Mais, mais là, défunte Maman lui a dit, "Non," elle dit, "je peux que vous garder pour un couple de jours mais pas pour tout le temps." Elle dit, "Je sommes, je sommes pauvres." Puis...elle s'en était. Mais la défunte Maman, elle, quand-ç-qu'elle a été tirer ses vaches au matin ...et bien, il y avait pas de lait. Il y avait pas du lait, mais c'était tout pareil comme la, la glue, là. C'était tout euh...Toutes les vaches étions pareilles.

G.B.: C'est de la/ C'est la Vieille Marianne...

J.E.: Oui, oui! Et puis quand que le prêtre/ Elle était voir le prêtre. Le prêtre a descendu voir les vaches puis [] je sais pas, vois-tu, []. Je m'en rappelle qu'il a fait ça avec sa main.

G.B.: La signe du...?

J.E.: Oui, oui.

G.B.: La signe de la croix?

J.E.: Oui. Puis elle était la avec/ elle, avec le prêtre, elle. Moi, j'étais plus loin là-bas. Mais je l'ai vu. Puis le lendemain matin, elle était tirer ses vaches, bien, ils étiont all right. Tu sais...

G.B.: Ils étiont all right?

J.E.: Oui. Puis ça, c'est vrai! C'est vrai, ça! Vois-tu? Asteure, elle souhaitait, eh.

(23/06/80; F3487c/C4825; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on livestock.

: Priest's making Sign of the Cross counters spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G269.10; G265.4; D2083.1; G271.2; D1766.6

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (D.W.[E]; 35; F) [NIECE] (97)

D.W.: Je pense c'est la soirée d'avant qu'il nous contait ça...
Oui, il nous disait que...que si que...il y a quelqu'un qui lui [i.e. La Vieille Marianne] du, du, du tort...comme euh, un coup...puis, asteure, là...la mère à, à Oncle J., ils aviont des vaches, eh. Ils aviont trois ou quatre vaches, ou cinq ou six vaches...Et puis euh...elle avait, elle avait été là puis

leur, elle leur avait demandé voir si qu'ils auraient pu rester là, elle et son homme, pour un bout. Mais dame, eux, ils pouviot pas les prendre. Bien, pour un jour, une journée ou deux, mais ils avioit une bande d'enfants, eh. Chez, chez grand-mère, eh. Ils avioit un dix/ dixaine ou... Et puis euh, bien, elle a pas aimé ça, eh. Puis elle avait tout le temps cette, cette boule ici, je sais pas quoi-ç-que c'est appelé asteure...Bien, anyway, elle l'avait tout le temps dans sa poche. Tout le temps dans sa poche, eh...Et puis euh...quand que...qu'elle a vu qu'ils vouliot pas, qu'ils les auront pas pris pour rester avec eux pour un bon bout...le lendemain matin/ Elle a...pésé sur la, sur la boule, et puis le lendemain matin, Grand-mère était euh...tirer les vaches, puis il y avait rien dans les, il y avait rien dans les tétines. C'était tout euh...était tout...comme de la glue. C'était tout bleu, eh. C'était pas, il y avait rien là... Puis elle envoyait pour le prêtre a, a prié par dessus les vaches. Puis le lendemain matin, les vaches étioit...don... étioit encore bonnes, eh. Ils étioit...

(07/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on livestock.

: Priest's prayer counters spell.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??

MOTIFS: G269.10; G265.4; D2083.1; G271.2; D1766.1

F.E.N. III, Text 1 (M.G.[L]; 70; F)

[DAUGHTER]

(98)

M.G.: Oui. Bien, c'était pareil comme en haut chez nous. La défunte Maman avait un beau jardin puis elle avait tous ces choux [] plantés. Puis les choux-raves. Son jardin était tout à fait beau. Puis là, il y avait une vieille femme, la vieille Fanny, je l'appelions. Elle a venu là une soirée puis elle a béni le jardin. Elle faisait des croix par dessus le jardin mais...elle avait trouvé le jardin si beau. Et le lendemain matin, la défunte Maman s'a levé, les bêtes avaient rentré dans son champ puis ils aviont tout mangé!

J.G.: (laughs)

M.G.: Bien là, c'est ça...le, le souhait à la défunte Fanny ça... Bien, le souhait [] fait anyway...Ça toujours, j'avons toujours dit après, bien, c'était elle qui avait fait ça, eh. Mais quand même que la défunte Fanny aurait pas venu cette soi/ cette...

J.G.: Elle aurait empêché les bêtes de rentrer.

M.B.: Journée-là, les bêtes pouviont rentrer dans le champ pareil, eh. Ils auriont rentré pareil le lendemain.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.G.: Bien, la défunte Fanny est morte il y a des années asteure, mais les bêtes rentrent dans les champs pareil.

(02/06/81; F3893c/C5239; B51)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: D1766.6

F.E.N. IV, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

[NEPHEW]

(99)

M.B.: ...Mon oncle, H.E., puis euh, il était marié avec la soeur de mon père, eh...Ils pêchient ens/ ensemble, lui puis mon père dans le même bateau...Et bien, ça, c'est, ça, c'est, c'est mon père qui m'a conté ça--Je dis pas que je le crois pas mais la []--Il euh, il était dans le bateau puis il lui dit euh/ Tu sais, il avait chargé des, il chargeait les cartouches dans ces temps-là, les cartouches, c'est pour les fusils, les fusils, les...les [], eh. Les breech loaders comme ils disent...Il chargeait les cartouches, il dit, "Je sais pas quoi faire que tu charges les cartouches," il dit, "Tu vas/ tu vas pas tuer de gibier de même..."Mais, putain, Papa était un bon chasseur, eh. Puis dans ces temps-là, il, il y avait des...des gibiers--bien, j'appelons des gibiers, [] des oiseaux, mais les gibiers, c'est pareil []. Tu sais, tu sais quoi-ç-qu'un gibier veut dire--Puis il y avait des canards en masse puis des gibiers de mer, eh...Puis il dit, "Tu vas tirer douze coups avant que tu en tues un..." Bien, il y a dix ans de ça. Ça, c'est mon père qui m'a dit ça.

G.B.: C'est H.E. qui avait dit ça.

M.B.: Oui, il a dit ça. Oui...Puis euh, lui, il était, ils étions micmac, ce monde-là, eh...H.

[short interruption]

Oui. Puis euh, le lendemain, ils avont été en pêche puis... il y avait des...il y avait des gibiers en masse. Puis il a tiré, il a tiré ses douze coups. Bien, il dit, il y aura il était une manière de...tu sais, il a venu si passionné, il, il, il avait quasiment []. Mais il avait dans l'idée de lui tirer dessus. Parce, il dit, pas moyen de tuer rien. ..."Là, asteure," il dit après, après il tirait ses douze coups, "Asteure, tu vas tuer," il dit. (laughs) Mais il a pas voulu retirer, mais dame, [] trop. (laughs)

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Oui...C'est curieux mais...il m'a dit/ Bien, le vieux m'a conté ça pour une verité, bien asteure. Je sais pas si... Mais c'est pas un homme qui contait des men/ parce c'est pas un homme qui contait des menteries.

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??/?

MOTIFS: D2072.0.1

F.E.N. V, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M) [SON] (100)

M.B.: Il [i.e. father] m'a dit qu'il y a, il y avait un que/ils aviont mis un souhait, mis un souhait sur, sur, sur son fus/ son fusil, eh...Il pouvait rien tuer avec...Je crois c'est

un de les Ms., je crois c'est le vieux...Joe/ J.M., je crois. J.M., mais [] en haut-là...Bien, c'était un gars de par Piccadilly, celui de Piccadilly qui avait mis un souhait dessus son fusil. Puis tu pouvais pas, tu pouvais pas rien tuer avec.

G.B.: Non?

M.B.: Puis il était trouver H.E. puis H.E. l'a eu. Il a chargé le fusil puis...il a tiré avec le fusil..."Prend le fusil," il dit, "Take the gun now and go/ you, you'll kill as usual."

G.B.: Il a enlevé le...

M.B.: Ah, oui! Il a/ il a retiré le souhait de dessus mais ça, c'est...(laughs)

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.B.: Je sais pas si c'est, je sais pas si c'est vrai. C'est [] histoire, mais dame...ça ressemblait que ça...ça ressemblait que c'était vrai. Mais dame, je peux pas voir quoi-ç-qui euh...
(06/07/81; F3908c/C5224; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells.

: Certain individuals possess the power to remove spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?

MOTIFS: D2072.0.1

- M.G.: Ils disoient qu'il y avait une vieille femme en bas à La Barre. Quoi-ç-que c'était son nom?
- J.B.: La Vieille Marianne!
- M.G.: Vieille Marianne. Partout où-ç-qu'elle allait, elle avait tout le temps les...les...what you call it?
- J.G.: Les v/euh...vesses de l/ on l'appelait des vesses de loup, là. Les puff balls, tu vois. Tu sais, que tu ramasses dans le champ?
- M.B.: Et puis tu peux...tu en ramasses dans le champ, là. Tu en pèses dessus puis ça sort tout plein de fumée. Elle avait tout le temps ça dans ses pōches, elle. Je sais que ma soeur avait couché elle, en bas chez la femme à A.E. une soirée. Puis elle, elle, bien, elle était pour se déshabiller pour aller se coucher. Elle n/ elle a perdu un des ces affaires-là dessus la place. Puis elle dit elle était si vive pour la ramasser. Ce qu'ils disoient c'est avec ça qu'elle faisait ses souhaits...Ou de/ comme ça, eh.

(06/06/81; F3893c/C5239; B51)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: A certain plant is source of witch's power to cast spell.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

F.E.N. VII, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(102)

Resumé from Field Notes:

Un Grémont à Felix Cove voulait acheter le fusil à A.B. (i.e. le père à M.B.) mais A.B. ne voulait pas le lui vendre. So Grémont disait qu'il valait mieux le vendre parce il tuerait jamais rien avec après. Puis il était un bon chasseur. Mais le fusil, il pouvait rien tuer avec. Il était voir H.E. et H.E. lui a dit, "Donne-moi le fusil." Puis il dessinait un figure sur un morceau de bois avec du carbon. Puis il a tiré dessus. Puis le fusil était all right après ça.

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on others.

: Shooting at a picture of the witch drawn on a piece of wood counters spell.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?

MOTIFS: *D1385.4; D2063.1.1

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(103)

J.E.: J'ai connu une vieille K., moi...Oui. C'est toutes des vieilles, des vieilles bonnes femmes. Moi, quand j'étais jeune, bien c'était vieux, ça...Puis elle, elle...elle fumait la pipe...Asteure moi, j'avais une fille au Cap. J'allais voir une fille au Cap, là. J'avais...voyons, j'avais entre 17, 18 ans; 19 ans, je pense, vois-tu...J'étais jeune, tu sais. Puis elle était toute vieille, vois-tu...Et puis cette femme-là, elle pouvait dire n'importe de quoi dans une, dans une tasse.

Là, il fallait qu'elle prend son, son pot à thé puis elle lisait ça dedans, bien...Ils mettient, ils faisaient du thé avec une cuillère là, c'est/ Tu prenais le thé loose, là, puis ça...Puis quand que le, le thé sortait, bien, il y a des feuilles de thé ça...Puis elle buvait ça puis je pouvais []. Je sais pas si elle parlait ou...ça a [] le table puis là, elle disait tout cela, tout ce qui allait arriver à toi.

G.B.: Et ça marchait?

J.E.: Ça marchait, oui. Puis elle pouvait souhaiter avec ça. Si tu lui faisais du mal, elle t'aurait souhaité de la mal chance, là, pour sûr.

G.B.: Et ça arrivait?

J.E.: Ça arrivait...Oui, ça arrivait. Puis moi, elle m'a dit, J'allais aller au Cap...j'allais avec une fille deux ans... au Cap, là...Puis cette journée-là, elle m'a dit je m'en allais là. Je m'en allais au Cap. Puis elle m'a dit j'allais être là avec ma fille pour trois jours avant que je lui aurais parlé. Puis ça, c'est vrai. Ça a donné, eh. Je pouvais, je pouvais pas lui parler quoi qu'arrivait, là. Je pouvais pas lui parler.

G.B.: Tu pouvais pas parler?

J.E.: Non. Je pouvais parler, moi, mais pas à elle.

G.B.: Puis elle pouvait pas parler?

J.E.: Je pouvais pas lui parler, eh.

G.B.: Ta fille euh...

J.E.: Oui. Je pouvais pas lui parler à elle. Je parlais aux autres.

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Il y a de quoi qui m'arrêtait. Puis elle m'a dit ça, elle dit, "Tu vas être..." Elle m'a demandé si j'avais du tabac. Je dis, "Non." (laughs)...Mais j'en avais. Ce temps-là, je fumions du tabac en [] là, vois-tu, eh. Je coupions ça puis là...eh? Je lui ai dit, "Non." J'avais rien qu'un petit peu, vois-tu. Mais j'aurais du en donner, vois-tu. Oui.
(23/06/80; F3487c/C4825; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on others.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G269.10; D2021.1

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(104)

E.E.: Puis une matinée, elle était, elle a couché ici chez nous une soirée...et la matinée, elle a perdu. Et j'ai trouvé ça, moi, sur la place. Puis j'étais grand. J'avais à l'entour de 8 à 9 ans, je pense. Puis je dis à, je dis à ma mère, je dis, je dis, "Regarde, donc!" [] "Je l'ai trouvé ici sur la place," je dis. Mais, la vieille a vu ça, elle. Elle dit, "Donne-moi ça!" Elle dit, "C'est à moi, ça!" Puis elle le prend puis elle met dans son mouchoir encore puis elle...tu sais [] Elle tenait un...tablier, là, tu sais. Les grands tabliers.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Poches dedans.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis elle met ça encore dans sa poche. C'est là, c'est là que j'avons vu...que c'est ça qu'elle usait pour souhaiter. Je sais pas si elle avait...ah...engageait du diable avec, avec cette affaire-là ou que le diable, elle avait trop à faire avec ou qui c'est qui avait trop à faire avec. Je ne sais pas.

(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: A certain plant is source of power to cast spells on others.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: One can make a pact with the devil and receive power to cast spells in return.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS: Generalized Experiences

Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(105)

M.B.: Elle était une E. aussi, euh...elle, elle a marié un E., mais elle...je sais pas si...je sais pas quoi-ç-qu'elle était avant que, avant qu'elle s'a mar/ elle a marié L.E... 'Ti Louis' que je l'appelions. Puis il y avait deux Louis Es.

Il y avait le, le 'Gros Louis' puis le 'Petit Louis', eh...
 Mais...je sais pas quoi-ç-qu'ils étiont des...[] .à voir.
 Je sais pas quoi-ç-qu'ils étiont avant ça. Je l'ai tout
 le temps connue par Marianne F., eh.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Puis elle était...ils disaient qu'elle mettait des souhaits
 aussi...Elle prenait des...tu pouvais trouver ça, des fois,
 sur le, sur le, ça pousse dans les champs. C'est comme un...
 ça, c'est plein de fumée, eh. C'est comme un, quasiment
 comme une boule.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

M.B.: C'est plein de fum/...puis [] tout le temps []. Moi,
 j'ai jamais...j'ai, moi, j'ai pas eu peur d'elle. Puis elle
 met des souhaits sur le monde. [] quand j'étais gamin.
 Elle venait chez nous dans ces temps-là...Et euh...Mais ils
 disiont qu'elle mettait des souhaits sur le monde, mais dame,
 je peux pas dire...

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast
 spells on others.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??

Text 2 (J.G.; 75; M.G.[L]; 70; F)

(106)

J.G.: Oh, gee! Par la vérité, ils appelliont ça des souhaits.

M.G.: Oh, that's right enough. Oui! Oui!

J.G.: Oui. Je crois [] des fusils. Tu pouvais être à, à la chasse ta/ avec un fusil. Tu l'aurais pas, tu as, tu aurais rien tué! Ils disaient qu'il y avait un souhait dessus vous, oui.

M.G.: Un souhait dessus ton fusil. Ils faisaient des souhaits dessus les bêtes. Des vaches donnont du lait puis le lait était caillé, ou de quoi comme ça, eh.

(02/06/81; F3893c/C5239; B51)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?; ?/?

MOTIFS: *D2072.0.1; G265.4; D2083.1

Text 3 (E.E.; 70; M)

(107)

E.E.: ...le monde, ils avient des bêtes ici, là. Et puis euh, si tu [] si tu lui aurais fait du tort ou du quoi de même... elle aurait souhaité que tu, tes...tes bêtes, le, le lait tournait en, en, en eau. Comme ça tu aurais plus eu du lait à boire...Puis ils étiont obligés de prendre ce lait-là...et puis bouillir ça dans, dans, dans, dans le lait, eh. Prendre/ Tirer la vache...prendre le, le lait...mettre sur le poêle puis bouillir, puis mettre des aiguilles dedans!

G.B.: Une aiguille?

E.E.: Puis bouillir des aiguilles avec le lait. Pour faire tirer

le/ pour que le lait/ la, la vache aurait venu back...à son lait naturel.

(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells.

: Boiling milk containing several needles removes the spell cast on cows.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G269.10; G265.4; *D2083.1; D2063.1.1

Text 4 (E.E.; 70; M)

(108)

E.E.: Oui...La Vieille Marianne...Elle était une personne--tiens.

G.B.: Oh, non. That's O.K.

E.E.: Elle était une personne qui euh, qui était à elle-même et puis euh...Ils l'appelaient la witch, eh...Mais...Oh! c'est elle qui faisait ça...No euh...no jardinage ou de quoi de même. Si tu lui aurais fait du tort, du quoi de même, vois-tu...Bien, là, c'est pas utile tu essayais. Car tu aurais pas réussi. Puis tu/ tu avais des vaches et puis ils donnaient du lait ou de quoi de même. Il y avait du bon lait, eh...Tout d'un coup, elle aurait passé...Puis si par [] s'il y avait de quoi qui aurait pas été à son goût, vois-tu... Elle était une, une, une femme qui était jalouse, eh. Tu sais, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Tu sais? Bien, là, elle aurait souhaité, là...et...bien, la vache va sécher, eh. Là, ou son lait va, va tourner en eau, eh.

(16/07/80; F2506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to cast spells on others.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: G269.10; D2083.1; G264.4

B. 'SEVENTH SON'/'SEPTIEME'

Variant Terminology: 'Docteur'/'Doctor' (common)

BII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(109)

E.E.: Asteure, il y en a, il y a eu un, il y en a un, il était, il était euh...il appartient de la France, là, je crois.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Et il guérit, vois-tu. Il était un septième aussi. Puis il guérit. Il était, il était ici, là, à...à...à St. George's, eh. Il y a comme quatre ans de ça. Puis il y avait un garçon aussi, ça...un G., ça. Puis il était estropié. Il avait un car euh, il était dans un accident dans un car... Et puis il était bien estropié. Il marchait à la canne.

G.B.: Oui. C'est N.?

E.E.: N.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

E.E.: Et puis il était le voir...Bien, il m'a dit quand que... quand qu'il a mis sa main ou ses, ses, ou ses deux mains or whatever sur ses épaules, là...Bien, il dit, c'est pareil, il dit, comme l'électricité passait à travers lui. Shockait, ça. [] Pareil comme ça souquait, tu sais.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

E.E.: Il dit/ C'est, c'est dur à croire. C'est dur, dur à croire...
Mais...

G.B.: Mais ça a marché comme ça?

E.E.: Et puis [] venu puis...il a pas usé la canne depuis. Puis
il y a passé deux ans asteure.

(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son has power to heal by touch.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1273.1.3

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (M.A.[E]; 65; F) [MOTHER] (110)

M.A.: Bien euh...ma fille, là, elle avait une, elle a une petite,
là...elle a six ans...Mais elle avait des verrues sur les
mains, eh. Plein de verrues, ses mains. Et elle a été au
seventh son avec...avec ses mains. Puis elle a...je sais pas
quoi-ç-qu'il a fait dessus euh...Ils disient qu'il guérissait,
le seventh son...Mais pas longtemps après, toutes les verrues
étaient parties dessus ses mains!

G.B.: Mais quoi-ç-qu'il a fait pour?

M.A.: Je sais pas. Il faut croire qu'il priait, je pense, que...qu'
il a fait tout s'en aller dessus ses mains.

(01/06/81; F3891c/C5237; B49)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son has power to cure warts through prayer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2101.5.1; D1766.1; D1273.1.3

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F) [SISTER] (111)

N.E.: Mais euh, ma soeur, G., eh, elle avait des...des verrues.
Leur petit avait des verrues sur les, sur les mains. Puis
elle était le trouver, puis il a...il [] disparues.

G.B.: Oui.

N.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Quoi-ç-qu'il a fait pour euh, les faire disparaître comme ça?

N.E.: Je sais pas, il a dit une prière ou quelque'affaire.

G.B.: Ah, oui. Oui, oui.

N.E.: Un, un blessing, je pense. Quelque chose comme...

(20/05/82; /C5877c; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son has power to cure warts through prayer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1766.1; D1273.1.3

F.E.N. II, Text 2 (M.E.; 45; M) (112)

M.E.: Le, le petit à, à, à, à machine, là. Quoi-ç-que tu l'appelles?
Il a eu []. G. avait dit comme ça que là, il avait les
mains plein de verrues. Il était bondé.

N.E.: Ils poussaient par dessus un à l'autre.

M.E.: Oui, ils poussaient par, un par-dessus l'autre, eh. Il a été voir le seventh son, [] puis c'est tout parti.
(26/05/82; F5956c/C5879; B77)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son possess power to cure warts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1273.1.3

F.E.N. III, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M) (113)

M.B.: Il faut croire qu'ils guérissent. J'ai/ A., mon frère A., il a quasiment mouré, il travaillait en bas à...à Port Saunders. Par là, Hawk's Bay, Port Saunders. Puis il allait trouver un septième et puis il dit [] l'a guéri. Il a venu all right.
(06/07/81; F3903c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son possess the power to heal.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ?/?

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1273.1.3

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M) (114)

E.E.: Oh, oui. J'avais un garçon, moi...le plus vieux de mes garçons. Il avait attrapé un...[] les...les ringworms, qu'ils l'appelont là. Il avait un [] d'eux sur le nez...

Et puis ça a grandi, ça grandissait, ça grandissait, ça grandissait! Puis bientôt, c'était proche de ses yeux. Ça approchait.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: [] par des yeux, vous savez. Mais toujours, sa bouche, ses babines et tout, là. Ça lui faisait dans un petit rond. C'est tout ronde. Ça travaillait tout ronde. Là. Bien... je dis, "Je m'en vais au."/ Il y avait un...bien...un Jesso. A. Jesso. Il était marié...puis il avait un garçon. Son, son baby. Il était à peu près comme deux mois, je pense. Mais il était un septième. [] septième. Sept garçons, oui, il a eu...Il y avait un après l'autre, et euh...Bien, j'avais un cheval puis euh, un petit buggy, you know. Puis là, je me pousse. Puis je m'en vais le voir. Et euh... j'arrivais là...je lui ai dit que mon garçon, il avait comme euh, six ans, je pense. Six, sept ans par là. Et je dis que j'avais des, il avait les ringworms sur le bout du nez, puis là, ça commençait à grandir et grandir et grandir. Puis je dis, "Vous avez euh, un, le septième des garçons []." Et je dis, "Je venais voir si vous auriez le, le/ faire la croix sur sa, sur son...sur ce qui est dans, sur la figure." Oui grandit tout le temps. Puis c'était pas joli! C'était vilain! Toujours, il a pris son petit baby dans le berceau... et puis elle s'en a venu puis elle a pris sa petite main... puis elle a fait la croix. Chaque bord, vous savez. Trois fois. Elle a passé tout autour comme ça puis elle a fait

la croix dessus. Puis là, je m'en [] chez nous...Puis
comme trois, quatre jours après...phht! C'était parti! Là!
(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh successive son born into a family possesses
power to heal by making Sign of the Cross over
afflicted area.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1766.6; D1273.1.3

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (F.D.; 60; M)

(115)

F.D.: ...Un coup, j'étais euh, dans le bois à...à...à Black Duck.
Je travaille sur Doucette, eh. Puis j'avais mal de dent,
eh...Mal de dent. Oh...j'étais deux semaines avec mal de
dent. Puis il y avait un, un...puis un, un...un seventh son,
eh. Ça qu'ils appellent le...le septième, eh. Seventh son...
J'étais le voir, sur un dimanche, eh. Faire guérir ma
dent, eh...Puis il a mis sa, sur la dent/ il m'a deman/
demande quelle que c'était, eh...Puis deux heures après, mon
vieux...[] J'ai pas attrapé mal de dents après.

G.B.: Quoi-ç-qu'il a fait?

F.D.: Il me, ça m'a touché ma dent avec son doigt, c'est tout.

(16/06/81; F3900c/C5246; B58)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son possesses power to cure toothache

through touch.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1273.1.3

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F)

(116)

N.E.: Asteure, il y avait un, un, un missionnaire qui avait venu
à La Coupée, eh.

G.B.: Ah, bon.

N.E.: Il était un, un, un...[] il était un de sept frères. Le
sept/ le septième.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

N.E.: Il, il venait d'un septième, son père était un septième
aussi, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

N.E.: Oui. Et puis quand j'avais un, un...mon estomac, c'est
nerveux...J'ai été le, le trouver...Puis il a donné son
blessing et ça puis j'ai pas eu ça après.

(20/05/82; C5877; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son has power to heal through prayer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.51.; D1766.1; D1273.1.3

P.E.N. IV, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(117)

- M.B.: Mais dame, il y en avait un, un à Piccadilly. Un Jesso. Oui, il est mort asteure...A/ A., A. Jesso...Il était un septième...Je pense, ils disent qu'ils guérissent mais, j'ai vu le septième/ Tu vas prendre un...un vers, j'appelons ça. Il est [], eh. Tu les vois dans les, des fois tu vas les voir plus entre les []. Puis tu peux le couper [] casser par morceaux, ça, eh. Puis euh/ ça encore, ça va encore bouger.
- G.B.: Oui.
- M.B.: Puis moi, j'ai vu le septième, A. Jesso, puis il avait, il y avait un autre, Alexander, à Deer Lake. Paddy Alexander. Deer Lake...Il mettait dans sa main comme ça. Dans cinq seconds []...le vers a crêvé, eh. Il bou/ il bougeait plus.
- (06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Seventh son possesses power to kill earth worm
by touch alone.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1273.1.3

C. 'CHARMERS'/'CHARMEURS'

CII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (S.D.; 65; M)

(118)

S.D.: E., tu sais, il, il guérit. Il guérit des dents.

G.B.: Il guérit des dents?

S.D.: Si tu as mal de dent il peut guérir la dent.

G.B.: Mais il tire les dents?

S.D.: Non.

G.B.: Quoi-ç-qu'il fait?

S.D.: Il prend un clou puis il dit, il dit de quoi, je sais pas
quoi-ç-que c'est.

G.B.: Il prend un clou?

S.D.: Un clou, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Un clou de deux pouces, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Mais tu as, il met la à quelque part sur ta, sur ta dent...
Puis euh...il dit de quoi anyway, je sais pas quoi-ç-qu'il
dit mais...le mal de dent s'en va après.

G.B.: Oui. Tu as vu ça?

S.D.: Oh, oui. Il l'a fait à moi déjà!

G.B.: Oui. Et ça a marché bien?

S.D.: Mmm. J'étais pas vieux non plus. J'ai brailé avec mal de

dents. E. était chez nous...puis il a pris un clou...Puis deux minutes après, le mal de dents partait!

(01/06/81; F3890c/C5236; B48)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals have ability to charm toothaches.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161; *D1502.2; D1502.2.2

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (N.E.[A]; 45; F)

(119)

G.B.: ...J'ai entendu aussi que...il y avait du monde qui pouvait euh, guérir le, le mal de dents.

N.E.: Il les charme, eh, E.

G.B.: Oui?

N.E.: Oui, il charme les dents.

G.B.: Comment-ç-qu'il fait ça?

N.E.: Je sais pas, il, il...je sais pas s'il dit une prière ou quoi-ç-qu'il dit mais il...fait le signe de la croix sur la ...sur le, sur la dent.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

N.E.: Tu as mal aux dents, eh. Oui...[] mal de tête. J'avais mal de tête, là, deux mois euh...à peu près euh, deux mois de ça, I guess. Un mois/ euh...[] J'avais descendu en bas là, chez J., j'avais mal de tête...Puis il a charmé mon front puis...euh, le mal de tête a passé.

G.B.: Oui...Ça, c'est quelque chose! Comment est-ce que...quoi-ç-qu'il

a dit euh, pour charmer?

N.E.: Il a rien que fait la signe de la croix. Il a mouillé son doigt puis il a fait la signe de la croix.

G.B.: Ah, oui. Avec le, la pousse, là.

N.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Comme ça. Et ça a marché?

N.E.: Oui. Il appelait ça le cher/ il charmait. "Je vais te charmer ta dent," il a dit asteure. J'avais mal aux dents, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

N.E.: Puis il avait charmé la dent.

(20/05/82; F5954c/C5877; B75)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals can cure various aches by making the Sign of the Cross over the afflicted area.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5; D1766.6; D1502.2.2

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (N.G.; 45; M)

(120)

N.G.: ...Bien, des charmeurs de dents, E. en est un. []
 Puis ça, ça travaille. Il a bien travaillé avec moi, parce
 ...J'ai...Pour moi, je crois qu'il y a pas une autre personne
 qui a souffert tant avec mal de dents que moi. Puis ils
 avont toute sorte d'affaires qu'ils donnent, il ont donné
 des aiguilles pour tuer le mal de dents et ils ont du, de

quoi à mettre dans tes dents et tout. Toothache drops qu'ils appellent.

G.B.: Ça marchait pas?

N.G.: Ça, rien a marché avec moi. Même...So, le chemin était vilain, il y avait pas moyen à se rendre à travers du chemin ici l'autre année puis j'étais en pêche...So, j'étais obligé de venir à terre. J'ai pas pu finir de halier mes, mes boîtes de homards, tu sais, c'est...trop mal de dents...Et E. était à la côte, so j'ai venu puis...J'avais entendu qu'il ...qu'il charmait les dents. Puis...il les arrachait so, j'avais, j'avais jamais euh pensé que j'aurais pu avoir le... le nerve comme on dit.--Je sais pas comment dire, le f/nerve en français.--Euh, j'allais à faire arracher la dent sans l'aide de euh, un docteur. So euh...j'étais à lui... j'étais à lui et puis euh, il a regardé ma dent.

G.B.: Encore. [Aside]

N.G.: Encore...Oui, il y a de quoi qui click dedans, là.
[i.e. the tape recorder.]

G.B.: Tu disais.

N.G.: Oui. Anyway, il, il a regardé ma dent. Puis, "Bien," il dit, "je veux pas prendre de chance à arracher cette-là," il dit. "Elle est, elle est rongée joliment," il dit, "si je fais ça. Mais," il dit, "je, je peux la charmer, si tu veux." So j'ai dit all right. So il a pris une allumette... puis il a passé le souffre de dessus l'allumette...Il a regardé par dessus son épaule puis...il a craché sur la terre.

Puis il a pris l'allumette, puis il l'a mise dans le trou dans le dent...Ça, oh! Ça a fait mal, m'a...m'a quasiment mis fou. Elle touchait le nerve là-dedans. Puis il a jeté l'allumette, je sais pas où-ç-que l'allumette a été...

Puis je suis sûr que le ma/ le mal était parti avant que l'allumette a tombé sur la terre. On n'a pas su où-ç-que ça était, parce ça a parti.

(10-08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals possess the power to charm toothaches.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5; *D1502.2; D1776; D1502.2.2

D. 'PRIESTS'/'DES PRETRES'

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Local Legend I, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(121)

Resumé from Field Notes:

Avant, le monde coupait du bois pour le prêtre. Un homme, c'était un Alexandre, s'a coupé le pied. Le prêtre, Bishop O'Reilly que c'était, a fait la signe de la croix dessus puis lui a dit, "Ça va pas saigner avant que tu rentres chez toi." Il a marché chez lui. Puis ça a pas saigné avant qu'il arrivait chez lui. Il y avait pas de docteur dans ces temps-là, rien qu'à La Coupée.

(01/07/83; Survey Card 43)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain individuals can stem blood flow from cuts by making Sign of the Cross.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D2161.2.2; D1766.6

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(122)

J.G.: ...je parlions des miracles qui s'arrivaient à Ste-Anne de Beaupré et de quoi de même. Vous savez [] la même affaire arrivait à N., là, tu sais...Mais il a parti cette matinée-là. Puis garde, []...Dans l'hiver...Il avait pris

sa pelle et puis il pellait à sortir, là. Puis il a marché ici avec sa canne. Il avait sa jambe un pouce et demi, quasiment un pouce et demi plus courte que l'autre...Puis il [] pour ce prêtre qui avait venu à St. George's, puis il va là...Et puis sa soeur, sa soeur était au couvent à Stephenville en même temps...Il y avait toutes les soeurs, je les connais tous...Et là, il avait été à Stephenville. Elle a, elle a été avec lui...Puis la première affaire que/ le prêtre a pris, il a pris ses deux jambes. Il les a mises ensemble. Il y avait une qui était un pouce et demi plus courte que l'autre! Puis il a mis les deux jambes ensemble... Il a mis les deux ensemble puis tu peux voir aujourd'hui... il boîte pas ni rien.

G.B.: Oui. Vous m'avez dit que...le, le prêtre/ quoi-ç-que le prêtre a dit, a fait?

J.G.: Le prêtre?

G.B.: Qu'est-ce qu'il a fait pour...?

J.G.: Il a prié dessus!

G.B.: Il a prié dessus, oui.

J.G.: Oui.

G.B.: Et puis euh...votre fille euh...

J.G.: Pouvait pas le croire. Puis [] revenait de St. George's au couvent à Stephenville, asteure. Parce c'est ma fille qui était au couvent à St./ à Stephenville Crossing, vois-tu. ...Bien, les, les nuns qui ont resté là, ils étiont..Bien ils aviont pas toutes été...Mais je les connaissais toutes

avant, vois-tu [].

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: Ils l'ont fait marcher le step trois fois à...Bon, il y avait quatre steps dans la...pour monter euh...aller au couvent, tu sais.

G.B.: Oui.

J.G.: Ils l'ont fait marcher trois fois pour, pour voir si c'était vrai. Ils voulaient pas le croire...Il s'en a venu puis il a pendu sa, sa canne...sur la porte, là.

(07/07/80; F3495c/C4833; B16)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Priest has power to heal.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1766.1

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (N.G.; 45; M)

(123)

N.G.: ...J'avais euh...un accident. Ils m'avont mis/ ils ont retiré l'os dans la jambe [] puis ils ont mis un en acier. So deux ans après...non, premier coup, ils ont mis justement ...un [] d'acier par dessus l'os. So, j'ai tombé...puis ça ça, ça recassait l'os en dedans. So, ils ont été obligés de retirer ça. Puis là, ils ont mis une en acier. Cette-là en acier était dedans deux, deux ans. Ils ont été obligés de la retirer puis j'avais cassé le morceau de dedans. J'étais dans le bois avec la, la scie, eh. Power saw. Je

bouchais du bois puis je m'ai plié en bas puis j'ai senti quand ça...Je savais pas c'était l'acier qui avait cassé mais je croyais que c'était un autre os, so...J'étais obligé de retourner puis ils avont mis un neuf dedans. Puis depuis ce temps-là, j'ai resté, depuis la dernière operation, là... j'ai resté avec une jambe plus courte que l'autre. Le docteur a jamais pu le, le [] à venir juste...Elle était une pouce et demie plus courte que l'autre.

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: Puis ils ont tout essayé, ils m'avont mis dans des braces, ils ont tout/ mais ils pouvoient pas. Mon genou était tout le temps gonflé, je pouvais pas marcher. So, j'ai retourné à St-Jean. Et puis ils ont examiné, puis ils ont dit j'aurais été obligé de retirer la jambe en haut à la hanche. C'est pas utile que j'en tiron en bas au genou...parce il y a rien en haut, dessus, dessus de la hanche []. So ils ont été obligés de la couper...So je dis, "Non! Je perds pas ma jambe," je dis. "Je vais aller à Montreal..."Il dit, "Tu peux aller où-ç-que tu veux...peux aller à Montreal si tu veux," il dit. "Bien, là, n'importe où. Ils vont faire la même affaire. Ils vont te retirer la jambe de dessus." Mais j'ai dit "Non." Je dis, "Je m'en vais chez nous," je dis, "pour souffrir," je dis, "pour un bout." Je dis, "[] retire pas la jambe." So j'ai venu chez nous...Bien, j'étais pas par chez nous; j'étais à Stephenville puis je parle à ma soeur [] couvent. Puis elle m'a dit que ce prêtre-là s'en venait

pour donner...euh [] aux soeurs au Crossing...St. George's, par là...Puis, elle dit qu'il y avait un tapé de monde qui avaient été guéri...So, elle dit, "Comment est ta croyance?" Je dis, "Je crois bien, mais, ces affaires-là," je dis, "ça arrivait aux autres. Pas à moi." [] ma croyance euh, j'étais pas bon assez pour [].

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: Mais j'étais voir. J'ai conté mon histoire, et lui dit quoi-ç-qui était ma, mon trouble, Et là, là il m'a demandé si je voulais qu'ils priaient. Je dis, "Oui. Essayez. J'ai rien à perdre et tout à gagner." Si vous, il voulait essayer. So, il m'a assis sur la chaise. Il avait une chaise avec le, en, en bois dur. Il m'a assis dessus, m'a fait coller mon dos sur la chaise. Il y avait treize personnes là à veiller... Puis il m'a pris des deux pieds dans ses mains...Puis il m'en fait, m'en fait voir. J'avais juste une pouce et demie de différence avec le, la jambe gauche...Il a pas essayé à haler sur les jambes pour les ranger. Prem/ pour la/ Premier pour/ Il essayait pour voir. Quand il halait les deux pieds ensemble, il halait mon dos clair de la chaise...So, il y avait pas de façon qu'il pouvait me bouger sans...[].

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: So tout ce qu'il a fait, il s'a mis à prier que, pour que les jambes allaient venir ensemble...Il a pas halé sur les jambes. Il a tenu les, les deux pieds les deux talons...dans ses mains. Puis c'est pareil. comme si quelqu'un m'aurait eu de quoi

amarré sur la jambe puis l'aurait halée parce que les nerfs en derrière de la jambe tout venu tout longués. Ça a venu, ça faisait, ça, ça a fait mal...So...il essayait, puis là, il s'a rouvri ses yeux, il regarde, il dit, "Tes jambes sont droites."

G.B.: Eh!

N.G.: Je dis, "Oui." Il [] les autres de regarder, il dit, "Regarde!" Mon dos touche encore la chaise. Puis les deux talons étiont justes...Mais il dit, "Essaye à/ mét-toi debout," il dit. "Essaye!" So je m'ai mis debout, je tapais mes deux talons sur la place. Puis mes deux hanches paraissaient justes[]. "Now," il dit, "Quoi d'autre qui était ton mal?" Bien, je dis, "C'est mon dos, je suis, je suis pas capable de ramasser rien sur la place...[] il faut je me, il faut plier en bas, je peux pas me plier assez." So, "Essaye voir," il dit, "comment ce/ comment loin que tu peux te plier." So, j'ai fait voir, [] plié à moitié. "O.K." il dit, "Si je te pèse plus loin," il dit, "quoi ce..." Bien, j'ai poussé un crie, ça faisait si mal. Je pouvais pas aller plus loin. So, il re/m'a assis. Puis il s'a mis à prier sur le dos...Deux ou trois minutes puis c'est pareil comme quelqu'un m'aurait dri/ mis le cou/ un, un, un morceau de glace dans le dos, ça a venu si froid.

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: "Now," il dit, "essaye." So je m'ai levé puis j'essayais, je pliais mes mains, touchais mes mains sur la place avec le dos,

sans plier les jambes.

G.B.: Aussi vite que ça?

N.G.: Plus de mal.

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Priest has power to heal.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1766.1

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (N.C.; 45; M)

(124)

N.C.: Puis j'avais mal aux dents un coup, j'avais, oh, neuf or dix c'était. Je m'en rappelle j'étais tout jeune quand j'avais attrapé mal aux dents. Oh, j'avais mal aux dents pour quatre ou cinq jours.

G.B.: Oui.

N.C.: Il y avait pas de dentist ou de docteur à l'entour. Les docteurs arrachaient les dents dans ca temps-là.

G.B.: Oui.

N.C.: Mais il n'y a/ il n'y avait pas entour. Le seul gaillard qui peut arracher les dents, c'était un gars, un local gaillard d'ici, là, tu sais. Il usait pas de cocain ni rien, juste arrachait comme ça, eh. Puis...Là [] que le, le, le prêtre avait descendu. Le prêtre avait descendu pour confesser le monde puis j'étais à la maison, puis je pou/ puis je, c'était ma/ Bien, je crois c'est ma deuxième coup à la confesse. []

le prêtre était en bas puis, oh bien, le mal aux dents, bien, pour trois ou quatre jours c'était steady, jour et nuit. Puis la figure tout gonflée. Puis le prêtre a venu à la maison; mon père [] le prêtre [] venir à la maison. Puis il a béni la dent. Puis je sais pas, ça a quitté. Vingt minutes après, le mal aux dents était quitté.

(20/08/82; F5967c/C5890; B88)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Priest can cure toothache with prayer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D2161.5.1; D1766.1

TABULATION OF NARRATIVE DATA: MAGIC INDIVIDUALS

Table 6-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Witch Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 60+ | 4 (3) | 0 (0) | 3 (2) | 1 (1) | 7 (3) | 2 (2) | 17 (5) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) |
| TOTALS | 4 (3) | 0 (0) | 3 (2) | 1 (1) | 8 (4) | 2 (2) | 18 (6) |

Table 6-2: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Seventh Son Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 60+ | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (2) | 2 (2) | 5 (4) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 1 (1) | 3 (2) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) |
| TOTALS | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 4 (4) | 3 (3) | 8 (6) |

Notes

¹ In his discussion of the nature of magic, John J. Collins identifies these same three components, which he terms "special objects," "verbal component," and "manipulations." See John J. Collins, Primitive Religion (New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1978), p. 18.

² This individual had only recently learned of this aspect of her community's former tradition of supernatural belief. Up to two weeks prior to her performance of the collected text (01/07/80; F3492c/C4830; B13), she had been totally unaware of the witchcraft tradition.

³ Peggy Martin, "Drop Dead: Witchcraft Images and Ambiguity in Newfoundland Society," Culture & Tradition 2 (1977), 25-50.

⁴ For further discussion of the function of the witch figure, see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "Witchcraft Explains Unfortunate Events," in Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (N.Y.: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972), pp. 440-444. Additional summarized information on anthropological approaches to witchcraft is found in Fadwa El Guindi, Religion in Culture (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., Publishers, 1977), pp. 17-20.

⁵ The seventh-son tradition in French-Newfoundland culture was treated in Gary R. Butler, "The 'Seventh Son' Healing Tradition in

French-Newfoundland Society," an as yet unpublished paper which was originally presented at the 1981 Meeting of the Folklore Studies Association of Canada (Halifax, Nova Scotia).

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL MAGICO-RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Introduction

The preceding chapter dealt with those categories of individuals who, through the deliberate performance of ritual acts, could manipulate unseen forces to accomplish specific ends. By definition, their acts constitute magic; however, achieving the desired result depends equally upon the performance of the act and the qualities inherent in the individual's achieved or ascribed status. Yet, as was pointed out, the manipulation of supernatural forces through magic is not restricted solely to such specialists. Community tradition also encompasses the view of magic in terms of cause and effect; that is, the performance of the ritual act is considered in and of itself sufficient to bring about the desired results, regardless of the identity of the individual. Often, in fact, the magic practice differs little in detail and in its consequences, from that performed by the specialist, and success is not viewed as conditional on identity.

The term "practice" is employed here in a general sense and includes not only the deliberate performance of certain acts, but also the deliberate avoidance of others because of their supposed undesirable consequences. The term also includes the possession or carrying of talismans, charms, or religious artifacts to which supernatural protective qualities are attributed. Causality is the unifying characteristic, in that the choice of the individual to act in accordance

with certain assumptions determines the consequences of acting. As such, these practices constitute prescriptive rules for behaviour which are designed to maximize positive results and minimize negative factors.

This generalized tradition includes examples of all three components of magic: ritual act, oral utterance, and material artifact. Most examples of ritual acts are closely associated with Roman Catholic religious belief, and results are achieved through the manual performance of the Sign of the Cross, which is directed at the target of the magical power (127, 129). The only requisite criterion for success is that one be a strong believer in the Christian God. This ritual act is sometimes performed in combination with an object, which may be either sacred, such as a wedding band (130), or profane, such as a grain of salt (131). The Sign of the Cross is considered to possess the power to influence a wide variety of phenomena and can stop the spread of a windshield crack, split in two an onrushing wave at sea, or cure warts and other skin ailments. Of the collected narratives, only one presented a case of a purely non-religious ritual act (125). The magico-religious power of the Christian cross is universally recognized in L'Anse-à-Canards, and oral narrative forms were collected from all segments of the community population, a fact which obviously reflects the strong influence of the Church in the enculturation process.

A widely recognized community tradition linked to a material artifact also reflects the magico-religious component of magic ritual. The artifact in question is a huge wooden cross which once stood

before the mission church established in L'Anse-à-Canards in the early years of the twentieth century. The church has long since disappeared, and the cross no longer stands. However, when the cross fell over fifty years ago, residents were instructed by the mission priest to take pieces from it and to place them in their homes as protection from fire. The piece of wood normally was built into the very structure of the house as it was being constructed. A smaller cross, which originally stood atop the larger one, is presently in the possession of a sixty-year old resident, who explained that individuals still frequently request a sliver from this artifact.

Many of these categories of supernatural belief occur relatively infrequently in orally-expressed forms; however, the cognitive body of information possessed by community residents is somewhat larger than what is actually expressed might indicate. In order to outline more completely the aspects of the supernatural belief tradition which are not commonly manifested in oral form, these traditums are provided immediately following the large category into which they fall. These items are not orally-occurring texts, but rather are traditums which have been reconstructed on the basis of informant comments.

A. MAGIC ACTS

AII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(125)

Resumé from Field Notes:

Il y avait une femme, un G., à L'Anse-à-Thé puis elle s'avait mordu la langue. Bien, elle dit, "Il y a quelqu'un qui parle mal de moi." Elle a pris sa main gauche et l'avait passée derrière le cou jusqu'au côté droit. Puis là, elle a mordu son petit doigt. "Là!" elle dit, "Il va plus parler mal de moi. Ça va l'arrêter." C'était H.G. qui a fait ça. Elle croyait que c'était vrai.

(01/07/83; Survey Card 41)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Performance of certain act stops another individual from spreading evil gossip.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (N.G.; 45; M)

(126)

N.G.: ...Mon frère les avait, je/ souvent aussi, les/ Il y avait une qui lui faisait vraiment mal et puis euh, mon père s'a mis une journée puis...il avait, il disait les...il a fait rhymer ce, ce qu'il disait anyway, comme un verse...sur la verrue. Il dit, "Quand tu vas r/quand je te reverrai," il

dit, "ta verrue sera partie." Ça, ça, il a fini en des ryhmes.
 Si, il travaillait euh, à, à Corner Brook cette année-là.
So, il a quitté de chez nous le weekend, il était à travailler
 lundi puis il avait les verrues sur les mains...So, il a f/ a
 resorti je/ vendredi au soir. J'avons pas pensé/ euh, samedi
 matin...du/ ou à diner [] J'étions à table et puis euh,
 j'ai fini de manger, j'étions []. J'en allions, je crois
 que était pour travailler au foin, tu sais. Mais il a demandé,
 il dit, "Bien," il dit, "comment-ç-que c'est tes verrues?"
 Il regarde, il dit, "Non, je les ai plus!" Ses verrues avaient
 parti dans la semaine (laughs). Il avait pas plus de verrues.
 Puis il s'avait pas, il s'avait pas aperçu qu'il avait perdu,
 non...So euh, so ça a bien travaillé pour lui.

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Utterance of rhyming verse along with declaration
 of imminent cure heals warts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??/?

MOTIFS: D1273

F.E.N. II, Text 1 (A.E.; 30; M)

(127)

A.E.: Euh, another thing, too, is when you come to talk about the
 cross, we might as well...continue it...When Dad was a kid,
 eh, euh, I'd say, well, a, a teenager, they used to have to
 cross the Port-au-Port Bay for to get their supplies, O.K.

There was no such thing as roads, only a corduroy road that euh, they could get by euh, from time to time. So...across the Bay was the, the fastest way. By boat in the summer time and by ice skates in the winter time. Or sled or whatever the case might be...And this ca/ this case here anyway, it was a storm on, eh.

G.B.: Yes.

A.E.: His poor father was with him. And there was a few other old people...and euh, the storm was so severe that euh, none of them believed they would have been able to get through. And Dad said himself, he says, even today, he says he don't understand it. He don't, he don't understand himself, and he's a believer! (laughs) But he seen his father make the Sign of the Cross in a wave that would have destroyed them. It was, the wa/ the wave was so big that it would swamp the boat. He made the Sign of the Cross on the wave...and it split the wave.

G.B.: This is A.?

A.E.: A.E.

G.B.: Is that right!

A.E.: Made the Sign of the Cross. He made it twice.

G.B.: Yeah.

A.E.: I think it's twice, Dad told me that he done it. At the/ coming across, eh. Going across Port-au-Port Bay coming this way. And he says, that's the only thing that's too/he don't know how it was done or...what guided him, but, he says, that

split the wave, where the/ and it opened right up, where they went through and...never even went over the wave.

(27/05/82; F5957c/C5880; B78)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross splits approaching wave.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??

MOTIFS: D1266.6

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (W.E.; 25; M)

(128)

W.E.: I, well I seen Dad coming around the point, me and Dad fishing ...down at the end of the Bar...And I seen him making the Sign of the Cross...in a wave...and the wave split.

G.B.: When you were fishing?

W.E.: Me and him were fishing at the end of the Bar.

A.E.: Dad's an awful strong believer.

G.B.: Yeah.

A.E.: He's an awful strong believer. He can do a lot of stuff.

W.E.: I was steer/

A.E.: It's almost...

W.E.: I was steering the boat...and he was up in front...and this big wave was coming and he, he put the Sign of the Cross. And the boat was coming up...well, well what angle would you say that? [indicates with hand] Well, approx/ approximately...

A.E.: I'd say that's about 35 degrees.

W.E.: Something like a 35 degree angle, eh. That's the way the boat

was coming up.

G.B.: Yes.

W.E.: Yes, sir, it used to come down...Brow! Hit, eh...We used to get some come in and she just covered over...He used to make the Sign of the Cross and pass right through it !

(27/05/82; F5957c/C5880; B78)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross splits approaching wave.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (A.E.; 30; M)

(129)

A.E.: Now, I've seen Dad...actually put the Sign of the/ Say if you cracked your windshield, eh. I've seen Dad put the Sign of the Cross in front of the crack and he would stop it.

G.B.: At the crack?

A.E.: At the crack. She'll never pass the cross.

G.B.: Is that right?

A.E.: Never did. I've seen that.

G.B.: And it, and it works?

A.E.: Yes.

G.B.: Is that right?

A.E.: It never passed the cross. It would go in a different, di/ different direction. Now, as soon as he put the cross in a different direction, she'll stop (claps hands sharply).

G.B.: Yes.

A.E.: Shoot again in a different direction, you know.

(27/05/82; F5957c/C5880; B78)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross halts cracks in car windshield.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6; D1001

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (N.C.; 45; M)

(130)

N.C.: Puis il y a joliment du monde que...Bien, moi, j'avais euh, ringworms sur mon/ quand j'étais jeune, un jeune gaillard, j'avais attrapé deux, j'avais deux ringworms sur mon cou.

G.B.: Mmm.

N.C.: Puis ça, tu pouvais déchirer ça de dessus puis ça, ça, c'était tout, tout le temps/ ça boderait.

G.B.: MmmHmm.

N.C.: Puis ma mère m'a dit elle va tirer ça de dessus avec ma wedding ring. Euh, elle, elle dit, "Oui, joliment du monde peut tirer [] la, la wedding ring." Elle essayait, puis je l'ai pas vu après. Ça a quitté.

(20/08/82; F5967c/C5890; B88)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Making Sign of the Cross with wedding ring cures ringworm.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6

P.E.N. IV, Text 1 (S.D.; 65; M)

(131)

S.D.: ...tu sais les verrues, eh, les warts, eh. Bien, ma main, oh, c'était plein d'ici, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Des grosses verrues. Puis je travaillais dessus pour des années et des années. Puis des fois j'aurais tapé de quoi puis les, c'est qu'un sang.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Puis ça sèche pas, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: J'étais chez J. Godet une journée, eh. Il y avait un gaillard [] à la maison qui []. Et il a fait [] peut tirer ça dessus pour ces verrues. Puis c'est/ je croyais pas là-dedans. Je dis, "I wonder." Bien, je dis, "I hope you can do it." "Je, je souhaite que tu peux les tirer là dessus." Il s'en va cueillir un, un, un morceau de sel. Un grain de sel, eh.

G.B.: Oui.

S.D.: Puis ça [] il a fait la marque, les croix là-dessus puis... ça était. Il dit. "Minde plus!" Et garde! Avant un mois, il y avait plus rien qui restait!

(02/06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross made with grain of salt cures
wart.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6

P.E.N. V, Text 1 (R.B.; 30; M)

(132)

R.B.: ...I don't know if it's euh, beliefs got to do with it...but
I had warts on my fingers and I had one here like...and
Grandmother just...did the Sign of the Cross on them...On each
of them...And about two or three days, I haven't seen one since.
(18/05/82; F5953c/C5876; B74)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross made with hand cures warts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6

P.E.N. VI, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(133)

J.G.: Mon garçon, là, celui qui est parti, il avait...il avait les
mains pleines puis elles avaient été vilaines aussi. Et puis
une journée, j'étions à la table...Puis j'ai fait un...une
manière de riddle pour...à, à faire des folies, là. Moi,
je l'ai/pour ses verrues. Deux semaines après, il y avait
plus de verrues! Elles étiont parties de même!
(02/06/81; F3893/C5239c; B51)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Certain words in riddle form cure for warts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

P.E.N. VII, Text 1 (J.G.; 75; M)

(134)

J.G.: Mais Garde!...M. à Mike aussi, là. Je descendions de la messe une journée puis...j'étions dans, à bord du truck, là, d'E....Et puis j'étions en train de parler puis je dis, "Ma/M.," je dis, "Bien," je dis, "Regarde les verrues. Mais," je dis, "que faire que ça a pas passé?" "Oh, my gosh!" elle dit, "Je peux pas." "Ah, bien," je dis, "All right. Quand je vais te revoir," je dis, "tu les, tu auras plus de verrues."...Oh, c'est [] un mois après, c'était tout parti. Elle, elle peut te dire pareil!...Je pense que/ je me rappelle pas si elle se rappelle que je lui ai dit ou pas, vois-tu.

(02/06/81; F3893c/C5239; B51)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Declaration of imminent cure successful in healing warts.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

P.E.N. VIII, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(135)

E.E.: ...Asteure, j'avais, j'ai cassé ma windshield, eh...J'ai cassé ma windshield. A. a foutu un caillou dedans. Je m'en

vais conter mon histoire de ça asteure. All right...Ah...Avec une plume, là, je vais te montrer...[Draws with pen] Là, ça ici, c'est ma windshield. All right. Ils ont foutu un caillou ici, là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Bien, là...bien, c'est ça. Son of a gun! [] Bien, tout d'un coup...mmm, trois, quatre jours après...tiens! Ça, il... crack, là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Ah. Bien, je dis asteure...je dis, "Tu vas pas plus loin." Là, je mets ma/ je fais la croix ici, là. Je fais ma croix comme ça. Je dis, "Tu passes pas cette croix-là."...Ah... All right. Je quitte faire. Oh, c'était comme ça pour un couple de jours...puis il a pas pu aller plus loin. Tout d'un coup, tiens! Click!...Elle vient ici. Ça va là. Il vient par là. Là il [] encore. Mais hah! Je dis, "Tu vas pas plus loin, mon petit garçon."...Une croix là encore. J'avais fait ça tout le long, eh. Ça fait...ça faisait 'W' tout le long.

G.B.: Et ça passait pas la croix?

E.E.: J'ai fait des croix tout le long...il a pas monté. Là!

(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Sign of the Cross halts crack in windshield.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1766.6; D1001

AIII. DISCOURSE-CENTERED TEXTS

Text 1 (M.B. [E]; 60; F) (136)

M.B.: Tu devrais faire comme R.C., jeter cinquante cents à l'eau
à tous les printemps pour avoir la chance avec la pêche.

(all laugh)

M.B.: Moi, j'irais remasser les cinquante cents.

(05/05/82; Survey Card 3)

Text 2 (T.D.; 30; M) (137)

T.D.: Guess I'll have to boil the wash cloth.

(Butler Field Notes; 1982)

AIV. MAGIC ACTS: Reconstructed Traditums

1. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with an iron nail, throw the nail into the water, as the nail rusts, the wart will disappear. (2 examples)
2. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a piece of lard and throw the lard away, as the lard rots, the wart will disappear.
(3)

3. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with an iron nail and then drive the nail into the house foundation, the wart will disappear. (1)
4. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a nail and drive the nail into the house foundation, the wart will disappear. The first one to withdraw the nail will catch the wart. (1)
5. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a bean and throw the bean into the stove to burn, the wart will disappear. (4)
6. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a bean and throw the bean over your left shoulder without looking to see where it lands, the wart will disappear. (1)
7. If you rub each wart with one match, place the matches in a matchbox and throw them away, the person who picks up the matches will catch the warts. (2)
8. If you rub each wart with a bean and place the beans in a box, whoever picks up the box will catch the warts. (1)
9. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a piece of lard and feed the lard to the dogs, the wart will disappear. (1)

10. If you make the Sign of the Cross over a wart with a wedding ring, the wart will disappear if your faith is strong enough. (2)
11. If you make the Sign of the Cross with a wedding ring over a ring-worm infection, it will be cured. (4)
12. If you lose an object and pray, with a pure heart, to St. Anthony, you will find the object. (2)
13. If you make the Sign of the Cross over yeast, it will ensure good bread. (2)
14. If you boil a dish cloth in a container of water, you can wish for a change in wind direction. (2)
15. If you turn your jacket or coat inside out, the weather will change. (2)
16. If you throw some salt in the stove and make a wish, the wind will increase. (1)
17. If you throw a five or ten cent piece into the water and wish for wind in God's name, you'll receive it. (1)

B. MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ARTIFACTS

BI. TRADITUM-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(138)

G.B.: ...Il y avait une église là-bas, je crois, auparavant. Une église près des, des B.

J.E.: Oui.

G.B.: Puis ça, ça a brûlé ou quelque chose?

J.E.: L'église n'a pas brûlé, là... Enfin, je crois pas que ça a brûlé...Ils avient/ il y avait une croix là...Une grande croix, je pense qu'elle avait dans les cinquante pieds de haut.

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Il y avait une mission, il y a un missionnaire qui avait venu là...à la mission. Mais l'église, c'était bâti par le, avec le monde. Par le monde, vois-tu. Entre eux, puis euh...

G.B.: Le monde d'ici?

J.E.: Oui, oui...Et puis, il avait fait une croix là...le, le, le, le missionnaire, là. Pendant qu'il [] là. Je m'en rappelle de la voir, cette croix-là. Oh, elle était haute!

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Mais elle a tombé...Et le morceau de ciment est encore là, là. Le pied.

G.B.: Le pied est encore là?

J.E.: Oui, oui, c'est encore là. C'est, c'est en haut où est la

butte, là...Je sais que je pourrais le trouver...C'est marqué dans le ciment l'année que ça a été fait et tout ça ...Le pied/la croix était dans le ciment, eh.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

J.E.: Mais [] a tombé. Mais dame...le bois de/ il a dit que si jamais que la [] puis il prend un morceau de ce bois-là, là, puis le mettre dans sa maison, il aurait jamais brûlé. Ca, ça conservait du feu, eh.

(18/05/81; F3883c/C5232; B41)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

Text 2 (E.E.; 70; M)

(139)

[Interviewer mentions old mission church]

E.E.: Oui! Il a dit que celui-là qui prendrait un morceau de la croix puis mettrait dans sa maison...il brûlera jamais.

(20/05/81; F3886c/C5234; B44)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

BII. NARRATIVE INTENSIVE TEXTS

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M) (140)

M.B.: ...Asteure...E.C./ Pas E.E., J.E. Sa maison...Il avait un morceau dedans puis son père, son père avait une croyance. Nos croyances, c'est [] pareil. C'est du monde qui a de grosses croyances. Puis sa maison euh...D., le garçon à J., il a foutu le feu en haut...Puis ça a jamais brûlé. Ça a brûlé, justement brûlé les rideaux de ch/ du châssis, puis ça a pris dans l'abri, eh. Puis...puis il était tout seul en haut dans le grenier...La même maison que J. a asteure. (09/07/81; F3911c/C5256; B69).

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M) (141)

M.B.: ...[] mon frère en haut là, puis il, il était en bas chez A.E. cette soirée-là. [] J'étais là aussi...[] de blaguer, moi et lui puis...[] Puis tout d'un coup il s'est levé. "Bien," il dit, "je m'en [] chez nous." Mais c'était autour de onze heures du soir. Temps de l'automne...Quand qu'il arrivait sur le chemin il voyait le feu qui traversait

dans sa maison. Ça a brûlé une des salles dans sa maison...
Et puis [] dans l'abri, eh. Puis il arrivait là puis
il a déteindule feu...S'il aurait resté comme un..peut-être
comme...

G.B.: Une demi-heure?

M.B.: Une demi-heure, peut-être sa famille aurait été brûlée. Ils
dormaient tous. Tous endormis.

(09/07/81; F3911c/C5256; B69)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(142)

E.E.: Oui, j'au un morceau aussi. Oui. Oui. Even M.B. a un
morceau euh...M. a un morceau de ça aussi!

G.B.: Oui, oui.

E.E.: Et mon père l'avait et...quatre ou cinq fois, il m'a...Un
coup, j'ai monté en haut du grenier, moi. Tout le grenier
était en feu, mon vieux, c'est...! Ah, solide flamme mon...!
Puis là, j'ai crié. J'étais pas grand non plus...Puis là,
ma mère a venu avec un, un seau d'eau...Un quart. Elle
avait un des gros quarts qu'il y avait auparavant. Elle
commençait à jeter, tu sais. Puis j'avons tué le feu...Si
j'aurais pas monté eh haut du grenier, moi, si c'était encore

une autre, une autre minute...c'était fini!...

(20/05/81; F3887c/C5233; B45)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

P.E.N. II, Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(143)

J.E.: ...J'ai un morceau dans ma maison ici, là, je...

G.B.: Ah oui? Tu en as un peu? Tu peux me le montrer après?

J.E.: Oh, non. J'ai pas moyen de l'avoir. C'est en haut par dessus puis c'est plein de...

G.B.: Oh, c'est dans le/

J.E.: Oui. C'est mon...

G.B.: Ah, c'est dans la maison même.

J.E.: C'est mon défunt père qui l'a mis là.

G.B.: Ah, oui!

J.E.: C'est pris en haut-là. Je sais pas si je peux le trouver mais il est là...Puis garde! Le, le feu a pris deux fois là-dedans, là. Ici, là. Mon garçon était un gamin. Puis il a foutu le feu en haut d'un des rideaux...Puis ça a tout brûlé à travers, là, puis j'ai monté en haut, là, avec rien qu'un seau d'eau []. Ça a tout disparu...Puis il y a deux fois que ça a pris puis ça, ça en a été. Ça a pas brûlé.

(18/05/81; F3883c/C5232; B41)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Wood from old cross protects home from fire.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1382; D1719.6

BIV. MAGIC ARTIFACTS: Reconstructed Traditums

1. A horse shoe nailed over your door is good luck. (9 examples)
2. A horse shoe nailed over your door, prongs down, protects the house from lightning. (2)
3. A holy medal is protection from harm. (12)
4. A four-leaf clover carried in your purse brings good luck. (3)
5. A rabbit's foot brings good luck. (7)
6. Holy palm in the form of a cross protects house from fire/lightning. (7)
7. A religious medal attached to stock of rifle prevents accidents. (2)
8. A religious medal attached to rifle stock increases accuracy. (1)

9. A piece of wood from the old mission cross protects the house from fire. (15)
10. Holy water placed in home protects it from mishap. (2)
11. A crucifix carved into the handle of an axe will prevent accidents.
(1)

C. TABOO

CII. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Local Legend I, Text 1 (M.A.[E]; 65; F)

(144)

M.A.: Puis il y en a qui allaient sur le dimanche puis ils faisaient comme les prêtres...Ils faisaient comme un prêtre, tu sais, avec un [] de quoi sur eux. Ils prenaient le, la [] du prêtre puis ils mettaient sur eux...Puis un coup, ils avaient fait ça...je sais pas si c'était un dimanche ou...Et puis euh, ils avaient été pour ouvrir le, la porte. Pour sortir ou rentrer...Puis là, la knob de la porte, ça virait tout le tour! Oh, ça a fait un train! Avant qu'il a pu toucher là, le man/ le knob de la porte!

G.B.: Il a viré comme ça?

M.A.: Oui!

G.B.: Oui.

M.A.: Et c'était...bien, c'était pas allowé d'aller faire ça, vois-tu.

(01/06/81; F3891c/C5237; B49)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Blasphemous act results in supernatural show of disapproval.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (N.C.; 45; M)

(145)

N.C.: Oui, je me rappelle. Eh, mon, mon père m'a peut-être m'a peut-être dit...pour, je crois qu'il croyait dedans lui-même. Que son, son père lui avait dit. Quand on commençait à pêcher, moi, j'avais rien que quatorze ans. Quand j'ai commencé à nager en dory pour lui haler les casiers.

G.B.: MmmHmm.

N.C.: Oui, chaque matinée, je, je, launchions le dory dans l'anse sur les rouleaux puis là, poussais au large. Puis la première matinée, ou la deuxième matinée, j'ai sorti quand j'ai na/poussé le dory puis je virais le dory pour aller au large, je virais contre le soleil.

G.B.: Mmm.

N.C.: Et là, il m'a dit que c'était le mal, le malchance. Son, son grand-père ou son père avait dit que tu aurais pas attrapé de poisson. Pas, pas attrapé tant de poisson si tu aurais viré contre du soleil au matin, quand tu as, quand tu as sorti.

G.B.: Mmm.

N.C.: Puis euh, après ça, pour des, pour un long bout, pour un long bout après, je croyais que c'était, que c'était vrai.

G.B.: Oui.

N.C.: Mais après, j'étais à l'école puis ils m'avont dit c'est, tous des superstitions.

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Turning your boat against the sun when launching
is bad luck.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

CIV. TABOOS: Reconstructed Traditums

1. If you leave a house by a door different from that through which you entered, you will cause ill fortune. (10 examples)
2. If you break a mirror, you'll have seven years of bad luck. (8)
3. If you walk over a trawl line, you'll bring bad luck to the fishing season. (1)
4. If you launch a boat bow first, it brings bad luck. (1)
5. If you turn a boat against the sun (counter-clockwise), it brings bad luck. (2)
6. If you fish on Sunday, you'll lose on Monday that which you had gained. (1)
7. If you start the fishing season on a Friday, you'll have bad luck. (1)

8. If you whistle in a boat, you'll have bad luck. (2)
9. If you walk over a gun barrel, you'll impart bad luck to the gun. (1)
10. If you work on Sunday, you'll have bad luck. (3)

TABULATION OF NARRATIVE DATA: GENERAL MAGICO-RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES

Table 7-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of "General Magico-Religious Principles Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 60+ | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (2) | 1 (1) | 6 (4) | 10 (6) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (2) | 3 (2) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 3 (3) | 4 (3) |
| TOTALS | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 2 (2) | 3 (3) | 11 (8) | 17 (11) |

CHAPTER EIGHT

METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA

Introduction

A final aspect of the supernatural belief tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards revolves around an atmospheric condition: the Northern Lights. Referred to in the community as 'les marionnettes,' to these lights have been attributed certain supernatural characteristics which, in many ways, reflect all of the other areas of supernatural tradition already presented. The 'marionnettes' have been interpreted as being the souls of the unbaptized, condemned to purgatory, a view consistent with the tradition's recognition of corporal supernatural beings; others have considered them to be signs of impending war. In addition, the playing of a certain jig is believed to possess a magical quality, one which causes the 'marionnettes' to approach the player.

The knowledge of this aspect of community tradition is widespread in L'Anse-à-Canards, although the particular folk interpretation of the phenomenon displays broad variation, as the Traditum-Intensive Texts illustrate. The belief in their supernatural character is less commonly accepted by younger generations, but all informants agree on the effect of the 'Jig des Marionnettes' on the lights themselves.

It should be noted that this is not the only meteorological phenomenon which is found in the folk belief tradition of L'Anse-à-

Canards. The 'feu-follet' or 'Jack o'Lantern,' a frequently-occurring item in the folklore of Newfoundland (as well as of other French societies in North America), is also common in L'Anse-à-Canards. Weather signs are numerous, as might be expected in a culture based on the activities of small-boat fishing and small-scale farming. However, none of these is regarded as anything but a natural phenomenon.

A. 'LES MARIONNETTES'/'NORTHERN LIGHTS'

Variant Terminology: 'Merry Dancers' (common)

'Fairies in the Sky' (rare)

AI. TRADITUM-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Text 1 (J.E.; 65; M)

(146)

J.E.: Des marionnettes...Ça vient, quand que c'est mention de pluie, là, ou du quoi de même, là...bien, vous allez voir de quoi en haut dans le ciel, eh. C'est tout rouge puis ça bouge. Vous avez jamais fait attention à ça.

G.B.: Non.

J.E.: Ça bouge. Ça, c'est...bouge. C'est tout en vie, là. Asteure, ils appellont ça des marionnettes, là. Asteure, ils, ils disent (laughs)--je sais pas (coughs)--ici ils disent que c'est des âmes ça, que, qui a pas pu aller au ciel, au Paradis, eh.

(23/06/80; F3487c/C4825; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern lights are the souls of those in Purgatory doing penance.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??

MOTIFS: A795; E753.3

Text 2 (M.B. E ; 60; F)

(147)

Quotation from Field Notes:

"Les marionnettes, ce sont les âmes des morts au purgatoire."

(01/07/83; Survey Card 3)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights are souls of those in Purgatory
doing penance.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795; E753.3

Text 3 (D.W.[B]; 35; F)

(148)

Quotation from Field Notes:

"The marionnettes are supposed to be the souls of people in
Purgatory."

(16/07/83; Survey Card 77)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights are souls of those in Purgatory
doing penance.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795; E753.3

Text 4 (J.G.; 75; M)

(149)

J.G.: Et ils sont/ d'autres que c'était des enfants qui étaient

morts sans baptême...

(23/06/80; F3489c/C4827; B10)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights are souls of children who died
without having been baptized.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795; E412.2

Text 5 (E.E.; 70; M)

(150)

E.E.: Ah bien, ils disent que c'étaient des, des âmes qui étaient
euh, mor/ euh mortes sans baptême, ils disent.

G.B.: Ah, sans être baptisé?

E.E.: Sans être baptisé.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Que c'est vieux ou jeune, c'était tout euh, ceux-là qui
étaient pas baptisés.

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern lights souls of those who died without
having been baptized.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: A795; E412.2

Text 6 (G.E.; 45; M)

(151)

Quotation from Field Notes:

"They used to say that marionnettes, they were supposed to be ghosts dancing in the sky, eh."

(02/08/83; Survey Card 87)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern lights are ghosts dancing in the sky.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

Text 7 (M.A.[E]; 65; F)

(152)

G.B.: Mais qu'est-ce que c'est que les marionnettes?

M.A.: Je sais pas. Je sais pas ce que c'était. Ils disaient que c'était du monde qui dansaient sur leur tête, eh (laughs).
Puis là, eux, ils/Là, euh, peut-être dans une place, puis ils avaient dansé...Puis en dernier, ils d/ ils dansaient sur leur tête. Ça, c'est ça que c'est les marionnettes.
(01/06/81; F3891c/C5237; B49)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights the souls of those forced to dance
by the devil.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795; C94.1.1

Text 8 (M.G.[L]; 70; F)

(153)

M.G.: C'est peut-être les danseurs que le diable joue pour (laughs).

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights the souls of those forced to dance
by the devil.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795; C94.1.1

Text 9 (W.C.; 70; M)

(154)

W.C.: Bien asteure, quand ils sont rouges, oui, c'est pour, pour
une signe de guerre, vois-tu.

(20/08/82; F5965c/C5888; B86)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights, when red, sign of war.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: A795

Text 10 (N.C.; 45; M)

(155)

N.C.: Bien, ç'avait [] des guerres. Je m'en rappelle pas
beaucoup asteure quoi qu'ils av/ quoi qu'ils contient mais ce,
ce, c'était pour des guerres qu'il était...Le sang sur les
battlefields qui shine dans l'air du temps ou...comme ça.

(20/08/82; F5967c/C5890; B88)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights, when red, the blood on battlefields

shining in the sky.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795

Text 11 (N.G.; 45; M)

(156)

G.B.: Qu'est-ce qu'ils disaient que c'était auparavant?

N.G.: Je sais pas. Je m'en rappelle pas [] ce qu'ils avaient...

Mais asteure, je crois qu'ils disent que c'est le, le, le
soleil sur la, sur la glace dans le nord, ou quelque chose,
qu'ils appellent.

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: Mais je crois pas que c'est ça non plus.

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights sun reflecting off northern ice.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: A795

Text 12 (W.C.; 70; M)

(157)

W.C.: ...les marionnettes. Bien, le...le vieux Peter C., je l'ai
connu, puis il a, il y avait un livre...Puis il y avait un
livre puis le...[] dans le, il regardait dans le temps
avec sa longue vue. Puis il m'a dit que c'est des...la glace.
La glace [], la, la glace travaillait puis ça montrait

les lueurs dans le temps.

(20/08/82; F5965c/C5888; B86)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights are reflections from northern ice.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: A795

Text 13 (S.D.; 65; M)

(158)

S.D.: Euh, bien, les marionnettes [] c'est, c'est, c'est de
quoi qui, qui euh, c'est des shadows qui fait ça, eh. Sur
la lune ou, ou le soleil...

(02/06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Northern Lights are shadows from moon or sun.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: A795

III. NARRATIVE-INTENSIVE TEXTS

Local Legend I, Text 1 (M.G.[L]; 70; F)

(159)

M.G.: Puis ils disent qu'ils chantaient puis là, ils s'en venaient
si bas!

J.G.: Oui...

M.G.: Parce que je sais, un gars qu'il y avait en, en dehors ici. Et puis qu'il s'est mis à chanter. Ils avaient un jig...je me rappelle pas astheure comment ça allait, mais il l'avait chanté. Puis il était obligé d'arrêter!

J.G.: Oui, oui (laughs).

M.G.: Oui! Il était obligé d'arrêter cette sorlée-là. Ils, ils, ils étaient right down!

(02/06/81; F3892c/C5238; B50)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing a certain jig brings marionnettes down to singer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

Local Legend II, Text 1 (M.G.: 60; M)

(160)

M.B.: ...Elle avait conté celui-là pour des, le joueur de violon, il fallait pas jouer la..."La Jigue des Marionnettes." Là, il se/ il faisait une farce des marionnettes. Il s'a assis sur le...sur les steps dehors, devant sa porte, avec son violon. Puis il y en a un qui a venu...Elle est venue puis elle a brisé le violon dans ses mains...Oui, puis, là, c'était supp/ euh...à, à elle, ça, c'était vrai que ça avait arrivé.

(06/07/81; F3980c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Playing certain jig brings marionnettes down.

: Marionnettes are physically dangerous.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./?

MOTIFS: D1275.1

Local Legend II, Text 2 (R.B.; 30; M)

(161)

R.B.: Il disaient qu'il y avait un gars avec un violon, tu sais.

M.E.: Oui.

R.B.: ...Il avait, il avait joué assez que le/ il y en a un qui
a descendu puis il a claqué, claqué le violon puis l'a [].

G.B.: Oui?

R.B.: It was wrong.

(26/05/82; F5955c/C5878; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Playing certain jig brings marionnettes down.

: Marionnettes are physically dangerous.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

Local Legend III, Text 1 (S.A.; 45; M)

(162)

S.A.: Ils disent que tu...il y a quelqu'un qui avait chanté la
chanson...puis ils sont venus dans le chassis. Ils sont
descendus puis ils étaient venus [] au chassis...Tu as
jamais entendu ça?

G.B.: Ils chantaient?
 S.A.: Une chanson que tu chantes, eh.
 G.B.: Oui, oui.
 S.A.: Chanson des marionnettes.
 (01/06/81; F3890c/C5236; B48)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing certain song brings marionnettes down
 towards singer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Neg.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

C.E.N. I, Text 1 (S.D.; 65; M) (163)

S.D.: Ils me disient E., là, il essaye son violon une soirée puis
 il a commencé à jouer...Et les marionnettes venaient tout
 proche! Si tu l'entendais!

G.B.: Oui?

S.D.: Oui, ça passait tout en flamme, tout rouge. Pareil comme la
 flamme. Pareil comme du feu...Puis asteure, ils disient
 ça, ça...

(02.06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Playing the 'Jig des Marionnettes' brings the
 marionnettes down to player.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

F.E.N. I, Text 1 (W.E.; 25; M)

(164)

W.E.: Well, I tell you, Dad just told us about the Northern Lights.

You, you heard the story about the Northern Lights?

A.E.: Mmm?

W.E.: Him coming down from euh, Lourdes one night. Him and

Aunt M.

A.E.: He used to call it "marionnettes." He didn't call it Northern Lights because he don't really/ the [].

W.E.: Yeah. Well, he's singing this jig, and they told him to shut his mouth. You can ask him today. He told us that.

I remember him telling us.

A.E.: Then again, it's...

W.E.: You know, it was...

A.E.: It was his imagination working on it.

W.E.: But he said he was singing this jig...and the whole sky started to turn red just like fire.

(27/05/82; F5957c/C5880; B78)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing certain jig causes marionnettes to shine red.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

P.E.N. I, Text 1 (E.E.; 70; M)

(165)

E.E.: Mais ce coup-là...les marionnettes, là. J'avais mon beau-frère et ma belle-soeur avec moi. Puis j'étais à cheval... Puis je [] Ils s'en venient ici pour une visite puis c'était à l'entour de neuf heures du soir. Puis je dis, "I bet you," je dis, "que je peux faire venir les marionnettes, là. Que je peux les faire venir ici," je dis, "qu'ils tourneront bleu."

G.B.: Toi qui as dit ça?

E.E.: Je lui ai dit ça, moi. "Non, tu peux pas faire ça!" Bien je dis, "I bet you." "Non, tu peux pas faire ça. Pas toi." Je dis, "All right." Là, je commence à chanter le, le, la, "La Reel des Marionnettes"...Puis j'ai chanté assez...qu'ils avont venu assez proche...[] le chemin en dedans, là.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Puis le peur à mort! Je les ai peurés à mort! Ils m'ont dit, "Arrêtez! Arrête!"...Puis ils étiont [] aussi, eh. Ils étiont, ils étiont tout bleu, eh. Bleu...

(16/07/80; F3506c/C4844; B27)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing the "Reel des Marionnettes" brings the marionnettes down to player.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

M.E.: Bien, le, le les marionnettes, là, j'étais en dessus d'un butte, moi. Je slidais, moi...moi puis Leonard...Leonard C. et Guy, I guess...Puis il y avait moi et Leonard qui restaient. Il y avait des marionnettes ce soir-là...Je dis euh, "Si je chanterai la chanson des marionnettes, bien, ça, les, les marionnettes viendront tout proche, eh"...Il dit, "Tu es fou, toi!" il dit. Tu vois. J'avons mis la traine à travers la butte comme ça, eh...Et moi, je savais le jig pour marionnettes, eh...J'ai commencé à faire le fou puis je chantais "La Jig des Marionnettes."...[] Bien, just as plain as that, look...Ils avont venu assez proche...C'est dur à croire. C'est vrai.

(26/05/82; /C5878c; B76)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing "Jig des Marionnettes" brings the marionnettes down to the singer.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

P.E.N. III, Text 1 (M.B.; 60; M)

(167)

M.B.: Mais dame! Je les ai vues procher assez, moi, une soirée/ je peux pas le chanter asteure mais monter/ J'allais avec M. dans ce temps-là. J'étais pas marié. J'avais été le voir en bas chez, chez son père...Puis je montais vers...peut-être c'était...peut-être une heure ou deux heures du matin. Tu

quittes jamais ta fille de bonne heure mais...(laughs)
 Puis euh...ils étiont proches assez, c'était pareil comme
 si tu chantais (makes "wooshing" sound). Pareil comme ça, tu
 sais. Pareil comme, pareil comme tu entendais. Mais dame,
 je sais pas...je crois pas que c'est ça qui faisait ça, mais
 il faut croire que c'est, c'est [] sorte de, quelque
 sorte d'oiseau qu'il y avait dans l'air, mais c'était
 pareil comme, pareil comme []. Et c'était proche,
 eh. Tout à fait proche...Mais euh, je sais pas quoi-ç-qui
 est la cause. Je sais pas asteure si quelqu'un était en
 train de jouer (laughs).

(06/07/81; F3908c/C5254; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Playing certain tune brings marionnetes down
 close to ground.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: ??/?

MOTIFS: D1275.1

P.E.N. IV, Text 1 (N.G.; 45; M)

(168)

N.G.: Oui, nous avons essayé ça. Nous avons essayé de chanter le,
 le, les, les jigs. Je m'en rappelle plus la, la, la
 chanson qu'ils avaient, là, pour les marionnettes mais...
 Ils avaient une chanson de fait pour les marionnettes puis
 ils disaient si tu chant/ chantais ça, ils auraient venu au
 bas sur la terre. Nous avons essayé souvent mais, je peux

pas me rappeler de l'avoir essayé que ça avait pas marché.

(10/08/82; F5961c/C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Singing certain song brings marionnettes down
close to ground.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Pos./Pos.

MOTIFS: D1275.1

TABULATION OF NARRATIVE DATA: METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENA

Table 8-1: Frequency and Age Distribution of "Marionnette Experience Narratives" in L'Anse-à-Canards

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| 60+ | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 5 (4) |
| 40- 60 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 2 (2) | 3 (3) |
| 25- 40 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 4 (4) | 1 (1) | 1 (1) | 4 (4) | 10 (10) |

CHAPTER NINE

THE NARRATIVE DATA-BASE: SOME QUANTITATIVELY-DERIVED CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING FORM AND PERFORMANCE

Introduction

The five preceding chapters presented the essential contents of the textual data-base upon which this study is founded. Certainly, a primary concern of these sections was the presentation of the texts and textual forms by means of which the supernatural belief tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards is orally manifested. More than this, however, the preceding sections extract and identify the supernatural belief traditums underlying each specific text, and provide basic information on each informant and his attitude vis-à-vis the truth of the performed text. Finally, the tabulated quantification of the narrative mode of expression, sub-divided into its manifest formal categories and correlated with the major generational groups supplies objective material for the differentiation of patterns in the performance of narrative in L'Anse-à-Canards oral tradition. This chapter will examine in greater detail the general patterns revealed through this tabulation process.

Relative Frequencies of Belief Categories in Narrative Forms

Table 9-1 is a composite tabulation of the information provided in the five preceding chapters, and indicates the number of occurrences for each belief category in each of the six recognized

narrative forms, correlated with each of the three age categories. It is immediately apparent from an examination of the tabulated information that not all cognitive categories of supernatural belief are equally prominent in the community oral tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards. Of the twelve basic categories of this belief tradition, fully seven are represented in the corpus by ten narratives or less (i.e. Latins [2]; Charmers [3]; Priests [4]; Miscellaneous Signs [5]; Forerunners [5]; Seventh Son [9]; Marionnettes [10]). Of the remaining five categories, four are approximately equally represented in the narrative corpus (i.e. Devil [18]; Witch [18]; Tokens [18]; Magic [17]). Finally, one category considerably outnumbers any other single category in frequency of narrative manifestation (Ghosts [32]). In order to facilitate the analysis, in future chapters, of the general context of expressive performance in L'Anse-à-Canards, an attempt will be made here to account for these observed irregularities.

As was outlined in Chapter Four of this study, the low frequency of 'lutin' experience narratives can be explained on the basis of a very restricted distribution of this tradition (only two informants), and on the lack of a secondary frame of reference by means of which this tradition might be of continued relevance in contemporary L'Anse-à-Canards culture. It seems clear from informant statements that this particular aspect of supernatural knowledge, recognized by past generations of European-born French fishermen, did not survive transplantation from the Continent. Its sole status is literally that of a "survival," a remnant of a past level of French-Newfoundland culture remembered by just two of the older (70+) residents of the

Table 9-1: Distribution of Narrative Forms by Age Group

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|----|
| 60+ | -- | 1G | 5G | -- | 1G | -- | 4G | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | 12L | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | 2LL | 2LL | 1LL | -- | -- | -- | 3LL | -- | -- | 1LL | 1LL | -- |
| | 1C | -- | 6C | -- | 4C | -- | 1C | 1C | -- | -- | 2C | -- |
| | -- | -- | 6F | -- | 6F | -- | 7F | 2F | -- | 1F | 1F | 1F |
| | 2P | -- | 4P | 2P | 1P | 4P | 2P | 3P | 1P | -- | 6P | 2P |
| 40- 60 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | 2L | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | 1LL | -- | 3LL | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | -- | 1C | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | -- | 3F | -- | 1F | -- | -- | 2F | -- | -- | 1F | -- |
| 2P | -- | 1P | -- | 2P | 1P | -- | 1P | 2P | 2P | 2P | 3P | |
| 25- 40 | -- | 1G | 1G | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | 1LL | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1C | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | 1F | -- | 1F | -- | 2F | -- | 1F | -- | -- | -- | 1F | 1F |
| -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3P | -- | |
| TOTALS | 10 | 18 | 32 | 2 | 18 | 5 | 18 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 17 | 5 |

1 - MARIONNETTES

7 - WITCH

2 - DEVIL

8 - SEVENTH SON

3 - GHOST

9 - CHARMER

4 - LUTINS

10 - PRIEST

5 - TOKENS

11 - MAGIC

6 - FORERUNNER

12 - MISCELLANEOUS SIGNS

community. Since, as Hymes states, "performance affects what is known,"¹ the total absence of even the scantest knowledge of this tradition among all other community residents indicates a limited, if not altogether absent performance of 'lutin' narratives during the past several generations.

Similarly, the low frequency of 'forerunner' experience narratives may be explained on the basis of its apparent status as a family tradition, knowledge of which is restricted to a single nuclear family. Although the male head of this family is widely recognized within the community as a fine performer of 'histoires' and 'blagues' (i.e. jokes), his public performances tend to be restricted to the latter genre. He is recognized primarily for his amusing fictional jokes, and for his community experience narratives, by means of which he "pokes fun" at other community members. Given this ascribed status, it would appear that the performance of personal or family experience narratives is not consistent with community expectations of this performer in public contexts. These expectations would restrict what is deemed appropriate of this individual, thereby restricting the content of his performance. The seriously-viewed tradition of the 'forerunner,' and the performance of narratives concerning this belief, seems thus to have been limited to private, or domestic, performance contexts, which would explain its limited distribution in L'Anse-à-Canards.²

Three other categories of the supernatural belief-tradition are also quite infrequently expressed in narrative form. However, unlike the 'lutin' and the 'forerunner,' these categories are widely

recognized and thoroughly familiar to the majority of the population, if, indeed, not to all residents of the community. All informants were familiar with the magico-religious healing power attributed to the charmer, the priest, and the seventh son. Yet, narratives concerning these categories of tradition are relatively rare, numbering 3, 4, and 9 examples respectively. Evidently, then, knowledge of a traditional category is not the sole factor which influences the frequency of narrative performances.

There are a number of possible explanations which may account for this apparent inconsistency between the knowledge of a tradition and the expression of its contents. First, there is the diminished relevancy of these traditional healers in contemporary community life. The establishment of a medical health clinic in the nearby community of Lourdes provides modern facilities and trained personnel for the treatment of most everyday physical ailments. More serious problems can be treated in Stephenville, once almost inaccessible to L'Anse-à-Canards residents, but now easily reached by road. Thus, it might be hypothesized that modern substitutes for traditional medicine have rendered the magico-religious healer unnecessary.

A second possible explanation of the comparative rarity of experience-narratives concerning magico-religious healers hinges on the comparable rarity of experiences per se. The birth of a seventh consecutive son is a rare occurrence for obvious reasons, and none have resided in L'Anse-à-Canards within living memory. As for the charmer, only one individual, still residing in the community, is recognized in folk tradition. The priest-as-healer is viewed as a final

recourse in the folk hierarchy of resorts. Indeed, the only narratives dealing with such individuals involve dramatic accounts of magico-religious power succeeding where modern medical science had previously failed. Naturally, such extreme cases would be rare, and consequently, few narratives would be generated. In addition, such cases are intimately linked to the religious faith of the experiencer, rendering the narrative most appropriate when performed as a personal or family experience narrative. This propriety, associated with the previously-discussed concept of narrative "ownership," would further restrict the performance of such narratives by others.

These explanations are suggested as possible social and experiential restrictions on narratives concerning widely recognized concepts. An additional factor concerns the low degree of "reportability" inherent in these categories of traditional knowledge precisely because of their widespread familiarity. In a discussion of personal narratives, sociolinguist William Labov suggests that for a narrative to be desirable, it must succeed in "holding the attention of an audience and justifying the time taken to tell it."³ If the audience is unimpressed with the narrative or with the events reported through its expression, the narrative "must be considered a failure."⁴ Obviously, such narratives would be deemed undesirable in oral tradition and would be avoided in performance contexts altogether.

Hence, the success of a narrative hinges in large measure on the experience or event being reportable, that is, unusual, out-of-the-ordinary, or dramatic. As Labov points out:

Reportable events are almost by definition unusual. They are therefore inherently less credible than non-reportable events. In fact, we might say that the more reportable an event is, the less credible it is.⁵

By extension, the more incredible or unbelievable the reported events, the more reportable they become and the more likely is their absorption into oral narrative tradition. In the case of the seventh son and the charmer, information concerning experiences with these healers is too commonplace in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition for it to be of narrative interest. The knowledge of this type of healing is widespread in the community, as is the acceptance of the validity of this category of supernatural belief. Perhaps equally important, the potential for variation of narrative development of the experiential sequence of events is severely limited. The only possible variation would be with regard to the identity of the protagonist, the nature of the ailment, and the success of the cure. There is no conflict, no confrontation which might lend the story some interest-motivating qualities.

By contrast, those narratives concerning extraordinary experiences involving conflict with potentially dangerous supernatural forces (i.e. devil, ghosts, witches), with ominous signs of impending disaster or death (tokens), or with highly variable, general magico-religious principles, are much more "reportable" and hence, occur much more frequently in community tradition.⁶

Obviously, what is considered by a community to be a reportable event is prone to change as the world view of its members evolves. What is considered commonplace at one stage of cultural evolution may

not be so considered at another stage. It is conceivable that should, for example, the seventh-son tradition become less widely known and commonplace, the reportability of narratives concerning this tradition may increase, resulting in a corresponding increase in the frequency of narratives performed.

There are, then, a number of factors which, singly or in combination, can account for the low narrative frequencies of certain categories of the supernatural belief tradition. Certain traditions may be restricted to only a few individuals, either because the tradition itself has become a true "survival" known only to a few older residents, or because the tradition is family-restricted and is not performed in the public context. A tradition holding little relevance for the contemporary community culture would also be subject to very limited performance and circulation among the population. Of particular importance from the sociocultural perspective is the restriction of performance of certain narratives owing to community restrictions concerning propriety and narrative "ownership." Finally, certain belief narratives may exhibit a low frequency of occurrence because they do not possess the necessary traits to render them reportable in the community's expressive culture.

Relative Frequency of Narrative Forms in L'Anse-à-Canards Manifest Tradition

To this point, this analysis of the oral tradition of belief expression in L'Anse-à-Canards has treated major cognitive categories of the supernatural. This section will treat the narrative tradition in terms of formal categories of expression, in order to delineate

the general features of narrative performance in the community. Table 9-2 quantifies the narrative data-base and demonstrates the relative frequency of each individual formal category irrespective of content, correlated with the three principal generational divisions.

Table 9-2: Number of Narratives per Age Category

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN | TOTALS |
|-----------|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 60+ | 11 | 12 | 10 | 15 | 24 | 27 | 99 |
| 40- 60 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 14 | 28 |
| 25- 40 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 14 |
| TOTALS | 13 | 14 | 15 | 17 | 38 | 44 | 141 |

What is immediately apparent is that within each of the three age groups, the relative frequency of generalized experience narratives, legends, local legends, and community experience narratives is approximately the same. It then increases dramatically for family experience narratives and again for personal experience narratives, with the exception of the 25-40 age group, which shows a decrease in frequency for this last narrative category. Of the total of 141 narratives, fully 38 are family experience narratives and 44 are personal experience narratives, and over 58% of all narratives fall into these two formal categories.

This steady increase of narrative frequency corresponds to and supports the earlier conclusions drawn with regard to the importance of the relationship between narrator and narrative protagonist to the performance of narrative forms of expression (Chapter Three). In this chapter, it was suggested that as the intensity of this relationship increases, so too does the authority of the narrator to perform the particular narrative in question. This hypothesis is supported by the high incidence of performance of family experience narratives and personal experience narratives in L'Anse-à-Canards oral tradition, a frequency which indicates the importance of narrative authority, or "ownership," in this community's expressive culture.

Narrative authority is not solely based on this narrator-protagonist relationship. As Table 9-2 reveals, age is also a significant determinant factor. The 25-40 age group is least inclined to perform narratives, and just 10% of the data-base was provided by this group, even though their passive knowledge of the narratives is greater than this figure would indicate. The 40-60 age group provided 20% of the narrative data-base, while the 60+ group supplied fully 70% of the narrative material collected.

This is not in itself surprising, since an individual's knowledge of his tradition naturally increases with age. What is more significant is the active repertoire and categories of each age group. From Table 9-2, it is apparent that the major distinction between the 25-40 and the 40-60 age groups is that determined by the relative number of personal experience narratives performed. There are two explanations for this pattern, each of which is consistent

with field observations. First, it is obvious that as one's age increases, so does the extent of the personal experiences available for translation into one's narrative repertoire. Secondly, as one's age (and consequently one's knowledge) increases, so too does one's status; an increased respect is accorded by community members, and one's authority to narrate, and to narrate personal experiences in particular, is increasingly recognized. The 40-60 age group shows no increase in family narratives, but increases dramatically its inclination to perform personal experience narratives. The 60+ age group treats both family and personal narratives with approximately equal frequency. As Table 9-3 shows, it is family experience narratives which are most evenly distributed among community members, and fully 18 of the 21 informants performed this category of narrative.

Table 9-3: Number of Informants per Narrative Category

| | G | L | LL | CEN | FEN | PEN |
|--------|------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|
| 60+ | 5/11 | 9/11 | 5/11 | 6/11 | 9/11 | 6/11 |
| 40-60 | 0/5 | 2/5 | 3/5 | 1/5 | 4/5 | 4/5 |
| 25-40 | 1/5 | 0/1 | 1/5 | 1/5 | 5/5 | 3/5 |
| TOTALS | 6/21 | 11/21 | 9/21 | 8/21 | 18/22 | 13/21 |

Of further significance to the narrative tradition in general is the pattern of performance of non-family, non-personal experience

narratives. Here, the connection between age and narrative authority is extremely evident. Only the 60+ age group frequently perform narratives concerning community experiences, narratives based on historical tradition, and legends. All four categories are best labelled "histoires d'auparavant" and are regarded in L'Anse-à-Canards as comprising the community's cultural and historical heritage. It is not surprising, then, that that segment of the population who are also "d'auparavant" should be accorded the authority to recount these narratives. The 40-60 age group, which will eventually replace the group above it, demonstrates their incumbency in this role in their increased tendency to perform legendary material. It is noteworthy that the 25-40 group, although obviously familiar with many categories of narratives, rarely perform other than family narratives. Age, then, increases what is known, as well as the strength of one's perceived position of authority to communicate and thus to transmit the encoded knowledge to others.⁷

From the preceding analysis, a number of conclusions concerning receptive and productive competence with regard to narrative communication can be drawn. It is obvious that not all categories of supernatural belief achieve or retain equal frequency of expression in narrative form; at the time of this study, family experience narratives were far more frequently performed than any other single category. Moreover, one finds a distinct correlation between the age of the individual and his tendency to perform personal experience narratives, and that as age increases, so too does the tendency to perform

personal experience narratives. The data also reveal that the 60+ generation (i.e. the community elders) are the obvious custodians of the tradition of historical and community narratives. Finally, it is apparent that neither knowledge of a particular tradition nor the acceptance of its truth is sufficient to generate experience narratives. For example, the power of the seventh son is almost universally accepted, yet relatively few narratives exist. Conversely, encounters with the devil are viewed almost universally as fantasy, yet devil narratives comprise a major portion of the narrative corpus. Even when dealing with belief narratives, then, the influence of reportability must be taken into consideration.

The quantification and analysis of the textual data-base reveal a number of regular patterns in the performance of narrative forms of communication. More significantly, from these patterns may be deduced the regularities of communicative behaviour during contexts of interaction; these patterns in turn indicate a number of the "rules" underlying the performance of narrative categories in L'Anse-à-Canards oral tradition. Deduced from manifest performance, these so-called rules provide general indications as to what may, or may not, be performed by specific sub-groups of the community population. In short, these observable patterns of performance reflect communicative competence.

As was pointed out in earlier chapters, communicative competence cannot be directly observed by the researcher, but must be deduced from that which can be observed, namely the manifestation of competence in and through performance.⁸ Hence, there is, at least for analytic

purposes, a difference between the performance and competence components of communication. However, a distinction must also be drawn between the "receptive and productive dimensions"⁹ of communicative competence and the relative importance of each to contextual frameworks of expression. The preceding textual analysis indicates what is performed, and this reflects the productive dimension. However, by comparing this performance data with field observations of individual behaviour during context-centred performance, it becomes apparent that certain individuals, particularly the youngest age group, know a certain quantity of narrative material which they will not, or cannot, perform. What this implies is that the ability to receive, understand, and interpret a communicated narrative message (receptive competence) does not necessarily add to the sum total of narrative material that the individual will, in fact, perform. Productive competence thus may be regarded as involving not only the ability to compose and perform a narrative, but also the ability to distinguish between the performable and the non-performable, based on one's social status.

This recognition of propriety, or authority to perform, is not individual-specific; rather, it indicates an awareness of the socio-cultural norms to be applied in certain circumstances of interaction. Thus, by definition, communicative competence is to a large extent a shared unit of cultural knowledge. Because of this, it has been necessary to treat a wide range of material and a large body of informants representing all segments of the folk group's composition in order to determine the nature of these shared patterns. As

Saville-Troike confirms:

Since communicative competence refers to knowledge and skills for contextually-appropriate use and interpretation of language in a community, it refers to the communicative knowledge and skills shared by the group, although these (like all aspects of culture) reside variably in its individual members.¹⁰

These concepts will be explored more intensively in the following contextual analysis of performance in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition. It is in this section that general communicative competence--the ability to compose--will be examined in conjunction with the intimately-related ability to relate the composition to factors external to it during performance contexts.

Positive Belief and Narrative Form in L'Anse-à-Canards

A final variable stemming from the analysis of the narrative data-base involves the relationship between positive belief and narrative form. Table 9-4 below indicates the relative frequency of positive, negative, and uncertain belief displayed by the informants towards the texts they performed.

Table 9-4: Relationship of Narrator Belief to Narrative Form

| | PEN | FEN | CEN | G | LL | L | TOTALS |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|------------|
| + | 39 | 21 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 79 (56%) |
| - | 3 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 13 | 45 (32%) |
| ? | 2 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 17 (12%) |
| TOTALS | 44 | 38 | 17 | 13 | 15 | 14 | 141 (100%) |

As is evident from these figures, more than half of all texts performed were fully accepted as true by the narrator. In addition, a considerable number of texts involved uncertainty of belief; however, in all these cases, the narrator seemed inclined to accept the possibility that the events recounted were indeed true. Combining these two groups of texts yields a total of 96 narratives, or 68% of the entire data-base, which narrators accepted as completely or potentially true accounts of the experiences described. The vast majority of believed narratives are either personal experience narratives or family experience narratives. The lowest correspondence of belief to narrative form is displayed by the legend.

It is perhaps not surprising that such a high percentage of narratives concerning supernatural belief are accepted as true by the informants. What is perhaps more significant is the large portion of performed narratives which are not believed. Obviously, the expression and reinforcement of positive belief is not the sole function of such narrative forms of communication. The following chapter, which treats the performance context of the L'Anse-à-Canards supernatural narrative-tradition, will discuss some of these alternate functions.

A final point warrants discussion here, and this involves the non-performance of a large number of belief narratives. Of the 38 family narratives collected, only 13 reflected the experiences of still-living relatives. Of these, only 7 concern relatives still residing in the community and are to be found in the experience narrative corpus (texts 39, 40, 74, 97, 122, 127, 164).

In addition, of the 17 community experience narratives, only 6 concern individuals still living (34, 35, 65, 109, 140, 167). In most cases, the informant seemed uncomfortable recounting the experience, especially if they did not believe it to be true, and sometimes asked whether or not the primary informant himself had spoken to me of the experience (e.g. "T'as-ti parlé?" (34); "Il t'a pas conté ça?" (34); "Avez-vous vu E.E.?" (35); "Parlez avec lui." (35)). This concern conveyed the impression that the informant was transgressing the norms of "ownership" by reporting the experience of a living, unrelated co-resident. This marked lack of overlapping between narrative categories tends to support the hypothesis that narrative authority does indeed exert an influence on the norms of performance, and that social proprieties render certain narratives the "property" of those individuals most closely related to the narrative protagonist. This concept will be pursued in the next chapter.

Notes

¹ Dell Hymes, 'In Vain I Tried to Tell You': Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 132-33.

² For a fuller discussion of "private" and "public" traditions in French-Newfoundland culture, see Gerald Thomas, Les Deux Traditions: Le conte populaire chez les Franco-terreneuviens (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1983).

³ William Labov, "Speech Actions and Reactions in Personal Narratives," in Deborah Tannen, ed., Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1982), p. 228.

⁴ Labov, p. 227.

⁵ Labov, p. 228.

⁶ It is interesting to note that "marionnettes" experience narratives are reflective of those oppositions of familiarity and reportability. While "marionnettes" are an almost universally recognized aspect of supernatural tradition in L'Anse-à-Canards, and while the basic narrative sequence of events is open to little variation, the dangerous and dramatic elements involved in encounters render them reportable. That there are ten narratives perhaps reflects this compromise between the commonplace and the extraordinary, and perhaps indicates a shift in considerations concerning the

reportability of such events. Information does not permit other than hypothesis at the present time.

⁷ In a society where the increased knowledge resulting from increasing age and experience is highly respected, it is not surprising that elders be accorded a position of authority and respect. To an orally oriented society, the elders are the repositories of the culture's expertise long after they are no longer able to put this experience into practice.

⁸ I refer again to Glassie's statement concerning competence as an ability to compose which, combined with the ability to relate the composition to the context, results in the performance per se. See Glassie, Folk Housing, p. 17.

⁹ Muriel Saville-Troike, The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p. 25.

¹⁰ Saville Troike, p. 26.

CHAPTER TEN

NARRATIVE FORMS OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEF-EXPRESSION IN THEIR SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

Introduction

To this point, the present study has dealt primarily with those aspects of the supernatural belief-tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards which have been revealed from an analysis of information contained in the representative data-base. The distinctions drawn between the various expressive modes and textual forms, and the observed relative frequencies of the various categories of experience narratives, have facilitated the formation of a number of general conclusions concerning the performance of this particular body of oral folklore. This section will complement these textually-derived features with data concerning the contextual situations within which the texts occur naturally in L'Anse-à-Canards society. By so combining text and context, the use, meaning, role, and function of the supernatural belief-tradition in the daily lives of those who possess this knowledge will be more fully illustrated. Owing to the obvious dominance of narrative forms in the expression of supernatural belief-traditions, it is appropriate in this section to examine this oral mode of communication more closely.

In order to study the oral narrative forms of supernatural belief-expression from the functionalist-contextualist perspective, an approach which includes a consideration of both general situations and

particularistic contexts of interaction must be adopted. In L'Anse-à-Canards, there exist a limited range of general social situations within the framework of which the performance of oral, conversational narrative forms can be expected to occur. Within these general situations, an almost infinite number of combinations of particularistic factors is possible. It is the specific combination of variables comprising any given instance which constitutes the specific performance context, and which determines the form and type of narrative performed and the communicative and social interaction which develops.

This chapter will present an overview of the general social situations of supernatural narrative performance, in order to relate the phenomenon to everyday social life in the community. This will be followed by a discussion of those factors which seem to be the principal determinant variables exerting an influence on the performance of supernatural narratives. Finally, an attempt will be made to relate the social relationships which develop during particular performances to the social structure underlying general interaction in L'Anse-à-Canards. It will be demonstrated that not only is performance a reflection of the particularistic context of interaction, it is also a reflection of certain aspects of the community social system of relationships itself.

Categories of Conversational Interaction in L'Anse-à-Canards

Within the framework of verbal communication in L'Anse-à-Canards, it is possible to differentiate two general categories of oral

expression. First, there is everyday, commonplace conversational interaction which occurs in no particular place, at no particular time. This is a type of expression which might best be termed un-selfconscious. Then there are oral modes of expression which are structured and consciously set apart by residents, both through the assignment of formal designations and by the recognition of a limited number of contexts within which these forms may appropriately be performed. These communicative forms might be termed selfconscious, a term which reflects community attitudes and cognition through the attribution of special status to these forms. Such expressive forms are recognized by community members as not being like ordinary everyday conversation, and carry labels (such as "conte" and "chanson") which express this recognized difference.

It is the conversational category which most concerns us here. All of the narrative categories outlined in preceding chapters are conversational, in that they are most likely to be expressed in contexts of informal conversation among a relatively small group of individuals engaged in passing the time through an exchange of information and through the mutual enjoyment of each other's company. Such conversational exchanges are not commonly identified through a formal naming of the context,¹ but are referred to by the type of verbal behaviour perceived to be involved. In L'Anse-à-Canards, conversation is defined in terms of essentially two verbal acts, indicated by the verbs "parler" and "blaguer."

The distinction between these two designations is of some significance. "Parler" (literally "to speak" or "to talk") is employed to indicate conversation involving the exchange of current news and

information, for the discussion of temporally immediate concerns, and for the resolution of transactions between the interactants. The following statements illustrate the meaning of "parler" to L'Anse-à-Canards residents:

"Il m'a parlé de son garçon."

(He spoke to me about his son.)

"Est-ce que tu lui as parlé de l'argent qu'il te doit?"

(Did you speak to him about the money he owes you?)

J'avons parlé de la pêche cette année."

(We talked about the fishery this year.)

"Ecoute! Je veux te parler de mon car."

(Listen! I want to talk to you about my car.)

In each example, the referential content of the discussion concerns some present situation affecting one or more of the participants in the verbal exchange.

By contrast, the other major form of conversational expression--"blaguer" (literally "to joke")--involves a social component which the previously-discussed form lacks. The referential content of "une blague" is of importance not so much for its utility in conducting practical transactions, nor for its news value, but for its potential for serving as a device promoting personal interaction. The primary

use of "une blague" is not the conduct of necessary business between the participants. In fact, "une blague" is a form of verbal interaction which is not "necessary" at all in purely practical terms. When an assembly of individuals engages in "une partie de blagues," they do so for the primary purpose of mutual entertainment or enjoyment. Such behaviour is a common form of friendly socializing in the community; the specific content of the oral communication is secondary in importance to the behavioural and social interaction which participation in such communicative events promotes. If one were to examine a large number of such events, one would find that the primary function served is the passing of the time in a manner which is equally agreeable to all those involved, and at the center of the act "blaguer" is the recounting, or conversational performance, of experience narratives.

The circumstances which give rise to this variety of verbal interaction are relatively commonplace in L'Anse-à-Canards. All that is required is that a group of individuals with time to be passed become assembled in one place. However, there are essentially three general sets of circumstances which give rise to "des parties de blagues," and it is appropriate to examine each of these in turn.

Narrative Performance: The Situational Contexts

Context One: The Fish Stores

The annual "life-cycle" of L'Anse-à-Canards is perceived by residents as revolving around the inshore fishery, the only source of cash income for the majority of families in the community.

Beginning in late March or early April, preparations are made for the approaching fishing season. Nets are mended, new lobster traps are made, and old ones are repaired, and other necessary arrangements are completed, including decisions concerning which individuals will fish together, if such has not already been decided.

With the start of the fishing season itself, a strictly-patterned daily routine is established. The fishermen rise around 4:00 a.m., before dawn. After a short breakfast, they take their "lunch"--prepared the night before by the woman of the house--and make their way "en bas à la côte," where are located the slipways from which the small outboard motorboats are launched. Crews commonly consist of two members who are often related by blood or by marriage.

In the mornings, prior to the launching of the boats, surprisingly little conversation takes place between the fishermen congregating at the "slips." Apart from the expected greetings and cursory comments about the weather, there is no lingering, and unless the weather prohibits it, the fishermen focus their attention on the immediate concerns: the rigging and launching of their boats. Once at sea, there is little conversation between the crew members, and talk is limited to that related to the task at hand. Under normal circumstances, the fishermen remain on the open water until around 5:00 p.m. They return to the shore, beach their boats, clean the fish, and transport it by wheelbarrow to the fish company's facilities, where it is weighed and stored. The fishermen are then given receipts crediting their day's catch. Once all boats are ashore, the entire day's catch is loaded on trucks by company

representatives and transported to the fish processing plant some 20 kilometres away.

Once their own work has been completed, fishermen do not normally linger on shore, except perhaps to inspect the catch of incoming boats and to compare it with their own. Again, there is little conversation, and that which does occur involves which fishing grounds offshore proved most fruitful. This exchange of information is not the result of simple curiosity, but is motivated by purely practical considerations, as fishermen attempt to form a picture as to which locations might prove most profitable the next day.² Men rarely stay at the landing for more than a few minutes after they have completed their business.

This pattern of activity is followed when weather conditions permit the fishermen to leave shore in the morning. However, should the weather prove prohibitive--and this could mean as little as a 25 km./hr. wind blowing onshore from the Gulf of St. Lawrence--fishermen congregate in small groups, quite often in the small storage huts, or "stores," which each crew possesses. It is not uncommon for the wait to last several hours, and verbal interaction fills up a considerable portion of this waiting period.

The larger of the "stores" can accommodate six to ten men, who sit along the walls on rough wooden benches. The composition of the groups (for there are several such gatherings in different stores) is not stable, but tends to shift as individuals move from one store to another to "see what's happening" elsewhere. Apart from a few perfunctory remarks about the poor weather, little is said

concerning the seriousness of the potential loss of a day's income, and fishermen tend not to dwell on the topic. Rather, talk which informs, amuses, surprises, or otherwise entertains those present is most common, and it is normally the older men who dominate with their jokes, anecdotes, and "histoires d'aparavant." These older men are the stable components in the group composition, and it is most often the younger men who circulate from group to group. Should the weather not improve sufficiently by late morning, most fishermen consider the day to be wasted, and return home.

Of primary interest here is the nature of the oral interaction which develops during such situations. The lack of discussion of the subject of immediate concern (i.e. the possibility of a lost day) and the focus of participant attention on diversionary topics of conversation seem to be designed to alleviate the anxiety of those present and to pass the time in an entertaining, enjoyable way. As one individual once remarked during one such occasion, many of the stories are familiar to many of those present, "mais ça fait passer le temps." ("but it passes the time.")³ Obviously, then, since the referential content of the stories may be known to those present, it is not this content alone which is of importance to participants. Rather, it is the performance event itself, and participation in this event as performer or audience, which constitutes the social value of this form of interaction. Moreover, the conversational nature of this contextual situation creates a fluidity of interaction whereby all those present can actively contribute to that which is said.

Context Two: The House Party

Prior to the construction in 1982 of a community centre owned and operated by the "Association des Terrenewviens Français de L'Anse-à-Canards," the principal form of socializing in the community was the traditional "house party." During the fishing season, these parties normally take place every Saturday night, and are either planned in advance by the residents of certain homes or spring up spontaneously when enough people have gathered in one house. Invitations are rarely given, nor are they necessary, as news of a planned party passes quickly by word of mouth. The activities of the community's "French Center" have caused a reduction in the frequency of such parties, as the French Association normally sponsors a dance every Saturday night. Nevertheless, the traditional house party has persisted, and seems to be making a comeback as the novelty of the organized dance has begun to wear off.

The traditional house party often begins to take shape in the early afternoon. On Saturday, fishing ends at noon, at which time the fish company's employees quit work for the weekend. Some fishermen linger at the shore, where they may drink a beer or two with their companions, but the majority return home immediately, and, after washing and changing, have their noonday meal. Shortly thereafter, the younger men begin dropping by to visit their neighbours, and normally by mid-afternoon several social gatherings have developed.

By the early evening, these gatherings have developed further and become house parties. People of all ages, from their teens to

their seventies, assemble in the host's home.⁴ There is always music, either recorded or "live," the latter being performed by local musicians skilled in playing traditional instruments such as the guitar, fiddle, or accordion. There is much dancing and talking, as people celebrate the end of the work week and enjoy the one night available for socializing without concern for having to work the following morning. These parties often last well after midnight, and sometimes continue until daybreak.

Participation in these social events commonly divides into two separate activities. There are those involved in enjoying the music, singing, and dancing, and this initially occupies the majority of those present. However, there is much conversation, as well, since many of those attending the party have not spoken to each other since the previous weekend. Thus, the house party provides an opportunity for residents to catch up on the news of their fellows, and to exchange information gathered during the week.

As the party begins to wind down, the situation begins to develop a new character as more and more people leave. After the music has ended, attention starts to focus on the conversations, and activity becomes more centered around the kitchen table. By this time, most individuals have exchanged news and information ("parler") and have begun to exchange stories, jokes, and anecdotes ("blaguer"). The house party itself may be considered finished, and the "partie de blagues," which allows participants to continue socializing in a different manner, begins. In all cases when I was present as a participant-observer, older male community members served as

central foci for these narrative events. Younger individuals participated actively, as well, but to a much lesser extent. Although supernatural experience narratives were not always performed during such situations, they frequently were, and, once attention had shifted to them, they tended to dominate subsequent interaction. It is not uncommon for such situations of oral performance to last for several hours.⁵

It is important to note that not all residents participate in the above-described form of socializing. Some never serve as hosts for house parties, others rarely attend them, and still others do neither. Certain residents, especially those who are among the oldest heads of household in the community, tend to socialize on a much smaller scale. Their apparent "social network" is more restricted and, in some cases, revolves strictly around family gatherings and visits from intimate friends.

Context Three: The House Visit

Unlike the house party which brings together a relatively large number of community members of all ages, the house visit is a social get-together involving a small group of individuals. Although these visits may occur at any time during the year, they are most frequent during the winter months between the end of one fishing season and the start of preparations for the next. During the fishing season itself, such visits occur most often on weekends, but extended periods of poor weather which prohibits the fishermen from actively pursuing the inshore fishery commonly brings with it an

increase in socializing throughout the week.

These house visits are not the result of a formal invitation by one individual to another, but occur spontaneously as one individual simply "drops by" to see a friend, or to speak with his relatives. There are rarely present more than three or four visitors, who may arrive separately or together. When more than this are present, a house party normally develops. The composition of the group is variable, but most often consists (except in the case of children visiting their parents) of close friends of the same general age group, a fact of some significance to the subsequent verbal interaction which ensues. Visitors normally bring some form of alcoholic beverage with them to share with their host, who in turn reciprocates by offering what he has to his guests. Traditionally, interaction takes place around the kitchen table, although some younger homeowners entertain in the living room as well. However, never have I witnessed a social house visit occur anywhere but in the kitchen when the host was of the 40+ generations, indicating that patterns of social interaction have only recently begun to change.⁶

House visits may also follow a day's work in the fields or around the house. Certain annual tasks, such as "making the hay," require the mutual cooperation of a number of individuals, as the work involved is often beyond one man's resources. The "haying season" begins in mid August, and involves the cutting, drying, and storing of the winter's supply of livestock fodder. After a group of friends or relatives completes the chore, they are often invited to the host's home for a drink. In terms of interaction, that which

follows is similar to the simple house visit.

The house visit is an "oral event" in the sense that the social interaction consists almost exclusively of conversation between those present. As in the case of the house party, discourse commences with "parler"-type communication as participants exchange news and discuss practical concerns. This soon develops into "blaguer"-type performance involving jokes, anecdotes, and experience narratives as the participants entertain each other with their repertoires of traditional expressive forms.

While this general pattern of behaviour applies to all age groups, there is a difference in the manner in which different groups relate to their story sessions. When older residents are involved, the general impression is that of a group of individuals sharing a common background reminiscing about times long past. The stories told concern experiences much further removed from the present than is the case when younger residents engage in similar behaviour. These latter exchange stories as well, but there is a tendency to discuss more recent events and experiences, even though they may be familiar with legends, and family and community narratives concerning their parents' and grandparents' generations. The choice of narratives performed for a group of contemporaries during such occasions thus seems to reflect a desire to communicate experiences concerning individuals and situations with which all members of the group can identify, and, through such performance, reinforce the identity of the group itself. Moreover, the narrative expression of the exploits of contemporaries embodies the collective values and

concerns of the group. Olmsted, in his discussion of small group behaviour, employs the following quotation from nineteenth century French sociologist Emile Durkheim:

when individuals who are found to have common interests associate, it is not only to defend their interests, it is to associate, that is, not to feel lost among adversaries, to have the pleasure of community, to make one out of many.⁷

This concept of group identification and collective interest as a determining factor in oral performance will be pursued in later sections of this chapter.

These then are the three primary social situations within the framework of which the natural performance of supernatural experience narratives most commonly occurs. It must be emphasized, however, that while such supernatural narratives may occur within the situational contexts described, they do not necessarily arise. The referential content of the expressive forms employed in conversational transactions is extremely variable. As with any subject, discussion of the supernatural may be dominant, of passing concern, negligible, or totally absent within any given context of communication. It is for this reason that the three situations where supernatural experience narratives may occur have been described without reference to the performance of supernatural material per se. This will be explored in the following section. In addition, although these situations are the primary settings for the performance of conversational narrative material, supernatural experience narratives may be performed almost any time two or more individuals congregate.

Finally, it is noteworthy that each of the three social situations involves conversational interaction designed to pass the time in a mutually enjoyable fashion. In the case of "Context One," the situation involves the creation of an entertainment situation in the midst of an essentially work-oriented situation in anticipation of an improvement in the weather. "Context Two" involves the deliberate prolongation of a social occasion in order to continue the friendly enjoyment of each other's company. "Context Three" is perhaps the most "contrived" narrative situation, where the framework of interaction is not directly contingent on a gathering designed for other overt purposes. Rather, the participants come together for the express purpose of sharing a "partie de blagues." Thus, while the performance contexts which develop within each of these situations is very similar, the motivations underlying each are potentially quite different.

The Influence of Particularistic Context of Narrative Performance

While the previously-discussed general situations reflect the relative place of experience-narrative performance within the daily flow of community activity, and while the general nature of the social circumstances and participant interaction is described, it is evident that much remains to be explored. More specifically, the elements of the particularistic context of performance of supernatural experience narratives must be examined as social variables, the specific combination of which determines what is communicated, in what form, how, by whom, and to what ends.

The distinction between performance and communicative competence has been firmly established; however, while it is recognized that this distinction is an important one, it is clear that the two concepts refer to intimately connected, complementary processes. Performance is that which is observable, including everything deliberately manifested, both orally and physically, by the performer. Performance results from the two abilities involved in communicative competence, these being the ability to compose, and the ability to correctly evaluate the requirements of the context and mould the composition to conform to these requirements.⁸ In any given context of oral interaction, individuals must know "not only the language code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately....It [i.e. communicative competence] deals with the social and cultural knowledge speakers are presumed to have to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms."⁹ Such communicative skills are particularly important in traditional folkloristic performance.

There are two specific decisions which must be made by a potential performer in any given context. First, he must decide if it is appropriate for him to speak within that context, and in this he must relate his own personal social status to the norms governing the situation at hand. Second, having decided it is appropriate to perform, he must decide what his intentions are, and communicate information sufficient to accomplish these intentions. The result of his assessment of the context determines the form¹⁰ of the narrative performed, and the amount and kind of information included within

its framework. The accuracy of his evaluation will determine the effectiveness of his oral performance. There are, then, two components of the performance determined directly by the particular combination of contextual elements prevailing in any instance: the form of the oral communication; and the identity of the narrator, or performer. Each of these components will be examined as they relate to narrative behaviour in L'Anse-à-Canards.

As was discussed in the previous description of the general situations in which supernatural experience narratives are performed, interaction may occur between individuals belonging to the same or to different age groups. Because of the differences in the experiences of each age group, which result in different cultural perspectives, the respective knowledge of each group concerning supernatural tradition, past and present, as well as their interpretation of this tradition will differ. This interpretation concerns much more than merely what is considered to be true or false. Consider, for example, the older resident who, for forty years, accepted as true a certain supernatural element and who, with the evolution of his community culture over a subsequent thirty year period, has experienced the entire spectrum of belief ranging from total acceptance, to uncertainty, to total rejection. His interpretation of certain supernatural experience narratives will differ considerably from that of a younger resident who has known only total rejection of the belief element in question. Yet, on the surface, both would be described as possessing identical attitudes

vis-à-vis the truth of narrative texts involving this particular belief element.

For the narrator in a specific context of interaction, what is performed depends largely upon his intentions in assuming the role of performer. These intentions, as they relate to the supernatural tradition, will be affected by the belief of the performer, the belief of the other participants in the communicative event, and the degree of correspondence between these two viewpoints. The narrative form employed will also depend on these same intentions, as well as upon the general social proprieties governing what constitutes acceptable narrative material for the particular performer. This latter, as will be demonstrated, is largely a function of the performer's composite social status and identity. Finally, the actual text (as opposed to form) selected will depend on the previous knowledge of the audience with regard to the narrative and on the function which the performance is designed to serve.

The intentions of the narrative performer are determined in large part by his own attitude towards the supernatural, the perceived attitudes of the co-participants in the narrative event, and the type of social relationships existing between the performer and the audience. Obviously, if the performer does not believe a certain supernatural traditum or a certain text based on that traditum, he will not likely perform a narrative communicating positive belief. Similarly, the performer must gauge the belief of his audience and adapt his performance to that belief. In no narrative contexts observed did the performer use his role to insult the belief of

anyone present, although narratives were performed which openly refuted the beliefs of others. In such cases, however, the refutation was more in the form of "narrative debate," and the integrity of the social occasion was never jeopardized by harsh disagreements. The degree to which narrators make use of material known to be in opposition to the beliefs of their co-participants will depend upon the strength of past relationships between them and their audiences.

In L'Anse-à-Canards, there are principally three stances taken towards the supernatural within narrative contexts. The first is one of total belief, where the performer does everything possible to convince the audience of the truth of the supernatural text. As is revealed in Table 9-4, the personal experience narrative is employed almost exclusively (39 cases out of 44) towards the accomplishment of such narrative intentions.¹¹ The special status as evidence attributed to such reports of personal observations is the obvious basis for the predominance of this category as narrative proof, not only in L'Anse-à-Canards culture, but in others as well. Glassie noted that, in the Irish community of Balleymenone, "[discussion] of the other world is restricted by rules of evidence. Good evidence comes from reliable sources. It can be gathered by one's own senses or received from others, but that other is never a vague friend of a friend."¹² Mullen, in his study of the supernatural beliefs of Texas coastal fishermen, makes a similar observation, and remarks that memorates are used to support belief because "as first- or second-hand testimony they are considered more valid."¹³

Despite the premium as proof placed on the personal experience narrative in L'Anse-à-Canards, not all such examples collected necessarily reflect contemporary folk belief acceptance by community residents in general. In fact, one very detailed personal experience narrative (text 49), recounted by a well-respected elder and implicitly believed to be true by him, was categorically rejected by all those informants questioned. Even very close kin and friends chose not to discuss the story, evidently because they preferred not to criticize the beliefs of the individual. In one instance, a sister, fully familiar with the story, abruptly halted her already hesitant discussion of the reported event, suggesting that her brother's experience was perhaps a nightmare. A son claimed the story was the result of his father having been overtired. A close friend and contemporary, who had performed many supernatural narratives for me, refused to discuss this particular story at all, but suggested I ask the experiencer himself for an account of the encounter. All informants indicated a thorough knowledge of the story, but none believe it to be true. The only observed occurrence of this text in a natural performance context was in the form of a short passing remark making reference to the story to illustrate a point.¹⁴

The personal experience narrative employs a technique of corroboration of the supernatural belief traditum through the recounting of the narrator's personal observations. Being designed to communicate this truth by means of individual example, such performance necessarily involves the social status of the performer

as a criterion in the total interpretation of the narrative event by the audience. The performer must already have established a certain degree of credibility in his relations with other members of his community. He thus brings to the narrative context a social identity and reputation, both of which enter into the performance as integral determinants of audience reaction. Some performers are renowned in L'Anse-à-Canards for being "des menteurs," or "des conteurs de menteries" (literally "liars," or "tellers of lies;" figuratively used to designate jokers or tellers of tall tales). Such performers usually, though not always, seem to avoid telling narratives concerning positive supernatural belief, since social role expectations of the audience contrive to undermine the audience's tendency to believe, even before the individual begins to narrate. It is obviously precisely for this reason that Pentikäinen stresses that researchers view performers "not only as individual transmitters of tradition, but also as the possessors of certain social roles, who again are expected by the community to fulfill these roles."¹⁵ This also explains why the same individual who expresses positive belief concerning a narrative performed by one narrator, expresses categorical unbelief when the same narrative is performed by another. This apparently random fluctuation of attitude is, in effect, the result of the individual's reaction to the narrative in light of the expectations he brings to the performance context, expectations which, it would appear, supersede attitudes concerning the textually-described event itself. Narrative communication and audience interpretation are thus subject to variability, and are determined by the combination of participant

attitudes towards both the performer and the text.

While personal narratives may be employed to express strong belief, they may, on occasion, be used to communicate equally strong disbelief. Text 52 is a clear example of the use of a personal experience narrative to refute the very belief traditum which gives the narrative referential meaning. In this "negative narrative,"¹⁶ the performer creates a referential framework through the recounting of events which follow the pattern of narratives concerning encounters with ghostly apparitions. The narrative raises the expectations of the audience, rises to a climax, and then reveals the rational explanation of what initially seemed to be a supernatural encounter. The intention of such performance is the discrediting of the whole body of narratives concerning encounters with ghosts, and to refute the belief traditum which underlines these expressive forms.¹⁷

A more common means of refuting certain supernatural belief traditums is through the performance of family experience narratives and local legends. Along with the previously discussed personal experience narrative, these are the only narrative examples containing so-called "negative" texts. These negative accounts involve not merely the recounting of the received narrative accompanied by the expression of the performer's personal unbelief; they contain disconfirmation, within the narrative content itself, of the supernatural belief traditum. Such narratives concern "a whole group of well-established [narratives] that are built up against communally known and confirmed belief concepts with the intent to discredit them."¹⁸ Texts 46 and 47--both family experience narratives--and

texts 29, 30, and 31--all local legends--are all examples of negative narratives of this kind.

Interestingly, all five narratives are used to refute the belief in ghostly apparitions, and do so through the ridiculing of a family member or an unnamed resident. However, local legends 29 and 30 are obviously versions of family narrative 47, but with the identity of the narrative protagonist omitted. Text 29 identifies the hero as "un autre," and text 30 refers to him as "L'homme," whereas text 47 identifies the individual as "mon défunt grand-père."

This basic difference indicates the manner in which narrative form can be influenced by the relationship of the narrator to the protagonist. In all five texts, the protagonists' actions are presented as resulting from their acceptance of the supernatural belief traditum concerning the existence of ghosts. Their interpretation of strictly natural phenomena is shown to have been incorrect, and their reactions are portrayed as ridiculous and unnecessary. The protagonist is thus cast in a somewhat negative light, and the narrative is critical of his naivety. It is interesting to note that in both texts 29 and 30, the identity of the protagonist was known to the narrator, yet he remained unnamed by these unrelated performers, while relatives make no attempt to hide the character's identity, or their relationship to him. In all narrative contexts observed, the performance of negative narratives always followed this pattern, and it was common for the narrator to preface his text with a statement such as: "Je nommerai pas de nom dessus, mais il y avait un homme qui ...etc." It is apparent,

then, that narrative form can be determined by the performer identity in accordance with social norms governing appropriate narrative performance. Such proprieties would explain the total absence of negative texts in the community experience narrative category which, by definition, requires the naming of an unrelated individual and the recounting of his experience.

Negative narratives employ a different criterion for communicating the falseness of a belief than do most unbelieved narratives. Most unbelieved narratives merely present the experience, to which the narrator then appends his personal opinion. Typical comments may reflect absolute rejection: "C'est pas vrai, tu sais." (32); "C'est pas vrai, ça." (33); and "je crois pas dedans." (37). Or, the narrator may deny his own acceptance by stating the experiencer's belief, thereby implying (non-committally) his own unbelief: "Elle croyait que c'était vrai." (125); "Ils disient ça." (161). Unbelief may also be expressed through the laughter of the narrator when describing the positive belief of the narrative hero. All of these techniques are employed in natural performance, and the effective communication that one's judgement is correct depends in large part of the audience's opinion of the performer and his credibility. The criteria for truth are thus socially-based, while negative narratives communicate the falseness of the supposed supernatural experience through the inclusion of objective proof. In other words, both contextual and textual factors can be evaluated by the audience during the performance in the determination of a narrative's truth. Different participants will have different opinions

concerning the central supernatural traditum and concerning the narrator's credibility, opinions which in combination will influence their reaction to the performance.

Given the norms suggested above governing the performance of personal experience narratives and family experience narratives, it would be expected that community experience narratives dealing with living individuals (potential personal narratives) or deceased relatives of other residents (potential family narratives) would be rare. This, in fact, proves to be the case in L'Anse-à-Canards. There are just 17 community narratives in the corpus and, of these, 6 concern deceased individuals with no immediate family residing in the community. Another (text 63) concerns a former resident long since moved away from the area. Of the remaining number, 3 concern living residents (texts 66, 109, 140), but support their beliefs, and 3 concern non-related, deceased residents and support the truth of their narratives (texts 34, 35, 163). Only one community experience narrative involves a deceased resident with living kin and denies the truth of the reported experience. There is, therefore, a marked tendency to avoid this form of narrative except when ownership is "up for grabs" (i.e. no potential as personal or family narrative because of social factors), or to support the narrative's truth. Otherwise, performance contradicts norms governing expressive behaviour. Moreover, the performance of community narratives is predominantly by performers over 60 years of age, and narratives tend to concern the experiences of the performer's contemporaries. Thus,

age too is a factor determining the size and contents of one's narrative repertoire. Younger generations are restricted primarily to narratives of their own experiences or those of their family.¹⁹

It is obvious that the potential function of any given narrative text is not an inherent characteristic, but is determined by social and cultural factors. In the case of narratives relating supernatural experiences, a major determinant of potential function is the prevailing attitude towards the belief traditum underlying the text. This is particularly well illustrated by the performance of devil legends in L'Anse-à-Canards.

While the Roman Catholic religious beliefs of residents include a belief in the Christian devil, residents no longer accept the possibility of such earthly encounters between the devil and human beings as are portrayed in the legend corpus. Of the 18 texts concerning the devil, only 2 (12, 15) were performed as true, and in both cases the narrator was the same individual. In the past, however, all 18 texts were recounted as true by preceding generations who accepted the belief traditums in question. Since most texts deal with the dangers of tempting the devil (and, by implication, the dangers of turning from God), these legends could potentially function didactically to discourage sacrilege and to strengthen religious piety.²⁰ Informant testimonies indicate that such usage was very common in the past.

The present function of this body of narratives reflects a dramatic change in the supernatural belief system. In almost all cases, the devil legends are told for the entertainment of the audience,

who are either amazed that such stories could have been treated seriously by their recent ancestors, or are amused by the unlikely events recounted in the narrative.²¹ Devil legends thus function not as belief reinforcements, but as jokes or as historical documents of a cultural past far removed from the present. Such narratives are familiar to most members of the older generation, who remember when such narratives were told as true accounts of actual events.

The performance of devil legends in L'Anse-à-Canards illustrates why the criteria of narrative function or positive belief are not considered appropriate in defining the narrative form itself. In present day L'Anse-à-Canards, texts once performed as true for didactic purposes are performed as untrue for amusement and entertainment, or for the transmission of historical information by the old to the young. To imply that a text once classifiable as a legend is no longer eligible for inclusion in this category is to employ the same reasoning criticized by Dundes in his evaluation of Bidney's thoughts on the superstition.²² If such criteria are followed, classifications of narratives collected at one particular stage in a culture's evolution become, retroactively, inaccurate, as social change modifies the attitudes of the group.

Although many younger residents of L'Anse-à-Canards are familiar with these legends and others, this narrative form is employed rarely by them in performance. This hesitancy to deploy one's entire narrative repertoire again supports the idea of narrative authority being developed in this study. In order for the legend to serve its potential functions, reference to the historical past is necessary,

and it is the elders who, by virtue of their age and social status, are considered the authorities concerning the past. The performance of narratives requiring historical background is incongruous with the social status of younger residents, and is largely avoided by them.

This differentiation of authority to perform in certain situations, or to perform certain narrative forms of expression, seems to imply that when the young and the old participate in the same performance situation, the former remain entirely passive. While they may be limited in the narrative form they may appropriately perform, the young are not excluded as active participants in the narrative event. What is found, however, is that the function of the narrative forms deemed appropriate in such contexts is markedly different from that realized in other situations involving only younger individuals. When a younger group of residents engage in a "partie de blagues," each individual possesses equal authority to assume the role of performer, since the social status of each vis-à-vis the assembled group is similar. When elders are involved, the young individual rarely assumes a position of central focus; that contextual status is reserved for the elder. The young individual may perform a personal narrative or a family narrative, but it is often designed to support what an elder has just recounted, or is performed to elicit interpretation or explanation from the older, more informed individual. This situation graphically illustrates the manner in which perceived relative social status in general dictates situational status (and hence behaviour) within particular

performance contexts.²³

Embedded Forms and Modes of Expression

It has been convenient in this study to refer to specific narrative forms (i.e. personal narratives, community narratives, legends, etc.) as integral units, the individual narration of which serves certain functions and constitutes traditional performance. While this renders the task of classification and analysis more manageable, the cultural reality is somewhat different from that impression suggested by this isolation of narrative units. In natural performance contexts, narratives tend to flow into each other, and there is also a tendency, under certain circumstances, for certain narratives to intersect, or interrupt, other narratives during the course of the communication. It is this narrative feature, which will be referred to here as "embedding" which will be explored in this section.

It is apparent that, in L'Anse-à-Canards, the tradition of supernatural belief is not uniformly known or believed by all segments of the population. The older generation, because of their experience with this aspect of their culture, tend to possess a greater and more detailed knowledge of the supernatural, and particularly of the evolution of this belief system over the past fifty years. The younger residents, as the recipients of their community culture's tradition, learn the belief system contemporary to them.

When a group of older residents gather for a house visit or some other narrative occasion, performance tends to involve the sequential

narration of experiences. One individual may recount a personal experience concerning a ghostly encounter, which may trigger a supportive or refutative personal or family experience narrative from another participant. Yet a third, perhaps not wishing to perform, will communicate through inference, by making a remark such as "Oui, oui. Bien, c'est comme E. et le squelette, eh." The participants' shared knowledge of the supernatural belief traditum, as well as the specific narrative alluded to by this remark (e.g. text 49), sets up a frame of reference among participants resulting in shared understanding of the speaker's intended message. This is not an example of manifest narrative performance, but it is just as much an integral part of the communicative event as a whole as are the full-fledged narratives themselves. It is for such reasons that one may speak of experience narratives as conversational forms of expression, and may say that the communication of a narrative's content in context does not necessarily require the performance of the narrative.

What is most remarkable about the above situation is the concentration of attention on the experience, rather than on the underlying core traditum. There is no need to focus on this latter unit unless those participating are not familiar with the supernatural tradition underlying the communication. What is important is well elucidated by Glassie in his discussion of the Irish ceili:

The centrality of the ceili's story begins to become clear. It envisions the universal (human nature) through the particular (a real act of a known neighbor). It connects the immediate

(tonight's ceili) to the culture (the values enacted by the neighbor). The connection is the stories' axis of meaning.²⁴

When members of the same culture who have undergone identical processes of enculturation come together in a narrative situation, they bring with them a common frame of reference--in this case, the supernatural tradition--which facilitates comprehension and allows the focus of the communication to center on the experience, or action, of the narrative protagonist. The truth of the belief traditum may be disputed among participants, but there is no need to express the supernatural traditum itself for the dispute to be meaningful.

A different set of contextual variables comes into play when the composition of the audience includes the old and the young. These latter are not as familiar with certain understood background details as are their elders, and, in fact, may not be aware of certain supernatural belief traditums at all.²⁵ For the narrator to achieve an adequate level of communication to render his narrative interpretable as intended, greater background detail must be included in the content of his narrative performance with the younger audience.

This supplementary information often takes the form of an embedded text, inserted during the actual act of performing into the heart of the primary narrative. A fine example of this technique is found in Text 50. The narrative deals with the narrator's encounter one night with a ghostly apparition which is apparently visible only to the narrator's horse:

E.E.: (...) Tout d'un coup, le cheval arrête...Je dis, "Quoi-ç-qu'il y a avec toi?"...Il était là []. Je commençais à gard/ à regarder là. J'ai arrêté, tu sais, puis je commence...Puis il était là! Je regardais comme ça...Bien, j'ai dit/ Bien j'avais entendu dire...quand un cheval était arrêté comme ça ...eh, bien, tu regardais entre ses deux oreilles, tu aurais vu quoi-ç-qu'il voyait.

G.B.: Ah, bon.

E.E.: Oui, oui. Dans le...[] les vieux d'avant, eh. S'il te/ oui.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Vous savez euh...euh, si [] puis avant, vous savez... C'est, c'est, c'est changé une tapée.

G.B.: Oui.

E.E.: Chagné une tapée, mon vieux! Je m'en vais finir mon histoire, là. Puis je vais vous conter après, là... quoi-ç-que je crois. Euh...C'est bien. Là, bien, le cheval...je regardais (...) ²⁶

Here, the narrator halts at a crucial juncture in his personal narrative to explain his actions by means of an embedded traditum-intensive text describing an aspect of the supernatural belief system of a previous era. This introduction of a traditum-intensive "aside" is frequently employed when older residents are performing in the presence of younger individuals, and serves to explicitly interpret

the specific course of action followed by the narrative hero, an interpretation which would be unnecessary for older audience members, being understood by them within the context of the belief system of their time. Such embedded texts may take the form of a simple explanation, or may take the form of an embedded statement of the appropriate superstition, a cause and effect, traditum-intensive mode of expression.

While the embedded text serves the textual function of clarifying the experience narrative, the reverse relationship also may develop during narrative performance contexts. It is common during occasions of narrative interaction for an older individual to make a traditum-intensive statement (which may concern present belief but is more commonly about past belief traditums) and then offer a narrative either to support or refute the statement. In such cases, a narrative example functions to illuminate or interpret the non-narrative communication.

This technique of providing explanatory material reflects the performer's awareness of the variable distribution of traditional knowledge among the community population and, more particularly, his awareness of subsequent limitations imposed on the receptive communicative competence of the younger listener. By recognizing the limited extent of the listener's interpretive ability in the performance context, and by modifying his performance to take these limitations into account, the performer ensures the success of his narrative. More importantly, the performer attempts to optimize the accurate interpretation of his intended communication. Recognizing

when and when not to use this technique comprises part of the performer's productive communicative competence since, for example, employing embedding with contemporaries would be unnecessary and might subsequently detract from the interaction at hand, and perhaps even insult his interlocuteurs by implying their knowledge is somehow inferior or inadequate. Again, then, it is evident that participant identity exerts a meaningful influence upon the textual content included by the performer in the communication of his narrative.

Conclusion

A necessary component of any study which claims to represent an ethnography of the speech patterns of a given culture is the establishing of those relationships prevailing "between speaking patterns and the other sociocultural patterns found in a society."²⁷ We have already established that the relative position of the narrator with respect to the narrative protagonist can be a useful basis for intramodal differentiation of forms. It remains to demonstrate the extent to which this narrative relationship reflects culturally-real social relationships in the performance context. It is a basic assumption of this study that narrative performance is in part determined by the existing structure of social relationships, and that performance serves to reaffirm and strengthen the social relationships existing among participants. Thus, performance not only reflects narrator-hero relationships, but relationships from the social system as well. It is, in part, to illustrate this point that

field research was not restricted to informant-specialists in particular performance genres, but was designed to accommodate a broad range of informants representative of all segments of the population. Only through the analysis of such a sampling was it deemed possible to determine "the nature and distribution of norms of interaction to be found within the community, insofar as these organize spoken interaction (emphasis mine)."28

In the earlier discussions of narrative forms, a basic criterion for the differentiation of categories was the relationship between the narrator and the narrative hero. What is more, it was mentioned that certain priorities exist in L'Anse-à-Canards as to one's authority to narrate certain narratives under certain circumstances. This idea of "ownership" is extremely significant in the contextual analysis of folklore performance, and it is towards this aspect that attention should be directed.

From the preceding description of predominant performance situations in L'Anse-à-Canards, it is clear that the performance of stories, jokes, anecdotes, and other traditional forms of expression serve in large part to "enhance the experience" of the participants in the communicative event. As Bauman states:

[Performance] is marked as available for the enhancement of experience, through the present enjoyment of the intrinsic qualities of the act of expression itself. Performance thus calls special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of expression and gives license to the audience to regard the act of expression and the performer with special intensity.²⁹

Performance of conversational narrative forms such as those under

consideration here serves largely to pass the time in L'Anse-à-Canards, and, as has been already illustrated, is of value more for the interaction it promotes than for the textual contents of the narratives per se.

What is remarkable is the scarcity of duplication of narratives among the repertoires of the individual informants. Were the sole function of experience narratives the filling in of free time, the performer's identity would have little bearing on the specific narrative performed. That each individual brings to any given situation a body of narratives with which he is associated raises the communication value of the interaction from the level of the anecdotal to that of the metacommunicative. Each participant in the social interaction possesses expectations of the others, based on social experiences, and it is the degree to which each individual succeeds in fulfilling the roles ascribed by the collective expectations of his fellows that ultimately is the measure of his communicative competence.

Here, again, we return to the concept of variation in tradition; however, the variation itself takes on a significance which merely textual comparison does not reveal. This variation in performable material rests largely upon the concept of propriety, which entitles each individual to demonstrate specialized knowledge concerning certain areas of tradition. The mere knowledge of a traditional text, and the ability to perform it does not render one the authority to perform it. The preceding section outlined some of the parameters of this authority in L'Anse-à-Canards tradition, and

its findings support Pentikäinen's observations:

Especially in transmitting memorates and chronicles, every narrative occasion appears to be a unique, once-occurring event. In the case of these genres, there seems to prevail a certain kind of principle of "proprietary rights." This meant in Vienén practice that an individual had in general a right to speak about personal supernatural experiences or those of one of her intimate relations of acquaintances.³⁰

It is for these reasons that we hold that, while competence may refer to the ability to compose, communicative competence involves the ability to communicate in accordance with the criteria for appropriate oral expression.

This view of the process of oral tradition in folkloristic contexts has important implications for the study of the social aspects of the performer-audience relationship during communication, as opposed to the study of performance in terms of artistic genres and behaviour. Taking this latter approach, folklorists examine the folk aesthetic involved in the performance and appreciation of traditional forms of expression in order to explore folk narrative art. As Bauman remarks:

Fundamentally, performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication involves the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. This competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways. Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content.³¹

So conceived, performance is viewed as artistic expression for the benefit of an audience, to whose evaluation the performance is subject.

Viewed from a more socially oriented perspective, however, the performance of conversational narrative categories is reflective of community values concerning social relationships. The performance stems from the recognition by the audience of a particular individual's authority to narrate the details of a particular experience narrative, and the individual's reciprocal assumption of the role of performer. The very act of performance thus communicates not only the referential content of the narrative, but also reaffirms the relative social status of each of the participants, and reciprocally confirms the validity of the social relationships perceived to exist among them. Ultimately, the decision to assume the role of narrator, as well as the choice of narrative form and text, will be dictated by the characteristics of the particularistic context of interaction, and especially by the identities of the participants and the social relationships existing between them.

In his study of an individual tradition bearer's repertoire, Pentikäinen makes the following comments, observations of some relevance to the hypothesis of social determination of performance:

When the communication of oral tradition is analyzed as social behaviour, one should examine tradition bearers not only as individual transmitters of tradition, but also as the possessors of certain social roles, who are again expected by the community to fulfill these roles. In creating a typology of tradition bearers in a community, the social roles of the tradition bearers and the role behaviour actualized in the transmission of different genres (emphasis mine) should especially be kept in mind.³²

The system used in this study to classify experience narrative forms includes this social element within the differentiation of

categories, and facilitates subsequent examination within actual performance situations.

Notes

¹ For example, in L'Anse-à-Canards, the social context within which Märchen were once performed was known as the "veillée."

² The dynamics of verbal interaction involving the discussion of fishing grounds is examined in Gary R. Butler, "Culture, Cognition, and Communication: Fishermen's Location-Finding in L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland," Canadian Folklore Canadien 5 (1983), 7-21.

³ "Butler Field Notes, 1982."

⁴ The part of the house where socializing most often takes place is the kitchen, and visitors rarely are entertained in the living room.

⁵ It was within such natural contexts that many of the narratives comprising this study's textual corpus were first encountered. Sound recording was rarely done during the narrative event; rather, the narratives were elicited upon subsequent interview sessions with the informant.

⁶ Visitors still observe the sanctity of the living room, however, and will rarely enter it without having been invited by the host. The kitchen, on the other hand, is almost "public property," and most residents enter the home without knocking.

⁷ Michael S. Olmsted, The Small Group (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 46.

⁸ The factors governing any particular context may, of course, prohibit the individual from actively performing that of which he is capable.

⁹ Muriel Saville-Troike, The Ethnography of Communication (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p. 22.

¹⁰ The term "form" refers to the narrative categories outlined in Chapter Three of this study.

¹¹ Woods notes that a "fabulat or ordinary legend may appear... as a memorat; and the experience version...seems to have the function of asserting the truth of a story." See Barbara Allen Woods, The Devil in Dog Form: A Partial Type-Index of Devil Legends (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 11.

¹² Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Balleymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 69.

¹³ Patrick B. Mullen, 'I Heard the Old Fishermen Say': Folklore of the Texas Gulf Coast (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), p. 26.

¹⁴ This usage will be discussed below.

¹⁵ Juha Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire and World View: An Anthropological Study of Marina Takalo's Life History." (Folklore Fellows Communications XCIII, 219). (Helsinki: Academia Scientarum Fennica, 1978), p. 16.

¹⁶ The term "negative narrative" is modelled after Dégh's usage

of the term "negative legend." See Linda Dégh, "Legend and Belief," in Folklore Genres, ed. Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 93-123.

¹⁷ Glassie notes that "'Experiences' are entries in an investigation. They provide confirmation, or negative evidence..., or disconfirmation of the other world's agents." See Glassie, Passing the Time, p. 66.

¹⁸ Dégh, "Legend and Belief," p. 112.

¹⁹ See Pentikäinen's discussion of "proprietary rights" in Pentikäinen, "Oral Repertoire and World View," p. 326.

²⁰ For a discussion of the use of the devil as a form of social control in traditional Newfoundland society, see John Widdowson, 'If You Don't Be Good': Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland (St. John's: I.S.E.R., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977).

²¹ Mullen notes a similar usage of supernatural belief expression for amusement purposes. See Mullen, p. 38.

²² See Chapter Two of this study. Honko also notes that function is not an inherent feature of narrative forms, and that "the same legend can in one area appear in the function of a fabulate and in some other area in that of a belief legend." See Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," JFI 1 (1964), p. 13.

²³ Note that it is only with respect to the supernatural tradition that this generalization applies. Certain narrative topics confer preferential status on the younger residents, even when elders

are present.

²⁴ Glassie, Passing the Time, p. 42.

²⁵ For example, the young narrator of text 96 was not aware of her culture's witch tradition until the week before she performed the narrative.

²⁶ F3505c/C4843; B26.

²⁷ Joel Sherzer, Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), p. 18.

²⁸ Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds., Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 7.

²⁹ Richard Bauman, Verbal Art as Performance (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1984), p. 11.

³⁰ Pentikäinen, p. 326.

³¹ Bauman, Verbal Art, p. 11.

³² Pentikäinen, p. 16.

FOLK DISCOURSE AND SUPERNATURAL BELIEF EXPRESSION

Introduction

In Chapter Three of this study, the notion of "discourse-centred" texts was introduced and briefly discussed. Unlike the narrative mode of expression, discourse is referred to here as ordinary conversational interaction between two or more individuals. A discourse-centred text is a short utterance, a sentence perhaps, which occurs during such an exchange. Such an utterance depends for its communication value upon the participants' shared knowledge of the linguistic code employed and of the referents so-coded. When the referent is an area of cultural tradition shared by the participants, the term employed to designate such utterances is "folk discourse," a term which encompasses both the communicative process involved and the traditional cognitive referents.¹ This chapter will examine this mode of expression in more detail.

Folklore and the Analysis of Folk Discourse

To this point, the present study has concentrated on the narrative mode of expression, and the formal sub-categories which serve as vehicles for the expression of supernatural folk belief tradition in L'Anse-à-Canards. While we have referred to narratives as conversational categories of expression, it is apparent that, once an individual adopts the role of narrator in the interactional

context, he dominates the verbal exchange as prime contributor until the narrative is concluded. Narrative expression is in this sense "conversational" only in that it arises within the context of oral interaction involving more than one individual; that is, a narrative is a formal category of expression embedded within conversation. However, there is little doubt but that a narrative, as a formal unit, is readily distinguishable from the utterance of a single sentence during oral communication. The narrator temporarily becomes the focus of attention, shifting to a traditional form of expression (or genre) to communicate a traditional body of knowledge within the context of a traditional performance situation.

As Hymes has remarked, however, performance affects what is known,² and the recounting of experience narratives adds specific, culturally-relevant examples to the general store of knowledge concerning the supernatural belief-tradition possessed by participants in the narrative event. The cognitive component of communication, to this point treated as comprising the belief traditums underlying any manifest performance, also includes the knowledge of specific narrative texts which, as we have seen, are differentially performable by different individuals in different contexts. Nevertheless, the knowledge of a text, regardless of whether or not that text may be appropriately performed by the individual, remains a resource upon which the individual may draw to facilitate communication in non-narrative, non-traditional forms. I am, of course, referring to the deployment of traditional knowledge during ordinary conversational exchanges.

One example of such non-traditional, non-generic use of traditional knowledge illustrates the essence of the communicative process being referred to here as folk discourse. During the summer of 1982, I was present one evening at the home of a local fisherman, T.D., and his wife. A number of younger friends, both male and female, were present, and the men were engaged in a discussion of the weather. During the previous two weeks, it had been impossible for the men to launch their boats owing to the strong onshore winds. The conversation began with the discussion of how unusual it was for the weather to remain so poor for such a long period, but eventually, and inevitably, turned towards the personal consequences of lost earnings for each of those present. The tone of the exchange became increasingly serious, and the participants were becoming visibly upset at the prospects facing them. At this juncture, T.D., the host, made the following remark:

T.D.: Well, I guess I'll just have to boil my dish cloth tonight. (Text 137)

With mock seriousness, he turned to his wife and instructed her to "put the kettle on." At these remarks, the visitors all laughed and relaxed noticeably. Talk turned to topics other than the fishery, and the men began joking with one another, and exchanging anecdotes concerning recent amusing happenings in the community. The tension, which had been rising to a peak, soon dissipated entirely.

As a participant-observer during the above conversational

exchange, I was not immediately able to understand the full import of what had been communicated among those present. The host's remarks seemed totally incongruous to the situation, and the reactions of the others to this remark were quite uninterpretable at the time. No further information which might have clarified what had passed among the participants in the communication was forthcoming and, as the tension had obviously been relieved, I refrained for the moment from commenting on the incident.

It was not until the following day, when I again visited the host in his home, that I learned the significance of what had transpired the night before. Two nights previously, the host's father had been visiting his son, who was entertaining the same group of fishermen present during the incident in question. On that occasion, it seemed that he had recounted an amusing family experience narrative concerning his late uncle who, it appeared, had been known in the community for his belief in the supernatural. The narrative described how, on one occasion, the narrator's father had visited this individual, only to find him sitting alone in his kitchen staring intensely at a pot of water which was boiling on the stove. When asked what he was doing, he replied that he couldn't wait any longer for the wind to change direction, and was taking matters into his own hands. This narrative is based on the magical belief that the boiling of a dish cloth would change the wind direction. It had been performed as an amusing anecdote illustrating the strong adherence to such beliefs by certain former residents of L'Anse-à-Canards, as well as to "poke fun" at the narrative protagonist.

This example illustrates the dual level on which tradition can manifest itself. Folklore is not only a collection of textual items performed in particular, formal contexts within the socio-cultural unit. It is shared knowledge as well, and it is this cognitive component--not the texts, nor their performance, nor even the interactive contexts of their performance--which defines the folk group. In the above example, the knowledge of a certain aspect of the supernatural belief-tradition of L'Anse-à-Canards is manipulated outside the performance context and employed to communicate an encoded message during an informal, conversational exchange. Moreover, the humorous attitude prevailing amongst participants with regards to the narrative text is elicited by unspoken reference to that text, with the result that the mounting anxiety is relieved. Not being a member of this folk group and tradition, I was not immediately able to decode fully the message which, clearly, had been understood by the discussants involved.

In his discussion of linguistic interaction, Hymes considers the defining element of a speech community to be the "sharing [of] rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech."³ Likewise, folklore constitutes a similarly-shared body of knowledge which may be manipulated in various manners apart from and outside the folkloristic performance context per se. It is the process by means of which such implicit communication is accomplished in natural conversation which leads me to refer to it as "folk discourse," as opposed to the explicit performance of the genre, which is "folklore." The aim of researchers involved in the analysis of discourse

is to determine what is actually meant and communicated, as opposed to what is merely said, that is, to "expand" the text to include both explicit and implicit levels of message transmission.

In their discussion of discourse analysis, Labov and Fanshell⁴ refer to the concept of expansion as an important analytic technique, and in his review of this work, Corsaro goes so far as to treat expansion as the "crucial phase of analysis because it provides the basis for moving beyond actual speech to the identification of underlying propositions, and eventually to a description of how interaction is accomplished in discourse."⁵ The aim of such analysis is "to expand the text beyond what is said to what is "really" meant. Expansion generally involves linking information of various levels of abstraction."⁶ Expansion, then, may be considered the analytic reversal of that process whereby interactants sharing a common referential framework communicate information in non-explicit, compressed (or reduced) form. Such reduction occurs in the above situation, where much is communicated but little is said.⁷

In this above example, the host draws upon his friends' shared knowledge of the longer narrative to achieve a specific end, this being the alleviation of the tension developing within the context. By reducing the narrative text to a simple phrase, he is able to communicate much while saying little. It is significant that while the referents in this communication are the traditional narrative text and form, and the traditional supernatural belief of early L'Anse-à-Canards community culture, the utterance itself is not a traditional form, and cannot be designated by a generic category.

Moreover, the utterance is entirely conditioned by the particular set of circumstances which prompted it. This spontaneous and creative use of tradition in everyday situations is a distinguishing characteristic of folk discourse.

The preceding illustration of the use of supernatural tradition in folk discourse in L'Anse-à-Canards demonstrates some of the complexity involved in the analysis of this mode of expression. There are the obvious difficulties of recording such utterances in their complete natural conversational context. In addition, however, it is obvious that, in order to accurately analyze the use and function of folk discourse, the researcher requires a thorough familiarity with the body of folklore, the prevailing social structure, the interactive norms, and the dominant attitudes uniting the individuals into a constituted folk group. Such familiarity is at times necessary if the researcher is to be able even to identify folk discourse when it occurs, as the above example demonstrates. The following example illustrates even more graphically how complex the study of folk discourse can become.

In June, 1982, during an extended field trip to L'Anse-à-Canards, I was present during an informal gathering of some of the younger (under 35) male members of the community. Talk was casual and gradually turned toward traditional verbal tricks and riddles, and the participants began testing one another's knowledge of the "catch" involved in various tricks. During this contest--for it soon became apparent that the implicit goal was to outdo and, if possible,

embarrass one another--one of the participants turned to another and said: "I'll bet you can't take the Jack of spades in your pocket and walk around the house three times with it." The young man addressed looked puzzled and asked for a repetition of the challenge. The puzzlement turned to suspicion as the "victim" attempted to divine the "catch." For some ten minutes, the precise wording was minutely examined for clues by the addressee who, by now, refused to accept the challenge. At this point, the challenger said, with no small degree of scorn in his voice: "Don't worry, you won't meet the devil!" The others present found this rebuke quite amusing and responded with derisive laughter, much to the discomfiture of the victim who, significantly, vehemently denied that his refusal was based in any way on a fear of some supernatural encounter.

It was not until some time later, when I asked what the statement concerning the devil had to do with the prank, that I was able to fully appreciate the significance of what had been communicated among the men during this occasion. I was informed that the older people in L'Anse-à-Canards once believed that if one were to walk around the house three times at midnight holding the Jack of spades in one's hand, the devil would appear. I was also told that this was still believed to be true in a nearby community whose residents are generally considered to be overly superstitious by the people of L'Anse-à-Canards, an exoteric view I have often encountered during the course of my field work in L'Anse-à-Canards. By sarcastically "reassuring" the victim of the catch-prank, the

challenger was implicitly identifying him with the beliefs of residents of this second community and thus, was accusing him of being unnecessarily fearful and naive.

It is obvious that a traditional item of supernatural belief is a prominent component in the context of interaction described. More importantly, the attitude of all participants in the communicative exchange is quite clearly one of rejection of a belief traditum known to have been accepted in the past within their own tradition. In the above example, the expression of the contents of a belief system functions as a means of ridiculing the target of the catch-prank and to express the disapproval of his peers for his refusal to "play the game" as is normally expected during such bantering among young male members of the community.

In both illustrations of the expression of aspects of the supernatural belief-tradition by means of folk discourse, both shared knowledge of the encoded referential information and participant attitudes towards the primary textual referent are evoked and together determine the nature of the message communicated. Both examples illustrate the necessity of establishing this attitude component. In the second example, attitudes other than that related directly to the truth or falseness of the supernatural traditum enter into determining the full significance of the way this referential content is used. Certainly, the rejection of the belief in L'Anse-à-Canards community culture is primary; however, two other attitudes are of importance. The first of these is the attitude of acceptance of the truth of the basic belief traditum by residents of

the neighbouring community. The second attitude bearing on the context is that concerning the opinion of L'Anse-à-Canards residents with regard to this second community's 'extreme' adherence to the supernatural tradition. This attitude, one of condescension and amusement, is the result of the divergent courses each community has followed in its evolution from fundamentally similar cultural antecedents.

Hence, not one, but three attitudes, all linked to the specific instance of supernatural belief-expression in question, must be considered, these being the rejection of the belief traditum by L'Anse-à-Canards residents, the acceptance of the belief by certain members of the second community, and the exoteric view of this second community held by L'Anse-à-Canards residents. Moreover, it is the combined influence of all three attitudes, and not the influence of each acting separately, which results in the strength of the rebuke. The difficulty this poses to the outsider is that none of the three attitudes, nor even the belief traditum itself, is overtly expressed during the course of the exchange. Indeed, the strength of the rebuke results directly from the non-verbalized reference to the body of traditional knowledge shared by the participants. For them, this one sentence composed of seven words possessed, within this context, a wealth of meaning based on its connotative and evocative qualities. It is only through expansion that the significance of the utterance in discourse can be fully understood.

The distinction suggested here between the expression of a

belief traditum and the expression of an attitude of belief poses certain problems to the researcher. It means that a communicative event in which a certain belief appears to be central may not always be an accurate indicator that the participants in the event accept the belief, nor that the traditum in question is a component of the community's or group's world view. In the example cited, I was able to determine the communicative value of the belief-expression only after acquiring a full description of the belief traditum itself, information concerning the esoteric-exoteric factors at work, and participant attitudes, and subsequently viewing the whole in relationship to the particular context of communication and to the social "rules" governing such all-male interaction in L'Anse-à-Canards.

Conclusions

Folk discourse, then, involves a communicative process whereby cultural referents are encoded in a greatly reduced expressive form, which is subsequently decoded by the receivers of the communication. The denotative component (i.e. that which is actually said) of such expression is secondary in communicative import to the connotative component, from which the full meaning of the discourse-centred text derives. Folk discourse may be defined as a mode of expression occurring during the course of natural conversation, which makes implicit reference to culturally significant, traditional texts to communicate "covertly" what it does not state overtly. This mode of expression depends entirely upon the shared knowledge of the

participants in the communication, and on the addressee's correct inference of the addresser's intended message. This use of traditional knowledge has been predominantly ignored by folklore scholars, although Small's article touches on many of the same communicative processes discussed here.

Due to the difficulties involved in collecting examples of discourse-centred texts, few precise conclusions concerning this mode of expression may be drawn at present, as few texts are available for analysis. Many of those which have been collected are simply similes or metaphors employing the devil, and the association of the devil with that which is evil and undesirable, express extremes ("Ça sent comme le diable." [text 21]; "Il est saoul comme le diable" [text 20]; "il y a trop de diables en bas là." [text 22]). Others are more complex, such as Text 23: "The devil was on your side, Tom." This statement was made by one young resident to another to express how fortunate the latter had been in obtaining a large catch of fish that day. The statement obviously makes allusion to the belief traditum concerning the selling of one's soul to the devil in return for favours, as outlined in Text 12, a locally told legend. The statement is not intended or interpretable in the literal sense, as neither individual believes the truth of the traditum. This text and all other texts available share a common characteristic: the reducing of an element of the supernatural belief tradition to a short utterance to communicate, by connotation, a message not inherent in the original primary text.

It is evident from the examples examined that traditional knowledge is not restricted to formally recognizable genres of expression, nor to specific contexts of performance. The analysis of such uses of folklore in natural conversational exchanges can demonstrate the relevance of tradition to social interaction, and helps explain the persistence of supernatural knowledge long after positive belief in certain aspects of the tradition has disappeared.

The analysis of folk discourse is, by its very nature, concerned with a non-generic mode of expression in non-performance contexts. Its objective is to determine the "multiple levels of information processing"⁸ which characterizes this type of communication. As such, its orientation is the cognitive acquisition of traditional knowledge, and its subsequent transmission in both traditional and non-traditional forms and contexts. Thus, unlike André Jolles' approach which concentrates on folklore as evolving from the simple to the complex,⁹ folk discourse examines the reduction of complex forms to simple expressions and utterances.

Notes

¹ The term "folk discourse" was first proposed in Gary R. Butler, "Folklore and the Analysis of Folk Discourse: Cultural Connotation and Oral Tradition in Communicative Events." In Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics, vol. 5. Ed. Susan Ehrlich et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 32-50.

² Dell Hymes, 'In Vain I Tried to Tell You,' pp. 132-133.

³ Dell Hymes, "Models of Interaction of Language and Social Life," in Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), p. 54.

⁴ W. Labov and D. Fanshell, Therapeutic Discourse: Psychology as Conversation (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

⁵ William A. Corsaro, Communicative Processes in Studies of Social Organization: Sociological Approaches to Discourse Analysis (The Hague: Mouton, 1981), p. 32.

⁶ Corsaro, p. 32.

⁷ Lawrence G. Small, "Traditional Expressions in a Newfoundland Community: Genre Change and Functional Variability," Lore and Language 2 (1975), 15-18, notes a similar example of reduction in his discussion of how a full narrative becomes compressed to a single phrase, the full communicative value of which depends on a knowledge

of the primary narrative.

⁸ Corsaro, p. 53.

⁹ For a summary of Jolles' theories of generic evolution, see Dan Ben-Amos, "Introduction," in Folklore Genres, ed., Dan Ben-Amos (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. xxviii ff.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

A number of conclusions can be drawn concerning the textual forms, communicative process, and sociocultural function of the folk tradition under consideration. It is clear that form is not equivalent to idea, and that any given supernatural belief data can be expressed in a variety of different textual genres and communicative modes. It is for this reason that the analytic category of the "belief traditum" was proposed for the purpose of clearly separating the cognitive level of the folk tradition from the manifest level of its expression.

In a sense, the traditum corresponds to the concept of "type" in that it is a conceptual generalization extrapolated from an analysis of the text. Since it reflects the general concept seen to underly the text, the traditum is a kind of "idea-type."¹ Not being related to any given genre, this "idea-type," or traditum, permits a flexibility of application which suits it well to the multiform analysis of folk belief expression. The traditum is not equivalent to the motif, which is an overt component of the surface text itself. Unlike the motif, the traditum is not necessarily overtly expressed in a text, but rather represents the cognitive referent underlying the text. The same belief traditum may thus find expression as a superstition, a narrative, a discourse-centred text, or through any other genre of verbal or non-verbal communication

employed by the folk group. This separation of ideational and manifest levels of tradition is essential to the examination of folklore as traditional shared knowledge, texts, and behaviour.

In L'Anse-à-Canards, supernatural belief traditums are orally manifested by means of three principal modes of expression, these being the traditum-intensive, the narrative-intensive, and the discourse-centred. Traditum-intensive texts are short textual forms that come closest to being direct statements of the traditum's ideational core, and usually do not elaborate on their relevance to the community's social life and their influence on the behaviour of individual members of the community. This is the domain of the narrative, which expands the traditum from the level of the idea to that of the experience. The narrative contextualizes the traditum to make a statement not so much as to its truth or falseness, but as to its impact on and relevance to the social group. Finally, the discourse-centred texts reduce experience narratives (or other denotative texts) to simple forms carrying wealth of connotative import, thereby eliminating much of the textual component while retaining, or even increasing, communicative efficiency.

Although both traditum-intensive and discourse-centred texts are short textual forms, they are obviously quite different in terms of their textual and communicative functions. Textually, the message of the traditum-intensive text is more apparent; what is communicated is overtly stated. Conversely, the discourse-centred text is frequently textually vague, but tends to communicate

much more than is overtly expressed. Obviously, traditum-intensive texts can become discourse-centred texts given the proper particularistic context.

The textual mode or form employed in any particular context is largely determined by the extent to which traditional knowledge is shared by the participants in the communicative event. In general terms, as the level of sharing of knowledge increases in scope, the performance of denotative detail in communication becomes less important. Conversely, as the level of sharing decreases among participants, the need for textual detail in performance increases. This is particularly true in the case of narratives, and it tends to be detailed narrative, with frequent "embedding," which prevails when older performers narrate to younger generations. During such events, the performance interaction which develops tends to accentuate the differences between performer and audience.

The opposite extreme is the case in which knowledge of referents is completely shared, and traditional material is used in the type of connotative communication which marks folk discourse. Here, shared knowledge is not only apparent, it is also essential if this mode of expression is to be possible. As such, the folk discourse event is indirectly an outward expression of group affinity and community. Hence, mode can be an indicator of the intensity of the social relationships uniting the participants in a given communicative event.

By far the most frequent means of expressing supernatural folk belief is the narrative mode, which includes five major formal

sub-categories. These categories reflect the relationship existing between the narrator and the narrative protagonist, a criterion for differentiation which, far from being a mere convenience, offers some significant insight into the "rules" governing narrative performance in *L'Anse-à-Canards*. Through the analysis of relative frequencies of occurrence of the five narrative categories, and by correlating these frequencies with narrator identity, it was found that this narrator-protagonist relationship exerts an important influence on narrative authority and "ownership." As the intensity of the relationship increases, so too does the authority to perform, a feature which is reflected by the predominance of personal and family experience narratives.

Obviously, performance involves social interaction and the display of communicative competence in specific contexts. This study has demonstrated that, in narrative contexts, the ability to perform a text does not necessarily give one the authority to perform it. The relative social statuses, roles, and relationships brought by participants to the narrative context determine what constitutes appropriate behaviour within that context. In other words, the participants in a narrative event are also members of a social system which unites them both inside and outside the framework of the particular folkloristic event. It is for this reason that performance-centred behaviour must be evaluated in terms of both the general social context and the particularistic performance context.

Note

¹ The term "idea-type" was suggested by Dr. David D. Buchan during a personal communication.

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APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL TEXTS, LEGEND I

Text 5 (F.D.; 60; M)

(1A)

G.B.: Comment est-ce que c'est, la, la, l'histoire?

F.D.: By gee!...Je n'en sais un peu mais je me rappelle, je me rappelle plus de, du premier, eh. Anyway, euh, il y avait une danse, une, une soirée, eh. Il y avait une danse, une, une soirée, eh. Puis il y avait, celui-là qui ownait la maison, il cherchait pour un joueur, eh. Un joueur de violon.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

F.D.: Ah? C'est celle que tu as entendu?

G.B.: Oui, je crois, mais...

F.D.: Ah?

G.B.: Je me rappelle pas de tout.

F.D.: Non...Non. Ils avont cherché pour un joueur. Les joueurs étaient rares, eh. Mais...Il se...en train de chercher pour un joueur anyway. Il dit "Quand même c'est le diable," il dit, "je [] le diable," il dit. "S'il peut jouer le violon," il dit, "je m'en vais l'avoir pour [] mon, mon, ma danse." So, il rencontrait un homme sur le chemin, il avait demandé si il jouait du violon. Il dit "Oui."... Puis...ça, c'est, c'est euh...En dernier, ils, ils, ils ont

pas arrêter de danser. En dernier, ils dansaient sur leurs têtes, eh. Ils ont usé jusqu'en, jusqu'à, jusqu'à la tête!
...

G.B.: Que faire?

F.D.: Ah?

G.B.: Que faire?

F.D.: Ils étaient usés en bas à la tête. Ils...ceux-là qui dansient, le diable, il, il, il les faisait danser, eh.

G.B.: Oh.

F.D.: (laughs)

G.B.: Oui.

F.D.: Oui. (laughs) Il a pas arrêté de jouer.

G.B.: Ils ont dansé longtemps, quoi?

F.D.: Oui. (laughs) Celui-là qui m'a dit ça, il paraît, il, il paraît ils dansient, ils dansent encore, eh. (laughs)

(16/06/81; F3900c/C5246; B58)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in fatal fulfillment of request.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.3.2; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2; C94.1.1

Text 6 (J.E.; 65; M)

(2A)

J.E.: Asteure, ils avient fait une histoire sur le 'La Jig du Diable,' eh...Puis il y avait un joueur de violon, il

(laughs) il y avait, il y avait un qu'avait fait un party, un time. Un grand time.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.E.: Puis il cherchait un joueur de violon...Il a dit que, quand même il serait le diable, il...il l'aurait pris, ah.

G.B.: Ah, oui.

J.E.: Puis il rencontre un homme...un bel homme, bien habillé, puis euh..."Tu joues pas de violon?" il dit. "Oui." Le diable...C'était le diable. Il, il savait pas, tu vois...Il dit "Oui." Il dit "Je joue du violon. Je suis un joueur de violon," il dit...Anyway, il dit "Veux-tu venir voir mon party à soir?" il dit [] C'était un homme riche, vois-tu...Et il dit "Oui, sure." Oui, mais...quand qu'il a venu jouer, puis ils avont aperçu qu'il avait des pattes de cheval, eh. Il jouait du violon, puis des pattes (stamps feet; laughs)...Asteure, je crois pas à ça, moi. C'est justement de quoi qu'était fait, vois-tu, eh?

G.B.: Oui, oui.

J.E.: Mais dame...puis quand qu'il a commencé à/ il a commencé à jouer, puis ils avont pas pu arrêter de danser. Ils ont dansé, dansé, dansé jusqu'à temps que les, ça usait jusqu'aux genoux, là, les jambes...Et en dernier, il y avait plus que les poiles de la tête qui restaient là, vois-tu/ (laughs) Asteure, je crois pas, je crois pas de quoi de même, moi.

G.B.: Oui.

J.E.: Ça, c'est...

G.B.: Mais qui, qui a conté ça?

J.E.: Oh...c'est des vieux d'avant, oui. C'est une vieille histoire, ça. Oui, c'est...oui. [] à Papa, tu sais c'est, c'est, c'est dans le temps de mon défunt père, vois-tu?

G.B.: Est-ce que ton père y croyait?

J.E.: Oui, oui. Oh, bien...

G.B.: Il y croyait?

J.E.: Non, non! Il croyait pas ça.

G.B.: Non.

J.E.: Ça pourrait pas se faire, vois-tu?

(23/06/80; C4825/F3487c; B8)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in fatal fulfillment of request.

SECONDARY TRADITUMS: The devil is human in form, except for his feet, which are animal hooves.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.1.1; G303.4.5.3; G303.4.8.2; D2061.1.2

Text 7 (S.D.; 60; M)

(3A)

G.B.: Puis euh...contient-ils des, des histoires sur le, le diable puis des choses de même?

S.D.: Oui.

G.B.: Oui?

S.D.: Oh, oui. Euh, Jack Tourout me disait, il dit il y avait un gaillard qu'a fait une danse une soirée.

G.B.: Oui, oui.

S.D.: Et, il dit, euh [] Il dit "Je m'en vais, je m'en vais aller chercher un gaillard pour jouer," il dit, "je minderai pas comme c'est le diable." Et il dit because, il a marché sur le chemin une distance...il a rencontré un gaillard. Bien, c'était le diable. Il l'a eu pour faire jouer puis ça faisait peur [] il dit. Il dit le monde a dansé assez en dernier, ils dansaient sur leur tête. (laughs) Ils croyaient que c'était vrai.

(02/06/82; F5959c/C5882; B80)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: Careless soliciting of devil's assistance results in fatal fulfillment of request.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: The devil is human in appearance.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12.2; G303.3.1; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2

Text 8 (J.G.; 75; M)

(4A)

J.G.: ...Mais asteure, euh...je l'ai entendu différent de ça. Là, lui, a d/ lui a, Il disait que c'était une maison entour de chez lui, là...Mais nous autres ici, je l'avions entendu que c'était une maison à Halifax...Ils étiont là à danser une soirée, une bande de monde qui a venu à danser là, puis...

Ils étiont là à danser. Bientôt, il y a un grand monsieur qui arrive...et puis euh...Il leur a demandé si euh...il pouvait jouer le violon pour eux. Ils ont dit "Oui." Ils étiont...Puis il s'a mis à jouer. Aussi loin, moi, je peux voir, il joue encore parce la dernière nouvelle que j'ai entendu, ils étiont usés jusqu'aux épaules. Ils dansiont encore. (laughs)

(23/06/80; F3490c/C4828; B11)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil has the power to inflict harm in the profane world.

SECONDARY TRADITUM: The devil is human in appearance.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12; G303.3.1.2; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2; C94.1.1

Text 9 (M.B.; 60; M)

(5A)

M.B.: ...Bien, ils aviont cherché un, un joueur de violon...Puis euh...puis/pour jouer pour une danse. Ça se fait, euh...il avait été sur le chemin puis il a rencontré cet homme-là... ah, avec, avec un violon. Il dit "[] Tu es un joueur de violon!" "Oui"...Bien, ils commençiont, bien il dit, plus ...bien, "Bonjour, monsieur." Puis "Bonjour, monsieur." (laughs) Mais euh...ça comm/ ça commence par [] longtemps, je commence à faire des []...

G.B.: Ah, oui.

M.B.: [] la plus.

G.B.: O.K...(five minute pause) C'est ça.

M.B.: Je vous avais dit déjà, bien, j'avais déjà commencé, j'étais arrivé à...à...

G.B.: [] là encore si tu veux.

M.B.: Bien, celui qu'il a rencontré sur le chemin, bien, il dit "Bonjour, monsieur," il dit. Bien...bien, il dit "Qu'est-ce que je peux faire pour vous?" il demandait à, à, le monsieur. "Oui, mais j'étais en train de chercher un joueur de violon," il dit. "J'avons une danse à soir." Puis euh...Bien, il dit "Je [] chercher un joueur de, un joueur de violon, puis euh, et de/ pour, pour, pour la danse." Et il dit, je crois qu'il/ après asteure. Espère..."Oui. Bien, tu as ton homme!" il dit...Oui, l'homme était bien habillé, eh. Un col blanc puis un beau suit [] Ça se fait euh...Ils avont été, bien...Il avait été jouer. Bien, il avait joué toute la soirée! Toute la nuit...jusqu'au lendemain ma/ bien...pas, pas, jusqu'à le lendemain matin! Mais il avait joué toujours...jusqu'au temps que le...le monde a commencé à user, eh. Ils usiont puis en dernier, c'était rien que les cheveux, a dit, sur la (laughs) ça, qui dansaient, ils viraient sur la place. Il y avait plus que les cheveux qui restaient.

G.B.: Ah, bon.

M.B.: Ça se fait le...le...disons, le boss de la maison, le patron de la maison, je pense...quand il s'a aperçu il a regardé,

il dit "C'était le diable." Il avait une patte de cheval, eh. Un pied puis l'autre, c'était une patte de boeuf.

(laughs)

G.B.: Ah, bon.

M.B.: Oui. Mais il avait toujours ça. Il avait toujours cette qualité, eh...A de, a/ dans l'enfer il en avait plus, bien sûr. Il avait tout...oui.

G.B.: Ah, bon. Et c'est, c'est le diable qui, qui jouait?

M.B.: Ah, oui. C'était, c'était le diable qui jouait. Puis, euh...puis ils avient là, bien, ils avient [] ils jouient un jig. Et bien, c'était appelé 'Le Jig du Diable.' Puis dans ces temps-là, il fallait pas jouer ça pour une danse!

G.B.: Non?

M.B.: Oh, non! Non, non. C'était défendu, jouer ça pour une danse. Mais E.E. l'a joué! (laughs)

G.B.: Il l'a joué?

M.B.: Oh, oui. Il a/ bien...c'était pas...les, les vieux, vois-tu, les plus vieux, dans leur temps asteure...c'était pas défendu dans mon temps de jouer mais dans leur temps, c'était défendu. Puis il a pas joué ça pour une danse.

G.B.: Non, eh.

M.B.: Oh, c'était une péché mortelle! Si...(laughs).

G.B.: Mais ils croyont ce, cette histoire-là?

M.B.: Bien oui. Oh, oui! Ils croyont, bien, c'était supposé d'être...à eux, c'était vrai.

G.B.: Oui.

M.B.: Mais euh, il y a personne qui l'avait vu...

(06/07/81; C5254/F3908c; B66)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil has the power to inflict harm in the
profane world.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: C12; G303.3.1.1; G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2; G303.4.5.3

Text 10 (N.G.; 45; M)

(6A)

G.B.: Oui, une histoire que j'ai entendue, c'est le diable à la
danse, là. Oui jouait le...

N.G.: Oui jouait le, le violon?

G.B.: Oui.

N.G.: Oui. Ceux-là qui avaient/ oui. Il a conté ça, oui. Il
aurait...l'homme pouvait pas arrêter de danser, eh.

G.B.: Qu'est-ce que c'est l'histoire?

N.B.: Parce que c'était/euh...Je peux pas me rappeler toute le,
l'histoire mais je...tant que le...ce que je peux me/ comp/
comprendre que, euh, la musique aurait pas arrêté. So
l'homme, il fallait qu'il tient à danser, parce que c'était
le diable, il aurait et euh...si...[] voir si c'était,
s'il avait donné son âme au di/ au diable ou qu'est-ce que
c'est mais...Il fallait qu'il dansait pour le restant de sa
vie. C'est tout ce que je peux comprendre, pour me
rappeler, anyway, moi. Oui. Je suis pas sûr mais...

(10/08/82; F5961c?C5884; B82)

PRIMARY TRADITUM: The devil has the power to inflict harm in the
profane world.

INFORMANT ATTITUDE: Neg./Neg.

MOTIFS: G303.9.8.2; D2061.1.2; C94.1.1

APPENDIX B

List of Informants

1. J.G.; 75; M
2. M.G.[L]; 70; F
3. E.E.; 70; M
4. W.C.; 70; M
5. J.E.; 65; M
6. M.A.[E]; 65; F
7. S.D.; 60; M
8. F.D.; 60; M
9. M.B.[E]; 60; F
10. M.B.; 60, M
11. L.E.; 60; M
12. M.E.; 45; M
13. S.A.; 45; M
14. N.C.; 45; M
15. G.E.; 40; M
16. N.E.[A]; 40; F
17. N.G.; 45; M
18. D.W.[B]; 35; F
19. A.E.; 30; M
20. R.B.; 30; M
21. T.D.; 30; M
22. W.E.; 25; M

APPENDIX C

MOTIF-INDEX

- A795 Origin of Northern Lights.
- C12 Devil invoked appears unexpectedly.
- C12.2 Oath: "May the devil take me if...." Devil does.
- C12.5 Devil's name used in curse (appears).
- C432 Tabu: uttering name of supernatural creature.
- D1001 Magic spittle.
- D1273.1.3 Seven as magic number.
- D1275.1 Magic music.
- D1382 Magic object protects against cold or burning.
- *D1385.4 Silver bullet protects against giants, ghosts, and
witches.
- D1502.2 Magic object cures toothache.
- D1502.2.2 Charm for toothache.
- D1719.6 Magic power of holy cross.
- D1766.1 Magic results produced by prayer.
- D1766.6 Magic results from sign of cross.
- D1766.1.1 Evil spirits conjured away in name of deity.
- D1776 Magic results from spitting.
- D1812 Magic power of prophecy.
- D1812.0.1 Foreknowledge of hour of death.
- D1812.5 Future learned through omens.
- D1812.5.1 Bad omens.
- D1812.5.1.10 Sight of phantom ship a bad omen.
- D1821.3.4 Magic sight by looking between dog's ears.
- D2021.1 Dumbness as curse.
- D2061.1.2 Persons magically caused to dance selves to death.

- D2063.1.1 Tormenting by sympathetic magic (Person [usually witch] tormented by abusing an animal or object. The usual methods of abuse are burning or sticking with pins.
- *D2072.0.1 Sword [gun] made magically helpless.
- D2083.1 Cows magically made dry.
- D2086 Weapons magically dulled.
- D2161 Magic healing power.
- D2161.2.2 Flow of blood magically stopped.
- D2161.5 Magic cure by certain person.
- D2161.5.1 Cure by holy man.
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- E235.2 Ghost returns to demand proper burial.
- E262 Ghost rides on man's back.
- E272 Road ghosts.
- E272.4 Ghost chases pedestrian on road.
- E278 Churchyard ghosts.
- E275 Ghost haunts place of great accident or misfortune.
- E321 Dead husband's friendly return.
- E326 Dead brother's friendly return.
- E412.2 Unbaptized person cannot rest in grave.
- E412.3 Dead without proper funeral rites cannot rest.
- E414 Drowned person cannot rest in peace.
- E421.1.2 Ghosts visible to horses alone.
- E422.1.1 Headless revenant.
- E422.1.11.4 Ghost as skeleton.
- E443.5 Spirit laid by adjuring it to leave "in the name of God."
- E451.4 Ghost laid when living man speaks to it.
- E755.3 Souls in purgatory.
-
- F366.2 Fairies ride mortals' horse at night.
- F402.1.12 Ghost fights against person.

- G263.4 Witch causes sickness.
- G265.4 Witches cause disease or death of animals.
- G269.10 Witch punishes person who incurs her ill will.
- G271.2 Witch exorcised by use of religious ceremony, object, or charm.
- G273.1 Witch powerless when one makes sign of cross.
- G303.3.1 The devil in human form.
- G303.3.1.2 The devil as well-dressed gentleman.
- G303.4.1.6 Devil has horns.
- G303.4.5.3 Devil has horse's foot.
- G303.4.5.3.1 Devil detected by his hoofs.
- G303.5.1 Devil is dressed in black.
- G303.6.1.1 Devil appears at midnight.
- G303.6.1.5 Devil appears when cards are played.
- G303.9.8.2 Devil plays fiddle at wedding [dance].
- G303.16.3.4 Devil made to disappear by making sign of cross.
- G303.16.7 Devil is chased by holy water.
- G303.16.14.1 Priest chases devil away.
- G303.17.2 Physical circumstances of devil's disappearance.
- G303.22.5 Devil exhibits benevolence to impious people (to people who make an alliance with him: gives them riches, helps them in need).
- G303.22.9 Devil comes and works with man who continues to work after night.
- J1782 Things thought to be ghosts.
- M211 Man sells soul to devil.
- N576.3 Ghost of treasure's former human owner as guardian.
- V510 Religious visions.
- V511.1 Visions of heaven.

