H e d a J a s o n

Ethnopoetry - Form, Content, Function
FThL 11

Forum

Theologiae

Linguisticae

Interdisziplinäre Schriftenreihe
für Theologie und Linguistik

herausgegeben von

Erhardt Güttgemanns

11

Heda Jason

Ethnopoetry

Form, Content, Function

1977

Dedicated to

ISRAEL HALPERN

teacher and friend, whose
encouragement smoothed
the thorny way.

May his memory be blessed.

H.J.

Acknowledgements

Preface

This essay is an outgrowth of lectures given by the author at Tel Aviv University during the years 1968-1975. A general framework for the study of oral literature is presented here. The following ideas are a proposal and not a final statement; they should serve as a basis for discussion and criticism.

Ethnopoetry is viewed here as literature and not as an "item of culture", "communication", "mirror of culture", or the like. This is done in the conviction that oral literature is patterned really as a work of art and can be better understood if first investigated from this viewpoint and only afterwards interpreted as an "item of culture", or a "communication" in a sociological or psychological framework.

The examples accompanying the discussion have been taken from easily accessible collections of oral literature in English. Publications in other languages have been used only where suitable examples in English were not available. As the texts serve only to exemplify the abstract exposition, and are not meant as arguments, it is hoped that this limitation will not hamper the reader; on the contrary, the small number of collections used should enable a quicker locating of the full text of the sample and so put the detail into its context. The translation of sample texts, where needed, was done by the author.

Tel Aviv
Spring 1976   H.J.

Table of Contents

CONTENT

SYNTHESIS

24 The tale as a whole   273

The text; Cultural realia; The genre; Structure; Anthro
Anthropomorphous terms; Object-like terms; Spatial
dimension; Symbolic dimension; The message; The function

REFERENCES • INDICES

References

Indices

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF EXAMPLES

"One generation passeth away,
and another generation cometh:
but the earth abideth for ever."

(The Preacher 1:4)

"Your intuition is excellent,
but another viewpoint
could be helpful too."

(Verse found by the author in
a Chinese fortune cookie)

"One generation passeth away,
and another generation cometh:
but the earth abideth for ever."

(The Preacher 1:4)

"Your intuition is excellent,
but another viewpoint
could be helpful too."

(Verse found by the author in
a Chinese fortune cookie)

Genre

1

The definition

This essay is an attempt to devise a general theoretical framework for the description of ethnopoetry. The description should lead to a better understanding of ethnopoetry and its genres; it should teach us more about the literary processes by which it is formed and recreated, and should tell about its meaning and function in human society.

The qualities of ethnopoetry will be discussed in an attempt to single out the lines along which ethnopoetic genres could be described. Four main aspects can be distinguished:

(a) Ethnopoetic mode (fabulous, realistic and symbolic)

(b) Formal aspect (textural, dramatic, narrative and composition patterns, and formula number)

(c) Contentual aspect (contentual terms: characters, requisites, the time and space model and the symbolic dimension)

(d) Social aspect (biology, message, function and use).

The elements of content are readily observable on the surface of the work; the other three aspects have to be investigated and often a considerable amount of interpretation is required to obtain satisfactory understanding.

In order to gain a better understanding of ethnopoetry it is necessary during the process of investigation to isolate oral literature from its natural context in society and to break it up into its component parts. The analysis of the components and

their synthesis into a new whole should lead both to a better understanding of the formative processes in oral literature and literature in general and of their place in the society's culture. Such a procedure, which would be subject to serious objection if taken as the only way to investigate ethnopoetry, is justified in this case. Only by isolating oral literature and concentrating on it as the main subject of inquiry can we gain a fuller understanding and knowledge. Therefore, the question here is not "What can I learn about society from its ethnopoetry?" but rather, "What is ethnopoetry as a phenomenon, it being one of the many phenomena which make up human society and culture?"

Concentrating on ethnopoetry as a phenomenon, we leave the realm of anthropology proper and approach the area of literary study, because oral literature is first of all literature, a work of art. The investigation of ethnopoetry should proceed as that of language, eventually developing into an independent discipline.

In this essay an attempt will be made to encompass as many genres of ethnopoetry as possible. Yet, due to the fact that some genres have been investigated more thoroughly than others, not all of them can be described here in the same detail. European and Asian ethnopoetry has been studied extensively in the past; among its genres the fairy tale, legend and epic have been most concentrated upon. Therefore, the descriptions given here are necessarily unequal.

An attempt has been made to take the examples from as wide a range of cultures as possible, however, it must be kept in mind that they are just random samples. Exact statistical investigation is needed in order to get reliable information and description of a genre or repertoire of ethnopoetry. The present essay is intended to serve as but a framework for such further analyses.

The genres are described as units, and idiosyncracies of individual texts are ignored, i.e., the genre is discussed on a level of *langue* (after de Saussure 1959). A still more general level is used when a genre is discussed as a unit, ignoring cultural differences. Surely the Indian epic discussed here differs in many important aspects from the Russian epic and the latter in turn differs from the Serbian epic. In the course of this essay we will speak about the epic in general as one literary genre, taking into primary consideration the properties common to all epics.

The system of genres of a culture is taken in a synchronic cross section. The system exists here and now. For the purposes of understanding its properties as a literary genre, the origin and formation processes in time and space of a single piece, or even of a whole genre, are irrelevant (and are for the most part impossible to determine — see Jason 1970).

1.1 ETHNOPOETIC WORK

Ethnopoetry (oral or folk literature) is understood as being verbal art, transmitted from generation to generation by talented performers in a process of improvisation. A certain literary canon underlying the ethnopoetic work enables this performance.

Not every text passed on by oral tradition has the quality of being oral literature. For an orally transmitted text to be considered "literature" it must possess an artistic form. A traditional greeting, a weather prediction or a technical instruction, for example, although conveyed orally, do not necessarily have such a form.

An ethnopoetic work, taken as a whole, encompasses the text, the dramatization of the text (including its kinetic, musical and visual elements) and the audience at the presentation. Each performance of a tale or a song is considered a complete piece of ethnopoetry, art in its own right, regardless of other presentations of the same tale or song.

1.1.1 Oral literature vs. written literature

If ethnopoetry is literature, is it similar to other kinds of literature, or does it differ from them? Apparently, it differs. Three varieties of literature are distinguished here: (a) oral literature,

(b) high written literature, and (c) common written literature. The latter stands between the two former and has qualities of each. It includes contemporary genres such as the detective story, television plays, wild-west movies; the picaresque novel, medieval romance and broadside ballad as well as epigonic works of any kind. These three kinds of literature differ in various aspects:

Existence of the work. The ethnopoetic work exists only in its performance; once the actor has finished his presentation, the work ceases to exist. If we record or film the work, we will retain not the work, but merely a recording of it. A written work, either high literature or common literature, exists permanently, as it is fixed in writing. Thus, future generations have access to it, even if it is not accepted by the author's contemporaries.

Presentation. Ethnopoetry is presented to an audience in live performance (including music, play and use of requisites). Written literature of both varieties is created by the author and appreciated privately by the reader.

Stability of the text. The ethnopoetic work has no set text; the actor improvises a new text with each performance (variability of the ethnopoetic text). The author fixes the text of high literature in writing, making it stable and unique, whereas the text of set-canon literature is semi-stable.

Literary canon. Ethnopoetry and set-canon literature are built according to a literary canon (a set of rules of composition and a lexicon of contentual units). The performer of ethnopoetry is not consciously aware of this canon, but improvises with the aid of it (after Lord 1960). High literature does not use a fixed canon, but creates new forms freely.

Measure of diversity. As an outcome of the existence of literary canon in ethnopoetry and set-canon literature, the repertoire of subject-themes and contentual units (characters, actions and requisites) is limited, whereas the creation of these is unlimited in high literature.

Traditionality. Because the literary canon is unconscious, the performer is held, unwittingly, within its framework. As a result, both the canon and the resulting ethnopoetic work remain almost inflexible and have been so since the beginning of literacy. Ethnopoetry is "traditional." The same holds in the limits of a single genre for common literature. In contrast, high literature is non-traditional, changes its patterns and moreover, is precisely "high-quality" because it is innovative and grows by struggling against the patterns and notions of its predecessors (after Tynjanov 1929).

The artist and his audience. Both ethnopoetry and common literature are strongly dependent on the audience which is a demanding censor. The former has to be accepted by the immediate community, and to be performed according to its standards (which are the literary canon, shared by both performer and audience). The latter is produced for sale and consequently, is dependent on acceptance by the market. High literature is not produced for the market, but rather for the sake of art and is, therefore, free to change and grow, regardless of social acceptance or rejection.

These basic differences, which distinguish oral from written literature, cast doubt upon the usefulness of an automatic transfer of analytical tools from one field of research to the other (such attempts have been made by the Russian formalists in he 1920's – see Šklovskij 1919 – and are done by the contemporary French semioticians, see the work of Bremond, Greimas and Todorov). Along with interesting results, trivial findings may also result.

1.2 REPERTOIRE OF ETHNOPOETRY

The works of oral literature current at any one time in a social group constitute its ethnopoetic repertoire and are part of its

culture. The ethnopoetic repertoire of a culture is not a chance collection of texts, nor even of genres. It is a system in which each genre has its place; it is both a historical product of the society's past and a functioning part of its present.

1.3 THE GENRE

A genre consists of ethnopoetic works, sharing a set of common characteristics. The characteristics may be modal, structural, contentual or socio-psychological. The key trait with which a genre may be defined is the specific human problem to which works of that genre address themselves. Within the genre hundreds of different plots with thousands of variants are found — yet all the texts deal with this genre's basic problem. This particular problem is handled by the specific genre only and will not be expressed by a work of another genre within the same system. In European cultures, man confronts the Demonic only in the demonic legend; the problems of man's daily relations with his fellow man are expressed in the proverb, and personal longing and sorrow are voiced in the lyric song. The fairy tale will not tell about tragic love and hate, nor will a myth tell about the tricks of an adulterous wife; these are the respective realms of the ballad and the swindler novella.

The same plot, however, may cross genres and thus, with certain changes, express different basic problems and be set in different modes. A good example is the tale about the "carefree abbot." The king asks an abbot to answer, under pain of death, three questions to which there apparently are no sensible answers, however, a lowly man answers them cleverly. The tale is found throughout Europe, the Middle East and India as a wisdom novella (AT 922). It became a sacred legend in Jewish culture: a demand is made on a Jewish community to answer, under pain of extinction, the king's questions and the Almighty comes to its rescue (AT 922 *C—Jason 1965). In each of the two cases, the elements of the story change to make the problem of the text consonant with the basic problem of the respective genre. In the wisdom novella which is set in the realistic mode, man

displays his cleverness in confronting a duller fellow man, and in the sacred legend which is set in the fabulous mode, man confronts the Sacred (here the Sacred interferes in the conflict between two ethnic groups, Jews and gentiles, defending the former).

Since the work of the Grimm Brothers in the past century, varying definitions of particular genres and various attempts to subdivide and order the material have been proposed (Aarne 1910, 1928, 1961; Grimm 1812-1815, Introduction to 1st Volume; Jolles 1965; Nikiforov 1927; Ortutay 1964; Peeters 1963; Propp 1928; 1964a,b; Sydov 1948; Volkov 1924, to name but a few). As the critical discussion of these proposals would take considerable space and its relevance to the ideas presented here is doubtful, it has not been included in the present essay. (A short discussion of the Grimm Brothers' and Sydov's ideas about the fairy tale and the legend is found in Jason 1971c; Propp 1968:3-18 discusses several of the authors).

1.4 ETHNOPOETIC GENRE AS AN A-HISTORICAL CATEGORY

Genre in ethnopoetry is a stable, a-historic category, extending back at least as far as historical documentation. According to the information available to us, since the beginning of literacy no development can be traced from one form of expression in oral literature to another. Most of the genres current today in the Western Old World cultures are already found at the dawn of Western civilization, examples being the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh which survived in tradition for more than two millenia; myths in prose and verse as parts of ritual dramas; sacred legends, novelle, riddles and proverbs in the Bible and in ancient Akkadian and Aramaic writings, as well as the Egyptian and Assyrian novelle. All of these works exhibit at their first appearance those properties which the respective genres possess in our contemporary oral literature. Moreover, some plots of these tales succeeded in living on even to the present day (for example, the carnivalesque fairy tale about Pharaoh

Rhampsinit's thief [Herodotus, Book II 2], or the fairy tale about Cupid and Psyche [Apuleius]; a bibliography of medieval and modern versions of these two tales as they appear all over the world can be found in AT 950 and 425, respectively).

No prototypes of legends, epics, myths, fairy tales and the like came to our attention so far. Contemporary Russian folklorists try to show an evolutionary line of development of ethnopoetic material. Yet, these attempts suffer from the same shortcomings as other works based on evolutionary theory (Andreev 1934; Meletinskij 1958, 1963; Pomerantseva 1965; Propp 1946).

It seems that a historical development can be traced in only two cases. The non-narrative genre of joke with a punch line seems to be a new development in modern industrial society; it may be an offshoot of the swindler novella. The second case is the Russian historic song, the development of which could possibly follow from the epic genre (Putilov 1960, Intro-duction). In both cases, the documentation is scarce and the fact of actual development from one genre to the other is doubtful. A developmental connection between myth and fairy tale was contemplated on the basis of their both including similar narrative plots (for a discussion of various views, see Lüthi 1974b: 62-65). This assumption rests, however, solely on speculation and no documentation of transitional cases exists.

An observable case of genre deterioration is the way fairy tales are now told in certain industrialized European societies. The fairy tale is disappearing from the narrative repertoire. While the narrative structure and repertoire of characters remain more or less the same, the marvelous quality vanishes and the tale loses its special spatial framework. The story now becomes part of our world and no longer exists in the far away "beyond-the-seven-mountains-land." The style of the tale becomes more humoristic and all these changes verge towards the character-istics of the swindler novella (Uffer 1945; Ortutay 1962). In this manner the fairy tale ceases to be a recounting of the encounter of helpless man with the Marvelous (see below, paragraph 4.2). There is, however, no documentation that a new

genre is developing here, and the fairy tale does not become, for instance, a swindler novella.

The next step in deterioration is the forgetting of the genre, due to a lack of demand. Forgetting causes mechanical changes which include shortening and fragmentation of the texts, what amounts to the rendering of only the approximate content of a tale. The respective genre leaves no traces in subsequent ethno-poetry. As a consequence, the society's repertoire of genres is changed. For example, myth as a genre has disappeared from the folk cultures of nations which have accepted universal monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity or Islam). In these cases, Biblical mythical tales partially fulfill the function myth fulfilled before the acceptance of these universalistic religions. It is known that these cultures possessed myths, since many of their mythical plots are recorded in ancient documents — but they have disappeared from living folk belief, folk ritual and folk narrative. True, these cultures continue to possess a reper-toire of demonic beings, which in certain cases is especially rich and diversified (e.g., Germanic cultures). It is possible to trace back some of these demonic beings to pagan times, yet these beings are not mythical, nor are they fallen deities. The deities of the universalistic religions have superseded the pagan creative deities. Demons of various sorts which live on in folk belief and in ethnopoetry have their origin in low-order pagan fabulous beings that have generally not been affected by the universa-listic religion.

Ethnopoetry of the culture of Ancient Israel is another example of change in genre repertoire. Parts of the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges and the exploits of Saul and David represent a retelling of the content of epics and abound in typical epic themes and episodes (see Jason 1976d). Yet, it can be concluded from existing documentation that epic is not en-countered in the post-exilic Jewish culture.

With the transition of traditional, pre-industrial society into modern industrial society, a drastic change in the repertoire of ethnopoetry can be observed. Genres, such as fairy tale, novella, sacred legend, epic, historical song, ballad and lyric song are all

disappearing rapidly, while the joke in its various forms and in some measure the demonic legend, are coming to the foreground (Bausinger 1959; Jason 1971c:135-36). On the fringes of the industrial society, in villages, a transitory stage can be observed with deteriorating forms of the disappearing genres.

In this context the process of change of realia should be understood as an adaptation of a vigorous tradition and not as a sign of decay. The changes are superficial and do not affect the narrative (syntactic) structure of the work. They are the mechanism which adapts the work to the ever-changing reality (for a discussion of this aspect, see Jason 1966).

In spite of some doubtful instances, genres as a rule seem to spring full-grown out of the darkness of pre-history. Although oral literature appears on the stage of history ready-made, a long period of development must have preceded its fixation in writing. There is no reason to assume that late paleolithic peoples did not engage in various kinds of artistic creativity, such as ethnopoetry and music. Since they knew how to paint and sculpt, as their rock paintings and figurines show, it seems reasonable to assume at least a paleolithic origin of ethnopoetry.

1.5   ETHNOPOETRY AS IMPROVISED ART

The reason for the slow development of oral literature, which results in a seeming a-historicity of its genres, is to be found in the fact of ethnopoetry's existence as an art of improvisation. The narrator, actor or singer creates a new ethnopoetic work with each performance. The re-creation has to be done in the course of the presentation, under pressure of the audience which demands a smoothly flowing tale or song. Thus, the artist has no chance to pause and reflect upon what to say.

Improvisation under pressure is made possible by the existence of a subconscious set of rules which supply a ready model for composition of all details of the work (after Lord 1960). These are the structural rules on the textural, plot, and dramatic level;

the frameworks of time, space and value systems in which a genre is set; the repertoire of characters and requisites in each genre; and the system of modes in which the work is set.

The individual folk artist can perform only within the framework of the existing literary canon. As this canon is subconscious, it cannot be changed by the artist. The audience is unable to accept deviation from these unstated rules (see discussion in Bogatyrev-Jakobson 1929). As a result, we may observe a stability in Western culture over centuries. Where documentation exists, this stability is apparent even over millenia (such is the case with the story of Pharaoh Rhampsinit's thief [AT 950], a stability for over 25 centuries). The individual poet is an innovator, the folk poet a conformist. The individual poet may cross genre boundaries, change genres which he has inherited from his predecessors in craft, and invent new ones, a process which creates so many problems in the study of literature. In contrast, the traditional folk poet cannot change nor innovate; his genres, therefore, are stable and can be more easily grasped.

1.6   THE CULTURAL AREA

The present discussion concentrates on the broad Euro-Asian cultural area which encompasses Europe, the Middle East and the non-tribal cultures of India. Ethnopoetry of tribal cultures and of the Far East is taken less into consideration here than the European and Asian material. Every cultural area has its own repertoire of genres. Some genres will be found in several cultural areas, others will be peculiar to specific subcultures. For example, the fairy tale exists in the broad area encompassing Europe, the Middle East and India, with only minor differences between them. In contrast, epic songs are confined today in Europe to the East and South Slavs, Greeks, Rumanians, Albanians and Finns. It would be a mistake to automatically transfer concepts of ethnopoetic genres developed through the study of European material to other cultural areas. Fairy tales do not seem to exist outside the Euro-

Asian cultural area, except when imported from this area (as Buddhist monks brought them from India to the Far East). Studies of tribal ethnopoetry have not developed to a point where genres can be distinguished. The concept of "myth" in Western culture is not obviously applicable to any group of texts from tribal cultures. As the skills of an investigator of native culture and a specialist in ethnopoetry are seldom, if ever, combined in one person, the investigation of the oral literature of tribal cultures has been severely hampered. (See for example, in Beidelman 1961, 1963; Hymes 1968 and Radin 1949 how much one must know about a native culture before he can hope to gain a minimum understanding of its ethno-poetry.)

1.7 THE NETWORK OF DETERMINANTS

Ethnopoetry can be conceptualized as shaped by determinants, which form a network. The determinants are: structural (structure of text, narration, presentation — aural, visual, kinetic — compositional patterns and formulaic number), contentual (anthropomorphous, zoomorphic and object-like characters and requisites, space and time schemes) and socio-psychological (biology, function and use).

A determinant can be imagined in a linear form, as a "vector." In principle, it should be possible to locate every ethnopoetic item on each of the vectors i.e., it should be assigned a "value" in the terms of each vector (including value "zero"). Works of a particular genre will cluster in certain areas along the vector. If we imagine the vectors as forming a multi-dimensional "field"; the area in this "field" which works of a genre occupy along the vectors, will define the genre (see a preliminary discussion in Jason 1969).

Although the present system has been worked out primarily on material from Western Old World cultures it is assumed for the purpose of the present analysis that the concept of a system of vectors has universal validity. This assumption, however, remains to be proved by test analyses of ethnopoetic repertoires of other cultures. Non-Western cultures will show a different system of genres, and include genres not found in Western Old World cultures. Definitions of genres in Western cultures may prove to be unsuitable in other cultures. Thus, the system of determinants proposed may have to be changed and enlarged for non-Western cultures.

2

The ethnopoetic genre

Every culture, broad cultural area or the opposite, every social sub-group in a culture (such as urban, rural, miners', children's folklore) has its own repertoire of ethnopoetry organized into a special system of genres. The system of genres described here is a broad generalization of the material from the cultural area encompassing Europe, the Middle East and India (non-tribal); i.e. the area which was, at least to some degree, exposed to the Hellenistic culture and the provinces which have, since then, kept in contact with each other. In addition, this is the area in which universalistic religions overlaid a pagan stratum.

A statement of the principles of classification and a description of the genres used are necessary before an exposition of the ethnopoetic determinants can be undertaken.

2.1 PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION

The most common criterion for the assignment of genre is the form of the texture of a work; i.e., is it cast in prose or verse. This criterion, however, is not useful in dealing with oral literature as almost all ethnopoetic genres are found in both prose and verse forms. Only those genres which are performed to a specific melody, (i.e., lyric song and ballad) occur invariably in verse form (see below, chapter 10).

A more reliable criterion for defining genres is the difference between the narrative and the non-narrative form of the work. By "narrative" is understood a chain of actions which includes a complication and a solution to this complication. Proverb, riddle, formula tale, tall tale, joke and lyric song are non-narrative; all the other genres possess a narrative plot. This criterion, however, still leads no further than to a distinction between two groups of genres.

The property of ethnopoetry which allows much finer distinctions is the **mode** in which a work of oral literature is set. The system of genres which is used in this essay is based on modal distinctions.

2.2 MODE IN ETHNOPOETRY

The present designation of genres is based on the mode in which the works are set. Through this mode we understand man's relation to his world as it is manifested in the ethnopoetic work. Three modes are distinguishable: the fabulous, the realistic and the symbolic. In this chapter the basic properties of these modes will be enumerated; in subsequent chapters these properties will be discussed in detail (see Figure 2, for a distribution of genres according to the mode in which they are set).

2.2.1 Realistic mode

In the realistic mode man confronts his fellow man on the human level. In texts set in this mode, the natural and social world of man is involving essentially no non-natural elements, as in reality. (The distinction between "real" or "natural" world and "supernatural" or "fabulous" world is the investigator's and his subculture's. Universally, the narrative community distinguishes "sacred" and "profane" as both being real, i.e. existing.)

Relations between man and his fellow man are the exclusive subject of this mode. The only power existing here is that of

human physical strength and morality, of wisdom, cleverness, shrewdness, or its opposite, folly. No forces outside the human world interfere with human affairs. When here and there a magic element is introduced, it is again human power which is at work (such as the curse in a ballad). Man masters his world through his own abilities. Human abilities function here instead of the fabulous powers in the other modes.

The novella, lyric song and the epic are set basically in the realistic mode.

2.2.2 Fabulous mode

In the fabulous mode, man confronts various worlds of the fantastic. The Fabulous can work in the tale independently as an amorphous power, or it can be materialized in agents of various kinds who execute the will of the Fabulous (these agents may be objects, anthropomorphous or zoomorphic beings). The amorphous power acts, so to speak, behind the scenes and directs the flow of events in the tale. It has a will, plans its actions and acts purposefully; it never fails to carry out its plans. The very organization of the events in the tale are an execution of the plans of the fabulous power.

The Fabulous manifests itself in two forms: the Numinous and the Marvelous. The numinous form has three basic manifestations: the Creative mythic, the Miraculous and the Demonic. The Miraculous is divided into the Sacred, the Satanic and the Magic.

The Creative, Sacred and Marvelous manifestations of the Fabulous have the common property of existing both as an amorphous power and of working through special agents. The creative power permeates the beings in the mythical world to the extent that every act of these beings, willingly or unwillingly, becomes a creative act. The creative power sees to it that these acts are purposeful and that they lead to building the world of man in the desired form. The amorphous sacred power will arrange the events in the tale so that the right man will receive his proper reward or punishment as if by chance,

without the sacred power having to send a particular agent (saint, angel, or an object) to execute the decree. The working of fate may also be directed by the Sacred. The amorphous marvelous power will lead the hero to the proper place at the right moment, it will send him a special helper and make him always know the correct information.

This is not true of the satanic and demonic manifestations of the Fabulous. These two do not exist as amorphous powers and are able to act only through their agents: devils, witches and demonic beings of various sorts.

2.2.2.1 Aspects of the Fabulous.
The Fabulous can be described by a religious concept which R. Otto (1957) described as the *numen*. In Otto's definition: the irrational, inconceivable side of being, the yonder side, the hereafter in all its manifestations. Otto distinguishes three attributes of the *numen*, and these concepts can be used to describe the various manifestations of the Fabulous in ethnopoetry. They are: (1) the *majestas*, the all-permeating life-giving and omnipotent aspect of the *numen* in the face of which man feels his absolute nothingness; (2) the *tremendum*, the fear and awe man feels towards the Numinous which is in any case (even if benevolent) dangerous to man; and (3) the *fascinosum*, the irresistible attraction man feels towards the *numen*. For our purposes the three attributes can be connected: being omnipotent, lifegiving, and absolutely dangerous, i.e., strong, the *numen* attracts man because it is able to give protection (after Jason 1973a).

2.2.2.2 Numinous mode.
The common element of the modes considered numinous is their being embedded in a system of living belief of the narrating society. They differ as to what kind of belief system the particular mode is embedded in and as to what aspects of the Fabulous they contain.

The Creative. The fabulous element in myth is the creative quality which is inherent in all mythical beings and objects. The creative is composed of all three aspects of the Fabulous, and is embedded in the official religious belief of the narrating society.

It establishes the social and physical human world. Consciously or unconsciously the mythic beings perform acts resulting in creation (so Adam unintentionally brings birth and death into the world — Genesis 3). Within the creative process the mythic objects have the ability to change in order to fit their purpose in the world of man (mostly there is no creation *ex nihilo*). Mythic time has the quality of being cyclic, rather than flowing in one direction. It repeats itself over and over in human time, thus repeating the act of creation and ensuring the regular flow of human (historical) time. The indication that the mythic epoch has come to an end is the disappearance of the creative power in beings, objects, acts and time. The creative power has no ethical quality in itself. Both positive beings (whose acts are ultimately good for mankind), and negative beings (whose acts are harmful to mankind) have the power to create. The world which will be fit for man is created in a struggle between the two, the positive and negative creative powers (e.g. the struggle between the ancient Persian deities Ormazd and Ahriman, or the Babylonian Marduk and Tiamat).

Personified agents of the creative power are deities of various orders, and human and animal mythic ancestors. Objects are passive creators — in myth, objects are able to undergo creative change.

The Miraculous. The Miraculous is embedded in the official religious belief system of the narrating society. The narratives set in this manifestation incorporate the principal elements of the world view of the society's religion. The Miraculous manifests itself as the Sacred, the Satanic and the Magic. Narratives set in the miraculous mode belong to the genre of legend.

The Sacred. The Sacred is composed of all three aspects of the Fabulous. In the sacred legend the power of the mythical beings, the deities, goes on working in historical time, but it loses its creative component. The power of the deities is now sacred. It works within the confines of the human world only, is directed toward man, and has a strong ethical aspect. Deities reward and punish man for his deeds through sacred power and show their might so that he might fear their power. This power especially emphasizes the component of *tremendum* (fear and awe). The sacred power continues the duality of positive and negative forces from the creative mythic epoch in that it both rewards and punishes man. The struggle between the two creative forces prepares the natural and social world for man; the continuation of this double relationship towards man supports the social order which the creative period has established. The sacred power works miracles, i.e., it brings about events which are not in accordance with the laws of nature. Sacred events, miracles, are able to change (temporarily or permanently) a detail in the order of things established in the mythic epoch, when the creative power was still active. In this respect the sacred power retained some creative quality from its mythic forerunner: neither takes the laws of nature for granted; rather, both reign over them. The miracle differs from the creative act in that the miracle is a unique event relating to a particular which has no consequences for the general order of nature and does not repeat itself in the future. The fact brought about by the creative act repeats itself ever after, thus establishing the order of nature.

The agents of the sacred are of four kinds: (a) inherently sacred beings, such as deities, angels, saints (in monotheistic religion the highest agent of the sacred is the one god); (b) humans who lead such a holy life that they are permanently endowed with the power to work miracles (this use of sacred power is sometimes designated as white magic); (c) special religious paraphernalia, permanently endowed with the power to work miracles; (d) objects which are temporarily endowed with the power to work a particular miracle *ad hoc.* (For other attempts to delimit the sacred and demonic ("secular") legend, see Jolles 1965, Dégh and Vazsonyi 1973:2-11, Lüthi 1974a:56,77, 1974b:7-12).

The Satanic. Some belief systems allow for a satanic power, independent of the source of the sacred power. The roots of this power reach down to the negative mythic forces. (Such are

Satan-Lucifer in the Christian belief system and Ahriman in the Zoroastrian system). The Satanic is composed of aspects of *tremendum* (having the component of fear only), and of *fascinosum*. It lacks the aspect of *majestas*.

Satanic power has the ability to perform pseudo-miracles: Satan makes his victim believe that he sees a particular entity, while in reality it is something else (see below, Example 72[c]). Satanic power may harm God's creation. It hurts man and man's property through its human agent, the witch (witchcraft or black magic). Thus, satanic power is hostile to man, as opposed to sacred power, which is benevolent towards man. In the foregoing two instances (change of natural objects and the practice of witchcraft) satanic power acts outside of the religio-ethical framework. The following instance leads us back to this framework. In the Christian system of belief Satan plays the role of the chastiser of humans who transgress the religio-ethical social norms. A whole conceptualized institution, Hell, with a numerous hierarchically-organized satanic army, serves the miraculous power as a tool of punishment. There is not much of a connection between the two concepts of Satan, the one an independent mischief-maker, hostile to humans, and the other a tool of the miraculous power, helping it guard the human society against its own mischief. The former concept of the independent Satan shows a certain affinity to the world of the Demonic. Demonic beings are also mischief-makers and occasionally hurt man.

The principal personified agents of the satanic power are, of course, devils. In the Christian belief system human witches and wizards are conceived of as Satan's human agents. Satan has no power to activate objects on his behalf.

Magic power is exercised by humans. Man does not inherently possess this power, but has to receive it from the source of a fabulous power. The power may be given by friendly deities to a shaman, a priest, a holy man, or a mystic all of whom will thereafter have the power of white magic. They are acknowledged official social roles within the prevailing religious organization, or unofficial roles accepted by society. When a private

person is believed to possess magic powers, however, these are usually believed to have been received from a negative fabulous source, i.e., negative deities or Satan, according to the prevailing religious system. This will be the much feared black magic of a witch. Thus, magic power is not an independent manifestation of the Fabulous. The composition of the aspects in magic differs somewhat from the composition in its sources of power. Both kinds of magic lack the aspect of *majestas*. They are composed of *tremendum* (component of fear; lacking awe) and *fascinosum*.

The Demonic. This manifestation is imbedded in the popular belief system of the narrating society. The Demonic is distinct from the official religion, is not acknowledged by it, yet it is still believed in by the people. It has no relation to the ethics of the narrating society. The human world is populated by humans as well as by demonic beings. The former are parallel to humans in space and time: the two coexist, each, so to speak, in his ecological niche. Demons are mightier than men as they inherently possess fabulous power, while men do not possess such inherent power. The source of demonic power varies according to the prevailing belief system. In cultural systems in which sacred power is the sole source of numinous power, demons have been created by this sole creator and he has endowed them with fabulous power. In other systems they may be considered as independent beings which draw their power from mythic forces. In Christian cultures demonic beings are a pagan survival; in folk belief they exist independent of other fabulous forces; the official theology connects them with satanic power.

The demonic fabulous power is not great. It has no creative component, is basically hostile to man, and may be compared to human magic powers. As human magic is dangerous to ordinary man, so is demonic power. Demons are able to hurt or help man as can witches. Demonic power can be fought by humans as black magic can be overcome by white magic.

Demonic beings and objects are the sole agents of demonic power. This power cannot be communicated to any other

entity, and is thus more limited than all other numinous powers. It is composed of two aspects of the Fabulous: *tremendum* (in its aspect of fear only) and *fascinosum*. It lacks the aspect of *majestas*. A demonic being can reward or punish man for the latter's behavior toward the demon, i.e., the demon is feared, yet he does not provoke man's awe.

Narratives set in the demonic mode belong to the genre of legend.

2.2.2.3 Marvelous mode. This manifestation of the Fabulous is confined to its own world, fairy-tale land, and has no connection to other ethnopoetic realms. In addition, the marvelous power has no relation to the system of beliefs, values, and norms of the narrating society. It knows neither of human ethical values nor relates to any aspect of creativity. Nothing is created and nothing decays in this world. It seems that the marvelous world is not created by the same universal processes as the rest of the world. The marvelous world simply exists unrelated to the laws of nature, order and flow of time in the human world. Marvelous beings are so different from all other ethnopoetic beings that they are able to exist only in a world of their own. In contrast, human beings, as well as numinous beings of all sorts, can freely wander from one realm to another.

The Marvelous faces two populations: Marvelous beings which populate the fairy-tale world and humans which enter this world. In relation to marvelous beings, in certain respects the Marvelous plays the role the Sacred (or, possibly the Miraculous as a whole) plays in the world. It is the all-permeating force which reigns in the marvelous universe and keeps it going (*majestas*); it awakens overwhelming fear (*tremendum*: the inhabitants of the marvelous town fear the terrible dragon); it enforces its own ethical code of right and wrong (which, however, has no connection to human ethical codes); instead of attracting its beings, the Marvelous repels them, and the marvelous beings try to become "de-marvelized", "humanized", by marrying their representative (prince or princess) to a human (see Jason 1973a), i.e., its *fascinosum* is **negative**.

Regarding humans, the Marvelous is composed of the aspects of *majestas* and of *fascinosum*, but lacks the aspects of *tremendum* (the human hero who enters the fairy-tale land is attracted by it, but does not fear the terrible dragon).

	MAJESTAS	FEAR	AWE	FASCINOSUM	ETHIC ASPECT	CREATIVE ASPECT
NUMINOUS CREATIVE	+	+	+	+	+	+
SACRED	+	+	+	+	+	
SATANIC		+		+	+	
MAGIC		+		+	+	
DEMONIC		+		+	+	
MARVELOUS toward marvelous beings	+	+	?	+		
toward humans				+	+	

FIGURE 1: Composition of the Fabulous

2.2.3 Symbolic mode

In the symbolic mode the entities are neither real nor fabulous. They have no properties at all and are used as symbols of

properties of real entities or of various forms of organization of the narrating patterns.

Proverb, riddle, formula tale, tall tale, numskull tale and joke are set basically in the symbolic mode.

Let us now enumerate the genres in our present usage. (Note: The genres presented here do not form a logical system. It is an attempt to bring the empirical material into a framework. As we are most familiar with the material of Western Old World cultures and our framework is heavily dependent on it, adjustments will have to be made for the study of other cultures.)

3

Realistic genres

3.1 NOVELLA

The novella is set in the realistic mode. It lacks fabulous elements of any sort and plays entirely on the human plane. The wise confronts the foolish, the clever and the witty confront the naive and the simple. But all of them are men. Human intellect, wisdom and shrewdness, as well as virtue triumph over human folly and vice.

Novella is couched primarily in prose form; verse novelle are rare.

3.1.1 Wisdom novella

Wisdom novella tells about wise judges, good precepts to be followed and clever repartee; about faithful wives who overcome all would-be seducers by their wit and rescue their husbands when they are in trouble (listed among AT 880 ff., 910 ff., 970 ff.).

3.1.2 Swindler novella

The swindler novella tells about treacherous wives, paramours and cuckolded husbands; about the clever thief and quick-witted fellow who makes the most out of his fellows' blunders, in order to win a small material gain or physical satisfaction (AT 950 ff., 1405 ff., 1525 ff.).

The swindler novella has nothing to do with morals or ethics. These are qualities of character in the sacred legend. The character in the swindler novella is evaluated within the story according to the good or bad use he makes of his intellectual faculties. The swindler's immoral acts and even his crimes are not condemned according to the society's norms, but admired as successful exploits.

3.1.3 Animal swindler novella

In the animal swindler novella, animals encounter each other in their natural habitat. The animal who is quick and clever takes advantage of his slower fellow animal or uses his wits to escape some imminent danger. Often as not, the duller fellow pays for his blunder with his life. Animal novella shows more cruelty than swindler novella with human characters, but the principle remains the same: the swindler acts in order to win a small material gain, such as food. As one animal is the natural food for another, the death of one is required in order to feed the other, and thus in animal novella the less clever is often killed.

3.1.4 Fool's novella

The fool's novella tells about simple people who get themselves into trouble through their mistakes (AT 1675-1724, partly AT 1725-1849).

3.1.5 Animal fool's novella

In this group of tales clever man outwits a less clever animal, and most often kills it (AT 151, 152, 152 A*, 152 B*, 153, 157, 157 A, 157***, 157 C*, 159, 159 A, 161). In the ethnopoetic repertoire this group of narratives functions as an overcoming genre for the animal legend (see below, paragraph 4.1.2.9).

3.1.6 Parson's novella

"Parson's novella" is the label designating a group of swindler and fool's novelle and jokes in which are ridiculed a religious official, institution or concept (AT 1725-1849).

This group is a quasi-genre (see chapter 6) which, through ridicule of its representatives, serves to overcome the Sacred.

3.1.7 Horror novella

Horror novella tells about terrible chance events and deeds: unintentional killings and incests, natural disasters, and horrible sadistic crimes. Basically, these tales have no moral trend, and the criminal is not automatically punished. There are usually no winners in the horror novella.

3.2 BALLAD

Ballad is set in the human sphere, in the realistic mode. Its action includes the fabulous element of human magic (witchcraft, cursing and blessing), which, while fabulous, is nevertheless in the human sphere. Ballad is a song, i.e., a versified text bound to a certain melody. Like the lyric song, the ballad text does not exist in its natural form without its melody and is not performed in prose form.

Although usually labeled "narrative song", this particular specification of ballad is not completely accurate. A narrative must tell about a chain of events which lead to a complication and proceed to the apex of a solution. One can usually reconstruct the narrative plot upon which a ballad is based, even though several reconstructions are often possible, but the text of the ballad as it stands, is only an echo of that plot. Most often a monologue or dialogue of the acting characters is presented, with only one or two events related (usually the events which represent the solution). Both the lack of a full narrative plot and the correlation between text and melody resemble the lyric song more than the epic. The songs usually subsumed under the heading "ballad" are in reality of very different kinds. These have not been investigated systematically

enough to determine the dimensions along which each of them could be defined and differentiated from the rest. It seems possible, however, to isolate from the balladic songs, a group which deals primarily with conflicts in the private life of the individual, concentrating on norm-breaking emotions, such as illicit love affairs, acts of revenge, and their tragic consequences.

This particular type of ballad exists as a genre in Central, Northern, Western and Southern Europe; songs commonly labeled ballads from other cultures (for instance, Eastern and South Slavic) seem to have properties different from West European ballads, and thus form a separate literary genre.

3.3 LYRIC SONG

Lyric song is a non-narrative genre, versified and melodic. Lyric song is wholly on the human level, set in the realistic mode and represents the emotional aspect of man. It seems to be possible to distinguish various kinds of lyric songs. The divisions made so far have been unsystematic and have been made primarily by editors to order their material in a manner convenient to them. Thus no further specification can be given here.

3.4 EPIC

Epic is a narrative genre. While being for the most part set in verse and sung to a carrier melody or recited in a recitative, epic may also be couched in prose form, either partially or wholly. In such cases monologues tend to be set in verse and the narration of events is in prose. Epic is divisible into three sub-genres: Heroic, mythic and carnavalesque epic.

3.4.1 Heroic epic

Heroic epic tells about a struggle against a family, tribal or national enemy, real or fabulous.

Heroic epics are basically set in the realistic mode, but occasionally include fabulous and symbolic elements of all kinds and on all levels. Thus, epic represents a kind of sum total of oral literature, its condensed manifestation.

There are four groups of heroic epic:

3.4.1.1 Historic epic. Historic epic is at the lowest level of symbolization in the genre. Historic or pseudo-historic personages act in this kind of epic, and real particular historic events may be described. The themes of this group are struggles against family and national enemies, but the details have no broad symbolic value. Such are the Iliad, the basic plot of the Mahabharata and South Slavic epic songs. Historic epic is related to historic narrative song.

3.4.1.2 National epic. National epic is organized on a higher level of symbolization. Both characters and events are poetic generalizations of a nation and its enemies, and the struggle between the two. This epic describes typical symbolic events and personages, and not historic particulars. Its theme is the national struggle as a whole. Such are Russian epic songs of the Kiev cycle and Persian epic, preserved in Firdausi's Shah-name.

3.4.1.3 Universal epic. Universal epic exists at a still higher level of symbolization than national epic. Here, the hero represents not a particular nation, but humanity as a whole, and is supported by sacred and mythic forces in his struggle with monstrous remnants of mythic hostile forces. The hero himself is of half divine parentage. In this group of epics the mythic world is finally overcome by man. Such are the first part of the Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh and Enkidu (the fights with Humbaba and the bull), parts of the Indian epic of Rama, the exploits of Greek heroes, and the Germanic epic of Beowulf.

3.4.1.4 Romantic epic. Romantic epic tells about wooing a bride, or about couples separated by an enemy and reunited after heroic exploits of the husband. The enemy may be real, often a tribal or national enemy or, a fabulous being. Here

many fairy tale, novella and legend plots may be utilized. Such are the Odyssey, the Arabic prose epic about Antar, the Uzbec epics about Alpamiš and Kutungmiš, the Buryat epic about Alamži Mergen, and some of the South Slavic epic songs.

Romantic epic can be classed as a subgroup of historical or national epic, according to the epic prevailing in the respective culture.

3.4.2 Mythic epic

In the mythic epic positive mythic forces (deities) create the order of the world in a struggle with negative mythic forces. The struggle has a strong element of physical warfare. Such are, for instance, the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* in which god Marduk fights goddess Tiamat, the Ugarith epics in which god Baal fights gods Yam and Mat, the African epic of Mwindo (Biebuyck 1971; as it is an African work it is not sure that the work is really an epic in the sense here described).

3.4.3 Carnivalesque epic

The epic genre is overcome in carnivalesque forms. "Heroic" battles of women in the kitchen are described in high epic style: kitchen utensils are used as weapons while the food runs away. A tall tale may be told in the epic style current in the respective culture. An animal wedding feast is described, or the bride and groom are described as being cowardly, ugly, lazy and poor, instead of as being heroic, beautiful, and rich (see texts in Putilov 1957:433-442).

3.5 HISTORIC SONG

The historic song is a narrative song, the theme of which is a specific historical event. This song is on a lower level of symbolization than the historic epic; its personages, both "we" and the "enemy", are historical and are given in their real pro-portions. These personages do not grow into poetic heroic images.

4

Fabulous genres

4.1 NUMINOUS GENRES

4.1.1 Myth

Myth is set in the creative manifestation of the numinous mode. In myth the stage is prepared for man. All the crucial features of nature and society are created and established. Myth functions as the textual part of a religious ritual, the mythic drama, other parts of which belong to the kinetic, musical and plastic arts (see Radin 1945). Myth may occur in prose or in verse form (in this latter case we have the mythic epic; see above, paragraph 3.4.2). When myth is recorded from natives in the form of a prose tale, it is not an ethnopoetic work but rather information given to the investigator (such are the stories published in Radin 1949). Ancient civilizations did not leave us their original myths (i.e., ritual mythic drama) but rather literary reworkings of mythic plots by individual authors (such as Greek tragedy). (Note: Our tying in of myth and ritual has no genetic aspect whatsoever; it is an attempt at a synchronic definition).

4.1.1.1 Trickster tale. The figure of the Trickster deity and the narratives about him may in some respect be understood as an overcoming of the mythic numinous element, much in the same way that the carnivalesque fairy tale overcomes the Marvelous (see below, paragraph 4.2.4). Although undoubtedly

a deity, and thus by nature endowed with creative power, the Trickster does not intentionally create, i.e., does not fulfill his mission. Moreover, although a deity and therefore by definition superhuman, he seems to us to act as if he were infra-human, thus making humans superior to him. By picturing Trickster's infra-human behavior, people can ridicule both the Mythic and the order of things which the Mythic has established. To ridicule means to overcome (see Radin 1956). The universal epic is another form, a non-carnivalesque form of overcoming the Mythic. In this kind of epic man rids his world of the last surviving mythic monsters (see above, paragraph 3.4.1.3).

4.1.2 Legend

The legend is set in the numinous mode in its miraculous and demonic manifestations. Legend is couched mostly in prose form; the verse form is rare.

4.1.2.1 Sacred legend.
In the sacred legend man confronts the miraculous sacred power of the official religion of his society, both in the form of its agents and amorphously. These react to man's relation to ethico-religious norms of the society, i.e., they reward and punish man according to his deeds thereby resolving the narrative's complication. The sacred legend tells about these rewards and punishments, and about miracles performed by the agents of the Sacred (see below, Example 109).

4.1.2.2 Legend of fate.
Predestined fate is in many cultures believed to rule human affairs. Depending upon what is believed to be the source of fate's power, the tales may belong to sacred or to demonic legends. If the monotheistic god is the only source of numinous power, as in the Islamic and Jewish religious systems, he ordains man's fate and so the respective legend is sacred; if fate has an independent source of power, the legend about fate will have a demonic character. In any case, preordained fate cannot be overcome by human force alone. Fate can be changed if God's mercy can be invoked by performing pious deeds, i.e., a fate can be revoked only by the same sacred power that decreed it (God). If fate has a demonic character there is no value system within which man can manipulate in his favor the decree of fate.

4.1.2.3 Aetiological legend.
This legend describes the origin of a minor trait of a natural object (animal, plant or landscape). The aetiological legend consists of elements of myth and sacred legend and forms a link between the two. It possesses an element of creativity, although of a secondary nature: its narration entirely concerns itself with minor changes in the main creation (for instance: how did the camel get its short ears — Mot. A 2232.1). These changes are brought about within the framework of the sacred legend's religious and ethical laws. Some of an animal's properties (shape and color) are determined as a reward or punishment for deeds which are evaluated by the culture's ethical and religious norms. The administrator of the reward is a personage of the fabulous repertoire of the sacred legend, such as God, or saints.

Landscape features may also be explained as being transformed sinners: Lot's wife was transformed into a pillar of salt (Genesis 19:26). In this case the geographical object has no relation to ethical standards and is merely the result of activity which is aimed at other objects (the sinner himself).

4.1.2.4 Shamanic legend.
It seems that tales about the exploits of shamans can be related to sacred legends. As the sacred legend category belongs to high Old World cultures, while shamanic narratives belong to other cultures, such a relation is only a guess.

4.1.2.5 Legend of the Satanic.
In this legend man confronts agents of the Satanic — various kinds of devils. Man cannot fight back alone against Satan; he has to be aided by an agent of the Sacred. The latter always defeats the Satanic.

4.1.2.6 Legend of the Magic.
In this tale man exercises powers which he receives from the Sacred or the Satanic (the priest or the witch, respectively), in order to confront his fellow man, a rival magic force or the world of demons. In the struggle, white

magic usually wins (the man and the priest overcome the witch).

4.1.2.7 Ritual texts. A group of genres which have some properties in common is subsumed under this heading. Prayers, hymns and various healing and cursing formulas, shamanic chants, and texts to which numinous sacred or satanic power is ascribed, often have an artistic form. These texts are in principle set in the sacred numinous mode, but in the case where the society accepted one of the universalistic monotheistic religions, pagan texts which survived this change lost their official sacred frame and remained part of folk belief. These texts, however, are not associated with the Demonic; since they stem from pagan times, the Christian church relegated them to the realm of the Satanic.

The textural form of these texts is usually verse, or shows at least some rhythmic and sound regularities (see Sebeok 1962). Prayers and hymns often take the form of lyric poetry, and may represent the earliest specimens of such poetry preserved in a culture (such as Rigveda or the Book of Psalms). Some of these genres include narrative passages (such as healing chants which include the narration of the myth about the origin of the entity which caused the illness) while others are non-narrative (hymns).

Similar to myth, these texts may form the textural part of a ritual drama, which may also include elaborate aural, kinetic and decorative elements. The lack of the creative aspect, or at least its enactment, distinguishes ritual texts from myth.

4.1.2.8 Demonic legend. In this tale man confronts the world of demons. They may help or hurt man. The only thing man can do is to try to escape, or to invoke the help of the official sacred power or of white magic against the demonic power (exorcising demons). Man may try to gain the demon's wealth, but in most legends he fails.

4.1.2.9 Animal legend. In a small group of tales man encounters animals which possess a somewhat demonic character and endanger man, who tries to appease them – i.e., to enter into a certain social relationship with them. The animals are the dominant wild beasts and domestic animals of man's immediate surroundings (AT 154*, 156*, 156C*, 161A*, 169 A*, 169 B*, 171 B*, *184–Jason 1965).

4.1.2.10 Legend about early populations. In many cultures there are legends about a fabulous population (giants, dwarfs) who previously lived on the same territory now populated by the society in which the legend is related. This early population has demonic qualities but also has creative power and can be held responsible for some features of the landscape. These features are secondary and represent insignificant changes in the landscape as it was created during the mythic epoch. The giant unintentionally creates these traits. The act of creation has no relation to the society's value system or to its ethical or religious system and has no bearing on the well-being of human society.

Thus these tales combine some properties of myth and demonic legends and may be understood as a link between the two.

4.1.3 Overcoming the Numinous

4.1.3.1 The Mythic. The mythic-creative manifestation of the numinous is overcome in the figure of the Trickster deity (see above, paragraph 4.1.1.1).

4.1.3.2 The Sacred. The numinous forces of the legend are overcome in several groups of tales. The Miraculous is overcome by satire. Manifestations and embodiments of the official sacred power, such as saints, priests or cult objects and buildings, religious teachings, and the like, are ridiculed in swindler and fool's novelle and in jokes (AT 774, 1725-1819; see Figure 4, and above, paragraph 3.1.6).

4.1.3.3 The Satanic. The Satanic is overcome when man and Satan enter a bargain in which man outwits Satan. These tales are related to the swindler novella. Satan here is rather similar

to the stupid ogre of the carnivalesque fairy tale and the two are often indistinguishable, except that Satan has in some tales power over man's soul after the latter's death (AT 810-819, 1170-1199).

4.1.3.4 The Demonic. The demonic in its pure form usually cannot be overcome by human power alone. In order to be overcome, the demonic has to be humanized (i.e., portrayed as having human characteristics). This happens in a group of tales about robbers (AT 311, 312, 952 ff.). While being portrayed in human shape, the robbers are in reality demonic: they live in lonely, out-of-the-way places, are extremely frightening and blood-thirsty, and even have cannibalistic traits (see Peuckert 1969:185). Men fall into their power by chance, and are rescued only at the very last minute. The robber-beings are overcome by human forces: the last victim overcomes them and succeeds in escaping or in summoning human help. The final defeat of the demonic robber is expressed by his death.

The numinous animal (see above, paragraph 4.1.2.9) is overcome in swindler tales in which man outwits a wild beast (see above, paragraph 3.1.5).

4.2 MARVELOUS GENRE

The only genre set in the marvelous mode is the fairy tale. Here man confronts the a-religious and amoral marvelous power.

In fairy tales man is helpless and depends upon this marvelous power to help him along his way; in the carnavalesque fairy tale man has grown enough so as to be able to make his way by himself, to confront the marvelous successfully and to overcome it.

The fairy tale is mostly couched in prose form; verse fairy tales are rare. The fairy tale can be divided into four sub-genres:

4.2.1 Heroic fairy tale

In the heroic fairy tale a young man sets out into the world on a quest, has various adventures, and finally, by carrying out the tasks with which he was charged, wins a royal wife and establishes his family. The marvelous powers aid man and carry out the tasks for him. This kind of fairy tale, with its warrior-hero, is related to the romantic epic. There are two kinds of tasks in the heroic fairy tale:

(a) The hero has to fight a dragon to rescue a princess and win her in marriage.

(b) The hero has to fulfill superhuman tasks in order to win the princess. Carrying out the task may demand marvelous help or the demonstration of human cleverness. This latter case, the novelistic fairy tale, stands between the fairy tale and the novella (it possesses traits from both the wisdom and swindler novella) (such as AT 850 ff., 1525 *S—Jason 1965).

4.2.2 Reward-and-punishment fairy tale

In the reward-and-punishment fairy tale a poor human (male or female) sets out on quests and wins wealth or a marvelous object which provides wealth (such as: AT 480, 565, 591, 613, 676, 676 *A—Jason 1975c). In these tales a positive and a negative human hero confront each other. The positive hero obtains the marvelous object and the negative one tries unsuccessfully to either appropriate the marvelous object or gain wealth in the same way as the positive hero. The hero is evaluated as positive or negative within the framework of the ethical and religious value system of the culture. This group of fairy tales approximates the sacred legend.

4.2.3 Female fairy tale

In the female fairy tale the heroine has to carry out various tasks (before and/or after marriage) and to undergo diverse ordeals (she is persecuted by step-parents, in-laws, or would-be seducers) until she finally wins or regains her husband.

The winning of a royal husband may be achieved either through the help of marvelous forces (as in AT 403, 408, 510, 511, 709) or as the result of the heroine's wisdom and moral qualities (as in AT 881, 883, 894, 898). In the latter case there is a clear approximation of the traits of the novella. Tales in which an element of persecution of the heroine is present approximate the sacred legend. The heroine's qualities are evaluated as positive within the framework of the sacred legend's ethical and religious value system (e.g., a maiden who has her arms cut off because she was charitable obtains a royal husband — AT 706).

4.2.4 Carnivalesque fairy tale

In the carnivalesque fairy tale marvelous powers are overcome. There are three elements of the Marvelous which man has to confront:

(a) Marvelous beings and marvelous donors (monsters, such as dragons, with which man has to contend);

(b) Fabulous superhuman tasks which can be carried out only by marvelous means, supplied by marvelous donors; and

(c) The marvelous gift.

In the tale of the brave little tailor (AT 1640) a heroic fairy tale is parodied: instead of a serious hero-warrior who fights his struggles for life and death, we have a make-believe hero who wins his princess by pure boasting, and by his very acts of cowardice overcomes monsters and carries out tasks. In another tale, the reverse situation occurs where the hero literally does not know what it means "to shudder" and wins his princess after a series of amusing quests followed by that experience (AT 326). Or the hero who sets out for adventure is only one inch tall (AT 700). Another way to overcome the superhuman task of the fairy tale is to turn it into the frivolous: the youth wins his princess (or the girl wins her prince) by obscene acts or ruses (AT 853 A, 854, 859 ff., 875 ff., 879). The marvelous monster is overcome in the so-called "stupid ogre" tales. In these tales the monster is shown to be of truly enormous physical strength, but at the same time not nimble of mind. Small, weak man using a little intelligence overcomes the ogre (AT 1000-1198). Even a human child is quicker than an ogre (AT 327, 328)! These tales are related to the swindler novella (see below, Example 7: the stupid ogre is labeled "drakos", like the dragon of the fairy tale).

The marvelous gift of wealth is parodied by endowing a poor old man (instead of a righteous youth) with humorous gifts (an ass excreting gold) which the hero foolishly loses (AT 563).

5

Symbolic genres

In symbolic genres terms and actions have a symbolic character, and cannot be placed on the realistic-fabulous axis. They represent entities other than themselves.

The proverb is a non-narrative genre and is cast in a certain prosodic and sound pattern whether couched in prose or verse. It consists of a poetic image which is a complete and independent sentence expressing a generalization (the significand) of a multitude of particular cases (the significata).

The riddle is a non-narrative genre and may be set in prose or in verse form. The content of one or more sentences as a significand describes in poetic images one or more hidden entities (the significatum) which should be guessed.

The parable is a story constructed as a quasi-narrative. So far it has been found in prose only. In this tale the characters and their deeds exemplify a common-sense truth in a poetic image which consists of several deeds but does not feature a whole unit of narrative complication and solution. The text of the story does not include an explicit moral.

The formula tale is a non-narrative genre and may be performed in prose, or verse. It consists of a chain of analogous events, with changing deeds or characters enacting each event. The character in the tale symbolizes a link in the chain of events.

There are two kinds of formula tales:

(a) The independent chain of events (AT 2000 ff.)

(b) A chain of events framed by a quasi-narrative framework (AT 170 A, 555, 1415, 1655).

The tall tale is a quasi-narrative genre and may be performed in prose or in verse form. It consists of a series of static pictures describing natural entities as having physical properties which they do not posses in nature. There are two kinds of tall tale:

The lying tale consists of a chain of ever larger entities (beings or objects). The non-natural trait of the entities is their exceptionally large size in relation to their actual size. Each entity symbolizes a step in the graduation.

The topsy-turvy-world tale consists of a chain of physically impossible events and images. These are often the opposite of the real qualities of the same entities (such as the oxymoron, 'burning water'). The pictures signify a symmetrical opposition to the sane world (the significatum).

The numskull tale is a narrative genre, mostly in prose and rarely in verse form. In this tale a grown-up man confronts in the numskull his own childhood stage of development and overcomes it. The numskull tale is exceptional among the symbolic genres in that it includes a realistic human actor (AT 1200 ff).

The joke is a non-narrative genre usually in prose, which has a punch line and is often held in dialogue form. It includes all elements which appear in other genres, both realistic and fabulous. It ridicules the norms of society, the society's organization, institutions and value system and human weaknesses by symbolizing them both as acting characters and as the deeds of the characters whom it puts in ridiculous situations.

⑥

Quasi-genres

In professional literature we find treated as genres groups of ethnopoetic works which are characterized by their use or by other non-literary characteristics such as children's folklore (Opie 1961), workers' folklore (Heilfurth 1954), latrinalia (graffiti) (Dundes 1966) or ritual songs. These groups of materials include items belonging to various genres, and to other forms of expression such as the visual and kinetic arts, pictorial representations, plays and dances as well as items which belong to the realm of language.

Folk theater. According to the framework used here, folk theater does not represent a distinct genre but rather a form of presentation, alongside prose narration and song verse.

Examples of folk theater are rituals having varying scopes. Celebrations of the life cycle, such as weddings; of the agricultural year cycle, such as harvest feasts; of the ritual year cycle, such as Christmas caroling or pilgrimages, are all complex theatrical performances with texts of various genres, music, play and decor, a set of roles and character, a stage manager and the like. Myth lives in its natural habitat in the form of a ritual drama, where the text may be cast in prose or in verse (the latter being mythic epic); this drama may include texts of other genres too (e.g. ritual texts, lyrics). In India and its area of cultural influence, epic plots are used as the basis for drama, dance performances and shadow plays. Plots of novelle and

sacred legends were used throughout Europe and the Middle East as the basis for plays by professional market troupes, puppet and shadow play theaters, and dilettante village troupes. These performances, especially those of the professional troupes in Europe, are on the borderline between folk literature and common literature. They function much the same way as contemporary chapbooks do — as a link between the two literatures. The troupes have a mixed repertoire of ethnopoetic plots which otherwise circulate as narratives in prose or verse form, and of plots drawn from common literary works.

7

Links between genres

Genres in oral literature are rather rigid and homogenous. Two ways of bridging between genres can be found. One way leads through categories of works which combine qualities of two different genres; the other way leads through individual texts having properties of more than one genre.

In-between genres. Let us sum up the links between genres in the categories of works indicated above.

Myth is connected to the demonic legend through legends about early populations. These populations have a demonic character, and lived long before the narrating society (taken as human society *per se*) ever moved into its present territory. The deeds of these beings have some limited creative power in shaping minor features of the landscape.

Myth is connected to the sacred legend through the aetiological legend. Various deeds of animals are evaluated by the same ethical and religious standards which are valid in the sacred legend. The animals receive their minor characteristics as reward or punishment for their deeds. Thus a minor element of creation is present.

The fairy tale is connected to the sacred legend through two groups of tales: the female fairy tale about the innocent though persecuted maiden or wife, and the reward-and-punishment fairy tale. While having the properties of the fairy tale, both are set to some extent within the framework of the religious and ethical value system of the sacred legend.

The fairy tale is connected to the novella through two groups of tales: in one group the fairy tale hero, whether male or female, may attain a spouse by wise or clever deeds, repartees, and trickery; in another group he may attain the royal spouse by exhibiting positive moral qualities.

The heroic fairy tale is akin to the romantic epic in that both have a similar plot.

The carnavalesque female fairy tale leads over to the swindler novella.

Hybrid texts. The second kind of link between genres is represented by single hybrid texts which exhibit properties of two genres. Such texts are rare. Some versified fairy tales and novelle of this kind have been found (see Bošković-Stulli 1962). The same performer was found to be able to tell the same tale in both prose and verse form, the verse form being the standard form of the epic in his culture.

Composite texts. Sometimes texts are composed of episodes which belong to different genres. In this case the genre of the episode framing the text will be the basic genre of the text (see Noy 1963b, no. 11: heroic fairy tale, containing a wisdom novella which contains a formula tale). Several Aarne-Thompson plots are inherently composite: AT 400 starts as a female fairy tale (a marvelous female wins a human spouse) and then proceeds as a heroic fairy tale (the human husband has to win and de-marvelize the marvelous spouse by carrying out tasks); AT 408 and AT 425 are the symmetrical opposites of the former tale; AT 707 is framed by a female fairy tale, which encloses a heroic fairy tale (episode III).

8

The system of ethnopoetic genres

It seems to be possible to distinguish very roughly two sub-groups in every genre, or two sets of genres, which are of very different size in the ethnopoetic repertoire:

(a) A large group of motifs, plots and texts in which the main theme of the genre is dealt with, i.e., the confrontation of man with an opponent (a fabulous force or human quality). In this struggle the opponent usually wins; and

(b) A small group of motifs, plots and texts in which man overcomes this opponent. The process of overcoming is usually managed by ridiculing the opponent (the fabulous forces), or by painting an inverted image (human qualities are inverted).

Let us juxtapose the pairs of genres:

Main genre	Overcoming genre
Myth (paragraph 4.1.1)	Trickster tale (paragraph 4.1.1.1)
Sacred legend (paragraph 4.1.2.1)	Stupid parson's novella (paragraph 3.1.6)
Satanic legend (paragraph 4.1.2.5)	"Outwitting Satan" novella (paragraph 4.1.3.3)
Demonic legend (paragraph 4.1.2.8)	Robber legend (paragraph 4.1.3.4)
Animal legend (paragraph 4.1.2.9)	Animal fool's novella (paragraph 3.1.5)
Fairy tale (paragraph 4.2)	Carnivalesque fairy tale (paragraph 4.2.4)
Novella (paragraph 3.1)	Tall tale (chapter 5)
Wisdom novella (paragraph 3.1.1)	Sham novella (AT 1534)
Epic (paragraph 3.4)	Carnivalesque epic (paragraph 3.4.3)

The tall tale is in opposition to the novella in so far as it could signify the dissolution of the intellect, the functioning of which is the main theme of the novella.

Groups of jokes (not yet defined) may parody main genres (such are etiological jokes, often obscene, which explain the origin of various elements in nature and society and thereby parody myth and etiological legend).

This phenomenon cross-cuts genres and ties them together into a system, the parts of which depend on and complement each other.

In order to build a system of genres there is a need to establish levels of segmentation. In the foregoing description of the genres three levels have been distinguished: the levels of genre, sub-genre and division. While all items of a genre have properties in common, items of a sub-genre or a division will have their own particular set of properties in addition to those common to their genre or sub-genre, respectively. Figures 3-6 list the genres in hierarchical order; Figure 2 shows the genres as being ordered according to the mode in which they are set. In this early stage of research the hierarchy and its levels are established by rule-of-thumb. It is entirely arbitrary which level of the hierarchy the term "genre" is applied to. Here, current designation was followed.

* * *

Our framework is a proposal. The test of our proposal would be the analysis of several thousand texts which will place them into

their proper segment on each vector of analysis. Here, vector of analysis is used to mean a whole aspect of ethnopoetry, as well as each distinctive feature, according to the measure of divisibility of the aspect. Texts of the same genre or sub-genre should cluster in a certain manner on the vector. The segment of the vector occupied by texts of a genre defines this genre. The definitions for a genre on all the vectors should give a full description of this genre. If the definitions of genres arrived at in this manner do not show inner contradictions, are operative, correspond to the intuitively differentiated genres, discover new genres, and allow for a finer distinction between sub-genres and divisions — then the framework devised here has served a useful purpose.

	REALISTIC MODE	FABULOUS MODE					SYMBOLIC MODE
	CREATIVE MODE	NUMINOUS MODE			DEMONIC MODE	Marvelous MODE	
		MIRACULOUS MODE		SATANIC MODE			
		SACRED MODE	MAGIC MODE				
wisdom	myth	sacred legend		satanic legend	demonic legend	female fairy tale	proverb
wisdom novella		legend of fate				reward-&-punishment fairy tale	parable
swindler novella							riddle
animal swindler					animal legend		formula tale
fool's novella			shamanic legend				numskull tale
horror novella			legend of magic			heroic fairy tale	lying tale
lyric song			ritual text				
ballad			aetiologic legend		legend about early populations		topsy-turvy world tale
animal fool's novella	Trickster tale		[parson's novella*]	Satan outwitted	robber legend	carnivalesque fairy tale	carnivalesque epic
historic song			[versified legend*]				
heroic epic	mythic epic					romantic epic	
							joke

* Not really a genre, but listed for convenience.

FIGURE 2: Mode and genre

FIGURE 3: Novella

genre — NOVELLA

sub-genre — WISDOM NOVELLA, SWINDLER NOVELLA, FOOL'S NOVELLA, HORROR NOVELLA

division — HUMAN SWINDLER NOVELLA, ANIMAL SWINDLER NOVELLA, HUMAN FOOL'S NOVELLA, ANIMAL FOOL'S NOVELLA

sub-division — WISE JUDGEMENT, WISE PRECEPTS, CLEVER REPARTEE/ACT

overcoming sub-genre — SHAM JUDGEMENT (AT 1534)

links to other genres — FEMALE FAIRY TALE (HEROINE WINS PRINCE —BY REALISTIC MEANS), HEROIC FAIRY TALE (REALISTIC SUITOR'S TASK); SATAN OUTWITTED, NUMSKULL TALE, HORROR LEGEND

52

FIGURE 4: Epic

genre — EPIC

sub-genre — MYTHIC EPIC, HEROIC EPIC

division — UNIVERSAL EPIC, NATIONAL EPIC, HISTORIC EPIC

sub-division — ROMANTIC EPIC, CARNIVALESQUE EPIC

links to other genres — MYTH, HISTORIC SONG

overcoming sub-genre

53

FIGURE 5: Legend

genre — LEGEND

sub-genre — MIRACULOUS LEGEND · DEMONIC LEGEND

division — AETIOLOGIC LEGEND · SACRED LEGEND · LEGEND OF MAGIC · SATANIC LEGEND · DEMONIC LEGEND · ANIMAL LEGEND · EARLY POPULATION

sub-division — PARSON'S NOVELLA · SATAN OUTWITTED · ROBBER LEGEND · ANIMAL FOOL'S NOVELLA

overcoming sub-genre — STUPID OGRE TALE · SWINDLER NOVELLA

links to other genres — MYTH · MYTH

FIGURE 6: Fairy tale

genre — FAIRY TALE

sub-genre — HEROIC FAIRY TALE · REWARD-&-PUNISHMENT FAIRY TALE · FEMALE FAIRY TALE

division — DRAGON FIGHTER · SUITOR'S TASK · HEROINE WINS PRINCE · PERSECUTED HEROINE

sub-division — REALISTIC MARVELOUS TASK · FRIVOLOUS TASK · —BY MARVELOUS HELP · —BY REALISTIC MEANS · —BY CLEVERNESS

overcoming sub-genre — AT 700 · AT 1000 · AT 1640 · SWINDLER NOVELLA · WISDOM NOVELLA · SACRED LEGEND · SWINDLER NOVELLA · WISDOM NOVELLA · SACRED LEGEND

links to other genres — ROMANTIC EPIC · AT 563

Form

9

The ethnopoetic canon

Ethnopoetry is built from a stock of sound units and contentual terms which are combined into texts according to a set of rules of composition. Together, the units of content and the rules of composition comprise the literary canon of ethnopoetry.

Ethnopoetry is improvised art. The canon is the vehicle which enables the narrator and the singer to improvise the work on the spot. It consists of rules (grammatical, textural, narrative, semantic, and dramatic) and sound content which are used to "fill in" or realize structural molds according to the demands of the work and the sensibilities of the artist. Every culture has its own ethnopoetic canon, within which each genre has its own pecularities.

As with any other literature, oral literature exists only as it is created by a particular artist; within the general framework of his culture's ethnopoetic canon, a narrator or singer has his own style. The artist-performer acquires his style from his teachers, and adds to it. Thus stylistic "schools" develop (see Lord 1960). In some cultures the ethnopoetic canon requires close adherence to traditional literary rules; in other cultures, the canon encourages variation and change within the limits of certain general rules. The average of the styles of the individual artists-performers (the *parole*) comprises the style of the culture (the *langue*) (after de Saussure 1959).

Five structural levels are assumed here: the grammatical structure of the language, the textural patterns of the wording, the narrative structure of the plot in narrative genres (the logic structure of some non-narrative genres, such as the proverb, belong to this level), the semantic structure of contentual elements, and the dramatic patterning of the performance. Of these, the grammatical structure of language is considered within the domain of linguistics and will therefore not be dealt with here. Dramatic patterns in presentation have been largely unexplored, and will be reviewed briefly in chapter 11; in chapter 10, texture, and in chapter 12, narration, will be discusssed; chapters 13 and 14 deal with more general patterns of composition and formula numbers; semantic patterns are dealt with in Parts III and IV. The first level to be discussed, then, is that of textural patterns.

Textural patterns

Our analysis of levels in the structure of ethnopoetry begins on the surface. The surface of the work of literature can be likened to the surface of the language; the words which comprise the surface of the work of literature correspond to the phones, which comprise the very surface of the language.

It is customary to classify ethnopoetic genres according to the form into which their words are cast: prose or verse. A closer examination, however, shows that this form is not genre-bound. Most genres may appear in both forms. Some genres occur predominantly in one of them; others are distributed equally between both. The proverb, riddle, formula tale and tall tale appear in both verse and prose. The formula tale and tall tale are often used equally as entertainment for children in the form of nursery rhymes, and for adults in the form of the lyric or epic song. Fairy tale, novella, legend, and myth mostly appear in prose form but are occasionally found in verse as well. The same performer may be able to reproduce the same story in both forms. The epic is mostly versified and performed with whatever carrier melody is used for epic songs in a particular culture. Sometimes, however, an epic is performed in verse interspersed with prose passages, or is even told entirely in prose. In such cases the dialogues will usually be versified. The only ethnopoetic genres which are invariably set in verse form are those genres in which text and melody form a unit, i.e., the lyric and balladic songs (see above, paragraphs 3.2, 3.3).

Example 1

Fairy tales are usually performed in prose, but in cultures which possess a tradition of epic singing, a fairy tale may be performed in this form. A discussion of heroic fairy tales in prose and in versified epic form in Serbo-Croatian oral literature is found in Bošković-Stulli 1962; AT 425 E, AT 433 B, AT 516, AT 590 and AT 725 are discussed; a female fairy tale, AT 510, is found as an English nursery song in Halliwell 1843, no. 104.

Myths, usually in prose, have been found in ancient documents in verse form (mythic epic) (Pritchard 1955 vol. I, Sumerian: pp. 37-41, Babylonian: pp. 60-72, Ugaritic: pp. 129-142).

Legends, usually in prose, are also found in verse form (Germany: Weber-Kellermann 1957, no. 640, AT 471 A; Bulgaria: Angelov" and Vakarelski 1936, no. 119; AT 804: sacred legends, ib., no. 114: aetiological legend).

Similarly, novelle have occasionally been found in verse (England: nursery song in Halliwell 1843, no. 62; fool's novella: AT 1408).

Epics, usually in verse form, may be interspaced with prose passages. Several romantic epics in which prose and verse alternate have recently been recorded in Uzbekistan (Milman 1958). Epics entirely in prose has been recorded in the Caucasus (Alieva et al. 1974).

Formula tales, proverbs and riddles seem to be performed as often in prose as they are in verse. Any collection of proverbs and riddles indicates this; formula tales are often used as songs (Germany: Weber-Kellermann 1957, no. 578, AT 2012; no. 666, AT 2030 E), or as nursery rhymes (England: Halliwell, 1843, nos. 56, 57, 116: AT 2012 D; nos. 39, 43, 44, 88: AT 2250).

Numskull tales, usually in prose, occasionally appear in verse (England: Halliwell 1943, nos. 46, 94; AT 1284).

Tall tales, usually in prose, sometimes appear in verse form as carnavalesque epics (Russia: Putilov 1957, pp. 433-438, 439-440, 441-442; Croatia: Delorko 1967-8, no. 22, AT 1930 C), or as nursery rhymes (England: Halliwell 1843, nos. 28, 278, 340).

The texture of an oral work consists of the arrangement of words within the work. The textural structure includes stylistic devices, as well as any grammatic or prosodic features and sound patterns peculiar to a genre. Oral literature, especially in verse form, makes use of numerous syntactic and prosodic features which are similar to those in the written literature of the same language. The two literatures have in fact influenced each other throughout history. Such features are of course bound to the particular language and are not universal. They will therefore not be discussed here and the reader is referred to the appropriate works in general poetics.

Every genre in a culture has its own typical lexicon (repertoire of words and their frequencies of appearance). The novella and joke seem to be the nearest to everyday speech; the fairy tale and epic seem to have the most developed poetic language, with its own special syntax and vocabulary, amounting to a peculiar style (for instance, the ornamental style in Russian fairy tales). The proverb, riddle, ritual text, and sometimes the song, all of which have a relatively stable texture, often maintain archaic expressions, the original meanings of which are no longer understood by the bearers of the tradition. This is an important source of innovation: the word which is no longer understood is reinterpreted and thus the whole expression gains a new meaning. A new proverb is created.

In three textural properties oral literature differs from written literature: the formulaic property, ethnopoetic parallelism and the variability of the wording.

10.1 THE FORMULAIC PROPERTY

Verbal material in ethnopoetry is organized into formulas of several orders. They are part of the literary canon and may live on in a culture or cultural area for rather long periods of history.

The simplest device is the pair consisting of a noun and its permanent **epithet**.

A more complex device is the formula as defined by Parry and Lord (Lord 1960). A **formula** is a fixed expression, a phrase built according to the prosodic rules and sound patterns of the particular genre. It is immediately available to the narrator or singer. Formulas are used both to characterize characters and requisites, and to describe actions. Short formulas may be strung into chains, thus amounting to standardized descriptions of repeated actions and situations. Every narrator and singer has his stock of formulas and his standard methods of describing repeated events in the narrative. These are his tools which he may have inherited from his teacher, or may have invented.

While epithets and formulas function only on the level of texture, a **routine clause** functions on the narrative level. It is a whole sentence appearing verbatim at the same point in the narrative structure in texts of a genre from the same culture or cultural area, and over long periods of history. Opening and closing formulas are examples of such routine clauses (see paragraph 13.5) (after Eleonskaja 1912 and Rošianu 1974).

Example 2

(a) The epithet

"But quickly sprang Dunai to his **nimble feet** and fought . . . Then Dunai sat upon his foe's **white breast**, and would have pierced it, but his **tender heart** was terrified . . . (Russia: Hapgood 1915:35; national epic).

"Abandon the devil, **white Bagdad!** (line 46)"
"Do not abandon **white Bagdad!** (line 63)"
"To attack **white Bagdad** (line 279)"
(Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, vol. I:7-11; vol. 2:68-71; historic epic)

(b) The formula

In Lord (1960) chapter 3, numerous examples of this concept in Serbian historic epic are listed.

(c) The routine clause

An example with considerable historical depth: when in a female

fairy tale a character comes upon another character in unusual circumstances, he will ask the routine clause: "**Are you of the humans or of the demons?**" (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 38, p. 119, AT 510 Ib, AT 706 C; no. 39, p. 122, AT 706). This formula has already been found in a 7th century poem by Elazar Ha-Qalir, a lament on the 9th of the month of Av, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, "I adjure you in the name of God and man: **Are you a demon from the demons or are you from the humans?**" (Hellenistic Jews: Brody and Wiener 1934, p. 44).

10.2 PARALLELISM

Another peculiarity of ethnopoetic texture is redundant parallelism: the repeated rendering of the same thought in different words. Parallelism abounds especially in versified narrative texts. The formula enables quick improvization of **how** to say what the singer wants to say. In the process of improvising the singer works under pressure: he has to produce a swiftly flowing narration where event follows event. He has no time to stop and think about **what** to say next. In order to allow himself an extra moment the singer uses the device of expressing in other words, in a second line, the same idea found in the first line. Parallelism is found wherever the text has an observable and regular rhythmic pattern, whether verse or prose (after Lord 1960).

Another explanation of the phenomenon of parallelism has been proposed by Šklovskij (1919): the repeated rendering of the same thought in a work serves as ornamentation, a literary device which retards the action in order to heighten the interest.

Example 3

Let us add to Lord's (1960) examples from Serbo-Croatian epics, several examples from Russian epics:

I will send you to the Počaj river,

To bring from the Počaj river fresh water,
Ye, fresh water, ye, spring water,

Ye, I have to wash [my face], ye [I the] imperator
I have to wash [my face], ye [I] Peter the First

I have to wash [my face] I with the duchess
With the duchess, I with Katherine,
We want to wash [our faces] to rejuvenate ourselves.

(Russia: Bogomolov 1950, p. 121; national epic)

A lyric song

Ah, you, small bird, free bird!

You should fly, fly to my land

To my father into the green garden
And to my mother into the new chamber

You ring, ring, nightingale

Ah, to daddy a deep bow

And to mommy a low obeisance

(Russia: Lopyreva 1955, p. 120).

A hymn

Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak;
and hear, O earth, the word of my mouth.

My doctrine shall drop as the rain
my speech shall distil as the dew,

as the small rain upon the tender herb,
and as the showers upon the grass;

because I will publish the name of the Lord,
ascribe ye greatness unto our God.

(Ancient Israel: Deut. 32:1-3)

10.3 VARIABILITY

While in written literature the wording of a work is, at least roughly, fixed in writing, the ethnopoetic work changes its wording in each new presentation. The degree of this variability differs from genre to genre.

Prose texts are more easily varied than texts bound to prosodic and grammatical molds, such as a line of verse, or a specific sentence pattern in a proverb. In this case the changes have to fit the mold, i.e., the substituting word has to have not only a corresponding meaning but also identical features of prosody and sound patterns, such as number of syllables, accent, or rhyme. The existence of the mold and the difficulties of fitting substitute words into it make certain genres, such as the proverb, appear to have a fixed form; these have therefore been labeled **fixed form genres**.

A still smaller degree of variability can be observed in texts which are considered to be sacred and the wording of which is believed to have miraculous qualities which will be destroyed if the text is incorrectly recited. Examples are religious hymns, ritual texts and spells. If these texts are fixed in writing as Biblical texts, they will not change at all; in orally circulated texts minor changes will occur in the course of time. Since the rate of change is slow, documentation of the changes is scanty.

11

Patterns of presentation

Ethnopoetry is presented art. Except in the case of the lyric song, which may occasionally be sung by the singer alone for his own pleasure, ethnopoetry exists only in the act of presentation before an audience.

The presentation can be classified by two criteria: the number of performers and the role of the audience. At one extreme stands the solitary narrator of tales and jokes before a passive audience; at the other extreme is the whole village or tribe which takes part in a complex ritual, with practically no one left to act as audience. In between are diverse combinations: various-sized choruses of singers; a group which exchanges jokes or legends; professional and semiprofessional players and dancers; rituals presented by certain groups in a community while the rest forms the audience (e.g., a secret society in a tribe; dancing bachelor youths in a village; children making rounds at Christmas time to bless the households; carnival processions).

The presentation has three aspects: aural, kinetic and visual.

Aural aspects. A good narrator enacts the characters of his tales and jokes through **voice** and gestures. Songs, whether epic or lyric, may be accompanied by a **melody** played on an instrument. The instrument may be especially associated with a certain genre (as the *gusle* is with Slavic narrative songs).

In oral literature, the music accompanying a text is closely interwoven with its prosodic features, and only a thorough knowledge of the musical side of a work enables the investigator to fully understand the prosodic features of the texture.

The recitative lies somewhere between a spoken and a sung form. Ritual texts are often presented in recitative and the carrier melody of an epic song may be reduced to a recitative. Formula tales are often presented as recitatives (Nikiforov 1928).

Kinetic aspects. As was said above, a good narrator brings his characters to life through voice techniques and by means of **gesture**. Many ethnopoetic works are performed by a group of people as a more or less staged theatrical performance: in addition to the limited gestures of a narrator, larger movements and **dances** of various complexities are introduced. The presentations range from a European children's round, a simple game danced on a village square and accompanied by a song, to the complex religious ritual dances performed in Indian temples by dedicated specialists; or from the ritual dances of tribal societies, in which a group of tribesmen take part, to the complexities of the traditional Chinese opera.

Visual aspect. A staged presentation demands special **decor**. **Masks** and **dancing apparel** of various sorts are known from all over the world. There is no ritual tribal feast without special adornment, whether paint on an otherwise naked body or the most complex masks and costumes of Indian ritual dancers and Chinese folk opera singers. This also applies to the traditions of costume accompanying weddings and other festive or solemn events in life and the yearly cycle in Western culture.

To date, there has been very little systematic investigation of the presentational aspect of oral literature. The musical aspect has received much attention from its special science, ethnomusicology, which has helped to clear up questions relating to prosody. Investigations of other aspects (movement, dance and costume) have not yet been related to textual research with a view to understanding the presentative event as a whole.

12

Narrative structure

The plot in ethnopoetry is assumed to be patterned. The structure of the plot is basically independent of both the texture of the work (i.e., its grammatical and prosodic features) and its dramatization (i.e., its aural, kinetic and visual aspects). The text of the item can be written down, and can thus be stripped of its dramatization, and can be translated into another language, or presented as a dance and a series of pictures, thus stripping it of its texture and neither process will affect its basic narrative structure.

The narrative structure of the ethnopoetic work is the better investigated level of the ethnopoetic canon (see works by Eleonskaja 1912, Šklovskij 1919; Skaftymov 1924; Nikiforov 1927; Propp 1928; Dunes 1962, 1964; Greimas 1966; Meletinskij et al. 1969, 1971; Jason 1967, 1971a, 1976c, 1976e; Todorov 1969; Bremond 1970, 1973, 1976; Colby 1973a,b; Maranda and Maranda 1971; Güttgemanns 1973, 1976; Dan 1976; Drory 1976).

In the following paragraphs the proposed schemes and patterns will be brought into a single framework.

The basic assumption used or implied in the proposed schemes is the assumption that there is a **narrative level** in the ethno-poetic work which can be conceived as **patterned**. Opinions vary as to the ontological status of this pattern: does it exist in reality so that the investigator can discover it, or is it the

investigator's construct which he uses to measure reality? In any case this pattern is an **abstract form**, "filled with" or "realized by" **concrete content**. Here the abstract form will be discussed; the qualities of the concrete content are dealt with below, in Part III.

12.1 THE CONCEPTS

The narrative pattern is organized on two levels: the surface pattern (such as most of the models mentioned above), and the sub-surface pattern (Jason 1976c). The latter pattern is supposed to be universal, and may be labeled the "basic model"; the former pattern is specific for a culture and genre (or group of genres). Both patterns operate with similar primary and complex units and relations between them.

The primary units are the following:

> **Narrative role**
> **Narrative action.**

The narrative role performs the narrative action. These are abstract "slots" "filled in" with concrete contentual units:

> The narrative role is filled with a **narrative character**;
> The narrative action is filled with a **narrative deed** of the character.

(Thompson's *Motif-Index* 1955-58 represents a list of content elements, and Aarne and Thompson's *Type Index* 1910-1961 bases the tale types on these content elements.)

A second type of unit is the **narrative connective**. Connectives may be of two kinds:

(a) Informative connectives.
   (1) Information is given to a character in the narrative.
   (2) Information is given by the narrator to his audience.

(b) Transitive connectives.
   (1) Transition of state (transformation from one form of being into another).

(2) Transition in time (lapses of time).

(3) Transition of space (transportations in space).

Complex units are the function, the move and the whole tale.

The **function** is composed of two narrative roles and one narrative action or state. The **subject** narrative role performs an action toward the **object** narrative role.

The **move** is a series of functions concatenated in a stable linear order. The basic sub-surface model has a three-function move, and the various surface pattern models have a differing number of them, according to the needs of the genre for which they were devised. In the framework of the move, both narrative roles and actions receive certain values, again according to the needs of the particular genre.

The **whole tale** is a combination of moves and connectives. A text is rarely found which consists of a single move only. Moves can be combined in two basic ways: they can be strung together one after the other, or they can be intertwined. Connections can appear inside a function, between two functions, at the border between one move and the next, or they may open and close the whole tale. A connective may stand alone, or several connectives may follow each other with no other structural units between them.

12.2 THE BASIC PATTERN

A **basic move** serves as a sub-surface model. It consists of two narrative roles and three actions, organized into three functions. The model may have any number and arrangement of connectives.

In the framework of the move of roles receive two values:

(a) Hero
(b) Donor

The actions receive in the framework of the move three values:

(A) Test
(B) Reaction to the test (positive or negative)
(C) Compensation for the reaction (positive or negative).

The whole move looks as follows:

	Subject narrative role	Narrative action	Object narrative role
function A	DONOR	puts hero to test	HERO
function B	HERO	reacts (positively or negatively) to the donor's test	DONOR
function C	DONOR	rewards or punishes respectively	HERO

Example 4

	Subject	Action	Object
function A	Sacred power	brought the Jew into trouble	Jew
function B	Jew	recites a prayer	Sacred power
function C	Sacred power	rescues the Jew from the trouble	Jew

Tale roles: HERO — Jew
DONOR — Sacred power

(The text was recorded from an Afghan Jew; IFA 1756; sacred legend; see full text below, in Example 6)

Usually the narrative roles are realized ("filled in") by a single character. Sometimes, however, one or both narrative roles may be split between two characters: the hero role between the hero and his retinue, or a class of entities and one member of the class; the donor splits into the **donor-tester** and the **donor-rewarder**. The interrelations of the two characters realizing the split donor role have not yet been investigated.

Example 5

Split donor
(Same text as in foregoing example, in more detail)
[A Jew forgot to recite the monthly benediction on the New Moon]

	Subject	Action	Object
function A	Robbers	attack the Jew and threaten to kill him	Jew
function B	Jew	recites the benediction on the new moon	Moon
function C	Moon	rescues the Jew	Jew

Tale roles: HERO — Jew
DONOR/TESTER — Robbers
DONOR/REWARDER — Moon

The analysis of even a short sacred legend (Example 6) shows that the model of a text is, in its entirety, much more complex than that which the basic move allows for. We therefore postulate two levels in the basic model of the narrative: a deep level and a surface level. The surface level in every narrative can be reduced to one basic move which serves as a framework for the tale model.

Two properties enable the successful combination of moves and connectives into a whole tale: embedding and deletion. These concepts are borrowed from linguistics.

Embedding: Moves combine by intertwining. Functions and whole moves may be embedded between two functions or moves. Thus a multileveled construct evolves.

Deletion: The model also, importantly, allows for the deletion of narrative roles, functions and whole moves. In a text in which a particular function is not explicit, it is necessary to restore the deleted function in order to construct a whole move (see below, Example 6, moves 2,4,6: restored function A is in square brackets). Just as whole functions may be deleted, so may a narrative role be deleted from a particular function and need to

be restored (see Example 6, move 6, functions B,C, move 7, function A, move 8, function B; the restored tale role is in square brackets). The narrative action, however, is in any case obligatory. A section of the text may have multiple values, i.e., be analyzable as part of two or more moves (see Example 6, moves 6, 7, and 8, functions 3A = 6A, 3B = 6B,C, 7A-C, 8A,B, 1C=3C=8C). Thus the whole text has a two-leveled structure in which moves 1, 2 and 3 are wholly analyzable into embedded moves.

Two kinds of deletions are distinguished:

Omission: the text has omitted a passage and it has to be restored (in Example 6 see function A in moves 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8).

Collapse: the same text passage has value in more than one function and move. A function serves as a framework and is a "restored function", while the detailed analysis of the text is done on a lower level (in Example 6: moves 1, 2 and 3 are framework moves and are entirely "restored"; the actual text is completely analyzed inot lower-level moves nos. 4-8).

Example 6

The text of the tale analyzed in Examples 4 and 5 is given here in full. The text is divided into functions and connectives. It consists of eight moves. The tale roles are filled as follows:

Move 1:	HERO	— Jew
	DONOR	— Sacred power
Move 2:	HERO	— Jew
	DONOR/TESTER	— Sacred power
	DONOR/REWARDER	— Robbers
Move 3:	HERO	— Jew
	DONOR	— Sacred power
Move 4:	HERO	— Jew
	DONOR/TESTER	— Common sense
	DONOR/REWARDER	— Robbers

Move 5: HERO — Jew DONOR — Robbers
Move 6: HERO — Jew DONOR — Robbers
Move 7: HERO — Moon DONOR — Jew
Move 8: HERO — Jew DONOR — Moon

Move	Function	Move	Function	Move	Function	Tale text
1	[A]	2	[A]			[GOD: Recite all prescribed prayers! – MAN]
	[B]		[B]			[A JEW forgot to recite the benediction for the NEW MOON.]
–GOD]			[C]	connective inf 2		A Jew peddled his merchandise in villages in order to earn a living.
				4	[A]	[X: Mind your way! – MAN].
					B	Between one village and the next HE lost his way. He ended up at the edge of the desert, where no sign of settlement was to be seen. [X]
					C	ROBBERS seized HIM, took all his merchandise and wanted to kill him.
				connective in space		They brought him to the cave in which they were hiding.
[JEW behaves properly		[ROBBERS attack JEW]		5	A	THEY said to HIM: Prepare yourself! In a few minutes we are going to slaughter you!

Move	Function	Move	Function	Move	Function	Tale text
					B	The JEW asked for mercy: Did you not take all my merchandise? Let me go! [ROBBERS]
					C	THEY did not heed HIS [words].
–GOD]		3	[A]	6	[A]	[The ROBBERS wanted to kill the JEW.]
			[B]		B	HE asked for a few minutes to pray. [ROBBERS]
					C	THEY consented. [JEW]
				7	A	HE entered the cave and stopped at the edge. He started to pray. [MOON]
					B	HE saw the rays of the MOON.
					C	HE remembered that he did not recite the benediction for the NEW MOON.
		[JEW prays to GOD]		8	[A]	[The MOON showed itself to the JEW.]
					B	HE started to recite the benediction with devotion, [MOON]
[JEW behaves properly		[C]		[C]	C	and lo! the rays of the MOON turned into a rope and pulled HIM,
				connective in time		and the same evening
				connective in space		he reached his home in peace.

12.3 THE SURFACE PATTERN

A surface pattern model is a syntagmatic construct which has to account for all characters and deeds in the text and assign them narrative roles and actions. In Example 6 the sacred legend is analyzed solely by the sub-surface pattern. Even move 1 is not a surface pattern model. There are four characters in our text, the Jew, the robbers, the sacred power (God) and the Moon — but only two of them, the Jew and God, fill the two available narrative roles in move 1. Thus the model of the surface pattern for the sacred legend should have more narrative roles to account for the characters in the tale. Similarly, there are obviously more than three deeds in the text to be accounted for, but only three actions are available in move 1; the model of the surface pattern should provide more actions to accommodate these deeds. In the framework of the sub-surface model's basic moves this problem is solved by unfolding the model into moves, arranged on several levels (this could be conceptualized as a "tree"). In contrast, the model of the surface pattern has to accommodate the elements of the narration on a single level, treating the narration as a syntagm.

Such a model was attempted for several genres. Greatest attention was given to the most complex genre — the fairy tale (Eleonskaja 1912, Volkov 1924, Nikiforov 1927, Propp 1928, Meletinskij et al. 1969, 1971, Bremond 1970, 1973, 1976, Dan 1976, Drory 1976). Other genres for which surface pattern models were attempted include epics (Skaftymov 1924, Lord 1960), American Indian tales (genre not clear — Dundes 1964), the literary animal fable (Ben-Amos 1966), the swindler novella (Todorov 1969, Jason 1971a), the ballad (Turner 1972), Eskimo tales (genre not clear — Colby 1973a,b), sacred legends (Güttgemanns 1973, 1976), and African tales (genre not clear — Horner 1975). Greimas' model (1966) purports to universally serve the narrative, both ethnopoetic and written.

Of these attempts, Dundes, Ben-Amos, Horner, Turner and Colby build their models on action alone, without taking into consideration the tale role. A model built on action only is more flexible, and not genre-specific, but consequently less precise and allowing for less insight. Several of the proposed models are very general — on a high level of generalization — and therefore widely applicable though saying little; others are more restricted, i.e., on a lower level of abstraction, but allow for deeper analyses. Colby's model for Eskimo tales is the most restricted; next come Nikiforov's and Propp's, and Volkov's models for the fairy tale, Skaftymov's model for the epic and Jason's and Todorov's for the swindler novella: on the highest level of abstraction are Dundes', Bremond's and Greimas' models which are almost universally applicable (we say "almost" as we have not really tried out all of them . . .).

The two patterns, surface and sub-surface, stand isolated from each other. No method has been found for converting the two narrative roles and three actions of the basic move into the multitude of roles and actions in the surface pattern moves.

12.4 THE TAXONOMIC AND THE GENERATIVE APPROACH

The work done so far indicated two possible directions of development:

The **taxonomic** direction: the narrative model is viewed as a static and self-contained system. Each genre has its own mold, which cannot change. No links or transitions exist between the models of different genres. In this way the model can define a genre. Volkov (1924), Skaftymov (1924), Propp (1928), Dundes (1964) and recently Bremond (1973, 1976) have worked in this direction.

The **generative** direction: the narrative structure is viewed as consisting of units, with relationships between them. Elementary units are combined into more complex units according to a set of rules. A genre may have a characteristic surface pattern consisting of specific narrative actions and roles, but the same surface pattern may serve several genres and sub-genres (this is the case with the heroic fairy tale and romantic epic, and with human and animal swindler novelle).

Each particular text (on the level of *parole*) consists of a different combination of the basic units. The set of rules — which is universal — will thus generate from the universal elementary units, models for every text. Nikiforov (1927), Lakoff (1972), and Jason (1967, 1976c) have worked in this direction, which is in some degree analogous to the theories of generative linguistics.

13

Macro-composition
of texts

Often the unit "whole tale" does not stand by itself. Units of whole tales may be combined in various ways, and opening and closing formulas may frame the tale and the narrative song. Let us enumerate methods of composition, starting from the loosest connections.

13.1 CYCLE OF NARRATIVES

A cycle of tales or songs is a group of tales, narrative songs, or jokes dealing with the adventures of a certain hero who always behaves in the same way. An example is the "wise fool" who is called Nasr-ad-Din (by Turkish- and Persian-speaking peoples and those of adjacent countries), Juha (by Arabic-speaking people) (see Wesselski 1911), Herschele (by Yiddish-speaking Eastern European Jews), or the foolish Graf Bobi and his friend Rudi (among people who were under Austro-Hungarian rule before World War I); he may be an epic hero, such as Marko, the king's son (South Slavic) or Il'ja of Murom (Russian — see Hapgood 1915), or he may be a mythic hero such as the Trickster (Coyote or Raven — American Indians — see Radin 1956). The tales and songs of the cycle are completely independent, and are each performed individually. The main hero tends to appear only in his cycle; his appearance in another genre is rarer. Neither Nasr-ad-Din nor Marko the king's son will

be found in a fairy tale, for instance. The cycle often contains all the works belonging to a certain genre in the ethnopoetic repertoire of a culture; works of this genre are not related with a different protagonist.

13.2 THE CHAINED NARRATIVE

The chained narrative is a tale composed of two or more otherwise independent tales, which in a certain presentation are told together as a unit. Each independent tale constitutes an episode within a whole episodic tale. The episodes are connected by the presence of the same central character throughout; in this or that episode other characters may be added. There are some genres which tend to form episodic tales, and others which usually do not form such tales. In those which do not form such chains, the whole-tale-unit tends to have a complex multi-moved structure. The narrator of an episodic tale commands a pool of episodes from which he chooses in each performance those which he likes. These episodes tend to be of the same genre; different genres are rarely mixed (see below, Example 9).

The episodic tale may be of two kinds: (1) equivalent chain, and (2) framed chain.

13.2.1 Equivalent chain

All episodes in the chain are equivalent and can freely interchange their place in it. There is no line of development from one episode to the next. The chain may start or end with any episode.

Many human and animal swindler tales, tales about encounters with the stupid ogre (carnavalesque fairy tales) and some numskull tales are composed in this way. From one episode to another one swindler cheats the other; or a numskull performs one numskull act after another. In animal tales the chain often closes with the death of one of the characters who then serves as food for the cheaters. (Various combinations of swindler tales are discussed in Jason 1971a).

13.2.2 Framed chain

The episodes in the chain are not equivalent. There are standard opening and closing episodes, which give a stable frame to the tale. The middle episodes may be of the equivalent chain type, i.e., freely interchangeable, or they may be ordered according to a line of development. The episodes are added to each other with a mounting effect, the last episode being the culmination and the resolution of the conflict in the tale.

A number of stories of various genres occur as chain tales with obligatory opening and closing episodes. Among these are carnavalesque fairy tales, swindler tales, numskull tales, and romantic epics.

Carnavalesque fairy tale. In the opening episode of the Brave Little Tailor tale (AT 1640), the hero kills a number of flies and thinks himself a great warrior. In the middle episodes he succeeds by cleverness (stupid ogre tales AT 1030-1198) or by accident (AT 1640 III, IV b, V) in overcoming fabulous adversaries. In the closing episode the youth is acknowledged as a great hero and wins finally both princess and kingdom. In the opening episode of the Doctor-know-all tale (AT 1641), a poor illiterate man tries his luck by claiming to be a fortune teller. In the middle episodes he succeeds by accident and sometimes by outright trickery in discovering thieves and passing other tests. In the closing episodes his reputation is established and he becomes rich. In the opening episode of the Bargain-not-to-get-angry tale, the terms of the bargain between the landlord and the worker are set (AT 1000): in the middle episodes (AT 1001-1029, 1120) the worker damages the landlord's property. The middle episodes culminate in the killing of the landlord's wife and children. In the closing episode the landlord is the angry one and is punished.

Example 7

A carnavalesque heroic fairy tale

A drakos (= stupid ogre) is constantly devouring a shepherd's sheep.
A friend of the shepherd volunteers to help. The tale proceeds with the following episodes:

(a) AT 1060 – Squeezing the (supposed) stone
The ogre takes the hero to his dwelling
(b) AT 1088 – Eating contest
(c) Drinking contest
(d) AT 1063 B – Throwing contest
(e) AT 1045 – Pulling the lake (well) together
(f) AT 1049 – Cutting wood
The ogre brings the hero back to the human world.
(g) AT 1146 – Millstones (to sharpen the hero's teeth).
(Greece: Megas 1970, no. 57)
In this genre the order of the episodes may be freely interchanged and other episodes may be substituted.

Swindler novella. The so-called master-thief tales are framed chain tales. In the opening episode the protagonist is a poor lad, and is usually offended by a powerful person. In the successive chain of episodes the lad commits a series of rogueries through which he avenges the insult; in the closing episode revenge is achieved, the offender is punished and the protagonist wins an honorable social position and wealth (AT 950, 1535, 1539, 1542).

Numskull tale. In the opening episode of the tale about the numskull wife and human husband, the wife performs a numskull deed, and the husband leaves her and sets out to find another person as stupid as his wife (AT 1384). In the middle episodes two situations are possible:

(a) The husband remains in the numskull realm, each consecutive episode being a numskull tale (AT 1200-1349, 1450). In the closing episode the husband returns to his numskull wife; and,
(b) The husband leaves the numksull realm, and the middle

episodes belong to the genre of the swindler novella (AT 1525-1639). In the closing episode the husband does not return to the numskull world. This latter is one of the rare cases in which tales of different genres are included in an episodic tale (see analyzed examples in Jason 1972; for case (a) example IFA 4548: AT 1384, 1387 *B—Jason 1965; for case (b) example IFA 1624: AT 1384, 1530, 1540).

13.2.3 Combined multi-moved tale

A special case of the episodic tale is the combination of two stories, each of which has a complex multi-moved structure. The foremost example of this case is the fairy tale. The fairy tale and the epic song are the most complex genres, exhibiting a multi-moved structure, and only very seldom an episodic composition. (By epic song, a song describing a single event is meant, such as Slavic epic poetry exhibits. Long epics, such as the Mahabharata, the song of the Nibelungs or Gilgamesh, which passed through the hands of many editors, do have a multi-episodic composition.)

While the fairy tale gives the full biography of its hero – he is born, grows up, sets out for adventure and marries, and thus fulfills a whole cycle of a generation from the family of orientation to the family of procreation, the epic song, however long, represents only a single incident in the life of its hero. It is therefore easier to add another story to a fairy tale by re-starting the cycle of the generation: the first hero married, a son was born and this son, or another junior to the first hero, now goes through the cycle of the generation again. The epic song represents fragments from the lives of its heroes and thus does not provide an opportunity for a follower to be the protagonist of an added song. In romantic epic, which is similar to fairy tales, there is a theoretical possibility for the occurrence of this structure. No such text has come to our attention so far, however.

The joining of two fairy tales performs the function of filling up narrating time in cultures in which long and complex narratives are valued. In remote villages, long winter nights have to be

filled up; thus a tale which can be extended to last several evenings is of greater interest than a shorter one, and keeps the audience committed to a certain narrator who skillfully knows how to combine several tales into a single whole (this reasoning is based on the author's field observation among Jews who immigrated from Kurdistan to Israel).

Example 8

A composed fairy tale

First story: A bald youth wins a fairy princess; after a separation with many adventures the couple is reunited (heroic fairy tale, AT 516 B, 856 II);

Second story: The son of the fairy wife is persecuted by the older wives of the youth (female fairy tale, AT 707 II, IV);

Third story: The son of the fairy wife becomes king; he sees the picture of a fairy beauty and sends his sons to fetch her; the youngest son, who is the grandson of the hero in the first tale, wins her (heroic fairy tale, AT 550).

(Uzbekistan: Ševerdin 1961, no. 30)

Combined tales of different genres. In the same way as two fairy tales are combined, tales of different genres may be combined into one episodic tale. Let us bring here several examples of such combinations which cross genre boundaries:

Example 9

(a) A fairy tale and a legend

Demonic legend: A she-demon proposes marriage to a luckless and poor youth and brings him wealth. The youth breaks a taboo and the she-demon abandons him and takes the wealth with her (cf. AT 400 I-IV).

Heroic fairy tale: The youth wins a princess who cannot solve his riddle (AT 851).

(Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 71)

The fairy tale is usually told separately; the combination seems to be unique.

(b) A sacred legend and a swindler novella

Aetiological legend: A poor Gypsy asks a saint to ask God what kind of livelihood God alloted to the Gypsy. The answer: You are to live by treachery.

Swindler novella: The Gypsy successfully beguiles people (AT 1642 V) (Russian: Afanas'ev 1914, no. 12).

The legend could stand by itself as an aetiolgical tale, answering the question: why do Gypsies live by treachery? The novella is usually told separately.

13.3   EMBEDDING NARRATIVE

Some tales demand, for the development of the plot, the inclusion of independent tales, the plots of which in themselves have no connection with the plot of the main tale. The tales which require such an embedded tale are the following:

The dumb (sad) princess is offered to the man who can make her speak (laugh) (heroic fairy tale, AT *559 I—Andreev 1929). The suitor makes marvelous objects tell stories (or tells them himself). Only tales ending with a query which can be answered in more than one way are suitable for inclusion here. Examples are the tale about the wooden doll which was built by several men, and the tale about three or four suitors who cooperate in healing (reviving) a princess (AT 653 A,B: Whom should the princess marry?). There are more such tales built on the principle of several persons cooperating in an enterprise, the question being who should enjoy the results. These tales are occasionally told by themselves but their appearance in the context of the dumb-princess tale is more common.

Example 10

Hero has to make a dumb princess speak. He tells two tales on two successive evenings: (a) AT 653 A — Who is to marry the princess whom three suitors restored to life by a cooperative effort? and (b) Three brothers cooperate on stealing a treasure; to whom shall it belong? (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 29; heroic fairy tale, AT 551 [AT 653 A]).

The fairy-tale suitor has to discover the story of a person who behaves in a strange way. The first person inquired of agrees to tell his story if the hero will find out the story behind the strange behavior of another person, and so on up to three (or seven) persons. The suitor succeeds in obtaining the story of the last person (usually AT 449); now the thread of the story runs backwards, and the hero finally wins the princess. The embedded tales are of a special quality: in all of them an irreparable disaster has befallen the protagonist, which in addition is his own fault. That is why he now behaves so strangely (mourns his unlucky fate or tries to amend it though there is no possibility of doing so). Examples are tales such as AT 400 I-IV: the fabulous wife is forever lost; AT 836 F*: the protagonist mourns his greed which resulted in the loss of his eyesight; the last tale is always the tale of Sidi Numan who killed his treacherous but nevertheless beloved wife. All of these embedded tales are otherwise told by themselves, and in this case the protagonist sometimes succeeds in changing his unlucky fate (as in AT 400 V-VI). While the connection between the embedding narrative and the embedded tale is quite clear in the dumb-princess tale (the tale should provoke the princess into solving the query which the tale poses, i.e., to compel her to speak up, and this she invariably does), in the case of the second tale the connection has not been clarified. So far only a few variants of this tale have been discovered, all in the Middle East (see Turkish: Eberhard-Boratav 1953, no. 204; Jewish Near Eastern: AT 850*A—Jason 1965).

13.4 ENVELOPING NARRATIVE

The device of making a character in an enveloping tale tell a narrative the plot of which has no connection with the plot of the enveloping tale, was widely used in the Medieval literature of Europe, the Middle East and India. It occurs in such works as the Indian Jatakas, the Arabian Nights, the Book of the Parrot, Boccaccio's Decamerone, and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. In all of these works the connection between the framework tale (the enveloping narrative) and the tale included (enveloped narrative) is wholly external: Khaliph Harun-al-Rashid is bored: ". . . when he has heard this story, he said: — This is not more wonderful than the story of the humpback, and ye must all of you be hanged . . . But afterwards he added: — O, tailor, if you tell me a story more wonderful than that of the humpback, I will forgive you your offences! — So the tailor advanced, and said: . . . " (Lane 1925, I:206). Any story will do in this framework. Parts of the Indian epic Mahabharata are similarly constructed.

13.5 BOUNDARY ELEMENTS

Any multi-episodic narrative, be it in prose or in verse, may be framed by opening and closing formulas: a multi-moved fairy tale, an epic song, a legend, or a multi-episodic swindler novella. The formulas have no connection with the plot of the tale, and are added to a presentation according to the whim of the narrator. Their function is primarily to separate the tale or song as a literary work from ordinary speech, and to announce the transition from the real world to the world of the story with its special time, space, and reality standards. An additional function of closing formulas is to indicate that the narrator expects compensation for his presentation. The formulas may range in diverse cultures from a short blessing to elaborate independent tales of the tall-tale genre. Descriptions of such formulas in Russian fairy tales can be found in Volkov (1924: 17-27) and Nikiforov (1971). Let us quote some examples:

Example 11

(a) Opening formulas of prose tales

On the sea, on the ocean,
On an island, on Buyan,
Stands a roasted bull,
Near by a crushed bow.
Three lads went by,
Dropped in and had breakfast.
They are going on,
They are boasting,
They are entertaining themselves:
We have been, [dear] comrades,
To such-and-such a place,
We have had our fill,
More than a village hag had dough.
That is a prelude,
And the tale is yet ahead.
(Russia: Afanas'ev 1957, I:292)

Once there was, never there was, beyond seven times seven
    countries there was a seventy-seven-year old poplar-tree;
On the seventy-seventh branch of this seventy-seventh poplar-tree
    there was a seventy-seven-year old skirt;
On the seventy-seventh fold of that seventy-seven-year old skirt
    there was a seventy-seven-year old booklet;
On the seventy-seventh page in the seventy-seventh section of this
    seventy-seven-year old booklet was a short fairy tale
That I want to tell you now.
(Hungary: Kovacs 1967:185)

There was not and there was never
Neither a judge nor a king,
Only God the Supreme, He existed.
Call: Happiness, happiness!
(Yemenite Jews; IFA 2140; swindler novella. Unpublished)

(b) Closing formulas of prose tales

Three bags of money dropped from the sky:
One for myself,
One for Flor Kohen,
One for the raconteur of this tale.
(Egyptian Jews: Narrated by Flor Kohen. IFA 3259; sacred
legend, AT 757. Unpublished)

I was there,
Mead-beer did I drink,
Along the moustache it flew
And the mouth it missed.
[They] served sturgeon meat,
I stayed without supper.
(Russia: Afanas'ev 1957:I:212)

Another version of the last two lines is:

I ate cabbage,
And my belly is empty.
(ib. III:243)

(c) The opening formula of an epic song

Eh! Here we sit, let us make merry!
Eh! May God bring us merriment,
Merriment and pleasant conversation,
Eh! And may He allot us greater good fortune,
In this place [where we are gathered] and in every [other]!
Now, my dear brothers,
We say that we shall sing the measures of a song.
Eh! It happened once in times long past;
Long ago it was, and now we remember it
Even in this place [where we are gathered] and in every [other].
Once in the days of old
Sultan Selim declared war . . .

(d) The closing formula of the same song

[. . .] May they [the heroes of the song] breed gray falcons
To bring woe to emperor and czar,

First daughters and then sons,
That the daughters-in-law may not overtake the sisters-in-law,
That there may be no strife in the house!
Eh! Thus I heard the tale and thus I have told it to you.
(Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, I:7,25, II: 68, 89; historic epic)

14

Formulaic numbers

In every culture there are certain numbers which play an important role in the patterning of that culture's artifacts, its ethnopoetry and other cultural items. Entities of various kinds are assembled in a certain number of units: patterns are repeated a certain number of times, and the like. These formula numbers may appear by themselves, or their multiples and divisions may be used. In Indoeuropean cultures the basic formula numbers are three and its multiples; in Semitic cultures, three and seven and their multiples. In some African cultures the basic formula numbers were found to be two and five and their multiples.

Greater numbers, such as 40 or 70, are symbols meaning "many". The notion of "many", a very great number, may be expressed by a non-numerical expression as well; for example: ". . . I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the Heaven and as the sand which is upon the seashore . . . (Genesis 22:17)."

So far examples from culture in general have been cited. Turning to ethnopoetry, one finds the formula number on many levels, both structural and contentual. Although it permeates many levels of the ethnopoetic work, the formula number is a surface phenomenon and does not affect deep-seated regularities. No important property of the narrative would change if the number of repetitions were to change. When tales migrate from one culture to another culture which has a different formula number, there is no difficulty in

adapting the tale to the new number. (A well-known example are the European tales which have been taken over by American Indian tribes and adapted to their formula numbers — see Thompson 1966).

The formula number enters into diverse combinations. If the number is n, the combinations may be the following: n; $n+1$; $(n-1)+1=n$; $2n$, $3n \ldots mn$; $n/2$.

On the level of narrative structure, whole episodes may multiply. The multiplication of episodes may be brought about in several ways. In some genres the hero is paralleled on the surface level by a negative hero. This dichotomy appears in the sacred legend as well as in the reward-and-punishment fairy tale which is related to the sacred legend (AT 480, 613, 676); some female fairy tales about a marvelous winning of a husband show the same dichotomous pattern (AT 403, 510). In the heroic fairy tales brothers are set in opposition; one succeeds while the rest fail. The failing, i.e., negative parallel of the hero, is multiplied so as to form formula numbers: two (or six) elder brothers fail, the youngest, the third (or seventh) succeeds. Thus use is made of the formula $(n-1)+1=n$.

Another way of multiplying episodes is to split into several episodes the task which the hero (or heroine) has to accomplish in order to win the spouse. Usually three (or seven) tasks are set. Each task requires a special marvelous helper to accomplish it. Thus there will be three (or seven) helpers, or marvelous objects, each able to perform one specific task only. That the task really is one is demonstrated by the fairy tale about the three suitors who jointly contribute to healing or reviving the princess whom they woo (AT 653 A, 653 B). The carrying out of the single task is divided between three (four) characters and their marvelous objects. Each of the suitors stands in the same relation to the person-to-be-won. They act in a single tale role, namely in the tale role of the hero of the heroic fairy tale. The hero has split into a formulaic number of characters.

The basic goal of the fairy-tale hero is to win a wife. This person-to-be-won may also multiply. The hero will win several maidens one after the other. In Christian cultures there will be three maidens; two of them the hero will give in marriage to his elder brothers (or companions). The formula used is $(n-1)+1=n$. In Moslem cultures in which a man is allowed to legally marry up to four wives, the hero may win four maidens and marry all of them himself. Here the formula number "three" has been adapted to the cultural reality of four legal wives. The winning of the maidens may be accomplished in three (or four) successive moves which are independent of each other, i.e., the whole tale has a tripartite (or quadripartite) division; or the hero may simultaneously find the three (or more) princesses together as captives of one dragon. In this case the multiplication of the princess is not functional to the plot of the tale.

The formula number is at work when attributes of characters are multiplied: a fairy-tale dragon may have three heads or any multiple of three, up to twenty-four. The dragon, however, is conceived as one person and these heads do not act independently. They have no functional use in the action of the tale, but serve solely as a symbol for the dragon's marvelous and superhuman physical power. The fairy tale projects properties of its characters onto the material plane. Once the power of the dragon becomes symbolized by his having more than one head, he may have any number of heads, and the narrator will pick up the formula number of his culture to designate the number of the dragon's heads. A relatively mightier dragon will have more heads than a less mighty one in the same tale.

The description of a character may be multi-partite. A beauty may be described in the following way: "... and the third daughter was like a spring flower: (1) the eyes — of a light like paradise, (2) on the face the dawn, (3) from the eyes tears are falling as if pearls were rolling" (Russian: Afanas'ev 1957, Vol. III, p. 355, a female fairy tale about winning a prince). That the poetic description is tripartite is not functional at all in indicating the beauty of the girl. To be described as "like a spring flower" would suffice to indicate the girl's beauty.

Other genres besides the fairy tale which have been described so far have been less thoroughly investigated with regard to the

influence of formula numbers, but this influence does exist. Thus the number of links in the chain of a formula tale is formulaic (seven, nine, twelve). In the Russian epic song the *bogatyr* Il'ja of Murom vows three vows when he starts on his way to present himself to King Vladimir in Kiev: (a) to reach Kiev the same day; (b) not to shed blood; (c) not to shoot his fiery darts (Hapgood, 1915:49). It is obvious that vows (b) and (c) deal with the same subject; one vow not to engage in battle would suffice, but then, of course, there would be only two vows. Further on we read that Il'ja's horse has a mane three ells long, a tail three fathoms long, and hair of three colors; the horse is covered with twelve saddle cloths, twelve felts, and so on (ib.). It would be highly impractical to put twelve saddle cloths on a horse instead of one; the multitude of objects should demonstrate the richness of the hero's equipment and thereby characterize the particular character as the main hero of the respective song. Let us close the description of the formula numbers by citing examples.

Example 12

(a) Euroasian cultures

The hero successfully fights three consecutive dragons: the first has 6 heads, the second 12 and the third 24 heads. The formula is: $\langle[(2n)\cdot 2]\cdot 2\rangle=24$, n=3 (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 312 D).

The hero's helper splits into seven characters: the 7 Simeons are able to accomplish the suitor's task of the hero only through cooperation (Russian: Afanas'ev 1957, no. 561; heroic fairy tale, AT 653 II, III; for details see Example 15[c]).

(b) North American Indian cultures

An uncle unsuccessfully attempts 4 times to kill his nephew. With the help of three objects the nephew succeeds three times to return to his parents. The fourth time the nephew reaches another world instead. The formula is: $(n-1)+1=n$, n=4. (Kodick: Thompson 1966, no. 60; genre not clear).

Five companions set out on a journey and have five consecutive adventures in five different villages. The formula is: n=5 (Quinault: Thompson 1966, no. 61; genre not clear).

(c) Construction of a narrative on the basis of the formula number

Episode 1: The hero is tricked into giving away his only cow without receiving payment because he refused to curse Satan.

Episode 2: Satan appears to the hero and turns into a big ox which the hero should sell to the people who cheated him.
a_1 These people buy the ox.
a_2 The ox disappears from the hands of its buyers.

Episode 3: Satan turns into a beautiful horse and the hero sells it to the cheaters' leader, the judge.
Group I:
a_1 The judge tries to ride the horse; the horse throws him off.
a_2 People console the judge with the beauty of the horse; the horse neighs to underline its beauty.
b_1 At the water pool of the mosque the horse indicates that it wants to drink.
b_2 The horse disappears into the pool.
Group II:
c_1 The judge commands the people to look for the horse in the pool; they do not find it.
c_2 The judge again sends them into the water, but nothing is there.
d_1 In the midst of his prayer the judge looks towards the pool. and lo! the horse lifts its head out of the water.
d_2 The judge again sends people to look for the horse in the pool. They do not find it.
e_1 The judge again looks towards the pool and sees the horse walking on the water.
e_2 The judge again sends his people to the pool and they do not find anything.

Group III:

f₁ The judge sees the horse's head in the wall and tries to catch it.

f₂ The judge sees the entire horse walking inside the wall and tries to catch it.

(Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 16; reward-and-punishment fairy tale). The formula is: 1, 2 ⟨[a(1,2)]⟩ , 3⟨I[a(1,2), b(1,2)], II[c(1,2), d(1,2), e(1,2)], III[f(1,2)]⟩ .

There are three episodes, each one more complex than the preceding one. Episode 3 consists of 3 pairs of actions, divided into three groups; the second group contains three pairs of actions. Thus the actions in the third episode are organized on three levels (single action, pair of actions, groups of pairs). The formulaic number is 3, with its multiples.

(d) The expression of "many"

The author had the opportunity to record a Yemenite Jewish version of the novella about the woman who deceives three would-be lovers (IFA 1148, AT 1730): The woman dresses and goes to the bazaar (note: in this culture a modest woman never goes to the bazaar alone) and successively offers her favors to three men: "My husband left me forty years ago . . ." It can be imagined that a woman who was left by her husband forty years ago must be at least fifty-two years old and thus not very attractive. The recorder remarked to the narrator that forty years would be rather much. He corrected himself: the woman meant many years ago. But as he narrated the woman's conversation with the next man, he again used the designation: "forty years ago". Thus the number "forty" appears to be a symbol for "many".

In the same manner the forty years of reign of King David and King Solomon should be understood (I Chronicles 29:27, II:9:30); This is also true with respect to the reign of the judges which last for twenty or forty years each (Judges 8:28, 15:20).

The same can be said about the number seventy. Jacob's family which descended into Egypt numbered seventy persons (Genesis 46:27; in order to fulfill the number, all the grandchildren had to be included); seventy years was the duration of the first exile to Babylon (II Chronicles 36:21). In reality it was forty-eight years, from 586 B.C.E. to 538 B.C.E.

Content

Contentual term

Two kinds of contentual entities can be distinguished: Contentual terms and contentual verbs. Contentual terms function in the work as characters or requisites; verbs function as actions of narrative roles. Of these, the semantics of contentual terms is the better-investigated field and will be dealt with here.

A multitude of contentual terms are used in ethnopoetry. These can be of anthropomorphous, zoomorphic and object-like **shape** or show any combination of these. Another segmentation cross-divides the terms into realistic, fabulous and symbolic **categories**. Any of these entities can **function** in the work as characters or as requisites.

Each culture or cultural area possesses its repertoire of contentual terms, every genre contributing its own assortment of terms to the repertoire of the culture. Each term exhibits a typical frequency of appearance and specific attributes in particular genres.

A term can be understood as a **patterned bundle of distinctive features** which form the basic units of content (in Propp's 1928 term, "attributes"). Here these features will be described for each kind of term, and the distribution of terms in genres will be sketched.

The system of distinctive features of contentual terms for a genre or for a culture, the measure of flexibility or rigidity of this system, the interrelations of the distinctive features and the

co-occurrence rules governing the system, the degree of differentiation of units and the position and frequency of appearance of the terms in the nodes of the structural network, the means of measuring the distances of genres by co-ordinates in the ethnopoetic field, and similar semiotic questions have hardly been investigated so far (see Meletinskij et al. 1969, 1971; the "content analysis" techniques do not address themselves to these problems — see Jason 1976a). The following is a very general discussion of terms; examples are taken from the world over, so as to give a broad overview. Special investigations are necessary for examining in detail the semantics of terms appearing in a genre within the framework of the culture in which the genre is current.

In certain genres terms are not static, but undergo a change in the course of the narrative: they may be born, grow up, set out for adventures, marry, i.e., change from the bachelor state to the married state; grow old, die, and go on playing as dead souls, i.e., change from realistic living humans to miraculous beings; they may change their social status and property conditions or their state of health; they may change from animate to inanimate beings and vice versa. This quality has to be accounted for in the system of distinctive features.

Terminology. Let us set down in the form of definitions our basic concepts (see also Jason 1975a):

Contentual term — The substance of which ethnopoetry is built. There are three shapes of terms: anthropomorphous, zoomorphic and object-like, or any combination of these; any of them can be of the realistic, fabulous or symbolic category, and can function as character or requisite.

Distinctive feature — The components which make up the contentual term, and do not exist by themselves. A distinctive feature can be conceptualized as a vector. Each entity has its location on a point of the vector of every distinctive feature, of which the term is composed (in Propp's 1928 term: attributes of the narrative role).

Character — A contentual term, playing actively in a narrative role. In the framework of the narrative structure such an entity is a "contentual unit" (see above, paragraph 12.1).

Figure — A character possessing individual traits, which other characters in the same culture and genre do not share (these are, among others, specific modes of behavior and individual names of historical, pseudohistorical or symbolic personages). These qualities are special points on the segments of vectors of distinctive features otherwise generally shared by the character.

Requisite — A contentual term, not playing a narrative role. Requisites serve as modifiers of characters (such as items of attire or silent background family members) and spatial or temporal segments (such as landscape features which do not act).

16

Category of the contentual term

Realistic terms. Realistic terms possess the same qualities and only those qualities which corresponding natural entities of the same shape possess. The shape of realistic terms is permanent and does not change in the course of the narrative. These terms can appear in all genres of ethnopoetry, except in myth in which every entity has creation qualities, i.e., is fabulous.

Fabulous terms. Fabulous terms possess qualities which the corresponding natural entities of the same shape do not possess. They comprise numinous and marvelous terms.

Fabulous terms appear in all three shapes: they may be anthropomorphous, zoomorphic, or object-like. They may have a stable shape, or may be endowed with the ability to change their shape at will. Often, the various shapes a fabulous term is believed to take on are actually part of the system of society's social symbols and thus are not really thought of as corresponding to reality (for example, totem animals — see Levi-Strauss, 1963). There is a great diversity in the fabulous population the world over. Each genre and each culture contributes its varieties of terms. In spite of this colorful diversity, fabulous beings have one trait in common: all of them are believed to be able in some shape or other to enter into sexual relationships with humans, to produce mixed offspring and even to establish stable marital unions with humans, i.e., to enter the human social system. Moreover, unsuspecting humans may give birth to children of a fabulous nature of any shape, who have fabulous powers at their command.

Example 13

(a) Unions of deities and humans in Greek mythology which produce the heroes. "Sons of God" marry "daughters of men" in Hebrew mythology (Ancient Hebrew: Genesis 6:2 myth).

(b) A human male marries a female demon and the couple is the ancestor of a human clan (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 50; demonic legend).

(c) Heroic and female fairy tales end regularly with the semi-human hero marrying the marvelous prince/princess.

(d) A human barren couple receives a marvelous remedy which induces the hero's birth. The child born is the marked hero of the fairy tale, who serves as mediator between the human and the marvelous world, i.e., he is inherently mixed.

A poor fisherman receives from a marvelous fish a remedy for his barren wife. Twin brothers, twin mares and twin dogs are born. The boys grow until the age of 18 years, and then they set out for adventures. The tale ends with the happy marriage of both brothers (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 303).

Symbolic terms. Symbolic terms are realistic or fabulous entities which lost some or all of their original qualities and became symbols of another entity or of a concept, a social institution, or a literary form. Terms of any sort in a formula tale (AT 2000 ff.) symbolize a link in a chain; in some tales of lying the terms symbolize the concept of gradation. Terms in proverbs signify an infinite number of particular cases in society (see below, chapter 21).

17

Narrative function
of the contentual term

17.1 CHARACTER

The character fills a narrative role (see chapter 12.1). To be sure, characters exist in genres both with and without a narrative plot. Non-narrative genres, such as the lyric song, proverb and riddle also show a rich repertoire of characters. These are in general less active than characters in genres with a narrative plot, and are shown in one situation only, at a specific moment.

Animals and objects which function as characters, may either be fabulous, possessing various human and superhuman qualities, or realistic, similar to their natural counterparts. Both kinds are slightly anthropomorphised in that they possess the human ability to reason and speak.

A character can be active or passive in the narrative. An **active character** acts by himself in a narrative role. A **passive character** fills a narrative role, but does not behave actively. He is manipulated by active characters. An example is the fairy-tale princess. She plays in the narrative role the "person-to-be-sought-for" in Propp's 1928 system, but does not necessarily appear on the stage at all. Other characters talk about her, her father gives her away in marriage to the hero who won her, but she herself does not undertake a single deed or utter a word.

Example 14

The character in non-narrative genres

(a) Lyric song

> A random selection of ten German love songs feature in each a pair of lovers (twice the male lover is only spoken about without his acting): once the girl's mother acts; once a rival girl, some friends of the lover and a goldsmith are mentioned (Weber-Kellermann 1957, nos. 32-42).

> In a random sample of ten Russian love songs the couple acts (four times the girl is only spoken about); three times a rival suitor is mentioned and once matchmakers are described (Lopyreva 1955, pp. 185-198, 206).

(b) Proverb

> **Hungry dogs** will eat dirty pudding (p. 34).

> **Kings** and **bears** oft worry their **keepers** (p. 37).

> Married **folk** are like rats in a trap — fain to get **others** in, but fain to be out themselves (p. 42).

> (Scotland: Henderson 1881)

(c) Riddle

> The **son** of O'Sliopáin and his foot [is] sore
> and his two big eyes [are] at the back of his head
> (A mud frog) (p. 21, no. 162a).

> Two small well dressed **girls**,
> They caught fever and died.
> (Two candles) (p. 28, no. 214)

> (Ireland: Hull and Taylor 1955)

17.1.1 Quantitative aspect of the character

A character may be a single individual who acts, or a group of individuals who are similar in some important aspect and act as one person. Such group characters may be for instance a kinship group; an ethnic or a national group, an age or a professional

group, a central personage and his retinue, or a group of beings defined by their nature (men, angels, ghosts, animals, objects). A special form of the group character is an organized unit which has a leader, such as a band of thieves or robbers and their leader. In this case there is an interplay between the leader and his follower(s), but as a result of this interplay the whole group acts in the narrative as one character. In other narratives the group may be without the leader and yet act in the same way. Another case of the group character is the splitting of the hero's marvelous helper in the fairy tale. The helper may split into several characters, each fulfilling a special part of a single task.

Example 15

(a) King Vladimir and his court form a group character with a leader (Russia: Hapgood 1915, pp. 49-57; national epic). A persecuted Jewish community is a group character (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, nos. 49, 64; sacred legends). If a rabbi is also acting, he plays the role of the leader. The robbers in the sacred legend analyzed in Example 6 are a group character.

(b) Instead of a single dragon, a group of dragons may appear in a fairy tale: 40 dragons with their mother as leader (the 41st) (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

(c) The marvelous fairy-tale helper may split into several characters, each fitted for a special part of the task which the hero has to perform. Only through their cooperation can the task be accomplished, i.e., they really act as one character. Seven brothers, all called Simeon, fetch a princess for their king: the first is a smith; the second a climber who sees the whole world from above; the third builds a marvelous ship in an instant; the fourth can lower the ship into the underworld and bring it back; the fifth is a sharpshooter; the sixth catches a bird in flight; the seventh is a thief (Russia: Afanas'ev 1957, no. 561; heroic fairy tale, AT 653 II, III).

17.1.2 Patterning of the repertoire of characters

The basic patterning of the characters proceeds along the line of opposition: we/other. "We" are the side the narrating community identifies with.

In the **myth** "we" will be humans vs. mythical creative forces, and if the creative forces are divided, the divine camp will be "our", human-allied (Christian God, Ormazd), the God-hostile camp will be "others" (Lucifer, Ahriman). In the struggle between the two camps, humans are allies of God, but at the same time have some satanic qualities, i.e., are a kind of mediators.

In **legend** either "we", humans, are pitted against sacred, satanic or demonic beings or "we" is a moral and/or religious norm which is being enforced in the legend. In aetiological legends in which no humans act, "our" side is represented by the religious and ethical values working in the story, which are those of "our" society. In legends of early populations, the giants or dwarfs are "they" who through their acts prepare the final spatial stage for "us".

In the **fairy-tale** we have "this", our world vs. the "other", marvelous world of beings (these include active and passive marvelous objects), with the protagonist who has qualities of both camps, as a mediator.

In the **novella** "our" hero is the winning side, whether a proponent of a moral value (a wronged person winning his case) or its opposite (a successful rascal). The side which is "ours" is not conditioned by its social status either, i.e., it is not automatically the "poor" who is "we". In a situation of rivalry and conflict between socio-cultural groups, the successful hero will be given the distinctive feature of belonging to "our" socio-cultural group, and the losing party to the other groups.

In **lyric song**, instead of "we" there is the "me" of the singer, the "other" being, say, the unfaithful or absent lover.

In the **epic** the distinction between "us" and the "other" is most clearly stated: our clan, tribe, nation against the enemy, and open warfare prevails between the two. There is no possibility of a mediator (hence in the known episode of the fight between father and son who do not know each other, the son has to die: he is the offspring of "our" hero and an enemy princess, i.e., he belongs to both camps, a position which is impossible in the epic).

In the **proverb** and **parable**, "our" side are the values and principles which the wise precept of the work recommends, and the "other" is the bad conduct which it condemns (see Jason 1971b). In the **numskull tale**, the world of the numskulls is the "other" camp as opposed to "our", human world (see Jason 1972). The characters in the **riddle** and **tall tale** are not patterned along the opposition we/other.

17.2 REQUISITE

Requisites are entities which do not act in the ethnopoetic work, but function as modifiers of characters and of spatial and temporal segments. Most often objects are employed as requisites, but zoomorphic, and still rarer, anthropomorphous entities are employed too. Objects surround a character as attire, possessions, utensils, implements of house and settlement, and beings who function as a retinue. Landscape features indicate the category and segment of space of the stage of action (see below, paragraph 19.2).

Example 16

(a) Anthropomorphous terms as requisites

A female demon gives birth to a baby-demon: the baby does not act in any way. The incident shows the demons as a replica of humans (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 23; demonic legend: AT 475*.-*A–Jason 1975c).

The poor brother has many children, who are hungry, while he has no food for them. The children do not act in the tale. The poverty of the poor brother is emphasized by his being unable to feed his children (reward and punishment fairy tale: AT 676).

(b) Zoomorphic entities as requisites

The poor peasant's horses are skinny, and few in number: the rich man's cows are fat and many (Japan: Seki 1963, no. 27; resembles a fairy tale of the AT 425 content, but seems to be a demonic legend).

A mixed couple (a she-demon and a human) slaughter their calves, but nevertheless their cows still have the calves. The she-demon explains: Every cow has in reality two calves, but demons take one away and leave the other calf for man; my family did not take this other calf from us. The incident with the calves serves to characterize the wife as a demon. (Norway: Christiansen 1964; no. 50; demonic legend).

(c) Objects as requisites

A character's attire will be mentioned to indicate his social, economic or other status:

"Il'ja first put on the plaited bridle, next twelve saddle cloths, twelve felts, and upon them a metal-bound Cherkessian saddle . . ." (Russia: Hapgood 1915:49; national epic).

None of these objects is used later on in the work; they serve to indicate the warrior-status of Il'ja.

Landscape features indicating space regions

"We are passing through the glittering Glass Mount of Fairyland . . . (p. 70) . . . The boy looked around and saw a beautiful meadow . . . of pure silk . . . (p.,71) . . . (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale: AT 463 A*).

The Glass Mountain and the Silk Meadow are indicators that the hero came to Fairyland (see below, paragraph 19.1, Area 5, and 19.2.8), and serve instead of dry information saying that the hero did indeed reach Fairyland.

18

Shape of
the contentual term

Distinctive features of the terms will be described by the order of their shapes. This is an arbitrary decision; the distinctive features could be described just as well if they were ordered by the categories of the terms.

Distinctive features may be explicitly mentioned in the texts; however, more often they are not, and have to be inferred from other details in the work or from knowledge of the particulars of the narrating society's culture. The difference between explicit and implicit distinctive features as a semantic indicator has not yet been explored, however.

18.1 ANTHROPOMORPHOUS TERMS IN ETHNOPOETRY

18.1.1 Distinctive features of anthropomorphous terms

18.1.1.1 Origin. A term may simply be here, or its origin may be related. In myth, man is created in some manner. In sacred legend the protagonist may be born by a miracle to a previously barren woman or to a virgin. In the fairy tale the protagonist and his helpers may be born by marvelous means to previously barren parents. Fabulous beings may come into being in a multitude of other ways, too.

Example 17

(a) A son is born after a saint blesses the mother, who was previously barren (Eastern European Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 9; sacred legend).

(b) Marvelous princesses come into being from a goat's spittle, which the hero collected (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, vol. II: no. 146, variant a; heroic fairy tale, AT 465).

18.1.1.2 Age. Anthropomorphous terms may be of some definite age. This age may have a relation to the narrative role; or, age may be irrelevant and not indicated in the narrative at all. Age is counted not by an exact number of years but by stages of life, such as childhood, youth, adulthood marriageable age, parenthood, manhood and old age. Marriageable age is an especially important moment in man's life and figures prominently in fairy tales and epics. In this case an exact but formulaic count of years is sometimes mentioned. Otherwise, age is indicated by attributes of the personage: an old man is described as hardly being able to walk, as having a long, white beard, as sitting constantly on the oven, or otherwise exhibiting traits which the respective culture attributes to old people. That a term is the parent of a grown-up indicates that this term is of middle age. The simplest indication is of course to simply call the term 'the grandfather', 'the child' or the like. This label, however, does not always indicate real age − in Russia any married woman is called *baba,* the exact meaning of which is "grandmother". In Near Eastern tales, a youth of marriageable age may be called 'child'. The real age of the respective character can be concluded from his acts.

Example 18

(a) Age given by number of years

The hero starts out by being "five years old." A short time later, he is already able to make his way alone in the world. From the moment he leaves his parental home he seems to be a youth of marriageable age. The first specification "five years" should indicate a stage of still irresponsible childishness (the hero pities and releases a dangerous ogre, whom his father just succeeded in

capturing) (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, no. 15; heroic fairy tale, AT 502, AT 300).

Extremely old age: an old man is said to be "ninety years and nine years and nine months and nine days" old; a character is "as old as a man of eighty years" (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 28; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

(b) Age given by stages of life

An "old man" and a "youngster" are confronted in the following tale: the old man and the lad return from market and take shelter from the rain. The old man's cough so annoys the lad that he kills the old man. The old man's wife is pregnant and bears a son. After several years the son grows up to be a youth and the former lad has grown to be an old man. They meet on their way from the market; now the old man (the murderer) annoys the lad (the victim's son) by coughing. In the resulting quarrel the murderer confesses his guilt and the lad takes revenge for his murdered father (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 110; sacred legend, AT 960).

The time which may reasonably pass from birth to maturation might be estimated between 15-20 years. This is not enough to make a lad (who was himself between 15 and 20 years old at the time he murdered the first "old man") an "old man" who is constantly coughing. He could be at most 40-50 years old. In the same manner, "coughing old men" usually do not any more beget children, as our murdered man did. Thus, the age is relative and serves in the tale to contrast the characters in a symmetrically built narrative.

(c) Age indicated by the acts of the character

Two brothers who are labeled "children", are driven out of their home by their stepmother. Shortly afterwards the older of the two kills a dragon and the younger marries a princess. Afterwards, another character in the tale considers the older brother to be still a child, young enough to be allowed access to women's apartments. Immediately after that, the brother seems to be grown-up enough so that the woman in question falls in love with

him. Thus, the age of the hero is changed according to the needs of the tale's action (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 12; heroic fairy tale, AT 300, AT 567, AT 978).

The life cycle. Two kinds of terms are shown in their full life cycle: mythic ancestors of man, and fairy-tale heroes. Both can be described from birth (or, in the former case, creation) through the whole life cycle, until they reach old age and die. The death of mythic human ancestors is mythic, i.e., it establishes the fact of human mortality. Cycles of songs tell about the epic hero's birth (often fabulous), his growing up with fabulous speed, his acquiring warrior skills, strength and weapons, his marriage and exploits in full manhood. Epic heroes may also be described in their full life cycle, with their growing old and dying (often in a tragic battle). The epic's interest concentrates, however, on the warrior in his manhood, and this is how he appears in the bulk of the songs (the epithet "old" which is attached to the Russian epic hero Il'ja of Murom does not indicate his age, but rather his senior position among the rest of the heroes).

Example 19

In an epic song a single episode from the hero's life is usually described; in composite epics, however, the whole life span of its heroes may be described, and even their family history, traced for several generations. Examples are the artificial epics Shah-name and the two Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Beowulf is shown in the second half of his life, ending with his death. The romantic epic and heroic fairy tale tend to follow their hero from birth to marriage; here Central Asian epics may be mentioned (Uzbek epics: Al'pamiš, Kutungmiš, Raušan, Arzygul' — see publication by Milman 1958, and Buryat Mongolian Alamži Mergen — see publication by Novikov 1959).

Fixed age. There are narrative roles which call for a character of a certain age. The protagonist of the fairy tale, whether male or female, is usually introduced into the fairy tale exactly at marriageable age. The fabulous beings, which the hero meets in

the fairy tale and which play the donor role, are usually described as old. The fairy-tale princess-to-be-won is always of marriageable age; she remains so for as long as a generation or even an entire century.

Example 20

The princess-to-be-won is always exactly of marriageable age and does not grow older. She is part of the fairy-tale world, lives in it and may have displayed her picture in the human world for long periods of time. As the picture does not change so she does not change (Abkhazia, Caucasus: Bgažba 1959, no. 1: heroic fairy tale, AT 516 I).

A king tried in vain to win a marvelous beauty; when his son grows up, he sets out and wins the same beauty. She apparently did not grow older in the meantime (Osetia, Caucasus: Britaev and Kazbekov 1951, no. 35; heroic fairy tale, AT 550, AT 519).

The fairy princess informs the hero: "You were still in your mother's womb when I began to dream that you would free me from my castle." — Thus, the princess must have been at least near maturation at the time the hero was born, and at the moment of his maturity she is still a beauty of exactly marriageable age (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

The princess-to-be-won may sleep for a hundred years, as does the Sleeping Beauty in Grimm's version of AT 410. In some other versions the period of sleep or seclusion is undefined (France: Massignon 1968, no. 37; heroic fairy tale), or may be given as one year (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 16; female fairy tale).

See Example 90.

Mythic beings — various deities — are born and grow up to a certain life-period from where on their age remains constant. As they are by definition immortals, they do not grow old and die. The dying fertility god really does not die but descends periodically into the nether world only to return — "be reborn" — again.

Demonic beings are usually grown-ups. They may take on the shape of a young or old human or animal, but this is only an external shape which has nothing to do with their real age, in so far as this dimension is at all applicable to demonic beings. Sometimes extremely old age is thought to be a characteristic property of demonic beings. Extremely old age tends to slide over into agelessness. Occasionally, demonic beings give birth, and thus baby-demons are introduced into the narrative; yet we never hear about the process of such a baby-demon growing up, growing old and dying. In the same manner the death of a demonic being is rarely related. In a single tale this death is only mentioned, and mourned, but nothing is said about the demon's age. It is a static moment, as if this particular demon had his age fixed the moment of just having died and had never been younger (see Mot. F 442.1).

Example 21

(a) Deities: Eros/Cupid is born, grows up to be a youth and remains so; Appollo is always a young man in his twenties; Zeus is an adult in about his forties; Silenus the satyr has always been old (Classic Greece).

(b) Demons: a changeling is revealed by one's behaving strangely in his presence (something is cooked in egg shells, or a small quantity of food is cooked in a very large vessel). The demon betrays himself by responding that in all his long life time he hasn't seen such a way of behaving. He has already lived for as long as to have seen a famous forest burnt down three times and regrown (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 40; demonic legend).

A baby-demon appears only in a tale in which a human midwife is called to help a she-demon give birth. The result of the birth is a baby-demon who, however, does not act in the tale — it is a requisite (Ireland: O'Sullivan 1966, no. 26; demonic legend, AT 476*-*A — Jason 1975c).

Some epic heroes are believed not to have died, but to be in hiding, and sleeping, while awaiting the eschatological epoch. When the proper time comes, they will awaken, return to their people and lead them to freedom and bliss. This issue of "hiding" introduces an element of fixation and changelessness — the hero does not age from here on. At the time of hiding he

is in full manhood and is expected to reemerge after hundreds of years of "sleep", still in the same life period of full manhood. The enemy in the epic is described in much less detail, and we see him as a grown warrior of fixed and unchangeable age. His death is not a result of growing old but of a defeat in battle while in full manhood.

Example 22

The epic hero, Marko, the king's son, does not die but sleeps in a cave together with his steed, Šarac (Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 7; historic epic).

See also Example 89.

Elastic age. In legends, both sacred and demonic, elastic age is found. The phenomenon is a result of different time systems prevailing in the different worlds contained in the legend. While in the human world time flows according to a certain rhythm, that rhythm changes in the world of demonic beings or in the realm of the religious afterworld, in both Paradise and Hell. In the non-human world time flows slower than in the human world: hours or days in legendary worlds are years and even centuries in the human world. If a human stays in one of the legendary worlds, he will live according to the time of the legendary world, while in the human world the flow of time is much quicker. He will, for instance, grow only three days older; however, the moment he comes back to the human world and realizes the amount of human time which passed while he was away, he lives through this amount of time in that very moment and becomes biologically as old as he would have been had he not been to this other world. This means that for humans time flows on, and they have to age even if they pay a visit outside of the human world, to which they properly belong (see below, paragraph 20.1.3 for a discussion of fabulous time).

Another case of elastic time is rejuvenation. An old human receives fabulous means, and upon using them he becomes young again (means, such as special fabulous food — the apple of paradise; or water to bathe in). Time has not only stopped

for him but has reverted its flow and started over again. In the opposite case, when a young anthropomorphous being becomes old by using fabulous means (by mistake or as a punishment, of course), time has contracted for him, but not reverted its flow.

Example 23

An old black slave bathes in a fabulous pond and becomes young and white; the jealous wicked minister is sent to bathe in the same or a neighboring pond and becomes old and black (Near Eastern Jews; legend of fate, AT 930 *G—Jason 1965).

See AT 766, the legend about the seven sleepers (Germany: Grimm 1969, no. 202; see also Examples 87, 89).

Agelessness. Many of the characters seem to be ageless, i.e., their age is irrelevant to the action or semantics of the tale, and is therefore in no way indicated. Examples are the numinous immortals of the legend (demonic beings, satanic and holy beings — angels, saints, active sacred objects), most heroes of the novella, especially in the swindler novella and in the related animal novella (all of the animals are ageless, except when an animal's young are mentioned), and some of the fairy-tale marvelous beings are ageless too. The fairy-tale dragon has no age; nor have many of the hero's marvelous helpers.

18.1.1.3 Sex. Terms can be male or female, can be of changing sex, have both sexes, or can be sexless altogether.

Explicitly male are the protagonists and adversaries in epics and heroic fairy-tales; the fairy-tale dragon is always male. They have a sexually mixed surrounding, with the female spouse playing a prominent role. The protagonist in legend seems to be more often male than female; likewise in the novella. The swindler as well as the saint are mostly male with only a few female counterparts. The wise men of Gotham are represented through more male then female characters. Female protagonists play in all female fairy tales, and in many ballads and lyric songs. To date, reliable statistical data, however, are nonexistent in all cases.

While clear-cut male or female figures need no additional explanation, the cases of changing sex, of sexlessness and of double sex merit a few words.

Change of sex. Sex is changed in extraordinary circumstances only. Two kinds of changes can be distinguished: real change, and a change by disguise. A character changes sex by disguising himself in order to beguile somebody; in fairy tales and novelle about a persecuted heroine the woman often disguises herself as a man in order to escape seducers and unwanted suitors; in novelle a man will disguise himself as a woman in order to gain unlawful access to women's apartments. In Christian legend Satan may appear in female shape in order to tempt a man (a saint).

Real change of sex is much rarer. It is worked by a miracle, in legend and the epic. The character is originally of a certain sex, and from this is transformed temporarily or permanently into the opposite sex. The transformation is done with a specific limited purpose in mind.

Example 24

(a) Change of sex by disguise

The master thief disguises himself as a girl and is left in the care of a man with seven daughters by his mother who pretends to go on a pilgrimage. He rapes the daughters and kills the father (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 126; carnavalesque fairy tale, AT 1525 *S—Jason 1965).

Satan (thought of as male) takes on the shape of a beautiful woman in order to tempt a Christian saint (England: Briggs and Tongue, 1965, no. 34; sacred legend).

Halfway between disguise and real change of sex stands one of the Trickster's adventures: the Trickster, basically male (he has sexual intercourse with women — nos. 15, 16) disguises himself as a woman, is married and gives birth to children (Winnebago, North American Indians: Radin 1956, nos. 19, 10; myth).

(b) Real change of sex

This may be brought about by a miracle or by a marvel. It occurs once in the epic of Mahabharata: Amba is offended by Bhishma, but as a female she cannot avenge herself on the warrior. She receives a gift from the gods and wishes to be reborn as a male so as to be able to meet Bhishma in the battle field; in the course of her second life she is given the male sex by a lower deity (Jacobi 1903: 13, 74-76, permanent change of sex; see also AT 514).

In a sacred legend an apostate is brought by the sacred power to another country, transformed into a woman, and bears children: after seven years the person is brought back and his original sex is restored (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 64; sacred legend, AT 681 *A—Jason 1965; temporary change of sex). (See Example 91)

Androgynous beings. The first creator and the human ancestor are sometimes conceived of as consisting of both sexes, in order to be able to produce offspring.

Example 25

The Dahomean creator is double-sexed; one of his faces is Mawu — the female, the other Lisa — the male. In the next generation the sexes part and twins are born: the male Da Zodji and the female Noyhwe Ananu (Dahomey, West Africa: Herskovits 1958, no. 1; myth).

Sexlessness. The sex of many terms is not mentioned in the course of the narrative because it is irrelevant to the plot. Demonic beings and heavenly and satanic beings are most often sexless. In the Christian pantheon both angels and devils are male, but this property is irrelevant in the narrative, and thus they function sexlessly (except in legends of magic about witches where Satan functions as the sexual partner of witches; when in a Christian satanic legend the devil takes the form of a beautiful woman, to tempt a saint, it is a disguise and not a real change of sex). In some mythologies there are deities, especially the supreme beings, which are sexless (examples are Brahman and the post-exilic Jahweh; the pre-exilic Jahweh was male).

18.1.1.4 Mode of behavior.

Some tale roles demand the characters who fill them to display a specific behavior. This behavior becomes a trait of the character which is its permanent epithet, and forms the respective personage. The epic hero has to be brave and sometimes a renown drunkard; a wife or lover has to be either exemplarily faithful or exemplarily treacherous and evil; a judge, wise and just; a saint, exemplarily pious, displaying all positive qualities the respective society values; a thief exceptionally good at sleight of hand; a witch evil, and the like. The behavioral properties, the appearance and attire of the personage are fitted to these epithets: the evil witch is old and exceptionally ugly, the brave hero is handsome and so on.

Example 26

"But there dwelt in Kief in those days a hero and good youth, Vasily Ignatievich by name, who abode in the imperial pot-house. He had squandered in drink his wife's dowry and all his possessions. "Ho, there, ye princes and nobles!" quoth Prince Vladimir, "Summon Vasily Ignatievich hither to me." Then the nobles went to the royal pot-house, and sought out Vasily, and addressed to him these words: "Ho, there, little **Vasily the Drunkard**: Why dost thou lie there naked on the oven, without a thread? . . ." (Russia: Hapgood 1915:133; national epic).

18.1.1.5 Physical appearance.

What do anthropomorphous characters in ethnopoetry look like? Ethnopoetry is very economical in describing the appearance of its characters. If given at all, such descriptions always fulfill some function in the plot of the narrative. The description and characterization of the terms may be divided into descriptions of their persons and descriptions of their attire (costume, weapons).

A person is never described in a portrait-like manner. Even in love songs the description is given in standard formulas.

Example 27

"Cheeks has she as red as roses
Small teeth look like silver wire

Small eyes are blacker than a cock
Small breasts are whiter than a swan."
(Germany: Weber-Kellermann 1957, no. 46; lyric song)

In fairy tales the bride will be designated as "beautiful" "as beautiful as the sun/moon," and the negative anti-heroine as "ugly" (see below, Example 99).

In the epic, the girl will be described in more detail:

Example 28

"[. . .] in all the white world, no such beauty was ever seen or heard of; lofty was her stature and dainty her walk; her eyes were as those of the bright falcon, her brows of blackest sable, and her white body was beyond compare." (Russia: Hapgood 1915:20; national epic)

The epic hero is prominent first of all for his physical strength, which is shown by his acts. The overwhelming physical strength of the hero in the national and universal epic characterizes him as superhuman. This characterization can be achieved in two ways: by describing the hero himself in hyperbolic terms, or by describing his enemy in such terms. It is clear that the hero must be stronger than this huge enemy if he succeeds in overcoming him.

Example 29

(a) The enemy

"Our *Idol* is three fathoms well-measured in height, and three in breadth; his head is like a beer-kettle, his eyes like drinking cups. His nose is an ell long from its roots, and he cheweth the cud like an aurochs." (Russia: Hapgood 1915:136; national epic)

"Nightingale the Robber [. . .] thrust his turbulent head out from his nest upon seven oaks; sparks and flame poured from his mouth and nostrils. Then he began to pipe like a nightingale, to roar like an aurochs and to hiss like a dragon." (ib., p. 52)

(b) The enemy's army

"When he drew near to Černigof, there stood a great host of Tatars — three Tsareviches, each with forty thousand men. The cloud of steam from the horses was so great that the fair red sun was not seen by day, nor the bright moon by night. The gray hare could not course, nor the dear falcon fly about that host, so vast was it." (ib., p. 50)

(c) "Our" hero is so strong that he overcomes this army alone

"Where he waved a damp oak, a street appeared; where he drew it back, a lane. Great was the number that he slew, yet twice that number did his good steed trample under foot; not one was spared to continue their race." (ib., p. 50/51)

(d) A less warlike description of "our" hero

"Il'ja, as he sat [on his steed] was like a falcon bright [. . .] " (ib., p. 187); he had "white hands, a golden ring and a sugar mouth [. . .] " (ib., p. 190).

18.1.1.6 Attire. The attire (costume, weapons) may in some cases identify the character to the point where the description of his looks suffices to indicate him, without mentioning his name. Attire will give information about a character which is not otherwise explicitly given in the tale.

Attire may be an inseparable part of a narrative role: the character wearing the attire may be exchanged, the costume put on another, and other characters in the tale will not notice the exchange. On this principle the episode with the substituted bride is based: once the servant maid puts on the royal robes, she is considered by the other characters in the tale to be queen (AT 403, 408; see below paragraph 18.1.3.1).

A third function of the description of a character's attire is found in epic songs. The song points out which character is the main hero through a long and detailed description of the process of his putting on his costume and his armour and dressing his horse (Lord 1960). Each piece of clothing and

armour of the hero and of his horse is carefully enumerated and provided with epithets.

Example 30

(a) Fairy tale

The beautiful queen, dressed in royal robes, is replaced by the cook's ugly daughter, who puts on the robes. The returning king notices that the person in the robes has become ugly, but he does not see that it is really a different person, i.e., the attire defines the person (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 10; female fairy tale, AT 450).

(b) Epic

A description of a hero's and his horse's outfit

"The helmet on the hero's head glowed like fire, and his horse's bridle darted rays; stars sprinkled from his stirrups, on his saddle stood the dawn, the morning dawn [. . .] " (Russia: Hapgood 1915:156; national epic).

The hero puts on his outfit (in this case, exceptionally, the hero is female)

"She puts on the dress of a standard bearer,
first a short cassock,
and over it the breastplate,
and vest with two plates, both of gold,
and a golden collar about her neck.
Over her shoulders she placed two caftans of gold,
and on her head a fine fez,
encircled by Tripolitanian sash,
in which were pulses of gold [. . .] "
(Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 1, vol. I:77-78, vol. II:16, lines 753-761; historical epic).

18.1.1.7 Transfiguration. Anthropomorphous terms may undergo transfigurations in the course of the narrative. These transfigurations may be permanent or temporary.

Permanent transfigurations abound in genres which have a creative aspect: **myth** and the **aetiological legend**. The creative act often consists of the transfiguration of a character, or of one of his properties, into something else. The result constitutes the final shape of the creation.

The **fairy tale** may include both permanent and temporary transfigurations. In many heroic fairy tales, the hero is marvelously beautified before his marriage (Propp's function no. 29). This is a permanent transfiguration. Marvelous characters who have to leave the fairy-tale world and remain permanently in the human world, have, to be humanized, which is also a final transfiguration. While staying in the human world but still fabulous, the fabulous spouse is temporarily in a non-human shape. His transfiguration into human shape is final, as he is simultaneously humanized.

Temporary transfigurations abound in **legend**. Demonic beings are supposed to be able to change their shapes to any anthropomorphous or zoomorphic being, but keep their sex. People possessing the power of witchcraft can transfigure themselves or others into various animals, plants and even into such an entity as fire. Satan can temporarily take on a human or animal form, male or female. In sacred legend deities and saints can temporarily take on diverse shapes, and holy paraphernalia may change their appearance. Miraculous healing may be assigned to the category of transfigurations; this transfiguration is permanent.

The process of change from one form of being to another (e.g., from anthropomorphous to zoomorphic) is labeled **enchantment**; it is produced by (black) magic or by marvelous powers. **Disenchantment** is the reverse process: the return of the enchanted entity to its original form of being; it is brought about by magic (black or white), or by acts done by humans under marvelous inspiration.

Example 31

(a) Temporary transfigurations

In order to hide, in a suitor's test, the hero transforms himself

into a fish (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 10; heroic fairy tale, AT 329).

The ogre pursues the daughter who eloped with the hero; in order to escape, the girl first transforms herself into a frog and the hero into a fountain, and then herself into a cherry and the hero into a cherry tree (France: Massignon 1968, no. 6; heroic fairy tale, AT 313 III).

(b) Permanent transfigurations

The brother ravishes his sister; the sister runs away with a burning torch in her hand; her brother follows her with a glowing torch. Both are lifted to the sky as the sun (the sister) and the moon (the brother) (Eskimo: Thompson 1966, no. 2; myth).

A girl runs away from her father who wants to marry her; she masks herself as a man and has to marry a princess. God transforms her into a male (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 21; female fairy tale, AT 514).

18.1.1.8 Unique and typical terms. Two kinds of terms may be distinguished:

(a) Terms having an individual identity, such as historical and pseudo-historical characters, or specific fabulous beings belonging to the current belief system. Terms possessing individual identity can function only as characters.

(b) Typical terms which represent (symbolize) a concept or a group of terms. Examples are the fairy-tale princess, who represents the marvelous fairy-tale world seeking humanization; a rank-and-file demon, angel or devil representing the Demonic (or demons in general), the Sacred, or the Satanic, respectively; the poor but clever anonymous lad who makes his fortune in the novella, representing everyman; a member of the social/ethnic religious group, representing the whole group (a poor man vs. a rich man).

Name and sobriquet. Both kinds of terms may bear a name. A

specific name will denote a historical or quasi-historical figure, or a specific fabulous being. Typical terms will for the most part not be named. When they do bear a name, it will be a symbolic name or a sobriquet.

To be sure, a character with the name of a historical figure does not automatically behave as his historical prototype behaved or would have behaved in such a situation. The character, whether named or anonymous, plays a narrative role and behaves according to the demands of this role. This problem has been discussed by Skaftymov (1924), with reference to the example of the character "King Vladimir" in Russian epic songs, and by Jason (1971c) with reference to the example of the character of the rabbi in Jewish sacred legends.

Specific names are characteristic of myth, epic and legend. All the characters of **myth** and **mythic epic** have an individual identity, even if it consists only of their being the first of their kind (i.e., the mythic ancestors of their kind). The pantheon is individualized: each god bears a personal name. If group deities appear these are of low order and may bear a group name. In such cases they tend to act as one person (see above, paragraph 17.1.1).

Example 32

Lower deities as a group: the Indian Apsara and Naga (Dowson 1967, s.v.).

The **heroic epic** also names almost all its actors by specific names. These may be historical and quasi-historical characters: some of them represent typical characters in the form of a historical or quasi-historical figure. The horse of the protagonist may also be named. Groups of characters which act as one person also appear in the epic. The romantic epic keeps the epic tradition of naming all its important actors (a simple guard may remain anonymous), but the names are for the most part not those of historical figures.

Legend recognizes both individual and anonymous typical characters. Both human and fabulous characters in the legend may be typical. Satanic and demonic beings of low order are more often anonymous and typical (examples are angels, devils, dead souls of ordinary men, and fairies). The higher deities, saints and Satan (Lucifer) have specific identities. If demons have an individual identity, they tend to be bound to a certain locality; stories of such unique demons have a limited geographical distribution. In legends about individual encounters with demonic or satanic beings, man will be individualized and even specifically known to the narrator and his community. The high percentage of named and historically identifiable characters causes such legends to be labeled 'historical legends' and to be singled out in a special genre. This criterion is not, however, a literary criterion and is therefore not suitable to serve as the definition of a literary category (for a discussion of the problem see Jason 1971c). Sacred legends which are related to the reward-and-punishment fairy tale tend to have anonymous typical human characters (**the** righteous one and **the** wicked one).

Symbolic names and symbolic sobriquets are fully at home in the **fairy tale**. Most characters in the fairy tale are anonymous, but if they are named, the names are symbolic: the male protagonist is named by the most popular masculine name of the respective society — John, Hans, Ivan, thus being man in general, or everyman; the lowly hero (male or female) will be named by a sobriquet describing his state, such as Cinderella, or the Ash girl (AT 510); and a marvelous helper will be named after his marvelous ability. The symbolic quality of names in the fairy tale is especially apparent in cases where several characters in a tale bear the same name. These may be the hero and the anti-hero: Gold-Mary and Pitch-Mary (AT 480 see below: Example 99).

The **novella** uses symbolic names for wise judges; otherwise its characters tend to be typical and anonymous: the clever man and the fool.

Symbolic genres, such as numskull tales, sometimes have symbolic names for their numskull heroes.

Example 33

(a) Names of typical characters in the fairy tale: Hans (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 22; heroic fairy tale, AT 303, AT 304), Johann (ib., no. 40; heroic fairy tale, AT 561), Manuel (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 301), or Ali (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 26, carnavalesque heroic fairy tale, AT 545; no. 29, heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

The fairy tale has sobriquets for heroes and for marvelous helpers. The la Cendronlié (France: Massignon 1968, no. 43), and the Popeljuha-Zavoljuha (the Ash-one-the-Thrown-away-one) (Croatia: Bošković-Stulli 1963, no. 34) are sobriquets for Cinderella (female fairy tale, AT 510), of course. Marvelous helpers may be named after their special ability: Oak Twister (France: Massignon 1968, no. 46; heroic fairy tale, AT 650), Treepuller, Hillbreaker, Ironkneader (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 1; heroic fairy tale, AT 301 B).

(b) In Jewish sacred legend, names of medieval rabbis are used to name typical characters (especially 12th century Maimonides; see Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 68). A wise judge will be named King Solomon (ib., no. 14; AT 960).

(c) While the historic epic features individual characters, the national epic favors typical characters. Such is "old kozak Il'ja of Murom, the peasant's son" in Russian *bylinas* (Hapgood 1915, cycle of Kiev). The steed of the principal epic hero in a culture may be unique and named: for example, Šarac, the steed of Marko, the king's son (Bulgaria: Miladinov" 1942, no. 147; Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 7; historic epics).

(d) The numskull may have a symbolic name: Dad and Dada (Yemenite Jews: Jason 1972, IFA 1012; AT 1291 B, AT 1291 C, AT 1681 *C—Jason 1965), Clever Elsie (Germany: Grimm 1969, no. 34; AT 1450).

18.1.1.9 Spatial location. Basically, each category of terms inhabits its own spatial realm. From there on they may move temporarily or permanently to other realms. Miraculous and demonic beings can freely enter and leave the human realm. We found no instance of miraculous, demonic and marvelous

entities entering each others realms. Marvelous beings enter the human realm in two ways: temporarily, in order to entice humans to come to their world, in which case the marvelous being stays as it is; and permanently, when this being joins the human world (as spouse to a human), in which case it has to be redeemed, i.e., humanized.

Humans are much more limited. In the Jewish and Moslem tradition of contemporary sacred legends they do not enter the afterworld while alive. If in demonic legends they enter the demonic realm, they usually suffer injury. In the fairy tale the youth entering Fairyland is a mediator, having qualities of both human and marvelous nature (see below paragraph 18.1.3.1), and can therefore exist in both realms. In some texts, he stays in the princess' realm and inherits her father's kingdom (which is marvelous); in others he returns to this world and succeeds his father to the throne.

Realistic genres stage the narration in the human world. The stage of the epic is mostly wholly human, and fabulous beings come to that realm only in order to communicate with humans. The human characters move between "our country" and the enemy's.

In symbolic genres characters move freely between all realms.

The stage of legends is often a definite location, known to the narrating community. Such texts are labeled "**local legends**". Yet it is known that the same legendary episodes can be attached to different locations (see, with respect to such "**migratory legends**", Christiansen 1958). As the attachment of a text to a concrete natural location is not a literary criterion, it cannot serve to define a literary category (for a discussion of this problem see Jason 1971c).

18.1.1.10 Social aspects. Terms can have a social status in the framework of human society, or a group of terms of a certain kind can form a society of their own.

Social status and role. All the humans have a social role and status in the framework of human society. Social role and status

and ethno-religious identity can almost always be determined from the data given in the ethnopoetic work, however scarce this data may be. A knowledge of the corresponding real society allows one to interpret even remote hints and cultural symbols so as to determine a term's status. The social status and role of terms are important in conveying the message of the ethno-poetic work. (This aspect is discussed below, in chapter 23.) In myth, the foundations of society are laid, and the social roles (including sex roles) are determined and filled. In all other genres an established society is presupposed. Fairy-tale humans show the extremes of society: the top roles of the social system (the despotic king, his family and court), on the one hand, and the lowest counterpart layer of society (the poor peasant and his youngest, stupid, lazy, dirty, bald son, or a penniless orphan) on the other, are involved (only occasionally is a rich merchant's son introduced, as in some versions of AT 506-508). The ruling class also figures prominently in the epic and ballad (rulers, nobility, and warriors). The latter, however, also draws a great part of its characters from the peasantry and the urban lower class of society. In the novella, the proverb, and the humans in legend, the whole gamut of social layers and social and sex roles — master, servant and slave — is introduced, with its middle layers, rural as well as urban, playing the prominent role.

The connection between fabulous beings and human society depends on these beings belonging or not belonging to the official belief system. Mythic human ancestors form the prototype of human society; lower deities may even participate in this primeval society. Sacred legend abounds in miraculous beings, or in humans endowed with miraculous powers, who play an active role in human society. Holy men, priests and dead souls of holy men or elders play an active social role: they support the society's value system and maintain its norms by respectively distributing reward and punishment for compliance and disobedience (see below, paragraph 23.1.3). (Deities, saints and holy paraphernalia play the same role in tales, but cannot be viewed as part of human social organization proper.)

Fabulous epic and fairy-tale beings usually stand outside human society. They may, however, enter this society by being espoused to a human (fairy-tale beings have to be humanized for this purpose; see above, paragraph 18.1.1.7). In epics, deities which stand above human society may espouse humans, but do not thereby enter human society; this is left to their mixed offspring, such as the Greek heroes.

Example 34

(a) Symbols indicating a character's status in society

"[. . .] One night one of the women of the village dreamed that a man dressed in a long white shirt and with a long white beard came to her [. . .]" (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 6; sacred legend).

Explication: Long white shirt = shroud, i.e., a dead soul appeared to the woman. Beard: in this society usually only religious specialists wear beards. Long, white beard: the man in question reached a venerable old age. "One of the women": in this society a woman's dream is considered prophetic, while a man's dream is unimportant; i.e., the apparition is the soul of a venerable old rabbi, who earned the special merit of being able to communicate with the living through dreams (see below, paragraph 21.1).

(b) Marriage of humans and non-humans

A man marries a troll girl and she thereby enters human society (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 50; demonic legend).

The fairy-tale princess-to-be-won is married and often follows the hero into the human world, thereby entering human society (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 23; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

Kinship relations. A character may stand alone in the narrative, or may be surrounded by a family. Family relations concentrate around the nuclear family, both the family of orientation and the family of procreation. Further relatives, especially relatives side-branching from the self, are rare. Third generation connections in a straight line are also rare. The subject has not been

investigated for most genres thoroughly enough to allow a systematic review. Only the fairy tale and ballad have received some attention (see Lüthi 1970a,b). For the rest only a few remarks can be given here.

In the **heroic fairy tale** family relations concentrate on roles: the hero, villain and princess. The male protagonist has parents; usually only the father is mentioned, except when the birth of the hero is related. The hero has older brothers who turn out to be negative heroes. When sisters appear they are objects of abduction, and the hero goes to rescue them. Thus sisters play the role of the sought-for-person, which is usually played by the future bride of the hero.

The adversary of the protagonist, the villain (dragon), is always male and usually in need of a wife. Sometimes he has an ogre wife and daughters (he does not seem to have sons), and may have older brothers and an ogre-mother. These older relatives are mightier than that ogre, whom the hero encounters first. The hero meets the ogre's relatives one after the other in the order of ascending seniority and defeats them in duels. The family relations serve to connect the several dragon-battles, which the hero wins, into one whole story. Each dragon-fight episode is an independent fairy tale surface move in which the hero wins a princess (see Propp 1928).

The third family surrounds the princess-to-be-won. She always has a father; the mother very seldom plays a role. Only in cases where her parents are of a clear ogre-nature will her mother appear as the pursuer of the eloping couple (AT 313 III). The princess is sometimes paralleled by older sisters. These substitute for the otherwise missing older brothers of the hero; the brothers-in-law play the role of the hero's negative counterparts (AT 314 VI).

In the **female fairy tale** the protagonist is surrounded by a full family: father, mother, stepmother, sisters, stepsisters; brothers are usually missing. The father parallels the (step)mother. If a brother is present, he may be victim of a villainy with his sister as his rescuer. In this case the tale is an exact counterpart of the brother-sister relationship in the heroic fairy tale, with the sex roles reversed (AT 450, 451).

In the **reward-and-punishment fairy tale** both the poor protagonist and his rich counterpart may be fathers of a family. The family (which is a requisite) is mentioned but usually does not play an independent role. In case the wives (or the husbands of the female protagonists) act, they parallel their spouses.

The donor and helper in fairy tales are usually without a family. Sometimes several successive donors may be connected by being declared siblings; they will be encountered in order of ascending seniority, each living alone thus again making them basically without a family. Occasionally, the donor role may be split into the donor and his mother or grandmother.

In **myth** family relations between deities (in mythologies which exhibit this aspect in the ordering of their pantheon) are symbols of order in nature and society. Family intrigues symbolize primeval struggle in the process of mythical creation.

In the **legend**, representatives of the numinous, both sacred and demonic, are usually without a family. An exception are humans endowed with numinous power. Their families may be mentioned or may even play a role in the tale. A Protestant or an Orthodox priest may have a wife and a daughter (a son is never mentioned), a rabbi a wife and children of both sexes, and a witch a husband who will oppose her or a daughter who will follow in her footsteps. Demonic beings, devils, angels, and the monotheistic deity are without family or other kinship relationships. On the other hand, the human character in the demonic legend enters all family relationships inherent in the nuclear family, including the relationship of betrothal. Yet family relationships rarely play a role in the plot of the legendary narrative. The human actor is only characterized by his position in the web of the family and the wider social network.

Prominent among the family relations in the **novella** are relations and conflicts between spouses, married and unmarried, and adulterous relations. Parent-child relations and conflicts are rare. Though family relations and conflicts are an important theme of the novella, they are not the dominant theme.

In the **epic**, family relations play a prominent role. In many epics the very conflict of the plot consists of a struggle inside the family. The epic hero is surrounded by his entire nuclear and wider family. His family tree is described in detail, thus establishing firmly the hero's position in the kinship network. His male relatives may support or oppose him; towards his female relatives he is usually in the position of protector. Yet, in some instances the female relatives (especially the wives) will take part in struggles which are going on between the males, and will take care of their own interests through their chosen male protectors.

The **ballad** resembles the epic in this respect. The heroes, both male and female, are surrounded by nuclear families. The theme of many ballads is the conflict between the protagonist of the ballad and his (or her) family. Parents, siblings of both sexes, spouses, children, lovers, and the betrothed surround the hero/ heroine and lead him/her to various conflicts. Insults, revenge, murder and illicit love affairs abound within the confines of the family.

Example 35

(a) Heroic fairy tale

The hero has a human father, mother (she is passive for the most part and does not act in the tale), brothers, a fairy wife, a sister-in-law (who does not act), and a father-in-law (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 5; AT 303).

The princess-to-be-won has a father and sisters (France: Massignon 1968, no. 6; AT 313), and brothers-in-law (ib., no. 7; AT 314).

A fairy-tale dragon may have brothers: the hero has to fight three successive dragons who are brothers (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; AT 463 A*). Dragons also have marvelous wives and mothers (ib., no. 2; AT 328 A*; Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; AT 551).

(b) Female fairy tale

The heroine has a father, mother, stepmother, stepsisters, husband (France: Massignon 1968, no. 43; AT 510 A), and sisters (Germany: Grimm 1969, no. 96; AT 707).

(c) Reward-and-punishment fairy tale

Both the poor brother and the rich one have wives and children (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 27; AT 676).

(d) Epic

When introducing its characters, the epic often takes pains in describing the details of the family tree, including both the direct and the side-branching kinship relations of its heroes. See the Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, in which long family histories of all important characters are given, so that the characters are firmly embedded in their family organization and through it in the society at large. The same is true for wholly oral epics from Central Asia (Uzbekistan: Mil'man 1958).

Occupation. The human character sometimes has a profession in the tale. Myths mention, for example, "the first craftsman", who was the mythic ancestor of all craftsmen. Male protagonists in the epic and the heroic fairy tale are warriors, resembling to a great extent early feudal knights. In the legend the hero's trade does not usually play an important role. The novella and the related joke are the main genres in which man is viewed through his occupation. This may be his main characterization within the framework of the tale, indicating the character's social status. The society of numskulls is patterned after human society and thus the occupation of a numskull is sometimes mentioned.

Example 36

Occupations of numskulls: they are monks (Turkish Jews: IFA 17; AT 1650, AT 1651), farm hands (Yemenite Jews: IFA 802, AT *1328—Jason 1965), farmers (Yemenite Jews: IFA 807, AT 1294; IFA 1012, AT 1291 B, AT 1291 C, AT 1681 *C—Jason 1965; Iraqi

Jews: IFA 1588, AT 1288, AT 1295 A*; Persian Jews: IFA 4548b, AT 1450), merchants (Yemenite Jews: IFA 848, AT 1291), shepherds (Afghan Jews: IFA 1188, AT 1205 *B—Jason 1965) (all of these texts are translated into English in Jason, 1972 Appendix).

Ownership. Anthropomorphous entities may own property. In several genres the acquiring of property is the goal of the protagonist. The term may possess specified goods, or unspecified "wealth".

A special kind of possession is expressed by being master of an active marvelous object. In heroic fairy tales, whoever gets hold of the object enjoys its services. In the female and reward-and-punishment fairy tales only the protagonist favored by the tale is the rightful owner of the object (or other wealth-providing entity) which works for his benefit. The villain-character tries to appropriate the object, but it works to the villain's disadvantage and harms him.

Example 37

See a Tunisian-Jewish version of the reward-and-punishment fairy tale AT 563 in Noy 1963a, no. 21. In a Yemenite-Jewish version the marvelous object harms the villain on its own (Noy 1963b, no. 31, reward-and-punishment fairy tale, AT 565).

Societies of non-human beings. Some ethnopoetic populations are conceived of as living in their own society, which is modeled after human society. First of all there are demonic populations. These are believed to parallel the human society of the vicinity in which they live: they profess to the same religion, speak the same language, make their living in the same way as humans do. The fairy-tale country which the hero reaches and in which he acquires a princess, is an ordered medieval urban society headed by a despotic king. Numskulls form a whole society of a rural or small-town type. They have a whole gamut of social roles and institutions (see Jason 1972).

Example 38

Demons have an organized society similar to human society; they

have houses, and live as families; they are farmers and till the land; they have money and take part in human market commerce (Norway: Christiansen 1964, nos. 49b, 50; Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 71, AT 476*; Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, pp. 360-361, summaries of IFA 808, IFA 1157, IFA 1291; demonic legends).

18.1.2 Distribution of the anthropomorphous terms in ethnopoetic genres

18.1.2.1 Realistic genres. In the novella, lyric song, and ballad, realistic humans are involved. The repertoire of anthropomorphous terms in the novella is richer than that of the other two genres. It consists of a colorful crowd of people of both sexes, all ages, classes, crafts and trades.

The principal characters in historic and national epic songs, both the hero with his family and following, and his adversary, are realistic humans, carrying symbolic loads on various levels. Numinous beings of all sorts take part in these songs, yet their role is secondary. Official deities, saints, and low-order nature demons may assist the adversaries in their struggle. In the universal and romantic epics the hero and his family are human; the adversary and/or the princess-to-be-won are, on the other hand, respectively mythic and marvelous beings.

18.1.2.2 Numinous genres. In myths, only fabulous beings act: deities of various orders, and human, animal, and plant ancestors. Realistic beings, including man himself, do not yet exist in mythical time.

Three kinds of terms occur in the legend:

(a) Realistic people of both sexes, all ages and social roles;
(b) Realistic persons and objects endowed (temporarily or permanently) with fabulous power (sacred or satanic); and
(c) Fabulous beings.

In the sacred legend the fabulous beings range from supreme deities through their heavenly following (various orders of

angels), to men who become saints, and to dead souls. In the satanic legend, Satan (Lucifer) or anonymous devils from Satan's following are found. In demonic legends a diverse demonic population appears. This population may be hierarchically ordered, headed by the highest demons (such as Asmodeus and Lilith) and their anonymous demonic following. Or, one or several variegated anonymous demonic societies will parallel human society and inhabit man's natural environment.

Legends mention fabulous beings which are personifications, such as death, epidemics, or the personified fate of an individual. These characters are symbolic (see below, paragraph 18.1.3.3).

18.1.2.3 Marvelous genres.
In heroic fairy tales, the hero's family of orientation is human, but the princess-to-be-won and her retinue, including dragon and donors, are marvelous. The hero himself has qualities in common with both camps and serves as a kind of mediator.

In the female fairy tale the heroine's blood relatives, spouse and would-be-seducers are human, whereas the donors and the wicked stepmother and mother-in-law are marvelous. The heroine herself may have some marvelous traits and may thus be a kind of mediator.

In the reward-and-punishment fairy tale both the positive and negative hero and their families are human. The donor is marvelous.

18.1.2.4 Symbolic genres.
The proverb, parable, riddle, formula tale, tall tale and numskull tale are populated by terms from all the categories: realistic and fabulous beings, objects and personified concepts are all thrown together. Numskull tales are exceptional in that they exhibit only two kinds of characters: a specialized kind, the numskull, and realistic humans.

18.1.3 Categories of anthropomorphous terms

18.1.3.1 Realistic beings.
The realistic human actor differs

from genre to genre. Each genre emphasizes a different aspect of man (see Jason 1973b).

Myth. Myth is pre-human. Man is a product of myth but not a character in myth. He is foreshadowed in his mythic ancestors, and sometimes in lower deities. Both of these perform deeds which result in properties which man will bear ever after. They thus make man mortal and establish the form of a man's body; they shape the indispensable objects surrounding man and institute the orders of his society and religion. In myth man and his world are in the making.

Example 39

The Trickster is the foreshadowing of the human body: he establishes that his right and left arm and his anus are parts of his body and are not independent beings which can speak and quarrel with each other. The Trickster finds out that his intestines are not to be eaten by himself; in the course of the tale his penis, which was many yards long, is shortened to the size of a present man's penis (Winnebago, North American Indians: Radin 1956, nos. 5, 14, 15, 16; myth).

Adam and Eve were created with a horny skin covering; after they ate the forbidden apple the horny covering fell off and their skins became naked, as men have been ever since (Hellenistic Jews: Ginzberg 1909-1938, vol. I:74-75; myth).

Fairy tale. In the fairy tale man already exists, but has as yet no human properties. He has no emotional life, and has no need to exercise his mental or physical faculties; he has no religious or ethical principles, since the fairy tale has no relation to any religious system. Everything is done for him by the marvelous beings of the fairy tale. Even his victory over the dragon, the only activity he performs, he accomplishes with the help of marvelous weapons, by following the advice of his marvelous helpers, or by marvelous predestination.

The human protagonist of the fairy tale has no normal human body. A part of the fairy-tale hero's body, including his head, can be cut off without causing bloodshed or pain. Afterwards

the severed part of the body can be put back in its place, glued on as if nothing had happened. When the head is cut off, the hero does not die; he has just "slept very deeply". Or, the well-being of the hero and his very existence may depend on an object. As long as the object is in the hero's possession, he will live. When it is taken away, he dies, but does not decay. As he has no normal body, he cannot decay. When the object is recovered, the hero continues to live (AT 302 B, 412).

Fairy-tale humans have no individual faces either. The hero returns home after his adventures, which apparently did not take too long a time as he is still young when he returns — yet his parents or spouse do not recognize him until he introduces himself. The same is true of the persecuted heroine. She may be replaced by a servant girl, and her royal husband will only notice that she has become ugly. He will not notice that the person in the royal robes is not the same person who was his wife. The woman has evidently no other attribute than beauty; this beauty does not even include the face for otherwise the husband should have felt that the false bride was another person (see above, paragraph 18.1.1.6). In the following genres man acquires, one after the other, his human properties.

Example 40

The heroine's eyes are cut out at the demand of her cruel stepmother; her brother finds the eyes and puts them back. Now they are even more beautiful than they ever were before (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, vol. I, no. 13; female fairy tale, AT 403).

A marvelous eagle flies the hero from the fairy-tale world back to the human world. On the way the bird has to be fed, and when the food is eaten up, the hero feeds the calves of his legs to the bird. After their arrival the bird spits them out and glues them back on to the hero's legs; the hero is well again. There was no bloodshed at all (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 301).

A witch transforms the queen into a white duck, and dresses herself up in the queen's robes. The homecoming king does not notice any difference in the wife until the duck appears and addresses him, i.e.,

the two women do not seem to have individual faces (Russia: Afanas'ev 1957, no. 265; female fairy tale, AT 403).

A king takes the hero's wife away; the hero's helper kills the king and substitutes the hero. Nobody at the court notices that the person in the royal robes is another person (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, no. 80; heroic fairy tale, AT 516 B).

The hero's life is in his sword: when the sword is burned, the hero dies. When his helpers restore the sword, the hero "was created afresh" (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 302 B).

Ballad and lyric. In the ballad and lyric song man's emotional nature is in the foreground. Love and hate, mercy and cruelty, jealousy and vengeance are the subjects of these songs. Men have strong emotions, so strong that they may lead a man to sacrifice his life to attain a goal. There is no resignation in these songs: the lover cannot stand separation and dies of grief.

Example 41
Jealousy of the younger sister's lover drives the elder sister to commit a crime — she murders her sister (Scotland: Child 1882-1898, no. 10); the lover dies of grief when he finds the beloved dead (ib., no. 64; ballads).

Epic. The epic emphasizes and hyperbolizes man's physical nature. The epic hero has superhuman physical strength and courage. All other human qualities are secondary. The epic recognizes only two kinds of men: "our folk" and the "enemy". Our heroes will be drawn in positive hyperbolic terms, the enemy in negative and repulsive hyperbolic terms.

Example 42

(a) The enemy

The enemy boasts:

"I am *Idol* . . . I can put a loaf in one cheek, and the same in the other, and a white swan is but a mouthful for me. I eat seven

poods [1 pood = 32 pounds] of bread and three oxen at a meal, with wine in due proportion, a cask of forty buckets. . . ."

"Our" hero answers ironically:

". . . The pope of Rostov had a greedy cow, said Il'ja. She ate and ate, and drank until she burst." (Russia: Hapgood 1915:138-139; national epic)

(b) Description of "our" hero

The hero prepares for battle and asks:

"Fetch me a little cup of drunkenness, little father, Prince Vladimir, — quoth Vasilij, — the cup from which drinketh Il'ja of Murom. — Now Il'ja's cup held six buckets and a half; but he drained it dry. — Fetch yet another cup for health, little father; the one from which drinketh Dobrynja Nikitič. — And that cup, of four buckets and a half, Vasilij drained, too (ib., p. 134).

The great strength of "our" hero:

"Where Šarac, the good horse, steps
The horse sinks to its knees [into the soil]
From the strength of the hero.
Oh, mother, black earth, woeful
Ringing like a trembling leaf!
The evening star is looking at the marvel
Looks at the marvel, the never-seen-of marvel
How Marko, the king's son, went for a walk.
He is stumbling from his great strength
And does not know what to do with it
Because there is no hero who equals him.
Neither a hero, nor a wretched commoner,
Neither an ogre, nor a fierce dragon,
Neither a *vila* nor a *samovila*,
Nor some mountain smoky wind spirit.
Marko is walking around in country and land
And the Earth is a cheerless desert,
As he has no one to encounter,
To encounter, to speak a word to."

(Bulgaria: Angelov" and Vakarelski 1939:140-141; historic epic)

Legend. In the legend man already acts on his own account and is able to oppose the fabulous forces. In the sacred legend the ethical qualities of the human hero are in the foreground: he is viewed as either virtuous (conforming) or sinful (opposing) in relation to the sacred force.

The demonic legend has no religious ethical norms by which man's behavior can be measured. Instead, man is viewed in the special relation between himself and a parallel population which is hostile and somewhat more powerful than man. He has to cope with this dangerous rival and show the proper kind of knowledge and courage in order to confront danger (see Jason 1976b). It is in this same manner that man confronts his fellow-man in the novella.

Novella. The novella puts man's mental faculties and moral qualities in the foreground. The clever and the stupid, the wise and the foolish, the honest and the deceitful, confront each other. The man of the novella is more realistic than in any other ethnopoetic genre. In the swindler's and fool's novella man is shown in his everyday weaknesses and small shrewdnesses, while in the wisdom novella it is the better side of man's intellectual and moral qualities which is demonstrated. He is a man "like you and me".

18.1.3.2 Fabulous beings

18.1.3.2.1 Numinous beings. All categories of numinous beings are part of current belief systems. The common trait of legendary beings is their proximity to the human world. Even deities of high rank will descend to Earth in myth and legend and work their miracles there. Devils wander among men and try to tempt them; and demonic beings have no other place in which to live except the human settlement and its nearby surroundings.

Mythic beings. Mythic beings (such as deities) and human ancestors act in myth. Man proper does not yet exist. Both deities and human ancestors are numinous beings which belong

to the official religion of the society in question. These beings may have various forms: anthropomorphous, zoomorphic, object-like, or compound-monster form. They usually have the ability to change their shape.

The defining quality of mythic terms is their inherent creative ability. Deities of high rank create deliberately. Others create unintentionally: since every act during the mythic epoch determines all later behavior in the universe, every act of the lower deities, primeval animals and human ancestors has creative results. These acts create the major features of landscape, and animal and human shapes and their properties. The behavior of primeval human ancestors determines all human behavior afterwards, i.e., it creates social orders.

Let us note that not every action of deities in the narrative possesses the creative property. When gods interfere in the Trojan war or in the wars described in the Mahabharata, all of which take place in historical time, their acts have miraculous qualities but are not creative, i.e., they are not determining future forms of existence. Such narratives are not myths.

Example 43

When primordial Adam breaks a taboo he thereby brings death and suffering into the human world, and this will be the fate of all his descendants, so long as human time endures (Ancient Israel: Genesis 3). When, however, a descendant of Adam sins, the sinner alone bears the consequences: a murderer is punished by a miraculous unique event (the grave of the victim also covers the murderer — Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 57; sacred legend, AT 960 *C—Jason 1965).

Legendary beings. In the legend man encounters numinous beings which are characterized by belonging to a system of living belief — either the official religion or the popular belief. These beings are numinous but do not possess the primeval creative quality which mythic numinous beings possess. Legendary beings are varied and range from the sacred supreme deity, his heavenly following and non-sacred satanic beings to low-order demons who inhabit man's natural environment. Some of them may occasionally take on a zoomorphic shape, producing legendary animals. The repertoire and qualities of legendary beings differ from culture to culture and depend upon the belief systems, both official and popular, current in the relevant culture. Thus, belief in satanic powers, as opposed to sacred ones, is found in cultures possessing the Christian belief system, while belief in satanic powers is not current in cultures possessing the Jewish and Moslem belief systems. Christian European and Indian cultures show a great variety of demonic populations, each one with its own characteristics (see indices of legends in some European cultures: FF Communications nos. 8, 25, 60, 66, 122, 132, 182). Jewish and Moslem cultures have a large demonic population but it is of a rather uniform kind (see Westermarck 1920).

Legend recognizes three categories of numinous beings according to the mode in which the legend is set: miraculous, which divide into sacred and satanic, and demonic. Miraculous beings are involved in the sacred legend and the satanic legend. These can be divided into inherently miraculous beings, such as deities and heavenly populations of various kinds (e.g., angels and devils), and humans temporarily or permanently endowed with miraculous power. In between these two extremes stand the dead souls of pious men who retain their sacred miraculous endowment and use it to intervene in human affairs.

Example 44

Inherently miraculous beings punish man

In a city in which all men trust in God and therefore do not die, one couple does not trust in God; God sends the angel of Death to take that man's soul (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 8; sacred legend, AT 1199).

Man who is permanently granted miraculous power performs a miracle (a punishment)

The son of the holy rabbi Sh. Shabazi sins; Shabazi curses him and the son dies on the spot (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 157; sacred legend).

Man as a temporary agent of the Sacred, brings punishment upon a sinner

> A robber robs a poor widow of her merchandise; she lays a curse upon him. A man appears and kills the robber (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 58; sacred legend, AT 960 *C–Jason 1965).

The negative counterpart of sacred miraculous power is satanic force. Devils, fallen angels and individual rebels against the Sacred, such as Lucifer, are of a wholly fabulous nature. Witches and wizards are Satan-inspired humans representing an exact counterpart to humans endowed with sacred power. While the sacred element protects man and human society (see below, paragraph 23.2.2), the satanic element tries to harm man. In some cultures the struggle between the Sacred and the Satanic is a continuation of the primeval struggle between human-friendly and human-hostile primeval forces which will end in eschatological time by the victory of friendly sacred forces (and man) over the hostile satanic forces.

Example 45

A male witch (*striga* – a human born in a black sack) has caused the livestock of a neighbor to stop feeding; a person endowed with sacred power (*krsnik* – a human born in a white sack) cures the livestock (Croatia: Bošković-Stulli 1959, no. 157; legend of magic).

A *krsnik* must always keep his white cover with him. One, however, lost his sack and several *strigas* caught him and threw him into the sea. He succeeded in swimming out and went to warn the *strigas* not to attack him again (Croatia: Bošković-Stulli 1959, no. 160; legend of magic).

Demonic beings exist as a population parallel to the human population, as neighbors, living on the same territory and even in the same house with people. Demons are not much more powerful than man and if a man is aided by magic power he may be able to overcome the demon. The power which demons possess is numinous and stems from the same source as human magic: from the positive, i.e., divine, or the negative, i.e., satanic, source of power. Here the details differ from one

150

culture to the next in accordance with current religious beliefs and values (see Jason 1976b).

Example 46

Man can fight demons with his own skills: a man snatched from a demon his utensils of precious metals, succeeded in running away and thereby caused the demon's death (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 52a-52c; demonic legends). A man can chase demons away by firing a gun over their heads (ib., nos. 51a-51b) (see Example 65).

18.1.3.2.2 Marvelous beings. In the fairy tale man encounters fabulous beings peculiar to this genre which do not belong to any system of living belief. The world of these beings exists by itself; it is spatially distant from the human world, and the road to it is very long and arduous (see below, paragraph 19.2.8 for the location of the fairy-tale world in the undefinited space between this, the human world, and the afterworld). Marvelous beings can exist only in the fairy-tale world. The hero finds them outside the human world and they vanish from the tale when he returns to the human world. Active marvelous objects or animals also vanish from the tale immediately after they play the role for which they were especially designed. A passive object or animal is brought into the human world and there is no further reference to it in the tale (for instance, what was done with it, for what purpose it was used after it was secured with such efforts, etc.). It simply vanishes from the tale. In order to be able to exist in the human world, a marvelous being has to be rendered non-marvelous. This process is called disenchantment (see above, paragraph 18.1.1.7). For instance, the marvelous helper of the hero, his winged horse, asks to be decapitated at the end of the tale when it brings the hero back to the human world (AT 531 IVc). Through this act the horse is "disenchanted" and turns into a human being. The same is true with fabulous spouses. Their human spouse has to "disenchant" them before they can permanently stay in the human world. Therefore we seldom learn who it was who "enchanted" these beings. In reality, they have never been "enchanted", but are simply beings from the marvelous fairy-tale world, who have to be de-marvelized, they are not bewitched humans.

151

Example 47

The princess has to be disenchanted in order to be able to marry the hero: she is cut in half and the snakes are cleaned out of her (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 707 III, AT 507 A III).

The marvelous snake-bridegroom has to be disenchanted by burning his snake skin and by his bride's searching for him (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 2; female fairy tale, AT 425 II-v).

The marvelous horse as helper asks to be decapitated at the end of the tale, when it is brought into the human world. Through decapitation it is de-marvelized and is transformed into a human being (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 35; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

The fairy tale recognizes fabulous beings in the following roles: villain, donor, helper, sham-hero, and the entity-to-be-won. These marvelous beings may have anthropomorphous, zoomorphic, or object-like shapes. They may change their shape in the course of the tale, but one of the shapes is considered to be their basic form of existence. Usually it is the anthropomorphous shape, but not always. The winged horse is basically a horse, and its turning into a prince at the end of the tale is an addition which has no connection with the plot and is only introduced in order to show more clearly the horse's marvelous nature: it cannot exist in the human world.

The classical **villain** in the heroic fairy tale is the dragon. The dragon has a quasi-zoomorphic shape with monstrous additions; a reptile with wings and several heads, spitting fire, stinking; it may have its heart outside its body. At the same time this being has human qualities; it is able to ride a horse and fight as a warrior with weapons; it is able to converse with humans; it is always male and able to espouse an anthropomorphous female. It eats the same food as humans, including — whenever the opportunity presents itself — the eating of humans themselves. These properties taken together hardly enable one to draw an exact picture of this being: a reptile cannot ride a horse and handle weapons. (Illustrations in children's fairy-tale books may serve as a demonstration of this difficulty). Let us remark that

mythical as well as legendary fabulous beings, both of which are part of living belief, are of a more harmonious shape. The dragon just seems to have been patched together from diverse monstrous and repulsive traits: it is a cannibal, a rapist and a dangerous snake, a devilish monster, breathing infernal fire and having a sulphurous smell.

The female fairy tale has as its principal villain the wicked stepmother or servant girl. She always has an anthropomorphous shape and sometimes has marvelous qualities which are similar to the abilities of the human female of the legend of magic: she has the ability of foresight and may transform herself or the heroine into another shape (usually zoomorphic). The other villains who harm the female heroine, the slanderers and would-be-seducers, are mostly human.

Example 48

Portrait of the dragon: he has nine heads; he is able to throw a mace (i.e., he has arms); he has a nose with a sense of smell; he abducts human females who function in his house as wives, i.e., he is able to espouse a human female; he eats bread and noodles, thus he has a mouth (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

The dragon rides a horse (ib., no. 2, heroic fairy tale, AT 328 A*; no. 6, heroic fairy tale, AT 550 I-III). The dragon has paws and claws (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 707 III).

In Near Eastern oral literature there are no dragons. The villain is a kind of giant anthropomorphous or zoomorphic demon (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 13), or a lion (ib., no. 11; both heroic fairy tales, AT 300).

Fairy-tale **donors** are more diversified, and appear in all three shapes: anthropomorphous ("old man", "Baba Jaga", or "she-demon" offering help); zoomorphic (animals asking for help or asking to be spared); various objects giving advice and warning. Their common trait is to appear out of nowhere precisely at the moment when the hero needs them and to vanish again when they have fulfilled their role. The zoomorphic donors may be exactly fitted to the special role they

have to fulfill; the anthropomorphous donors are versatile and may provide any help needed in the particular tale.

A special kind of donor is the princess-to-be-won who helps the hero in his fight against the dragon or who gives him marvelous implements with the aid of which he is able to accomplish the task her father has set for him. The princess does not vanish completely from the tale when she finishes playing the donor, but changes her role from donor to person-to-be-won. This is a special form of vanishing.

Example 49

Anthropomorphous donor

> The hero settles a dispute between three women as to which of them is more beautiful: they reward him with marvelous gifts (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 23; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

Zoomorphic donor

> The hero divides prey among animals and is given a marvelous charm as reward (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 23; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

Non-personalised donor

> An inscription tells where a road leads to from a fork; the road itself is a donor which shows the proper way to Fairyland (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 1; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

The **hero's helper** is the most diversified role in the fairy tale. Anthropomorphous helpers encounter the hero and offer their help. Each of them has one particular quality (they usually embody objectified qualities) which helps the hero to accomplish the suitor's task. They do not take part in the fight against the dragon. The heroine is aided by female anthropomorphous and zoomorphic helpers: her dead mother, a cow, or another female fabulous being. These characters will provide the heroine with food and with female accessories needed to win a husband: beauty or splendid costumes.

Example 50

(a) The horse as the principal donor and helper of the hero has the

power of speech and teaches the hero what to do in Fairyland; it provides marvelous weapons, transports the hero by marvelous flight and helps him in his fight with the dragon (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*; no. 6, heroic fairy tale, AT 550 I-III).

Cinderella has a marvelous cow. She is instructed by the donor how to treat the cow in order to receive food from it. She receives an apple tree which lowers its branches for her alone (France: Massignon 1968, no. 43; female fairy tale, AT 510 A). The girl's cow spins wool for her (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 19; female fairy tale, AT 510).

(b) The hero is helped by objects: a cap renders him invisible; shoes provide marvelous speedy transportation; he receives a wishing charm (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 23; heroic fairy tale, AT 531). The hero's sword single-handedly fights the dragon (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

The fourth role filled by marvelous characters in the heroic fairy tale is that of the **entity-to-be-won**. This may be a princess who can be obtained through marriage when certain tasks are accomplished, or it may be a passive marvelous object or animal which the hero has to bring from the fairy-tale world. The princess is almost always clearly described as a marvelous being. She is found in the fairy-tale world, may be espoused to a marvelous being (AT 306, 329) or is a daughter of ogres; she possesses marvelous objects and may temporarily have zoomorphic or object shape (AT 400 ff), and the like. The same holds for the husband which has to be won (AT 425 ff). The princess who has golden hair, even in societies the members of which are dark-haired, is equivalent to the golden-feathered goose which has to be fetched (AT 531 Ib). An extreme example of the marvelous princess who is in need of de-marvelization is the princess who has to be cut in two and have the snakes cleaned out of her (AT 507 A III); see above, Example 47). The princess' muteness or sadness also indicates that she is a marvelous being (AT *559 I—Andreev 1929).

Example 51

The hero meets a princess who is "so very pretty [that] she lit up

the whole room with her beauty . . .”; and, when kissed, roses fell from her cheeks (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

The hero is sent to fetch a beauty “who was not born of father and mother” (Osetia, Caucasus: Britaev and Kazbekov 1951, no. 34; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

The princess-to-be-won shines like the sun, and has golden hair (in a country of dark-haired people!) (Osetia, Caucasus: Britaev and Kazbekov 1951, no. 35; heroic fairy tale, AT 550, AT 519).

18.1.3.2.3 Epic beings. The epic is an exceptional genre in that it does not possess its own class of fabulous beings but uses beings from other genres. The epic uses both marvelous and numinous beings of all sorts. In historical and national epics all of them play a secondary role, participating in conflicts which are wholly human. They act as the helpers of humans who are the principal actors. Fabulous beings play a principal role in the universal epic: mythic monsters are adversaries of man and of positive, man-friendly deities. In the mythic epic all the characters, of course, are mythic. The epic hero's and his horse's immortality is a legendary trait. Some epic heroes are believed to sleep in a cave and wait for the proper time to wake up and rescue their people (see above, paragraph 18.1.1.2, and Example 22).

The hero's horse and weapons may have other fabulous traits as well. Both seem to resemble their counterparts in the heroic fairy tale. The horse has the power of foresight, speech and flight, and fights by itself. The hero's sword may also be able to fight by itself. Both may be special heirlooms in the hero's family, being thus endowed with loyalty to the family.

In the epic, fabulous beings usually loose some of their qualities which they had in their original genres. As the heroic and romantic epics are set in historical time, the deities possess miraculous rather than creative powers. Numinous beings are less awesome than in legends. Human magical powers are exercised through the curse and blessing and not through witchcraft.

Example 52

(a) Mythic beings in the epic (monsters): Humbaba, the adversary of Gilgamesh and Enkidu; Grendel, the adversary of Beowulf; Ravana, the adversary of Rama.

(b) Legendary traits in the epic: A female demonic being living in the mountains can be met and won over as helper by “our” hero: *veka* informs hero Ljutica Bogdan about the enemy's plans against him and so Bogdan can take precautions (Bulgaria: Angelov" and Vakarelski 1939, no. 35; historical epic). Hero Mujo shields *vila*'s children from the heat of the sun; *vila* suckles Mujo as a reward and thus gives him his heroic strength (Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 8; historical epic). (See also Example 22).

18.1.3.3 Symbolic terms. Symbolic terms act in genres set in the symbolic mode. Since they are neither natural human and animal beings or objects nor show any fabulous properties, they may be understood as symbols. Symbolic terms mostly consist of one quality only and serve as symbols of this one quality. All other possible qualities are disregarded. In the tall tale — with a chain of ever greater beings and objects — the term serves as a symbol of gradation. In the formula tale the term is just a link in the chain. None of its properties are important for the development of the quasi-plot, and any of the terms in the chain could be substituted in principle by another term — anthropomorphous, zoomorphic, or object-like. The fact that there is a sequence of links is what counts. It is therefore easy to combine various terms in the chain of a formula or a tall tale.

The properties of characters in the topsy-turvy-world tale are in contrast to their natural properties — they are oxymoron.

Example 53

Little she-rat drowned in the soup pot. He-rat mourns her. One after the other, various figures join in the mourning: bench (leaps around), table (dances), door (falls to pieces), cart (rolls away), oak tree (uproots itself), magpie (molts), fountain (overflows), woman (breaks her pitchers), man (bashes his oven in) (France: Massignon 1968, no. 34; formula tale, AT 2022).

The human figure in the tall tale has the following qualities and abilities: he has been born as a legitimate son of his parents, yet he is present at their wedding as an adult; fledgelings in his bosom can fly away with him; he can take off his skull and drink from it; his head makes itself a new body of clay while the hero (his body without the head) rides away; he succeeds in catching his head and fitting it back on his neck again (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 42; topsy-turvy-world tale, AT 1962).

Numskull tales are more complex. They are narrative and include two categories of anthropomorphous beings: the symbolic numskull, and the realistic human 'stranger' who shows the numskulls how to behave. Numskulls are quasi-realistic and do not possess fabulous traits. They may be interpreted as symbols of human childhood, that period when man is still helpless and neither knows the basic properties of nature and basic technology nor has yet developed the faculty of reasoning.

A special category of symbolic beings appears in a non-symbolic genre, the legend. These are personifications, such as Death, various epidemics, or personified Fate. They are anthropomorphous and have the human faculties of reasoning, will, and sometimes speech. Usually, they have a typical appearance and outfit. These personifications show affinities to demonic beings and are hostile to humans.

Example 54

The personification of war and peace: close to the end of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), soldiers find a very small old woman in the bushes who declares to be The Peace. Twenty-five years earlier they had found a small old man who declared that he was bringing war (Germany: Grimm, n.d., vol. I, no. 169; demonic legend).

Personified Misfortune mounts a poor man's back and persuades him to squander the rest of his property on drink. Then it shows a treasure to the man who tricks Misfortune into entering the treasure hole and imprisons it there. The envious rich brother of the man frees Misfortune from the hole in order to impoverish the other brother. Instead, Misfortune attaches itself to the rich man and impoverishes him (Russia: Afanas'ev 1957, no. 303; demonic legend, AT 735 A).

18.2 ZOOMORPHIC TERMS IN ETHNOPOETRY

18.2.1 Distinctive features of zoomorphic terms

18.2.1.1 Origin. Zoomorphic terms may be created in the general creative process of the mythic epoch, may be naturally or supernaturally born in historical time, or may be the result of genuine, permanent and temporary, or sham transformations. Most often, however, they simply exist without any indication of where they came from.

Example 55

Whales, seals and ground seals are created in the mythic epoch from cut-off joints of a mythical being's fingers (Eskimo: Thompson 1966, no. 1; myth).

18.2.1.2 Age. The age of zoomorphic terms is for the most part not indicated since it is not relevant in the tale. In an animal novella, an old beast of prey may occasionally be hastened towards death by a young and clever opponent who normally serves as the beast's food; a beast of burden may become old, and die.

Fabulous animals do not seem to age. The heroic steed of the epic or the fairy-tale hero served the father in his youth as well as it serves his grown-up son. Or, on the other hand, the hero's steed is a specific foal and the hero is its first master. Both kinds of horses display the same behavior and have the same qualities, and thus both facts (the horse being a family heirloom or completely new) serve not to indicate age but to mark the horse as being fabulous. When in fairy tales both protagonist and adversary are warriors on steeds, the steeds may be brought into a kinship relationship, for instance as siblings, or parent and child. In such a case the younger animal is the better-equipped

one, belongs to the protagonist and helps him to victory, sometimes by bribing its elder relative.

Example 56

(a) Realistic animals

> A hare sent as food to an old lion is late and pretends that another lion, in a well, stopped him. The lion jumps into the well to fight the "other lion" and drowns (AT 92).

> An old ass dies, and its owner buries it. People mistake the ass' grave for a holy tomb and its owner makes money by tending the holy tomb (Afghan Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 1; swindler novella: AT 1842 *D—Jason 1965).

(b) Fabulous animals

> The hero's steed lived long enough to have served the hero's father in the latter's youth. It is the sibling of a steed in Fairyland, and it knows its way about there (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale: AT 463 A*).

18.2.1.3 Sex. For the most part the sex of the animal is irrelevant to the plot of the narrative and is not indicated. An animal-mother and her young sometimes act (see in AT 56 A-D, 301 V *f—Jason 1965). While the mother has to be female, the sex of the young is irrelevant. Curiously enough, even the sex of the marvelous animal-spouse in the fairy tale, so long as it is in a zoomorphic shape, is not indicated. The swan-maiden is not a female swan (AT 400) and the snake-husband is not a male snake (AT 425). This fact is emphasized when the marvelous spouse has the shape of an object. Demonic beings which temporarily take on the shape of animals, keep their sex.

Example 57

The groom is a dog, and its sex is not mentioned (English: Briggs and Tongue 1965, no. 1; heroic fairy tale: AT 425); the groom is a donkey-head (Tunisian Jews: Noy 1968, no. 13; mixed fairy tale: AT 425 *Q—Jason 1965). The bride is a cow's stomach (AT 404*), exists as a flower (AT 407), or as an orange (AT 408).

Demonic cats keep their sex (Kurdish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 12; demonic legend: AT 475*-*A—Jason 1975c).

18.2.1.4 Mode of behavior. Realistic animals behave as natural animals do. Fabulous zoomorphic beings have human and superhuman abilities: they reason, speak and prophesy. Mythic zoomorphic beings have creative ability. In the framework of the animal swindler novella certain species of animals have human traits of character and typical modes of behavior ascribed to them. In European culture the fox is sly and mean, the wolf stupid and cowardly, and the hare a coward; in India the jackal is the sly one and the tiger the stupid one (see AT 1-149, the same in Thompson and Roberts 1960). Otherwise, the animals are realistic, have no fabulous traits and live in their natural habitat.

18.2.1.5 Appearance. Zoomorphic beings for the most part have the same appearance as their natural counterparts; this holds true also for fabulous animals.

Fairy-tale fabulous animals are an exception. The passive marvelous animals which function as the "entity-to-be-won" are characterized by a splendid, non-realistic appearance: for instance, they are golden. The hero's steed has two appearances: in the confines of this world it is extremely shabby, while on the quest in the other world it is transformed into an extremely beautiful creature; both in the fairy tale and the epic it may have wings as well.

In European fairy-tales the hero's adversary is a dragon, an anthropomorphized monster with various animal traits, but this is not simply a fabulous animal (see Example 48). Monstrous fabulous zoomorphic creatures appear in myth, mythic and universal epic and in demonic legend. Such are the adversaries of Beowulf, Grendel and his dam, or, mermaids and sirens, which are half anthropomorphous and half zoomorphic monsters in the demonic legend.

Example 58

The old nag, which the hero chooses for his quest, is transformed

into a beautiful steed (Hungary: Dégh, 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*). The hero Momčilo's steed has wings, which his treacherous wife burns (Bulgaria: Angelov" and Vakarelski 1939, no. 5; Serbia: Djurić 1947, no. 3; historic epic).

18.2.1.6 Attire.

The most prominent animal having an attire is the hero's steed in the fairy tale and epic. In the epic it is described in detail (see above Example 30[b]), in the fairy tale it is only mentioned, and is characterized as "splendid" or "golden". Rarely does another animal possess and handle weapons or other implements.

Example 59

The hare wants a spear made for itself and afterwards fights a monster with it (India: Bompas 1909, p. 468; heroic fairy tale, AT 315).

18.2.1.7 Transfiguration.

Only fabulous entities can undergo transfiguration. Much of creation is transfiguration (see above, Example 55). One of the principal themes of aetiological legends is the origin of minor qualities of natural animals: they receive them as a result of a minor transfiguration. Demons have unlimited ability to transfigure into animal shapes, and in the Moslem culture fabulous animals in ethnopoetry are conceived as transfigured demons. Satan often takes on the shape of certain animals (a black dog, cat, hen, see Example 68[c]).

18.2.1.8 Unique and typical term.

Realistic animals tend to be typical, and if they are named, the names are typical sobriquets (AT 53: Reynard the Fox).

Fabulous animals are more often unique. Mythical ancestors of animals are unique; some of the marvelous terms seem to be unique: the hero's marvelous steed, the donors and helpers, and the passive marvelous zoomorphic terms ("entity-to-be-won") (see below, Example 67[c]). The epic hero's steed is unique too (see Examples 22, 42[b] : steed Šarac).

Example 60

Both the hero's steed and a certain steed in Fairyland are unique. They are also close kin (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

18.2.1.9 Spatial location.

Like anthropomorphous terms, zoomorphic terms are also bound to a certain realm; each category of animals is bound to its own realm. Fabulous terms can enter the realm of this world, which includes their natural habitats. Symbolic terms move freely in all segments of the spatial model.

18.2.1.10 Social aspects.

Animals can be organized as an independent society, with rulers and an administration; this is how they appear in several animal novelle. They may be thought of as having an occupation in the administration of the animal society: the ass as toll gatherer in AT 52; animals as judges in AT 53; the jackal as teacher in AT 56 C. Other occupations and trades were not evident. Most animals do not form an independent society, but are part of human society. They belong to a human or to an anthropomorphous being in the story. Like anthropomorphous terms, animals are also divided along the we/other opposition (see above, paragraph 17.1.2). There are "our" animals which help "our side", and "their" animals which help "them". Both "we" and the enemy have battle horses; if beasts of prey and domestic animals meet, the latter are "ours". In animal novelle the same rule applies as in the human novelle: the winning side is "ours", irrespective of the ethical import of its deeds. Once it is the sly fox; the next time it is his clever prey who succeeds in escaping him.

The distinction between "domestic" and "wild" animals forms groups in the distribution of animal species in various genres. Animals may have kinship relations: parents and children, siblings and other kin, of both the same or different species. In African tales, animals of various species replicate the kinship relations of the narrating community (see, for instance, Beidelman 1961, 1963).

Example 61

The lion is the king of the animals, while the fox, jackal and hyena are his ministers (AT 50, AT 52); the ass is the toll-gatherer (AT 52); the animals hold a court of justice (AT 53); the birds elect a king (AT 221); the birds try to organize a kingdom of their own and choose a king (AT 221); they hold a council (AT 220) and court (AT 220 A, AT 229 A*); they engage in warfare (AT 222, AT 222 A) (France: Massignon 1968, no. 49; animal novella, AT 222).

In animal novelle, she-animals and their young play (AT 56 ff.); the same group appears in one of the fairy tales (AT 301 V *f — Jason 1965).

Zoomorphic donors in the heroic fairy tale give the hero their young as helpers (AT 300 I). The steeds of the hero and his adversary may be siblings (see above, Example 56[b]).

18.2.2 Categories of zoomorphic terms in ethnopoetic genres

18.2.2.1 Realistic genres. All the animals in realistic genres are realistic, except for the epical battle-steed which tends to have super-zoomorphic abilities (reasons, speaks, prophesies, flies).

Example 62

The hero's steed has marvelous qualities: Il'ja, Murom's steed, speaks and warns Il'ja of danger (Russia: Hapgood 1915:212; national epic). Dobrinja's horse "was like a wild beast; at each leap he compassed a *verst* ([i.e., it flies] [...] From that good steed's mouth flames flashed, from his nostrils sparks showered abroad, from his ears smoke curled in rings (ib., p. 156)". Marko, the king's son, on his steed Šarac "from mountain to mountain leaps [...] when Šarac the good horse is breathing from his nostrils flame flashes [...]" (Bulgaria: Angelov″ and Vakarelski 1939, no. 26; historic epic).

In the **animal swindler novella**, which is the specific realm of animal character, and in the joke, both of which are akin to the swindler novella, realistic animals have their natural shapes, live in their natural habitats, feed on their natural food, lodge in their natural dwellings and possess only two non-animal properties. They reason like humans do, and are able to converse. With the help of these two faculties they behave as humans do in the swindler novella, i.e., they try to outwit each other.

According to Beidelman (1961, 1963) animals in stories from Africa south of the Sahara, while being as realistic as animals in the European and Asian animal novella, carry a symbolic import unknown in the latter tales. They represent and act out the values, relations and conflicts of the narrating society.

18.2.2.2 Fabulous genres. In myth, the zoomorphic terms are mythical ancestors of their kind, and are often creative deities. In the **legend** demons may appear in zoomorphic shape. A special group of legends, **animal legends**, concentrates on zoomorphic beings in their relation to man. These are animals which live in man's close vicinity, have all the natural properties of their kind, yet in addition have some human qualities which make them uncanny. Man treats them as his equals, and enters into certain social relationships with them. The two are able to converse; the animal is capable of being insulted and can take revenge; in order to appease it, man shares his livestock and food with the animal. These are the most common wild beasts of man's natural surroundings (such as bear and wolf in North Eastern Europe, or jackal and hyena in the Middle East) or domestic animals on which man's livelihood strongly depends.

Example 63

A peasant drives a jackal from his courtyard; in the night the jackal tramples down the peasant's field — it knew which was the peasant's field (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 161c; animal legend).

In the **fairy tale**, the marvelous helper role is filled by the most diversified group of zoomorphic beings. The hero will be mostly aided by various wild animals while the heroine tends to be aided by domestic animals. The wild animals are usually

specially suited to accomplish the hero's suitor-task (a fish dives for the king's ring lost in the sea); wild beasts will help in the hero's battles by reviving him when he is killed (Puss-in-Boots — AT 545 A — is an exception as it is a carnivalesque fairy tale). The domestic animals aiding the heroine are less naturally adapted to their tasks. From the horn of a cow she may get food, which still has some connection with a cow's natural function — to provide milk, i.e. food; but when a cow spins cloth and parts of the dead cow are transformed into clothes, or when a cat provides a castle, this connection is lost. A further difference between the zoomorphic helpers of the male and the female heroes is that the hero's helpers are more active, doing things by themselves, while the helpers of the heroine are more passive: the heroine has to turn the cow's horn in order to obtain food, or in order to receive the clothes she has to treat the slaughtered cow in a certain way (bury its parts or dig them out — AT 510, 511). The most prominent animal in the epic fairy tale is the horse, the only domestic animal which helps the male hero. It is akin to the epic horse, with the addition that it often possesses an explicitly marvelous nature; it is received from the marvelous donor, and may be called by burning a hair of it (as other marvelous animal helpers are called up). It has various marvelous qualities: the powers of speech and fore-sight; it may have wings, and knows its way about in the fairy-tale world. As was said above (see above, paragraph 18.1.3.2.2, Example 48), the adversary of the hero, the dragon, may also ride a horse. This horse has the same properties as the hero's marvelous horse helper, and the hero often obtains the dragon's horse, or a relative of the dragon's horse (its sibling or foal). In order to overcome the dragon, the hero has to have the better horse of the two. When the dragon's horse changes hands, it changes its narrative role from adversary to helper (see above, Example 50[a]).

18.2.2.3 Symbolic genres. In symbolic genres, zoomorphic terms appear side by side with anthropomorphous and object-like terms, all three of them losing their realistic or fabulous properties and functioning in the same way. In formula tales they are mutually interchangeable without the change affecting

the course of the narrative. In this framework there is no significance to an entity being zoomorphic (see above, Example 53).

18.3 OBJECT-LIKE TERMS IN ETHNOPOETRY

Ethnopoetry usually does not describe the objects which it mentions. When a description is found, it is not a realistic description but consists of standing epithets which are used as a characterization of the object. Even in lyric songs, there are no realistic descriptions, but rather standing epithets and standard similes. The properties of objects, such as their shape, size, color, and the materials they are made of, for the most part have to be inferred from our knowledge of the narrative society's material surroundings. In the case in which an object is specially described, this description has a particular function in the narrative. Objects seem to be easily interchanged. With changes in his environment the narrator will introduce new objects into the tale. In the social process of modernization, objects, being the first element on the very surface of the ethno-poetic work, are most easily manipulated by the narrator. Although no systematic investigation exists, it seems that objects which appear as requisites are more easily interchanged (see Jason 1966). Such changes are external, however, and do not affect other properties of the work.

A special group of object-like terms are landscape features, such as a field, mountain or river. As these are describable by the same distinctive features as object-like entities and since they function in the same way, they are treated here as objects.

Example 64

Objects as characters

A straw, an ember and a bean run away from a woman who wants to light a fire of straw with the ember in order to cook beans. The three come to a brook: the straw lies down as a bridge, the ember tries to pass over it and burns; both drown. The bean laughs till it splits (Germany: Grimm 1969, no. 18; Russia: Afanas'ev 1957,

nos. 87, 88; tall tale: AT 295).

A religious object permanently endowed with miraculous power punishes a sinner: a holy tomb paralyses an abuser (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 6; sacred legend).

A secular object temporarily endowed with miraculous power punishes a sinner: a man murdered and robbed his guest. While he is burying his victim, the grave covers him up (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 57; sacred legend, AT 960 *C—Jason 1965).

Miraculous power uses a secular object in order to reward a man: a poor man borrows money and calls upon God and the sea as his guarantors. The creditor accepts them. When at the time of repayment, the poor man is far away, he throws a casket with money into the sea, which brings it to the creditor (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 66; sacred legend, AT 849*).

Plants as characters

The mushroom invites others to war (Russia: Afanas'ev 1957, no. 90; formula tale, AT 297 B).

The plants want to choose a king over themselves; the olive tree, fig tree and vine refuse to be crowned, as this kingship is idle work; the small and useless bramble bush is willing, and invites the others to take refuge in its shadow (Ancient Israel: Judges 9:8-15; parable).

18.3.1 Distinctive features of object-like terms

18.3.1.1 Origin. In the course of the narrative the origin, the creation or the making of an object may be related. The myth and the aetiological tale have as their very theme the primeval creation of objects. In other genres most objects are just there, existing in the world which the genre describes.

The legend, fairy tale and epic sometimes describe the coming-into-existence of a certain object which plays an important role in the narrative. The legend narrates how prominent religious objects (especially buildings) came into existence; the epic and the heroic fairy tale tell about the making of the hero's weapons or other implements which have special qualities.

Example 65

The epic hero has his weapons specially forged for him: Marko, the king's son, has his weapons made by a smith, and then he cuts off the smith's arm so that he can't make another weapon of the same quality (Serbia: Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 7; historic epic).

A special utensil is acquired from demons: a drinking vessel of precious metals or jewels (Norway: Christiansen 1964, nos. 51a-52c; demonic legends) (see Example 46).

18.3.1.2 Age. Only in very rare cases is the age of an object mentioned in the tale or song. If the age is mentioned, it is always of an object important in the narrative. An example is the sword of the epic hero and of the related fairy-tale dragon fighter. This sword may be very old, a family heirloom, thus endowed with fighting experience and loyalty to the family members. Or, on the contrary, the weapon may be brand new and forged especially for the hero (see above, Example 65), often by a divine smith, and thus especially suited to the respective hero and often endowed with fabulous qualities as well.

The ages of marvelous objects in the fairy tale are not indicated. They seem to be eternal, to exist from the beginning, and are not supposed to wear out or break. This is true for both passive marvelous objects-to-be-sought-for and for active marvelous objects which act as the hero's marvelous helpers. So we never hear that the "seven-miles-boots" which transport the hero with marvelous speed to his destination were damaged in some way, or had to be mended.

18.3.1.3 Shape. Objects have a naturally given shape. This may be a more or less regular geometrical form, which is clear-cut, in regular lines, angles and planes, or, it may be an irregular form, such as the shape of an animal. An object of this latter shape may have sharp boundaries which are easily perceived,

such as faunal or floral objects, or it may have unclear boundaries such as a cave or a ruin, the boundaries of which usually seem to be lost from sight in twilight and darkness. Finally, there exist objects which have no stable shape at all. These are liquids (water or food), and gases (fog or smoke). In most cases the form of objects mentioned in the oral literature has to be inferred from its natural counterpart. A European house will have a particular shape, with clear-cut straight lines, right angles and corners, and plane surfaces; its roof may be of a triangular shape. In an African tribe the house may be conceived as having the form of a cone, or a cylinder with a conic roof. In contrast, a cave will have an irregular, vague form. The smoke coming out of the bottle which a poor fisherman finds on the shore, with its changeable shape and size, contrasts with the clear-cut geometrical shape of the bottle and the clear-cut but irregular form of the demon into which the smoke eventually condenses (Lane 1925:I, 26; Mot. D 2177.1). M. Lüthi made the only investigation of this aspect of objects in ethnopoetry and has found that the fairy tale likes clear-cut geometrical forms, straight lines and angles; in contrast, the legend likes vague forms and irregular shapes (Lüthi 1974a:25-36). The symbol of the fairy tale is the clear-cut, shining palace, rising from a plane surface, and the symbol of the legend is the cave which is of irregular shape, lost in twilight and darkness, below ground-level.

With respect to other genres no systematic investigation has yet been made.

18.3.1.4 Size. Usually the size of the object is not specifically mentioned in the ethnopoetic work. The assumption is that the object mentioned in the narrative is the same size as its natural counterpart.

In those rare cases where the size of an object is mentioned, it is not given in measures, but in measuring words, such as "long" or "small", or in the form of a comparison: "as big/small as . . ." The unusual explicit mentioning of the size of an object always bears a specific function in the narrative. For example: a dead soul appearing in a dream in a Jewish Near Eastern sacred legend, is said to have had a long beard. In the respective society

this should mean that the dead man was a sage during his lifetime, as in this society only sages are entitled to wear long beards (see above, Example 34[a]). In two genres, especially large objects are needed: in the epic, the hero, his paraphernalia, and his adversary are all of super-human size. In the tall tale a chain of ever-larger objects is enumerated; the size of the object is always given in indirect comparison.

Example 66

A cabbage grows in the field; a bullock takes shelter from the rain under one of its leaves, and when the rain is over the stream of water which accumulated on the leaf sweeps the bullock away and drowns it (Ireland: O'Sullivan 1966, no. 53; tall tale, AT 1960 D). The chain: the cabbage is larger than the bullock; one cabbage leaf is larger than the cabbage.

18.3.1.5 Materials. Objects in ethnopoetry are usually thought of as being made of the same materials as their natural prototypes. The fairy tale is an exception in that it has marvelous passive objects and landscapes which have to be described as having unnatural qualities, if only by a word or two; otherwise their marvelous nature will not be perceived (i.e., the description serves the function of indicating the marvelous nature of the fairy-tale world). Examples are the common mountains of glass, or trees of gold. In the only extant investigation of the subject, M. Lüthi points out that the material of marvelous objects in the fairy tale tend to be hard and dry, metallic or stony, in contrast to the demonic legend in which the objects tend to be soft, moist, and of perishable materials (Lüthi 1960:25-36).

Example 67

(a) A horse, the hero's helper, has to have diamond (shiny, stony, dry, hard) horse-shoes so as to be able to ride over the Glass Mountains of Fairyland (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

(b) The villain takes the shape of a great bird with steel wings

(metallic, sharp outlines) in order to abduct the princess who is hidden in the shape of an orange (round, sharp outlines) (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 301).

(c) The hero is sent to fetch marvels: a golden bird (metallic, dry, hard, shiny), and the "bowl of God" which shines so intensely as to blind the onlookers (sharp outlines, perfect geometrical shape, shiny) (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 54; heroic fairy tale, AT 513 C).

18.3.1.6 Color. The color of objects is mentioned more often than their shape or size. In this connection, standing epithets of color should also be mentioned, although they are not really intended to be descriptions of objects. Other attributes could be chosen as well to serve as standing epithets of the same objects. So instead of the usual 'white tower' for 'house' in Serbian epic songs (Parry-Lord 1954-1954:I, 268; II, 260, lines 19, 49, 58), 'stone house/tower', 'tall house', 'wooden house', 'great house' and the like could have been used. The only systematic investigation of the colors which characteristically appear in a genre was done by M. Lüthi for the fairy tale as contrasted with the demonic legend (Lüthi 1974a, 25-36). He found that the fairy tale likes clear and basic colors such as white and black, but not gray; red but not pink. In contrast, in the legend, mixed colors are preferred such as gray, pink and violet.

18.3.1.7 Transfigurations. In the course of a narrative an object may be transfigured into another object or into another mode of existence; entities from other modes of existence may be transfigured into objects. Most primeval creation in myths is not a creation *ex nihilo* but a permanent transfiguration of existing objects into new objects. In all **aetiological legends** and **legends about early populations** the creative acts consist of the transfiguration of previously existing objects. In the **legend**, transfigurations are less abundant. Miracles sometimes take the form of permanent transfigurations of objects to reward or punish a person. As Satan has no real creative power, satanic objects are changed temporarily, or better still only in a make-believe way (see below, paragraph 18.3.2.2). Demonic objects

can have a transfigurative character: demonic beings pay humans for a favor with a worthless and shabby object, which is permanently transfigured next day into gold; demonic food is transformed garbage and reptiles.

In the **fairy tale** the transfigurations take place from any of the three shapes into any other (anthropomorphous, zoomorphic, object-like). A marvelous child may be born as an object or a zoomorphic being and later transfigured into an anthropomorphous being. Characters, both male and female, may hide by temporarily transfiguring themselves into objects (see Example 31[a]), or may be transfigured into such objects by villains.

Example 68

(a) A quantity of soil as small as a pebble expands so as to form the entire earth. From this soil people are modeled and thereby the material is transfigured into biological tissue (Maidu, North American Indians: Thompson 1966, no. 8; myth).

(b) A Jewess secretly goes to a Moslem holy tomb to pray for a child. She is recognized and pursued; upon her prayer the wall of the shrine miraculously opens and hides her (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 4; sacred legend).

(c) A black hen (devil) shows a man gold. When the man takes the coins, they turn out to be embers and burn down to soot (France: Massignon 1968, no. 27; satanic legend).

(d) Demons reward a human midwife who helped them with garlic: next morning the garlic turns to gold (Kurdish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 12; demonic legend, AT 476*-*A—Jason 1975c).

18.3.1.8 Unique and typical term. Objects may be unique and may thus have an individual identity similar to anthropomorphous beings, or may be anonymous representatives of their kind, as are typical beings. Named objects function in the work as characters. An example is a special miracle-working Torah-scroll, and a cycle of legends (see above, paragraph 13.1) may be woven around such an object. Religious buildings are

usually named. In the epic, the sword of the hero may be a unique fabulous weapon and may bear a name.

Fairy-tale passive marvelous objects are unique too, but are not named: it is "the golden cock", "the singing tree" which the hero is sent to fetch (see below, Example 74[b]). The hero starts out to search for this object and asks about it as if it were the only one of its kind in the world. The characters whom he asks about it also seem to suppose that this object is unique.

Example 69

Unique object

> Only with a very particular sword and saddle will the hero succeed in his tasks. The donor teaches the hero how to obtain these objects: they are his father's weapons and are hidden in a certain place. The sword, with its marvelous qualities, is a marvelous helper to the hero (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

Typical object

> Material goods in the form of gold or silver coins, jewels, etc., represent wealth *per se*, good luck and reward: the poor brother receives his reward in the robbers' den in the form of gold and silver (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 27; reward-and-punishment fairy tale, AT 676).

> Objects in the novella are usually typical. Gold and silver may also signify greed: a poor but happy porter is given a jar with gold coins, then greed overtakes him and he is no longer happy (Turkish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 15; wisdom novella, AT 754).

> The clever fellow wins someone else's cake through a ruse. The cake is a typical object, standing for any goods which may be won by a swindle (Turkish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 45; swindler novella, AT 1626).

> Some swindler novella incidents are based on the mistaking of typical objects for unique objects: a simple tree is believed to bear coins as fruit; a simple pot is believed to cook by itself; an

ordinary whistle is believed to revive the dead (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 44; swindler novella, AT 1539).

18.3.1.9 Spatial location and assemblage. While the two other shapes of terms are mobile, objects and landscape features cannot usually move by themselves from one location to another. Moving cliffs and roads which unfold by themselves as a carpet appear in fairy tales, yet these are in reality immobile as well. The cliffs are stuck to a certain point in space, and make only one movement to and fro in a stable course. The same is true for the unfolding road; it always unfolds along the same path. This path is really the road, and the unfolding only makes it visible to the hero. Exceptions are the "flying carpet" and the "seven mile boots" which serve as automotive vehicles.

Certain objects have their natural location as part of a specific assemblage of objects. If they appear in the story in an unusual location and assemblage, they signify that the stage on which the characters move is outside of "this world". A typical case is an oven standing in the middle of a field, or in the woods (AT 480 IVc[1]). The natural location of a bread-baking oven is either in a kitchen of a farm house or in a bakery, but not in the middle of a field. In AT 480 the oven in the field indicates (among other functions which it bears) that this field is really part of the marvelous fairy-tale land.

The "natural" location of both active and passive marvelous objects is in the realm of Fairyland, where they are given to the hero in order to serve him as marvelous agents, or from where they have to be fetched. Correspondingly, the appearance of marvelous objects at a certain location of the narrative's stage mark this location as being part of the marvelous fairy-tale land.

18.3.2 Categories of object-like terms in ethnopoetry

18.3.2.1 Realistic objects. Natural objects appear in all ethnopoetic genres and function as requisites in the work. They are taken from the immediate and real natural environment: the house and the yard with their equipment, tools and products;

the settlement with its streets, markets, trades and crafts, and public buildings; the surrounding fields, landscape features and water supply; and the like.

Each genre has a typical assemblage of objects, with their specific frequencies of appearance. In myth, these terms appear as having just been created; in other genres they are taken for granted.

18.3.2.2 Fabulous objects

Mythic objects. Mythic objects exist at the time of creation and have the ability to change creatively (for the most part there is no creation *ex nihilo*). In the mythic period no clear delimitation yet exists between animate beings and inanimate objects, and both can creatively change into each other. Mythic objects may merge with objects from the primordial golden age.

> **Example 70**
>
> Animate Adam is created from inanimate earth (Ancient Israel: Genesis 2:7; myth).
>
> Animate man can change into inanimate heavenly bodies (Eskimo: Thompson 1966, no. 2; myth).

Sacred objects. Sacred objects are realistic objects, which the official sacred power of the society endows temporarily or permanently with miraculous power. They are of two kinds:

(a) Religious paraphernalia which are inherently endowed with sacred power, although not all of them to the same degree. Some Torah-scrolls or tombs of saints are for some reason or other more holy than others and are therefore able to perform miracles. Any abuse of an object connected with a religious service may be miraculously punished either by the object itself, or by the sacred power which makes it miraculous.

(b) Secular everyday objects which are temporarily endowed with miraculous abilities in order to perform a particular mission for the sacred power. The sacred object

respectively rewards and punishes the righteous and wicked characters. Both the reward and the punishment immediately follow the particular action of a character.

In abusing religious paraphernalia, man shows disrespect for the sacred power which the object represents. It is not always clear whether the object really performs an act of its own will, or whether the sacred power acts on behalf of the object. This is especially so in the case of punishments. In the case of rewards the acting of the object is more clearly demonstrated: the human character in need applies to a certain religious object and has his request granted, apparently by that particular object.

Secular objects will act upon good deeds or sins which are committed in regard to general religious commands or ethical norms. Here it is much clearer that it is the sacred power which in each particular case makes the object perform an action, and not the object itself through its own will.

So far objects in this world have been discussed. The other world, the Judeo-Christian-Moslem Paradise and Hell are also furnished with various objects. The furniture in Paradise, such as the chairs on which the righteous sit, is of natural precious metals and jewels; a jewel may be taken from the chair, brought to Earth and sold in the market; Paradise may look like an orchard with soft riffling streams. None of these have any non-natural quality. The only paradisiac piece of furniture which possesses fabulous properties is God's throne: whoever sits on it can see all that goes on on Earth.

As paradisiac objects are natural so are the furnishings of Hell. The infernal torture instruments, fire, kettle, pitch, sulfur, and the like with which sinners are tortured, are of a completely realistic nature, and the punishments of the sinners are all too natural physical pains. It seems that neither the righteous nor the sinners have in death lost their living body, capable of sensation.

> **Example 71**
>
> (a) A religious object permanently endowed with miraculous power:

A saint's tomb works miracles: it opens its walls so that a perse-cuted person can escape (Moroccan Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 4; sacred legend); a tomb punishes an abuser with paralysis (ib., no. 6).

(b) A secular object temporarily endowed with miraculous power

A murderer buries his victim; the grave encloses the murderer (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 57; sacred legend, AT 960 *C—Jason 1965).

(c) Other-worldly object

After having arrived in Heaven, the dead tailor is allowed to sit on St. Peter's golden chair; from there the tailor can see how men on Earth are stealing from each other, and he throws the chair at a thief (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 60; joke, AT 800).

Rabbi Shimon ben Halaftha is so poor that he has nothing to eat. Upon praying he receives from Heaven a jewel taken from the chair which is prepared for him to sit on when he enters Paradise after his death. The jewel can be sold in the market, but will be missing afterwards in the paradisiac chair (Jewish-medieval: Bin Gorion, 1916-1922, II:39-40, 336; sacred legend).

Satanic objects. Satanic objects in legend form a counterpart to natural objects which have been created by the official sacred power. Satan creates these objects, but as he has no power to create *ex nihilo* he has to take an object which God created and give it another appearance. The change which Satan works in the object is, however, only temporary. Satan has only a seeming, make-believe creative power. The objects to which Satan gives a new shape turn back to their original, God-given shape at the moment they are brought into contact with some aspect of the Sacred (God's name is mentioned, the sign of the cross is made, holy water is sprinkled). The nature of the change which Satan brings about in the object is conceived as being in-between real transfiguration and a play of the imagination. Satan makes a man believe that the object he sees is the object Satan says it is, but in reality the object did not change at all. In this respect the satanic object is symmetrically opposed to a dream or vision inspired by the sacred force. Satan may possess regular realistic objects too, and give them to humans as pay-ment for their services. Most often he gives man money which is completely real and realistic.

In a small group of quasi-mythic tales Satan creates realistic entities. Satan tries to imitate God in the creative activity, but succeeds only in creating "bad things", and this is the origin of the unpleasantness in this world. Satan's creations are a sym-metrical counterpart to the "good things" which God creates (the tale is often humoristic: God creates Adam and Satan creates Eve).

Example 72

(a) Satan gives a man realistic money. It came into Satan's power through men's sins ("the money the bailiff cheated out of people") (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 69; sacred legend, AT 810).

(b) Man helps Satan to lift a natural treasure guarded by the Holy Book. Satan gives some of the gold to his helper as a reward (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 64; sacred legend, AT 821 A).

(c) A black hen (Satan) gives a man gold coins which turn out to be embers (France: Massignon 1968, no. 27; satanic legend).

Demonic objects. Demonic objects belong to the world of demonic beings. This world exists spatially side by side with the human world, each, so to speak, having its own ecological niche. The demons populate in this world bodies of water, the insides of mountains, and even mix with humans and inhabit dark corners in human dwellings. Thus, man in his natural environ-ment will come upon objects belonging to the demonic world; he will see them and he may even use them as if they were realistic objects. They usually have no fabulous quality. The main distinguishing property is their exceptional beauty, sumptuousness, and the excellent, superhuman craftsmanship which they exhibit. There are two exceptions: demons may give man their object as payment in return for human services. Such payments are given to man in the form of everyday insignificant

looking objects which the next morning will be found to have turned into realistic gold. Another kind of demonic gift are inexhaustible foodstuffs or coins. These are bound to a taboo which man regularly breaks in the course of the legend's plot, thereby losing the gift. The third instance of a special though undefined quality is a property of the demons' food: it will hurt man when eaten by him, and will often condemn man to remain among the demons.

Example 73

(a) Natural objects

Demonic objects expose fine craftsmanship: demons' wedding costumes and jewelry remain in human hands (Norway: Christiansen 1964, nos. 51a-51b; demonic legends). Exceptional gold and silver drinking vessels are acquired from demons (ib., nos. 52a-52c). The demons' kitchen utensils are "most magnificent" and of "purest silver" (ib., no. 49a; demonic legend).

A demon lends man natural money and good fortune in business. When the time of repayment arrives, the demon is dead (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 65; demonic legend, AT 822*).

(b) Fabulous objects

Demonic wealth disappears: demons reward a human with a pile of silver every morning. When the human boasts about the reward, all the money disappears (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 49a; demonic legend).

An insignificant object which demons give to humans as reward (garlic) is transformed the next morning into gold (Kurdish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 12; demonic legend, AT 476*-*A—Jason 1975c).

Demonic food is not real and turns back into its original state when the demons are chased away: food turns to moss, toad stools, cow dung and toads (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 51a; demonic legend).

The she demon, who is giving birth, warns her human midwife not to taste from the demons' food, lest she turn into a demon (Kurdish Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 12; demonic legend, AT 476*-*A—Jason 1975c).

Marvelous objects. Marvelous objects are part of the fairy-tale world and exist only in the realm of this world. According to its role in the narrative, the passive marvelous object may differ in various aspects from its natural counterpart, such as by having a splendid appearance (fruits which are jewels) or by possessing some unusual ability (a tree which can sing). The object's unusual appearance and abilities do not play a role in the tale and serve solely to mark the object as a marvel. These objects do not act by themselves. They just exist, and once they are secured, they are no longer mentioned in the tale.

The active marvelous object in the fairy tale looks, by contrast, like a natural object; moreover it appears poor, old, torn and shabby. It possesses, however, unnatural abilities of one of the following three varieties:

(a) the object is able to perform a marvelous action such as rendering its master invisible, reviving or healing; it may be able to fly or speak;

(b) the object produces utilitarian entities; these may be of universal utility, such as payment devices (gold coins), or a specific entity of limited utility, such as food, clothes, or soldiers;

(c) the object commands fabulous beings which can secure any goods or services.

Objects, designed for a particular task, are somehow connected with this task; marvelous transportation is provided by special boots, a bed or a carpet, and not for instance by an apple; the apple will be eaten as a remedy and a marvelous sword will serve as a weapon, and not be eaten or be expected to fly (see above, Example 50).

The objects are put to work by the sole word, or even the silent wish, of their master. In the heroic fairy tale they can be put to

work by anybody who happens to get hold of them and thus becomes their master. In the female fairy tale and the reward-and-punishment fairy tale an element of justice for the weak and righteous (or better still, the persecuted) is always present. In this case only a righteous man is considered to be the proper owner of the marvelous object and only he is successfully able to handle it and profit from it; if the wicked character tries to put it to work, he may lose property or even be punished, to the extent of losing his life.

In the reward-and-punishment fairy tale, active marvelous objects are the goal of the hero's exploits. The sole function of these objects (or animals) is to provide wealth for the hero, and sometimes to punish his wicked counterpart (see above, Example 37). There is not necessarily a correspondence between the properties and functions of the object (or animal) in the human natural world and the way in which they provide wealth in the reward-and-punishment fairy tale.

All marvelous objects are found in the restricted fairy-tale spatial realm. They are simply there, and we are not told how they got there or how they came into being. They are found and are used for a particular purpose, and then they vanish from the tale.

The fairy-tale landscape exhibits in most cases the features of passive marvelous objects. It does not act in the tale, but is marked as marvelous by its appearance: some examples are mountains of glass, trees of gold and silver, and the like. When landscape features act (moving cliffs which can let the hero through or refuse passage, for instance), they are made of natural materials (moving cliffs are of stone, unlike the passive mountains which are made of glass).

Example 74

(a) Active marvelous objects

The hero receives a flying cloak from an ogre (France: Massignon 1968, no. 65; heroic fairy tale, AT 566).

The hero receives from an ogre a purse in which money is always found, and a table which provides food (ib.).

The hero finds a simple-looking coconut with a key; a "black man" comes out of the coconut and fulfills any wishes of the coconut's master (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 24; heroic fairy tale, AT 560).

A mill which provides everything wished for is given to the poor brother. The rich brother takes it away; he cannot stop its producing salt when on a ship, and the ship sinks (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 36; Japan: Seki 1963, no. 39; reward-and-punishment fairy tale, AT 565).

(b) Passive marvelous objects

The hero is sent to fetch the "Pipiree's bird" which sits on a golden tree (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 531).

The hero is sent to fetch three white lilac leaves which play all sorts of tunes and the glittering show-me-the-world mirror which is hanging on a golden chain (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 707 III).

The son goes on a quest for a golden tree with a silver blossom which his father dreamt about, with a silver cock sitting on the flower and crowing (Ceylon: Parker 1910-1914, no. 47; heroic fairy tale, AT 550). Note: This marvel later turns into girl-brides for the hero. The functional identity of the sought-for-object and the sought-for-princess is thereby demonstrated.

(c) The marvelous object is bound to its realm

The donor asks the hero to return the sword and the boat which he gave him, because "I must have it back" (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 81, p. 249; heroic fairy tale, AT 301 D*).

The hero's father visited Fairyland in his youth and, on that occasion, used a marvelous sword, saddle and bridle. When the hero, his youngest son, asks for these implements, the king does not know where they are. They have disappeared. Only the father's marvelous horse, which is now the hero's donor and helper, knows where the implements are hidden — in a place where humans usually do not enter: "walled up ... in the

furthest back of the cellar." Thus, the implements disappear on their own account from the human to whom they were given after he finished his exploit. The next hero has to win them again from the non-human realm. (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

18.3.2.3 Symbolic objects. Objects appearing in genres which are set in the symbolic mode do not exhibit fabulous properties, yet they are not used or do not act or react as realistic objects do. They are empty of all material content. In the proverb and riddle they serve as signifiers of something else, namely, the natural significatum. The significatum is conceived as a natural entity; the signifier is only a symbol. In tall tales, non-existent objects of two kinds are described: objects of unnatural size and oxymoron objects (such as 'burning water'). This is a symbolical inversion of the world, a play of the intellect which questions the order of things (see Jason 1973b). The human being which is often the speaker and tells the story as a monologue, is not a real character who acts in a narrating role. He is just an animated object. In the same manner each one of the objects mentioned in the tale, animated or inanimated, could be the speaker.

The numskull tales are staged in a quasi-realistic world. While each separate object in the numskull world exhibits regular realistic qualities, investigation shows that the assemblage of objects forms a quasi-realistic world, in that it is incomplete. Its main distinguishing trait is the absence of some objects which are indispensable in the complete natural human world. Thus, the world of objects in the numskull world serves as a symbol for its incompleteness with regard to the natural human world (see Jason 1972).

Example 75

(a) The proverb

A fat kitchen makes a lean will (p. 65).
Fair hair may have foul roots (p. 74).
Sharp sauce gies gude [gives good] taste to sweet meats (p. 87).
(Scotland: Henderson 1881)

(b) The riddle

My grandfather is behind the chest,
Wearing a hundred overcoats.
(A head of cabbage) (p. 25, no. 193b).

Twelve in a single bed
And none of them sleeping.
(Wooden rim of a spinning wheel) (p. 27, no. 209).
(Ireland: Hull and Taylor 1955)

(c) The numskull tale

The numskull world lacks cats (Turkish Jews: Jason 1972, IFA 17; AT 1651), and swords (Afghan Jews: ib., IFA 1188; AT 1284).

19

Spatial dimension
in ethnopoetry

19.1 THE SPATIAL MODEL

The event which an ethnopoetic work tells about is always conceptualized as having happened "somewhere". This is rather obvious in narrative genres, but it also holds for non-narrative genres such as the proverb or lyric song. The sum of the diverse "somewheres" of the text in a culture yields a whole spatial scheme. Each genre has areas in this scheme in which its events are staged. While the details of the picture differ from one culture to the next, there exist some universal principles in the organization of the perceived space.

The spatial universe of the narrator and his community includes the real natural geographic space populated by humans, as well as the fabulous other-worldly space populated by fabulous beings (such as the whereabouts of dead souls or the dwelling place of deities or demonic beings). In both of these two basic areas, the human and non-human, which are recognized in all cultures, there are subdivisions. Some basic subdivisions are universal; others are culture-bound.

The shape of the spatial universe which exists in the consciousness of the narrator is not necessarily identical with the spatial universe which can be constructed by the investigator from the interpretation of the repertoire related to him by the narrator. The narrator's conscious picture will easily change with changes in the environments and the widening of

his educational horizons, while the details of the narrative which form the data for the determination of the spatial schemes are subject to other laws of change, and therefore only have an indirect connection to the conscious changes in the narrator's geographical picture (see the geographical picture of three narrators: a Hungarian narrator in Erdesz 1961, and two Jewish-Yemenite narrators in Noy 1965a; changes are discussed in Jason 1966).

Here an outline for the division of space in ethnopoetry will be proposed. This outline is based on the ethnopoetry of the Western Old World cultures, which have no myth in their ethnopoetic repertoire.

Tribal cultures as well as ancient high cultures which include myth in their oral literature may show other conceptions of space and other outlines of its divisions, but the respective materials have not yet been investigated.

The outline is constructed from the standpoint of the narrator's perception. He stands in the middle of the picture and the spatial subdivisions surround him in concentric circles:

Area 1: **Our settlement.** The immediate physical surroundings of the narrating community: "our" village, fields, forests, hills, bodies of water surrounding it, and the special locations in the vicinity of the village such as a ruin or a shrine. All of these are very familiar to every member of the community in his daily life.

Example 76

A man was abducted by demons. He is known to the story teller and the event took place in the surroundings of the settlement in which both men were living (Norway: Christiansen 1964, no. 48b; demonic legend).

Area 2: **Our district.** This is the district of the country in which the village is located. This area reaches as far as the members of the community are accustomed to going in their everyday life, and they know about the location of the real settlements within it, and the distances between them. Examples are the market

and the district center, a famous shrine to which great pilgrimages are made, an area inside which village marriages may be contracted, and the like.

Example 77

A certain ruin in the district of the narrator's settlement is said to be the remains of a town in which all the inhabitants died of a plague (Croatia: Bošković-Stulli 1959, no. 78; demonic legend).

Area 3: **Our country.** This is the whole of "our country", without stating a specific location. "Our country" has a uniform natural and social order which is taken for granted. This is the order familiar from "our" village and "our" district. If specific real settlements are mentioned, their real locations and the distances between them usually are not known.

Example 78

A woman from Eastern Europe tells a story about a barren woman who was blessed with a child after appealing to rabbis and saints. The place is defined only very generally as "in a certain village in Poland"; the woman goes to a great rabbi "in Warsaw". The story is based on the belief in the healing powers of "hidden saints", which is widespread among the Jews of Eastern Europe. The Hasidic healing rabbi is taken from the East European Jewish social reality as well (East European Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 9; sacred legend).

Area 4: **This world.** This is the rest of the world in which man lives. Here the setting of the narrative and its natural and social properties do not necessarily reproduce the order of "our" village or of "our" country. However the stage of events is still definitely inside the limits of this, the human world. Here and there the name of a distant country (which may or may not actually exist) may be mentioned.

Example 79

In order to be classified in this category, a work has to lack both non-natural geographical features and any concretization of its stage: a beggar who "wanders around the streets" (no name of town or

country) is offered a wish-fulfilling ass on the condition that he will be charitable when rich. When he is rich, the man is stingy and loses his wealth (Iraqi Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 20; sacred legend, AT 751 C*).

Terms such as "forest", "desert", "on the road", and "in the bush", usually indicate a space which is outside this, "our" civilized world and is of a fabulous, other-worldly kind. These terms indicate either the borderline between this world and one of the other worlds, or a location in one of the other worlds, according to the genre the text belongs to (in a fairy tale it will be the world of the fairy tale; in a sacred legend it might be the earthly Paradise, or else the afterworld).

Area 6: **The afterworld.** This is the area where the souls of deceased men exist. In the same area deities may also dwell, but they may also have a special dwelling place in the realm of the afterworld. Ancient Greek Olympus and Hades are two different localities in the other world, Hades being the afterworld, while the Judeo-Christian-Moslem God resides in Paradise together with the dead souls. The spatial location of the afterworld changes from culture to culture. Conceptually, the way there starts immediately from the grave or the funeral pyre. From there the dead soul goes to the afterworld which may lie on a vertical axis beneath or above the surface of the Earth which is the human realm, or on a horizontal axis, in the far-away "islands of the dead".

Example 80

A righteous man is invited by Christ to visit him. The way to the afterworld is on a horizontal plane. On his way the man apparently passes Hell, for he sees the sinners being punished. He sees there a well and a vessel with boiling pitch in which sinners are boiled (Russia: Afanas'ev 1914, no. 8; sacred legend, AT 804).

A poor man in search of food comes to a house in the woods and observes there sinners suffering their punishments. Thus, he reached the afterworld on a horizontal plane (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 53; sacred legend, AT 760*, AT 804).

The two realms, this world and the after-world, are separated from each other by a very large space. This in-between space forms Area 5 and within it other worlds are located as islands.

Area 5: **The in-between space.** In the in-between space between the human world and the afterworld are located worlds, such as the world of the fairy tale and the country of the wise men of Gotham. Some symbolic places (see Area 7) are located here (for instance, the Earthly Paradise, Genesis 2:8-14). This area starts on the border of the human world, where human settlement ceases: on the rim of a lonely desert, on a road distant from any settlement, or on a lonely sea shore. Its borderline with the afterworld is not indicated. This area is basically empty. Within it fabulous beings and man may meet (so Moses and Elijah the Prophet met God on Mt. Horeb, in a lonely desert, Exodus 3:1-2 and I Kings 19:4-9). Man can enter this realm while alive and can return from it alive. Such is the case with the fairy-tale hero and the human stranger in the tales about the wise men of Gotham. Normally a human cannot enter the afterworld alive. Orpheus is an exception but is not really human; some current legends in Christian cultures allow man to enter the afterworld alive (See AT 460, 171).

Example 81

The in-between space is empty

> On his way to Fairyland the hero wanders "for ten days and ten nights through the mire, meeting neither man nor winged creature" (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

> The hero climbs up a completely naked tree for ten full days; suddenly a branch appears on which he finds Fairyland (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 6; heroic fairy tale, AT 550 I-III).

> The numskull world is located on a road, outside of the settlement (Yemenite Jews: Jason 1972; IFA 806; AT *1328 — Jason 1965).

> The hero reaches Earthly Paradise when landing on a lonely shore and wandering off into the empty desert (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 28; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

Area 7: **Symbolic locations.** This area is discontinuous and consists of symbolic locations which may or may not exist in reality. Symbolic locations are dispersed over the areas "our country" (Area 3), an indefinite "this world" (Area 4), and the "in-between" space (Area 5). Examples of such places may include: the King's town in fairy tales; Kiev, the ancient capital of Russia in Russian epic songs; and the Holy Land and the Land of the Ten Lost Tribes in Jewish sacred legends. All of these places are never visited by a member of the narrating community. The peasants from the north of Russia, around the White Sea, sing about the ancient capital Kiev which symbolizes Russia; Balkan peasants never go further than the next market town, yet they sing about Istanbul, their symbol of the capital, the King's town. A special kind of symbolic non-existing country which may conditionally be located in the in-between space (Area 5), is the land of tall tales, the *Schlaraffenland* (AT 1930) which lies "three miles beyond Christmas (Mot. X 1712)". This country does not contain real fabulous elements of the kinds enumerated below, in paragraphs 19.2.1-2, 19.2.8, but the animated and inanimated terms behave in the tall tale in a non-normal way (see further discussion of the tall tale world above, Examples 53, 66 and below, paragraph 21.6). Other symbolic places which are located in the in-between space between this world and the afterworld include fabulous locations of religious significance, such as the Earthly Paradise, Mount Sinai, and the Land of the Sons of Moses. The distance between all of these localities and the human world on the horizontal axis is very large and their direction on that plane is unknown. Between them and the human world lies empty space.

Example 82

A Jewish community in Yemen is demanded under pain of death to explain the Bible verse: "How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight?" (Deuter. 32:30). The Jews send a messenger to the Sons of Moses (a fabulous Jewish tribe, holy and warlike) who live beyond the river Sambatyon. This river throws stones six days a week, thus making its passage impossible, and rests

on the Sabbath, when it is forbidden to pass over it. This barrier symbolizes the inaccessibility of the Land of the Sons of Moses (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 167; sacred legend).

Area 8: **Mythic space.** The seven realms enumerated are differentiated on a spatial axis and exist simultaneously in time. This time is human. An additional realm of space exists which does not co-exist with the aforementioned seven areas: the mythic world. It exists in mythic time which predates human historic time. Here the spatial realms and concepts are differentiated on a temporal axis. The mythic world is the historic-world-in-making, and includes all seven areas which are differentiated in the historic world.

Example 83

There is a quarrel in the family of gods and they divide the world into Sky and Earth, so each can rule his own part (Dahomey, West Africa: Herskovits 1958, no. 2; myth).

Tiamat, the mother goddess who represents the universe, is defeated by young god Marduk and cut up into two parts. Marduk installs the upper part as Sky and the lower part as Earth (Ancient Babylon: Pritchard 1955:67). See also account of the creation in Genesis: the world is created out of *tehom* in which all the elements of the future world are mixed together. During the process of creation the parts of the universe (sky/earth, water/dry land) are set apart from each other.

Elastic space. In the space model just described, the distances between points are constant. They may be known and defined, or vague and undefined, but in any case once given they remain constant. There exists, however, a conceptualization of non-constant distances. In some genres distances in the confines of this world can be travelled in a much shorter time than is naturally possible. Such a quick transportation occurs in legend, fairy tale and the epic. In legend it is considered a miracle, and may be performed by both the sacred and the anti-sacred force (satanic, magic). In epics and fairy tales, the superhuman powers of the hero, and his horse or a marvelous object, may be

demonstrated by his ability to travel enormous distances in a very short time. Such an overcoming of distances implies that space is elastic and condensable at will.

Example 84

(a) The way from Poland to the Holy Land is miraculously shortened by a walk of a morning through a secret cave. Only goats know this way (Eastern European Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 2; sacred legend).

(b) The distance which an ordinary horse covers in a month's time, the marvelous steed covers in a "couple of minutes" (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*).

(c) Il'ja of Murom covers the distance between Murom and Kiev in a morning; normally it is one to two months' ride, as another character in the song remarks (Russia: Astahova et al. 1960, no. 6; national epic).

Let us represent the space model graphically (see Figure 7).

19.2 PROPERTIES OF SPACE IN PARTICULAR GENRES

In the following, genres will be reviewed as they are set in the space model from its center towards its periphery.

19.2.1 Mythic space

In myth the spatial scheme is in its formative process. In the beginning the universe is not yet ready and not divided into areas. This world (the human world) and the afterworld (the world after human death) are not yet divided as man is not yet fully involved and death does not exist. Therefore in the mythic epoch the human narrating ego, around which the organization of space should concentrate, does not yet exist. The human narrating ego comes into existence only at the beginning of historical time.

FIGURE 7: The spatial model

(5) Fairy land, numskull country, earthly Paradise

(7) Symbolic locations

mythic space

(1) x

(1) our settlement

(2) our district

(3) our country

(4) this world

the in between space

(6) the after world

x(7)

x(7)

(5) x(7)

x(1)

In many mythologies the world starts from a chaos in which the components of the future world are mixed together. In the process of creation the mass of the world, the chaos, becomes ordered and the various parts are differentiated from each other. At the end of the mythic creative process an ordered world emerges. This ordered world differs from culture to culture, and is considered to continue to the present day.

The seven areas of the ordered universe which have been differentiated above, are built from the very materials which the mythic world began with as primeval chaos and organized, and therefore mythic space cannot be differentiated from other space in the ethnopoetic genres on a spatial axis, whether horizontal or vertical. The two — the mythic and the post-mythic areas — are overlapping in space. They can be differentiated only on a temporal axis, which divides time into the mythic and historical periods (see below, paragraph 20.4). Along this division mythic and post-mythic space are differentiated.

Some mythologies recognize several worlds which are differentiated along the temporal axis. A catastrophe forms the borderline between these worlds: one world is destroyed and becomes chaos again; and afterwards a new world with a new division into areas is formed out of the chaos. The biblical Flood represents an example of such a catastrophe. The world before the Flood and the world after it are different worlds. Before the Flood the "sons of God" and "giants" have been wandering on Earth and marrying the "daughters of men"; men were able to live for hundreds of years. After the Flood a new world emerged: the length of man's life span is drastically reduced, and no fabulous beings are walking around anymore on Earth or begetting children with humans. But our world is not the last world either; at the end of time a new catastrophe will occur, this time a social calamity consisting of cruel wars, and after it a new world will emerge, the Messiah's world. In the Messiah's world the organization of space, such as the division into Earth, Paradise and Hell prevailing during historical time, will be changed.
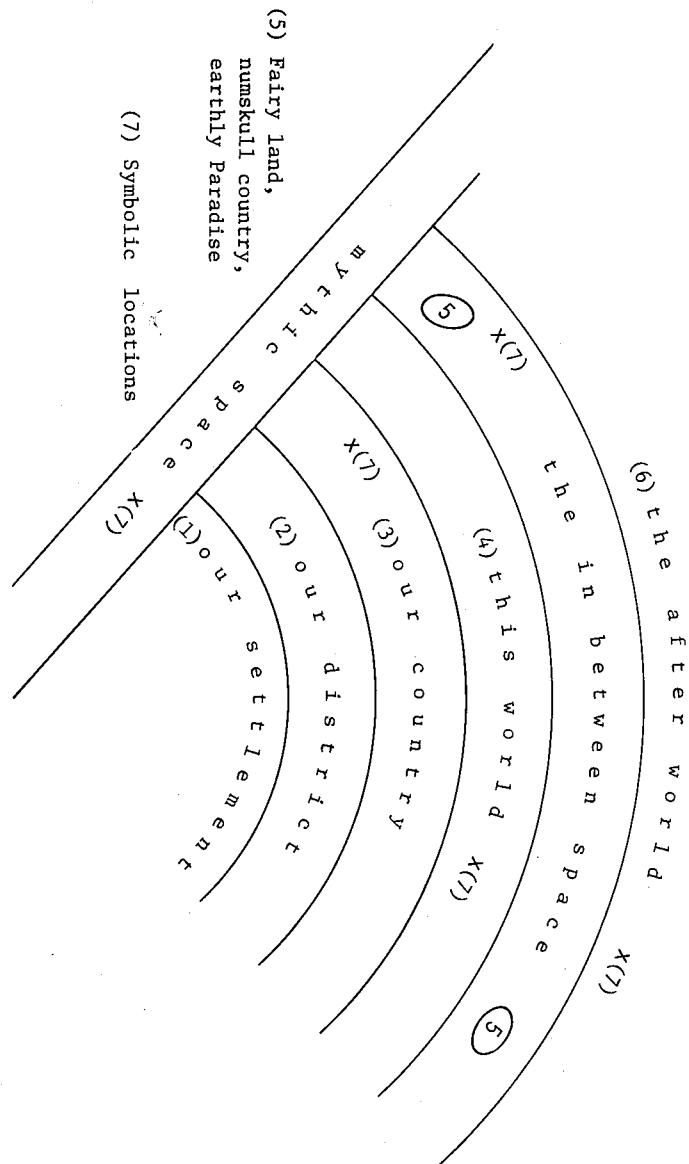
19.2.2 Space in legend

The legend encompasses all areas differentiated on a spatial basis. Demonic legends operate in the center of the space model. Demons are encountered in man's dwelling place, in his village and in the immediate surroundings of the narrating community, such as the village well, a nearby spring, the corn fields, a marsh, the next forest and a ruin (Area 1). Animal legends are staged in the "our" village or "our" district space (Areas 1 and 2). Demonic robber tales are set much farther away, in the vaguely defined in-between area (Area 5).

Sacred legends are diffused over Areas 1 through 7. Legends concerning local clerics, religious paraphernalia and ritual buildings (churches, graveyards, shrines) operate in the center of the space model (Areas 1 and 2). Outside the immediate reality of space, time and characters, sacred legends will lead to wider space circles, covering all of space and reaching the after-world. More general sacred or anti-sacred personages act in these legends (God, Christ, Elijah the Prophet, Mohammed, Satan).

The afterworld, Paradise and Hell, in the official Old World belief systems are thought of as being differentiated from the human world on a vertical axis: Paradise is above the firmament and Hell beneath the Earth's surface. This does not always apply to legends: the hero may ride horizontally on the Earth's surface and reach Paradise or Hell without having to ascend or descend to it (AT 460, 471).

A human who enters the legendary, sacred or demonic realm may become subject to the laws of this realm, especially with regard to the temporal dimension (see below, Example 87). For the spatial setting of various legends see above, Examples 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84[a].

19.2.3 Lyric space

The lyric song covers a wide space. It may start with the here-and-now of the ego — the center of the space model — and wander off after the ego's object of longing: the far away beloved who left for another place; the parental house of a newly wed daughter-in-law; the old country of an immigrant; and even to the afterworld after a deceased beloved.

19.2.4 Space in the proverb, riddle and parable

The proverb, riddle and the parable are staged in "our" country with all its real features and objects; they may occasionally mention other, further removed parts of the narrator's universe (real or fabulous) such as Paradise and Hell. Locations nearer to the ego from Area 3 are very rare; proverbs or riddles staged nearer to the ego would then be limited to its small narrative community, would lose their generalizing quality and thus not be understandable to wider audiences (an example is the so called neck riddle which is really confined to the ego alone).

19.2.5 Space in the novella

The novella is staged in the human world, in approximately "our" country (Area 3), without a specification of space, time, and characters. The natural and social features of this world are, however, very real and well-known. This circumstance gives the novella a realistic and touch. The same can be said about animal novella and legend: the natural world of forest, river, village and the like is the narrator's real habitat and yet no specific location is indicated.

19.2.6 Epic space

The heroic epic is staged in the known world of the narrator's society, in "our" country (Area 3). It is a world of settlements (points) with indefinite space between them. The space between these settlements is irrelevant for the plot of the narrative and is not taken into consideration by it. Since the real distances between the settlements are ignored, faraway points are brought together. The settlements often have a symbolic value (Area 7). They are sometimes capital cities which played an important role in the nation's life, as Kiev did for Russia (during the 10th-12th centuries, before the great Mongolian invasion, Kiev was the capital of Russia; and in the epic it symbolizes Russia as

such). A place may symbolize the point of unification of tribes to a whole nation, like Ilion for the ancient Greek. Other settlements may be associated with certain heroes, thus becoming epithets for a hero's name (the town Murom is associated with the name of the bogatyr Il'ja Muromec [or Murom]; Murom itself does not play any further role in Russian epic songs). Another important feature of space in the epic is its being defined on a national basis: "our" country versus the "enemy's" country. Our country is always better known, and more details are mentioned about it than about the enemy's country. The main part of the epic plot is staged in "our" country, the enemy comes to our country, attacks it and is fought against on the spot. Rarer are instances where "our" heroes go to the enemy's country. The epic action leads to the other world too, although only as a secondary stage. The epic shows gods acting while in their own world on Olympus and from there interfering in human affairs. Thus, epic space extends from "our country" (Area 3) to the afterworld (Area 6) and to symbolic places (Area 7).

In the universal epic the principal battle takes place in a semi-mythic location, the abode of the monster whom the hero fights. This location seems to be in the in-between space (Area 5). Grendel lives on the bottom of the sea; Humbaba in the "great northern forests". Both locations are outside the human-inhabited realm.

19.2.7 The country of numskulls

Numskull tales about the wise-men-of-Gotham are staged in the in-between location which lies between this world and the afterworld (Area 5) as an island. The main indications are:

(a) Between the normal human world and the world of Gotham there is a great area of empty space: a path connects the two, and the stranger (normal man) who comes to the Gothamite has to walk a long way until he reaches Gotham;

(b) The human stranger is not able to remain in Gotham and in all tales leaves it as soon as he finishes playing his

role (solving the problem the Gothemites are not able to solve). He is apparently unable to remain in the realm of the numskull world. Thus Gotham is not located in the realm of this world.

(c) The human stranger enters the realm of Gotham and returns alive, unlike the afterworld from which a human cannot return alive (see above, paragraph 19.1, Area 5).

Thus, Gotham does not lie in the realm of the afterworld, either. Gotham as a specific settlement has symbolic value (Area 7; see a detailed discussion in Jason 1972).

19.2.8 Fairy-tale land

The fairy tale takes place in two areas: the human hero starts out in this world, but in an undefined area (Area 4) and reaches the in-between space which lies between this world and the other world (Area 5). The world of the fairy tale is located in this area as an island. In exceptional cases the fairy-tale country may be labeled with the name of an otherwise real geographic entity. In this case the narrating community has heard about this country, but has no further knowledge about its nature or location. The entity serves only as a symbol of the far-away, undefined fairy-tale country.

The landscape of the fairy-tale country has special non-natural features, such as mountains of glass, or mountains which open themselves before their master, and trees of metal which bear fruits of jewels.

The human world and the fairy-tale world may be separated on the horizontal or the vertical axis. On the horizontal axis the two worlds are separated by an undefined but enormous empty space. In order to reach the marvelous fairy-tale country, the hero has to overcome this great distance. He may do so in two ways: he may either walk an enormous amount of time ("until he/she wears out seven pairs of iron shoes" — AT 400, 425 ff.), or may use marvelous transportation which spans the distance in an instant (such as the flying carpet), since the distance is so

enormous that natural means are insufficient to overcome it. This marvelous overcoming of enormous distances is a kind of space and time compression.

On the vertical axis the distance between the two worlds is short, but to overcome it is dangerous. The fairy-tale world lies on a lower or higher level than the human world; the way from the human world to the fairy-tale world leads through a deep well or up a high tree. In order to descend into the well, exceptional courage is needed, and only the hero succeeds in overcoming this obstacle (see AT 301 II). Although the distance between the two worlds is short on the vertical axis, the same elements of separation as on the horizontal axis are present. There is the plane of the human world — the surface of the Earth; the way between the two worlds is a narrow path (such as a well which is a tube or the stalk of a plant which is a very thin cylinder), surrounded by undefined empty space which forms the boundary between the two worlds; and finally there is the surface of the fairy-tale world. There may be several fairy-tale worlds one beneath the other or one above the other. The paths which lead from one marvelous world to the next are not described in natural categories of space. The hero is brought to the next marvelous level by an undefined marvelous path. In a similar manner, the way back from these marvelous worlds to the human world does not lead straight up through the well. A marvelous bird has to fly the hero up along an undescribed path. The length of this path is symbolized by the enormous quantities of food the bird has to be fed in order to accomplish the flight, although the time spent on the way is short (AT 301 V *f—Jason 1965).

Generally the paths to the marvelous world are mysterious, whether horizontal or vertical. The hero tries to discover the direction of the fairy-tale world, and only the right donor, who is himself marvelous and part of the fairy-tale world, knows how to show him the way. Active marvelous objects and the hero's marvelous horse which serve as vehicles of transportation inherently know this path.

A human who enters the fairy-tale land does not become subject to its laws. He will consequently not fall asleep when

entering a "sleeping kingdom". The Marvelous has no absolute power over humans (see above, paragraph 2.2.2.3).

Example 85

(a) The way to Fairyland

This way is usually very long and its direction unknown. It is dangerous as well. Three roads lead there: on the first a great wind blows which will elevate a man into the air for 20 days; on the second road a man will be roasted in fire for 20 days; the third road is such that men start out on it and never return. The hero takes the third road, and there he does not meet a living being for 10 days (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 20; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

Fairyland is so far off that the princess thinks the hero will wear out the iron shoes and yet never arrive. He, however, receives "little boots by the power that God has given", and these transport him in the twinkling of an eye to the princess (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 13; heroic fairy tale, AT 400).

A wife wanders for two years in search of her marvelous husband who has disappeared. By the end of the third year she finds him in Fairyland (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 28; female fairy tale, AT 425).

(b) Fairyland landscape

There are mountains of glass, a meadow of silk, and a completely dark province (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 5; heroic fairy tale, AT 463 A*). There is a well from which gold is flowing instead of water (Chile: Pino-Saavedra 1967, no. 6; heroic fairy tale, AT 314). A boiling sea is there and in it an island on which a castle stands spinning round and round (Hungary: Ortutay 1962, no. 3; heroic fairy tale, AT 707 III).

(c) Settlements in Fairyland

The hero encounters three consecutive towns, in which princesses are offered to successful wooers; he wins all three of them and then proceeds to a fourth location in Fairyland, the dwelling

place of an ogress who provides the remedy for his father which he originally set out to secure (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 29; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

In Fairyland several settlements may be found: the hero encounters three settlements of dragons, and then proceeds by a long road to a location in which everyone is asleep for half the year (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 30; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

(d) Laws of the fairy-tale world do not apply to humans

The hero enters a kingdom the inhabitants of which are doomed to sleep for six months and be awake for six months. The hero does not become subject to this rhythm of life (Greece: ib.)

19.3   SPACE IN THE ETHNOPOETIC WORK

No systematic investigations have been made to date of characters' spatial movements in the confines of one narrative. The personages may enact the full plot on one spot, or may move in various directions from episode to episode. Characters seem to be more mobile in myth, the fairy tale, the epic and shamanic legend than in other genres. Again, the fairy tale is the best investigated genre; let us start with a few observations about the movements of its characters in space.

The movements of the protagonist in the heroic fairy tale determine the movements of other characters in space. The characters either follow the hero or remain static, and the hero goes from one to the next. The main movement of the hero is from his home which is in this world, to the fairy-tale world; on his way he meets the static donor, and is followed by the marvelous helper. After arriving in the fairy-tale country, the hero may marry his princess and remain there, or he may return to his parental home, followed by the princess. The parents of the hero, the dispatcher, the father of the princess, the villain and the sham-hero are all static.

In the female fairy tale there are three locations between which the heroine moves: her parental home is the starting point. From there she may proceed to her husband's house, and then go off to the marvelous space where persecutions and tests await her. Afterwards she returns to her husband's house (AT 403). Or she may go from the parental house directly to the marvelous space and from there to her husband's house (as in AT 480, 510).

In the reward-and-punishment fairy tale there are two heroes: one positive, the other negative. The positive hero starts out from this world, goes to the marvelous space and returns to the human world; the negative hero imitates his forerunner and goes to the marvelous realm, but he is unable to leave this realm and cannot return to the human world. He is punished within the confines of the marvelous space (AT 613, 676).

The second genre investigated in some measure as to its spatial aspects is the numskull tale. Here two kinds of characters act: the numskulls and the human stranger. The numskulls are not able to leave the numskull realm, and usually do not leave the confines of their settlements; the human stranger, on the other hand, comes from the human world to the numskull realm and later returns to his world (Jason 1972).

For other genres only vague indications can be given. The epic hero moves between his home and the battle field. In the novella characters tend to remain within the confines of their house, or settlement. The legend is variegated in this respect and its heroes may both remain within the confines of the settlement and wander off to other worlds. Myth encompasses the whole universe, and its heroes move throughout all its parts.

20

Temporal dimension in ethnopoetry

The event in oral literature exists in time. Three aspects of time in ethnopoetry can be distinguished:

(a) The category of time;

(b) The organization of time within the confines of a single work; and,

(c) The temporal framework of the sum of all ethnopoetic works in a culture.

Three basic categories of time can be distinguished:

(a) Human time, which is time flowing in a regular rhythm (historical time);

(b) Mythic time, which is flowing time in-the-making; and

(c) Fabulous time, which is not flowing at all, or flowing very slowly with regard to human time.

The various categories of beings in ethnopoetry each live in their own category of time. This category of time reigns in their realm, and when beings of another category chance to come into this realm they may also become subject to the rules of time in this realm.

20.1 CATEGORIES OF TIME

20.1.1 Human time

Human time flows evenly in an ordered way. The rhythm of this flow is the outcome of the mythic struggle. Human time flows in one direction only. It is historical, i.e., each event in it is unique and does not have the property of forever repeating itself the way an event in mythic time does. Human time has a starting point: the very end of the mythic epoch, when birth and death are introduced into human existence. It has its closing point: the end-of-days when the cycle of birth and death ends and eschatologic time starts, in which the flow of time comes to a standstill. Humans are invariably subject to the flow of human time. If they chance to stay temporarily in the realm of another variety of time and profit temporarily through its different laws, this profit is only illusory: when returning to the realm of human time, man has to pay for the time which has passed in the meanwhile. He actually loses: the three happy days in the afterworld, or in the company of a beautiful fairy, cost him all the years of life he would otherwise have lived (see below, paragraph 20.1.4, and Example 87).

20.1.2 Mythic time

Mythic time is the more complex time, and has several aspects. In the course of the mythic epoch time is in the process of formation. In the beginning no time exists. There is no flow of time and no ordered units of time. All of these have first to be created and established. The process of creation of time is a long and painful one and its details have to be worked out in a bitter struggle between opposing divine forces. By the end of the mythic epoch the time order is established and its regular flow more or less assured. There are cultures in which the struggle between the deities goes on in historical time too and humans take the side of the deities which are struggling for the established order of time.

In cultures in which mythology is current, the mythic epoch lives on in historical time. Looking from historical time back to

mythic time, time appears to be cyclical: historical time consists of cycles of mythic time repeated one after the other as a helix, thus giving historical time its regular rhythm. The cycles start over every New Year, when the myth of the creation of the universe is reenacted and the world is thereby recreated; and they end at the end of each year (after Eliade 1961 and Garber-Talmon 1951).

From the viewpoint of the deities who act in the mythic epoch, the flow of mythic time is changeable at their will. As time orders have not yet been established, deities are free to manipulate them. At a certain point in his life every deity removes himself from the flow of time: deities may be born and grow up, but from a certain point on they do not change any more and do not die. They may change form but in this changed form they live on. Human ancestors differ from deities in that death is brought into their realm in the course of the mythic creation. And the moment birth and death are brought into creation, the flow of historical human time begins. As the mythic epoch prepares the spatial stage for man, so it prepares the time order for man.

Example 86

The length of the seasons is determined in a quarrel between Porcupine, Beaver and Raven. In human time people will be able to shorten the winter by riddling exercises and the correct guessing of riddles (Tahlatan, North American Indians: Thompson 1966, no. 11; myth).

Night and day, week and month are established through a quarrel between the animals (Chipmonk and Bear) (Iroquois, North American Indians: Thompson 1966, no. 13; myth).

20.1.3 Fabulous time

Miraculous, demonic and marvelous beings live in varieties of fabulous time. The common property of all kinds of fabulous time is its lack of flow. Fabulous time stands still, or at the most flows so slowly in comparison with human time that it is almost at a standstill.

20.1.3.1 Miraculous time.
The true realm of miraculous time is the afterworld, the location of both Paradise and Hell (or Hades), the common dwelling places of dead souls, and the dwelling place of deities (such as Olympus). Beings which properly belong to the realm of the Miraculous (deities, angels of various orders, saints, dead souls and devils) remain at a constant age. Deities are of various ages, but each one is fixed at its particular age and does not grow older. Angels are always completely ageless; even their birth and growing up is not related; they are immortal as well; thus they do not enter the cycle of birth and death at all. Men are born and grow up in the realm of time; at the moment of their physical death at a certain age they enter the realm of the Miraculous as a dead soul whose age does not change.

When a miraculous being enters the realm of human time, i.e., descends to Earth, it does not become subject to the laws of human time. The change may work in the opposite way, however: if a human enters the realm of the Miraculous, he may become subject to the laws of miraculous time.

Example 87

Honi, the Circle-Maker, thinks it foolish that a man plants a carob tree, for this tree bears fruit only after seventy years. Suddenly, he feels sleepy and dozes off in the midst of the field with the carob tree. A cave closes up on him and he sleeps for 70 years. Upon waking up, Honi finds the grandson of the planter harvesting the carob tree, while everything in his native town has changed. He immediately dies upon learning what has happened (Jewish Hellenistic: Babylonian Talmud, Ta'anith, p. 23a; sacred legend, AT 766). (See also Examples 23, 89)

20.1.3.2 Eschatologic time.
Eschatologic time is a variety of miraculous time. Like miraculous time, eschatologic time is static and does not flow. Eschatologic time will come at the end-of-days, i.e., after human historical time ceases. Human time, which started when the creation was completed, flows for day after day, until the last of all days comes, the "end-of-days". There it stops and eschatologic time starts. The

eschatologic epoch is that period when miraculous time will overtake the realm of human time. The static stage of birthlessness and deathlessness which prevails in the miraculous realm while this realm is parallel on the historical temporal scheme to human flowing time, overtakes the human realm. Humans are permanently transformed into dead souls, i.e., miraculous beings, and by this transformation human time ceases to exist. Since it is static, the eschatologic period is completely unproductive (in contrast with the mythical period which is highly productive).

Example 88

As narratives tell about what happened in the past, and since eschatologic time will be in the future, tales set in eschatologic time are very rare. The Eddic myth about the Doom of Gods is an example. Some narratives depict a messianic age set far away either on the temporal or on the spatial axis.

Examples are tales about a past earthly Paradise, or a stage in which man enjoyed a paradisiac condition: Adam and Eve lived in the Garden of Eden, without the necessity to work or to wear clothes. Before they sinned there was no birth and no death in the world (Ancient Hebrew: Genesis 1-2; myth). Greek and old Norse mythology tells of a similar golden age at the beginning of time. Here the messianic age is projected onto the opposite end of the time scheme.

Other stories tell about a very distant and inaccessible country in which paradisiac conditions prevail. Examples are the tales about *Schlaraffenland* (tall tale, AT 1930; see studies by Poeschel 1878 and Čistov 1963). The "Land of the Sons of Moses" beyond the river Sambatyon (see above, Example 82), and the Holy Land for the Jews throughout the Middle Ages, the land that "floweth with milk and honey" (Ancient Hebrew: Num. 13:27) are additional examples of this kind of concept. Thus, the temporal concept of a messianic epoch is projected onto the spatial dimension.

20.1.3.3 Demonic time. Demonic time does not flow. Demonic beings appear as being born, as adults and as dead but

they are not shown maturing or aging. While a demon always appears in the tale as a grown-up, he may take on any shape (anthropomorphous, zoomorphic or object-like), and that shape will show signs of a certain age such as babyhood (a changeling). Real baby-demons, however, are very rare in tales. The only instance in which a she-demon gives birth to a baby-demon is in the tale about the human midwife who was called to help a she-demon with her delivery (AT 475*-*A–Jason 1975c). The baby-demon, however, does not act in the tale. When demonic beings enter the realm of human time they are not subject to its laws. Humans, however, who chance to enter the demonic realm, become subject to its laws of time. This happens on the same basis of relativity as is the case with miraculous time. Demonic time flows incomparably slower than human time, and thus keeps its beings at the same age. When man however, returns to the realm of human time, its laws overcome him and he immediately ages the same amount of time which has passed while he was in the demonic realm for the sake of a she-demon (AT 470*).

The legend about the hidden sleeping savior should be considered in this connection. A historic personage, a warrior, is believed to have been removed from the human world into a fabulous realm while in full manhood and to be sleeping there for hundreds of years of human time. He will awaken, and return to the human realm when "his time will come", and will still be in full manhood ready for battle. He will not have to age when returning to the human world. Thus, time has completely stopped flowing for this personage. The place in which he sleeps is a cave, i.e., the demonic spatial realm, and the warrior seems to have become partly fabulous too, and thus not subject any more to the laws of human time.

Example 89

King Friedrich Barbarossa (1123-1190, drowned in Asia Minor during a crusade) is not dead but sleeps in a cave in the Kyffhäusern mountain. A shepherd is led in and the king inquires whether ravens are still flying around the mountain. If they are, the king must sleep another hundred years. The shepherd is rewarded with natural gold

(Germany: Grimm, n.d., vol. I, nos. 23, 297; demonic legend).

King David is not really dead in his grave on Mount Zion. Two devoted pupils want to resurrect him in order to bring about the coming of the Messiah. However, they are tempted by the display of treasures in the grave. Therefore, they are defiled and are not able to succeed in their endeavour (East European Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 3; sacred legend).

See also above, Examples 23, 87.

20.1.3.4 Marvelous time.

The world of the fairy tale is set in the realm of marvelous time. It does not flow at all. Fairy-tale beings are throughout the work of a certain age. This age is indicated by age categories, such as: beings of marriageable age, a parent and a marriageable daughter, "old", "the youngest of three sisters". Nothing is ever said about their being born and growing up. The fairy-tale princess is always of a marriageable age, however long it takes until the proper suitor arrives.

If a human enters the realm of numinous time (see above, paragraph 20.1.3.1-3), he becomes temporarily subject to the laws of this time. Nothing is said, however, of the influence of marvelous time on the human hero entering its realm. The youth may marry the fairy-tale princess and remain in her realm "living happily every after". This phrase does not say anything about the process of his aging, or how long this "ever after" lasts. On the other hand, the fairy-tale princess cannot stay permanently in the human world as a marvelous being, and has to be humanized. Thus she apparently becomes subject to the laws of human time, too.

Example 90

Three days in fairyland count as a year (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 6; heroic fairy tale, AT 550 I-III).

The king, who already has 40 wives, is told by a parrot about a fairy beauty, and sets out to win her. It takes him 39 years to reach her. In the meantime the king's son has grown up, sees the princess' picture and finally wins her. The princess in question is a *peri*, an Iranian fairy. In the meantime she apparently does not grow older. When she marries a human she will lose her powers (including her eternal youth) (Uzbekistan: Ševerdin 1961, no. 64; heroic fairy tale, no AT-type). For additional examples of eternally youthful fairy princesses see above, Example 20.

20.1.4   Relative time shift

A change from human to numinous time may be labeled a relative time shift. Miraculous time may expand or contract in relation to human time which has a regular flow. The human who enters the miraculous realm will experience his stay there as a few minutes, hours or days; on his return to the human realm he will find that scores of years or even centuries of human time have passed. Or a human will have the real experience of years of life, and when he returns to his normal state, he will find that only a few minutes have passed. Upon his return to the realm of human time, he is again subject to the laws of this time. Thus, for humans entering the miraculous realm, time does not stop flowing completely, as it does for miraculous beings.

Example 91

Extension of time
    God lets an apostate experience seven years of life in a few minutes (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 64; sacred legend, AT 681 *A—Jason 1965) (see above, Example 24[b]).

Contraction of time
    See above, Example 87.

20.2   TIME IN THE ETHNOPOETIC WORK

A narrative can be set in a single category of time, or in two or more types of time. As each type of character acts in his respective time, a genre in which two or more categories of characters act will be set in as many kinds of time.

In the story narrative-action time flows in the order of action, episode after episode. Flash-backs do occur in ethnopoetry, but are rare (one of the rare instances is found in the Odyssey). The same can be said about chains of events which flow parallel in time, thus following two characters, each one separately.

From the beginning to the end of a narrative several minutes or hours can pass, or the life of the hero can be followed from his birth to his marriage. This time is human time and it flows by the laws of real time which exists outside the literary work. The actions in the narrative may follow each other closely and may thus fill out the time, or one action can be separated from the next by a period of time empty of actions. Usually in the confines of one episode there is no unoccupied time, and periods of empty time separate the episodes.

20.3 TEMPORAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ETHNOPOETIC REPERTOIRE

Every ethnopoetic work is thought of as having happened sometime, during a certain period of time. The sum of these 'sometimes' yields a historical time scheme in which the oral literature of a narrating community is set.

In the course of history various events in the life of a human community take place. These events make up the history of the community. Some of them will find their place in the ethnopoetry of the people and some will not. The chain of these events will form a historical scheme, into which all ethnopoetic works of the respective culture can be fitted. The historical scheme of an oral literature can be put together by the investigator from all the historical events and personages mentioned in a corpus of tales, narrative songs or other genres and from indications which allow him to set texts in certain broad historical periods. These indications include the general setting of the tale or song, such as the social relations mentioned, which may be those of, say, the feudal period, or those of modern industrial society. The historical scheme which can be

constructed in this way is unconscious to the narrator or singer. The narrator will know and be conscious of a certain historical scheme but this scheme is not necessarily identical with the historical scheme in which the tales are set. On the other hand, as narrators and singers are usually uneducated, the scheme which is consciously known to them may differ considerably from the scientific historical picture. The conscious historical scheme of the narrator depends on his sources, which may be from chapbook-like materials, his children's schoolbooks, sermons, medieval literature, historical knowledge passed on in the community not in the form of ethnopoetic works, and the like. Thus, three schemes result: the scientific history, the conscious historical scheme of the folk artist, and the temporal scheme which can be constructed from the repertoire of the culture's ethnopoetry.

Each society, and each community in the framework of the society, will have its own historical scheme. For certain reasons, a culture will preserve certain events rather than others. The main principle involved in making the choice seems to be the meaningfulness of the historical event to the community and its social system (see Dégh 1965a, 1969; Jason 1971c; Peuckert 1969:140-142). The terms in which this meaningfulness will be understood are part of the respective culture's value system (see below, chapter 23).

A tribal society is aware only of its own history. This history starts in mythic time, goes through human historical time, and ends with eschatologic time. This is the only history existing and is thus conceived as universal world history. The division into mythic and historical periods, and the period of "timeless present", seem to be universal. Many cultures add an envisaged eschatologic epoch. On the borderline of the mythic and historical periods the quasi-mythic period is located, in which aetiological legends and legends about early populations are set. Around the time of this period the heroic period may be located in which beings of a half divine nature (such as Gilgamesh, the Greek heroes, or Beowulf) purify the Earth from the rest of the mythic monsters and thereby bring to an end the preparation of Earth for man, i.e. finish the mythic beings' task.

After these two periods, human history proper starts. The organization of the period of human history differs from society to society.

Example 92

(a) The threefold time scheme

> The figure of the Biblical Moses can serve as an example for the threefold historic scheme. (1) In science, the very existence of Moses and the Exodus from Egypt are not confirmed by independent sources, but rather the opposite is true (Aharoni 1966: 174-227). (2) In the conscious scheme of the narrator, Moses led the Tribes of Israel out of Egypt at such and such a date after the Creation. The date may be calculated in generations by adding the life spans of the personages enumerated in the Bible, and the 400 years of slavery in Egypt. (3) And, lastly, in a certain kind of Jewish Near Eastern sacred legend Moses appears as a prophet, living eternally, whose business it is to periodically go to meet God and speak with Him on behalf of mankind or a particular man's affairs. Thus, Moses is taken out of historical context and becomes immortal throughout historical time (see such a tale below, in Example 104 and Noy 1963b, nos. 50-52, 63; all of these are Yemenite Jewish sacred legends).

> Another example of the difference between the scientific historical scheme and the conscious scheme of the narrator would be the opinion of a Jewish woman from Kurdistan who reasoned: "King David lived a lo...ong time ago, maybe 150 years ago!" (Rivlin 1949:82, note 1).

(b) The meaningful historical scheme

> In Jewish Near Eastern ethnopoetry the sacred legend is the genre bearing the historical scheme into which the rest of the genres can be fitted.

> Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the main problem of Jewish Near Eastern society was the problem of living in the Diaspora, in small units, as second-rate citizens. This problem is the central problem of the culture's value system and is the central problem of the sacred legends as well (over 50% of the texts in the examined corpus of ca. 700 tales deal with this problem). This problem is also the determining factor of the historical scheme as it was worked out from the tales (see below, Example 109, and Jason 1975b, chapters 3, 4).

> The scheme consists only of events and periods of time which have a meaningful, necessary connection to this central problem of the society. Other events are ignored, although they may be well known to the members of the society, thus entering their conscious historical scheme. The scheme worked out from the tales is as follows:

> 1. The universal mythic period — the creative period until the Flood, including the tale about Noah.
> 2. The national mythic period — the origins of the nation, Abraham and his immediate descendants; the law-giving Sinai-scenes.
> 3. The founding of the ancient kingdom of Israel in Canaan — from the Exodus from Egypt to the kingdom of David and Solomon.
> 4. The destruction of the ancient kingdom (the two destructions, the first in 586 B.C.E., and the second in 70 C.E., flow together into one event).
> 5. The exodus into the Diaspora.
> 6. The epoch of the Diaspora.
>   (a) the past taken as an undifferentiated unit;
>   (b) recent generations (the period covering as many generations back as living memory goes).
> 7. The present generation.
> 8. The Redemption:
>   (a) eschatologic redemption;
>   (b) the return to the new State of Israel.
> 9. Timeless present.

> This scheme leaves out innumerable details, which everyone in the society knows about from the historical books of the Bible, the Talmudic-Midrashic literature and the book of Josippon (a medieval rephrasing of the books of Joseph Flavius), and several

medieval chronicles. Most revealing is the absence of three very important events in Jewish history: the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (70 C.E.) which is dealt with extensively in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature; the expulsion from Spain (1492 C.E.). Spain is still considered by many Near Eastern Jews to be their land of origin, and the great messianic movement of the false Messiah Šabbetai Zevi (1666-1667 C.E.). All of these shattered the entire nation, yet these events did not change the very basic problem — the problem of the Diaspora and the lack of a homeland. At the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, the Diaspora already existed in all Roman and many Partian provinces, and was more numerous than the population in Judea; the expulsion from Spain was a major catastrophe for the Jews of Spain, but was only one link in a long chain of similar expulsions; the Šabbetai Zevi messianic movement did shatter Jewish communities the world over for a year, but had no further consequences concerning the basic problem of the Diaspora. The state of being in the Diaspora went on. To be sure, there are sacred legends about unsuccessful attempts to bring about the coming of the Messiah, but these are set in the undefined Diaspora epoch and do not form a point on the time scheme (see such tales in Bin Gorion 1966, no. 464; Jason 1968:134, IFA 3812; Appendix C; IFA 5195, IFA 5842; sacred legends).

On the other hand, the very recent establishment of the State of Israel immediately produced a small number of legends. This is a decisive meaningful event, which brings a solution to the main national problem, although not in the form of the traditionally expected messianic solution.

Our scheme has been worked out with respect to sacred legends, which are distributed along the whole scheme. Fairy tales would fit into the medieval but undefined period of the Diaspora; novelle fit into both the undefined period of the Diaspora and an undefined "timeless present" period. Symbolic genres are timeless and can be conditionally fitted into the timeless present period.

(c) Additional examples of historical schemes

In some cultures the present world is not considered the only world on the time axis. Other worlds may have preceded it — or

will follow it. The end of the present world is predicted at the time of mythic creation. "One day time will be out [end], Earth-Initiate will come again and everything will be made over." (Maidu, North American Indians: Thompson 1966, no. 8; myth).

The epic time scheme: the South Slavic epic is focussed on very particular events, such as the fatal battle on the field of Kosovo between the Ottomans and the Serbs, and certain periods under Ottoman rule, such as this or that period in the struggle against it. Russian epics tell about the Tatar and Mongol invasions in the tenth to fourteenth centuries. In the confines of this period no divisions can be established.

The editors of the Bible knew quite well where to fit old Israelitic epics into the historical scheme — the period between the entrance to Canaan and the unification of the Israelitic tribes into a kingdom. It was the period of struggle between the Israelitic tribes and the Canaanites and Philistines (mainly the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges and Book I Samuel, most of which seem to be written on the basis of historic and national epic).

20.4 TEMPORAL DIMENSION IN PARTICULAR GENRES

There are genres the items of which are set in a single type of time, and other genres in which two or more types of time exist side by side. Every item can be located in the historical scheme; there are genres the items of which are located on one segment of the historical scheme, and others the items of which are distributed over several segments of the scheme. The properties of these genres vary from culture to culture, and only some general remarks can be given here (the problem has been investigated in detail only for the Jewish Near Eastern oral literature and therefore the following discussion will draw unproportionately heavily upon these data; see above, Example 92).

The **novella** is set in human time and usually in the "timeless present" period. In certain cases a novella may be related as a "memorat" (see Sydov 1948:23-86), and then it will be set in

the "present generation" period. The **lyric song** is set in human time. As the lyric song expresses the feelings of the singer, it is always set in the "present moment" period in the historical scheme. The **ballad** is set in human time. In the historical scheme, ballads may be conceived as having happened in the "timeless present" period or in a faraway but still historical past (its heroes may be historical and quasi-historical personages).

The **epic** is basically set in human time but occasionally includes bits of all kinds of fabulous time. In the historical scheme the heroic epic is most definitely set in certain periods. It purports to describe national historical events, and thus the epic definitively focuses on a certain period in the national time scheme. Specific real historical events may be mentioned. The romantic epic is less definitively set and tends more towards the period in which the fairy tale is set. Epic heroes in the confines of a cycle are thought of as having lived during the same two or three generations. The principal heroes belong to the same generation, but may have parents and children, about whom epics are also narrated. A culture may recognize several epic cycles; in this case each cycle will focus on a different historical period, each "epic epoch" with its own "epic generation".

By definition, **myth** is set in the mythic variety of time and in the mythic epoch. **Sacred legends** and **ritual texts** are set in both human and miraculous time, and are distributed throughout various periods in quasi-mythic, historical, and eschatologic epochs. **Satanic legend** is set in human and miraculous time. It seems to be concentrated in the "present generation" period. **Demonic legend** and **animal legend** are set in human time and in two periods in the historical scheme: the "timeless present", and the "present generation".

The **fairy tale** is set in human and marvelous time. In the beginning of the tale the hero is in the human world, within his family; he is born and grows up, while his parents grow old. When the hero reaches the fairy-tale world, time becomes marvelous. He encounters fairy-tale beings who do not change their age. At the end of the tale the hero returns to the human world with its flowing human time, and finds his parents much older than he left them. In the historical scheme the fairy tale

always seems to be set in time defined only in so far as to be faraway past, although still within the limits of the historical period, i.e., in neither the mythic nor the eschatologic epochs.

For genres set in the symbolic mode — the **proverb, riddle, formula tale, tall tale,** and **numskull tale** — the historical scheme is irrelevant. As the type of time is bound to the nature of the characters, and as symbolic characters have no real qualities, this aspect of time is also irrelevant with regard to them. The only aspect of time which can be found in one of these genres — specifically in the formula tale — is the narrative flow of time. The formula tale is built as a chain of repetitions following each other in an organized rhythm of textual presentation. The narrative-action time of the tale equals the length of time for its performance.

The **joke** includes, on a make-believe level, all types of time and is distributed along the whole historical scheme. As the joke is non-narrative, it does not possess any narrative-action time.

21

Symbolic dimension
in ethnopoetry

Ethnopoetry is to a great extent couched in symbolic terms. Its characters are often symbols which represent a whole universe of populations, human or fabulous. Many of the actions performed in a narrative serve as symbols for the character's internal qualities; symbolic poetic images are put forward instead of descriptions, and the various worlds in oral literature are delimited by symbolic barriers.

Ethnopoetic genres differ in the measure of symbolization they feature. The subject has not yet been investigated systematically, but it seems that narrative genres which have a simpler narrative structure and are at the same time set in a fabulous mode feature the more complex symbolic patterning. Three kinds of symbolization can be distinguished:

(a) Cultural symbols which found their way into the ethnopoetic work in the same manner as other requisites did;

(b) Metaphoric symbols which represent a projection onto another plane of a property of an ethnopoetic entity. The property, which is abstract, is symbolized by a concrete material symbol;

(c) Typical symbols which stand for whole classes of phenomena. These phenomena are outside the literary work; these are, for instance, a social unit of any order, or a general human property.

21.1 CULTURAL SYMBOL

The first level on which symbols are encountered is the level of general cultural symbols. These have to be known to the investigator in the same manner as he has to know the very language in which the respective oral literature is couched, otherwise he will not understand what it is all about. Examples of such symbols are a "long beard", a "long white beard" and "white clothes" in the Jewish Near Eastern culture. In a certain tale a male person appears to somebody in a dream: ..."one night one of the women of the village dreamed that a man dressed in a long white shirt and with a long white beard came to her..." (Jewish Moroccan: Noy 1965b:42, no. 6 — see Example 34). Who is this apparition? It is male; it has a beard. A beard is the cultural symbol for a rabbi; for other people it is not proper to wear long beards. The beard is white, which means that the man has reached a venerable old age; he is not just any rabbi, but a venerable, holy one. The man is dressed in a white garment. White garments are used as shrouds to wrap corpses for burial, so the apparition is a dead soul who was a venerable rabbi during his life time. Every member of the culture will immediately decipher the symbolic picture in this way. (For a thorough discussion of this level consult Hymes 1962, and Radin's 1949 publication of Winnebago texts, with the exhaustive commentary he provided.) The explanation of cultural symbols and literary conventions can be obtained from a sophisticated native. The other symbolic levels, however, have to be explained by the investigator.

21.2 METAPHORIC SYMBOL

A concrete material symbol is used to symbolize an immaterial property of an entity in the ethnopoetic work. Qualities of characters, such as beauty, moral integrity or skillfulness may be objectified and projected onto the plane of objects and actions. Space and time segments, and borders between different kinds of space and time may also be expressed through objects or actions.

21.2.1 Symbolization of borderlines

Different worlds meet in ethnopoetry. Their qualities differ and they are separated from each other by barriers. The barriers may be indicated by multileveled spatial, temporal, social and psychic symbols. Let us start with the symbol and work up step-by-step to the concept which is being symbolized.

21.2.1.1 Temporal distance.
A long span of time is symbolized in the fairy tale in two ways:

(a) The period of time a person needs to do an enormous amount of work, for instance, to wear out three (or seven) pairs of iron shoes and iron sticks while walking all the time;

(b) The period of time is so long that human means of overcoming it are insufficient. Even the enormous period of time needed to wear out seven pairs of iron shoes is not long enough to reach Fairyland. Marvelous means of transportation are needed to reach the place: the rescuer of a maiden has a flying carpet which brings him to the princess just in the wink of an eye.

The extraordinary qualities of the epic hero and his steed enable the hero to cover in a few hours great distances which would demand weeks or months of journey for an ordinary man. Thus time becomes compressed (see above, Example 85[a]).

21.2.1.2 Spatial distance.
The great, non-realistic temporal distance needed to overcome a spatial distance characterizes this spatial distance as enormous. The great temporal distance is a metaphoric symbol of the great spatial distance. The great distance is supplemented by an unfamiliarity with the path and direction which leads to the goal. Marvelous beings, both characters and objects, have to show the way. Their instructions often include temporal indications, thus expressing once more spatial distance through temporal distance. In the case of the heroic epic, distances are known: they are between two points in the known real world, and the path leading from one to the other is known, yet the spatial distance between them is great.

As spatial distance is expressed through the symbol of temporal distance, the extraordinarily quick overcoming of the latter implies that the character who succeeds in overcoming it is an epic hero, i.e., is extraordinary (see above, Example 84[c]).

21.2.1.3 Barrier between two worlds.
Spatial distance serves to symbolically express a barrier between two worlds. When the fairy-tale hero has to pass from the human world to the fairy-tale world, the great spatial distance between the two symbolizes the fact that the two worlds are distinct from and not mingled with each other. The great distance between the epic hero's home province (Murom) and the king's town (Kiev) symbolizes both the social distance between the peasant's son Il'ja of Murom, and the king, and the distance between the special world of the epic hero, who has extraordinary qualities, and the normal world, represented by the king and his courtiers.

Horizontal dimension. Instead of the image of two spatial locations, two "countries", separated by enormous spatial distance, a world in oral literature can be symbolized by the image of a point on a plane. This point is surrounded by empty space; beyond this space another world starts (usually the human world). The empty surroundings represent the barrier between the two worlds. For instance, the numskull world of the wise men of Gotham is often symbolized in the tales as a point, a close settlement on a plane. This may be a real or imaginary place: Gotham (England), Schildau (Germany), Helm (Polish Jewry), Pošehon (Russia), Abdera (classical Greece); imaginary symbolic places appear: Lalestadt (Germany), Šara' al-Majanin (Arabic: Street of the madmen, Jason 1972, text IFA 1012).

Example 93

The numskull settlement is a point in space. To this point a traveling journeyman came, stole the coat of a numskull (while they were "pushing" the church to another place) and went back to the human world (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 74; AT 1326).

Vertical dimension. Another kind of spatial barrier between two worlds may be the difference in height on the vertical axis on which the two worlds are located. The human world is on one level, and the hero has to descend to a lower level in order to reach the fairy-tale world. The fairy-tale world itself may be multileveled too (AT 301 V*f—Jason 1965). A mythic world may be located under the present surface of the human Earth or over the firmament (see below, paragraph 23.2.1). Another world may exist in historical time above the firmament. The way from the human world to this upper world leads along a rope and through a hole in the firmament. The barrier between the two worlds is the firmament. Old World monotheistic religions picture the world of the dead as separated from the human world on a vertical axis: Paradise is above the firmament and Hell beneath the Earth. The firmament and a thick layer of ground are the barriers between them and the human world. The entrance to both is imagined, especially in jokes, as the entrance to a fortified city: walls surround the place, with gates which can be opened and closed, and with St. Peter as porter. The wall, the gates and St. Peter together form the barrier between the human and the after-death worlds (only after the trial in Heaven is the condemned soul sent to Hell, so that the way to Hell leads also through the gates of Heaven).

Example 94

The marvelous world is on a plane above the human world and has to be reached by climbing a tree. The distance to be covered along the trunk of the tree represents the barrier between the two worlds (Hungary: Dégh 1965b, no. 6; heroic fairy tale, AT 550 I-III).

A non-human world exists in the sky, i.e., on a plane above the Earth on which the human world is located. The atmosphere is the barrier between the two worlds (Timagami Ajibwa, North American Indians: Thompson 1966, no. 50; genre unclear).

Originally, people ascended to the plane of Earth from an underground abode, i.e., a plane beneath the plane of the present human world. The surface of the Earth represents the barrier (Creek, North American Indians: Alexander 1916:62, myth).

Social dimension. The barrier between two worlds in oral literature may also be expressed by social symbols. For instance, a numskull population and a human population may dwell in the same locality but may belong to different social units. The two populations are distinguished by their behavior. Elaborate sets of characteristics for differentiating between two populations are found in epic: how "our folk" differs from the enemy. The barrier between the two is social, the two groups belonging to different national, ethnic or religious communities (see above, paragraph 17.1.2).

Example 95

In the Iranian epic the two ethnic groups are Iran and Turan (Turkish nomadic tribes which constantly tried to plunder settled Iranian land in Transoxania) (Persia: Firdausi's Shah-name).

In the Russian epic, settled Slavic tribes oppose various Turkish and Mongolic tribes, invading the southern Russian steppes (Russia: Hapgood 1915, the Kiev cycle).

Numskulls are designated as being *Ahdam* (a Pariah caste in Yemen) while normal people are Arabs (Yemenite Jews: Jason 1972, IFA 802, IFA 806, AT *1328—Jason 1965; IFA 807, AT 1294).

Event as a barrier. An event can symbolize the barrier between two worlds. Before the event one world existed, and after the event took place, a different world came into existence.

Example 96

The Biblical Flood forms a barrier between two worlds: The mythic and the human. Before the Flood, it was a mythic world, with mythic beings, a mythic time and mythic creative power. After the Flood, the human world starts with historical time and saintly miraculous power. Before the Flood, heavenly beings walked on Earth and could intermarry with human mythic ancestors. These ancestors had a mythic span of life, i.e., were not fully human. After the Flood heavenly beings disappeared from the Earth, humans could no longer intermarry with them, and man's life span became limited to a set

number of years which has become normal since then (Ancient Hebrew: Genesis, chapters 1-10).

21.2.2 Symbolization of a character's properties

The inner life and qualities of the characters are not described in oral literature (except sometimes in lyric songs). Instead they are symbolized by symbols of varying complexity. Let us proceed step-by-step from the symbol to its significatum.

21.2.2.1 Symbolic action. The qualities of characters are symbolized by their actions. Neither the marvelous helper nor the active marvelous object are explicitly labeled as being fabulous, but are recognized as such only by their actions. The active marvelous object is described as especially shabby, but, surprisingly, possesses the power of performing marvelous deeds. The listener hears about the marvelous actions and has to conclude the rest himself. The hero of the fairy-tale, both male and female, is often charitable, kindhearted and industrious. All of these moral qualities will be symbolized by his actions.

As in the fairy tale, no inner world of the hero is described in the epic. His feelings, thoughts and abilities are expressed through actions. Instead of describing a mother's sorrow over her son killed in battle, she will be reported to have cried her eyes out, or to have died on the spot: "her heart burst". The hero's abilities and moral qualities (heroism) are shown in battle, in which he alone overcomes a whole huge army of his enemy.

Example 97

In a fatal battle for Serbia, the result of which was the Turkish Ottoman conquest, a father and his nine sons fell. The mother went out to the battlefield to look for their steeds and falcons: "Here was the mother of stout heart, she did not let fall a tear from the heart". But when a raven brought her the severed arm of her youngest son "she could not get over it and her heart burst from sorrow." (Serbia: Djurić 1947:140-141; historic epic)

A mother's anxiety about her son who went into the world to seek his fortune is described: "Weeping all the time, the mother waited for her son to come back". The mother's anxiety indicates that the son will meet with misfortune on his way (Morocco Jews: Noy 1965b, no. 1; heroic fairy-tale, AT *559 I–Andreev 1929).

An "old woman" is not described at all. She is simply friendly. However, then she "went out of the house. She sowed barley, reaped and threshed it, ground it and prepared kuskus, all in a single minute". This marvelous action immediately characterizes the old woman's marvelous nature, and serves no other purpose in the tale (ib.).

21.2.2.2 Symbolic attribute. The heroine who wins a prince in the female fairy tale always has a positive image. She is described as being exceedingly beautiful.

Example 98

A wicked stepmother transformed the heroine into a dove. In the field the dove addressed a plowman, asking about the prince and about her father. Upon hearing that her father had been punished, the dove began shedding tears. Immediately it began to rain. The rain, however, was felt only by the plowman in the field. People who did not see the dove did not feel the rain. Thus, the rain which accompanied the dove's crying is symbolic and should indicate the heroine's loveliness (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 24; female fairy tale, AT 510, AT 403).

A girl receives a gift of pearls falling from her hair upon combing, fish filling the basin when she washes herself and roses appearing on the towel when she wipes herself. In this case the fish are real and edible — the girl's family eats them and the pearls are likewise real and are brought to market. Yet, they are not sold. The girl's brother who offers them up for sale is accused of having stolen them and is brought before the king. Thus, the pearls serve the purpose of informing the king about the beautiful maiden and inducing him to marry her (maiden wins prince). Later on the gifts serve to identify the real bride. The roses do not materialize at all. Had there been only pearls and roses, the family would have remained hungry, so

the fish come to remedy their immediate distress (and to fill the formulaic number three). No further use of the fish is made in the tale (Greece: Megas 1970, no. 25; female fairy tale, AT 403 A).

These descriptions should not be taken literally. Nobody, neither the narrator nor the listener, thinks that the girl commands the weather by smiling or crying. These are symbols of her being beautiful, kind and lovable. It would be highly impractical should the girl with each word have to spit up a rose; and should her tears really be pearls, there is no doubt that somebody would torture her in order to make her cry, and thus be able to make a fortune from the pearls. But nothing of this sort happens in the tale. These properties are only symbols which should indicate the exceeding beauty of the heroine. Beauty, again, is a symbol which marks this character in the tale as the heroine. See above, in chapter 14, in which the would-be-nature of the tear-pearls is clearly expressed: "from eyes tears are falling **like** pearls rolling." The same holds for the description of the ugliness of the anti-heroine, in which toads and pitch are symbols of ugliness. And ugliness indicates that the character is the anti-heroine.

Beauty and ugliness are not an end in themselves. They are in turn symbols of the moral qualities of the heroine and anti-heroine, respectively. Since usually no other description is given of them, the sole attribute of beauty or ugliness has to symbolize all the rest of the person's properties. Since a bride is valued to a great extent by her looks, this trait is able to override all other qualities a girl may have, and become their symbol. Beauty is the symbol of the heroine and lack of beauty is the symbol of the anti-heroine.

Example 99

A persecuted girl falls through a well into a marvelous underworld. There she passes tests and is rewarded with extraordinary beauty, symbolized by her becoming gilded and being led home through the golden gate (Goldmary). Her wicked sister tries to imitate her. She does not pass the tests, becomes covered with pitch and is led home

through the pitch gate (Pitchmary) (Germany: Bolte and Polívka 1913-1931, I:209-210, Grimm no. 24; reward-and-punishment fairy-tale, AT 480).

The winged horse of the fairy tale is another case of a symbolic attribute. The horse's ability to fly should symbolize its swiftness, one of the main qualities a horse is valued for. Here the symbol is not as clear as in the case of the rose-spitting girl. While it is not implied that the rose-spitting girl is a non-human marvelous being who is able to spit roses and weep pearls, in the case of the winged horse the symbol of swiftness and the concept of a winged horse as an existing non-natural marvel are not clearly separable (see above, Example 58: the epic steed has real wings which can be burnt).

Passive marvelous objects are shown to be marvelous by one physical characteristic: they are made of precious metals or gems.

21.3 TYPICAL SYMBOL

The typical symbol is a literary representation of a whole class of phenomena which stand outside the literary work.

21.3.1 Term as a symbol of a class of entities

The hero in Russian epics is an example of a term being a typical symbol. A single warrior who alone overcomes the army of the national enemy and rescues his people, the epic hero is a typical symbol. He represents his nation ("our folk") in its struggle with Turkish and Tataric non-Christian tribes in the Southeastern steppes between the Black and the Caspian Seas.

The enemy is also symbolized in one character: the enemy king alone is described, the others being just an undifferentiated mass — the army. Both "our" epic hero and the representative of the enemy have superhuman strength and size.

Example 100

(a) See texts above, Examples 29, 33[c], 42.

(b) In a duel, Marko, the king's son, kills Musa, the robber:

"And as Marko started to turn [Musa] around
He found that Musa had three heroic hearts,
[And] three ribs, one beneath the other.
One heart got tired.
The second heart was just very eager to set to battle,
And on the third a fierce snake is sleeping.
When the snake woke up
Dead Musa jumped around on the meadow,
And the snake spoke to Marko:
"Thank God, Marko, king's son,
That I did not wake up
As long as Musa was alive,
Three hundred calamities would have befallen thee!"
(Serbia: Djurić 1947:164; historical epic. For another version of the same song, see Parry-Lord 1953-1954, no. 7).

The "three hearts" symbolize the superhuman strength of Musa (here the national enemy) whom Marko (the national hero) defeated. The hearts are graded: each successive heart symbolizes a greater amount of physical strength and heroism. A certain ambivalent attitude to the two heroes is felt: the Christian South Slavic Marko is not the same kind of absolute national symbol as the Russian Il'ja of Murom, and Musa, himself a native of the lands conquered by the Turks, and a robber coming from a poor family, is, though Moslem, not a Turk, and is not an absolute representative of the national enemy, the Moslem Turks, as is *Idol* in Russian epics (see Examples 29[a], 42[a]). Therefore Musa is not described in repulsive terms like *Idol,* and is not ridiculed.

Another example of a typical symbol from epic poetry is the figure of King Vladimir who is the representative of royal rulers in general in Russian epic songs. It is a futile enterprise to look for any particular historical personage as being described by this character. There were several rulers named Vladimir in Kiev and in other Russian duchies before the Mongolian invasion (13th century), but the epic Vladimir is none of them in particular but rather all of them together (after Skaftymov 1924). The same holds true for the name of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman in Southern Slavic epic songs. Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) was one of the most important Ottoman rulers, reigning when the empire was at the peak of its power. The Suleiman of the songs has nothing to do with the historical Suleiman. He is the representative, the symbol, of an Ottoman sultan, of a supreme far-away ruler in general, and the place of his official residence, Istanbul, is the symbol of the king's town in general characteristically often called by the Slavs not Constantinople or Istanbul, but Tsar(i)grad, the town of the tsar, the caesar).

In the same way in Jewish sacred legend, a rabbi, when in conflict with a gentile, represents the Jews in general, and the individual gentile opposing the rabbi represents the gentiles in general. The subject of the tale is always one isolated Jewish community in a gentile settlement. The community is anonymous, thus strengthening its typical symbolic value – it represents all Jewish communities, but should not be identified with any one of them in particular.

The hero of the fairy tale is a still more general symbol. He is either completely anonymous, or has a very common name (i.e., John, Ivan; see above, Example 33[a]). Both characterize him as a representative of mankind in general: he is a symbol of "everyman" and at the same time, no one in particular. Both the fairy-tale king and the hero of the tale, who is the youngest of his brothers, and described as being stupid, poor, dirty, lazy, etc., are symbols of mankind. As a pair of symmetrical opposites, one at the very top of society, the other at its very bottom, they together encompass in a symbolic way all of human society. The stupid ogre (AT 1000-1199) symbolizes the marvelous world as it is overcome by man. The ogre is physically strong, but definitely not bright. The fiery dragon shows the same qualities: enormous physical strength and much less intelligence (AT 300, 301, 302). And the poor fellow in a low social position who chances to meet the ogre, symbolizes

mankind, the small, weak but clever man. The weak man overcomes the strong ogre and thereby symbolizes the obtaining of freedom from dependence on fabulous (marvelous) help.

21.3.2 Geographic symbol

In Russian epic songs, the city of Kiev is a symbol for "holy Russia", including both the country with all its villages and cities, and the nation. Kiev was the capital of Russia during the 10th-12th centuries, and is situated in the south of the country (today it is the capital of the Ukraine). The main center of epic songs was found during the 19th century to be in the far North of Russia and in Siberia, when the capital of Russia was St. Petersburg, which was much closer to the singer of the epics. Nevertheless, through all these centuries and over a wide geographical space Kiev kept its symbolic value of representing the whole nation in the epics. The people singing about Kiev had no idea where it was, nor had anyone ever seen it. For example, Kiev may be located on the river Volga (Putilov 1957:383) which is the main waterway in Russia. It could have quietly disappeared from the real map altogether as have so many other cities. Yet once Kiev became a symbol in this ethnopoetic genre, the relationship of the symbolic Kiev to the real Kiev and its history became irrelevant.

21.3.3 Symbolic action

In addition to the typical personage and the typical object an action may also have typical symbolic value. Examples are the symbolic acts of the sacred power who rewards and punishes the characters in Jewish sacred legend. These rewards and punishments are rather uniform, and consist of four pairs of actions which are built as symmetrical opposites:

Rewards	Punishments
enriching	impoverishing
healing	inflicting illness
granting offspring	inflicting barrenness
lengthening life	inflicting death

These four uniform rewards and punishments should symbolize variegated consequences of human acts. These rewards or punishments have nothing to do with the legal system of the respective society. They are symbols which respectively represent approval or censure of certain behaviors. The rewarded or punished behavior belongs for the most part to the realm of the religious and moral code. Righteous deeds and sins are not dealt with by the current law of the land — for example, the obligations to recite prayers or to be charitable. These moral and religious norms have, however, a lot to do with the traditional society and its value system (traditional society has, for instance, no social services organized by the state administration, and thus charity becomes an important substitute). An action which only the sacred power can exercise has been taken as a poetic image for a reward or a punishment.

Example 101

Two beggars walk together while collecting alms. A is always thanking the host, while B thanks God. The host gives A a loaf of bread with jewels baked into it. Not knowing of it, A exchanges his share with B, as the bread looks to A not well baked. So B receives his reward for trusting in God (Afghan Jews: Noy 1963a, no. 34; sacred legend, AT 841).

21.4 SYMBOLIZATION OF CONFLICT

Various human conflicts, social, inter-ethnic, and universally human — are dealt with in ethnopoetry on a symbolic level (see below, paragraph 23.1.3). The conflict is brought up and resolved through the typical symbolic representatives of the sides in the conflict.

21.4.1 The inter-ethnic conflict

The epic hero and his epic adversary, or the rabbi and the gentile, express grave inter-ethnic conflicts; these are resolved on a literary symbolic level in the manner functional to the

narrating society (see below, paragraph 23.2.2 for a discussion of social message and function in ethnopoetry). "Our" hero wins the battle; "our" rabbi wins the upper hand over the gentile.

Example 102

Il'ja of Murom — "our" hero — defeats a great host of Tatars (p. 50), the Tartar king *Idol* (p. 136-139), and Tsar Kalin (p. 206-215) (Russia: Hapgood 1915; national epic). Il'ja's single combat symbolizes the conflict between the settled Slavic people and the nomads of the eastern steppes. Whatever the real result of this conflict over a short or long range, in the song "our" hero will always be victorious.

The Imam of Yemen is about to abolish the cult of holy tombs and starts demolishing them one after the other. A dead Moslem saint does not protest and his tomb is destroyed; a dead Jewish saint (Rabbi Salem Shabazi — Yemen, 17th century) appears to the Imam in a dream and warns him to rebuild his tomb. The Imam obeys. Thus, in the legend the Jewish side has the upper hand over the Moslem, which is contrary to the situation in real life (Yemenite Jews: Noy 1963b, no. 165; sacred legend; see below, Example 109, group C 2).

21.4.2   Intra-community conflict

Oral literature deals with diverse social conflicts. While every society has its special problems, the conflict between different strata of the society seems to be widespread: the opposition between the poor and the rich class and the conflict with the social leadership.

21.4.2.1   Class conflict.
One of the more widespread themes is the conflict between the poor strata of society and the wealthy class. The conflict is symbolized through a clash between a poor personage, who is the typical symbol of the poor, and a rich personage, the symbol of his class. A dramatization of the conflict is achieved by making the characters brothers or next-door neighbors. In the well-known tale about Ali-baba and the

forty thieves the conflict is between poor Ali-baba and his rich brother (AT 676; this is a reward-and-punishment fairy tale; a version of this tale is analyzed below, in paragraph 23.1.1). The near-kin relationship symbolizes the rich man's duty to help the poor, and his refusal to do so is brought out more sharply by this kin relationship.

21.4.2.2   Conflict with the social leadership.
Another widespread theme of social conflict in tales is the tension between the social ideological leadership and the rank-and-file member of society. The priest, be it a parson, a rabbi or a Moslem religious official, is the representative of the traditional pre-industrial society's value system and its guardian, and as such serves in the inter-ethnic conflict as a symbol for his group, as opposed to the other group. In the internal conflict, the priest, while still symbolizing the society's value system, is opposed — when this value system is questioned — by the rank-and-file member. In Jewish sacred legends, at least, the representative of the sacred and of the society's value system, wins the conflict. In swindler and fool's novelle about the stupid or the greedy parson, or the stupid rabbi, the rank-and-file member defeats this same symbol. The society's value system, and with it the official sacred power who stands behind this system, are symbolically overcome by ridicule (AT 1725-1849).

Example 103

(a) A religious leader wins over a rank-and-file member of the community

> A famous rabbi was traveling by taxi from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. On the way it became time to recite the afternoon prayer, yet the taxi driver refused to stop for the rabbi. The car immediately broke down. The driver tried in vain to repair it. When the rabbi finished his prayer, he returned to the car and it started without needing repair (Israel Jews: Jason 1968, Appendix C, text IFA 4133; sacred legend).

(b) A religious leader is overcome by ridicule

> A parson is cruel, condemns a very sick man and does not want to

administer Communion to him. When the man recovers, he tells the parson his "dream": he came to Heaven and there was no parson to give him Communion because all of them were in Hell (Germany: Ranke 1966, no. 79; joke, AT 1738).

21.4.3 Universal human conflicts

A small number of Jewish and Arabic sacred legends symbolize the conflict between man and the Sacred on a universal level: it is not a priest or saint who represents the Sacred, but God Himself. Mankind is symbolized by Moses, the only man "on record" in historical time to have spoken to God face-to-face. He is therefore especially suited to appear in the legend as, so to speak, man's eternal emissary to God. The two, Moses and God, meet, and Moses challenges God as the supreme ruler of the world. God has to give an answer and justify His behavior. Other universal conflicts handle themes such as the problems of human misery, illness, poverty and fate. In all of them the ill and miserable hero serves as a typical symbol of all men in their misery, and the usual resolution of the problem, such as the miraculous healing of the hopelessly sick, serves as a symbol for the positive resolution of the conflict.

Example 104

The problem of poverty as a decree of God: Moses asks God to ease the burden of a poor man who earns his living by cleaning thistles with his bare hands. God sends an axe to the man. Immediately the man drives his fellow workers away and in the resulting quarrel kills several of them with the axe. Moses saw what happened and justified God's first decree of making the man so poor as not to have even an axe. Here, Moses is the representative of mankind in general who questions God's orders in the world (Persian Jews: Jason 1968, Appendix C, IFA 4750; sacred legend, point A 1.1 in Example 109).

21.5 PATTERNING OF THE SYMBOL

We have already said that a symbol may be multi-leveled. The

number of levels may differ but this difference is not significant. Let us take our foregoing examples and chart them as levels. Different poetic images on the surface of the literary work may serve as symbols (significands) of the same significatum. These images may even be in a diametrically opposed relationship: the enormous distance between the human and the fairy-tale world is measured by the extremely long segment of time needed to wear out seven pairs of iron shoes, or by the very short segment of time which the marvelous carpet needs to transport the hero to the place he wants to reach. In the case of the proverb the freedom of combination of significands and significata is even greater. The poetic image of the proverb, once created, becomes independent and associates with other generalizations, and through them with an, in principle, infinite number of particular cases, thus expressing with its symbols new significata.

The diagram on the following page (Figure 8) charts some of the examples discussed in this chapter.

21.6 SYMBOLIC GENRES

While in realistic and in fabulous genres only single elements have symbolic value, in symbolic genres every element has symbolic value.

The character in symbolic genres may be anthropomorphous, zoomorphic or object-like; he may be taken from the repertoire of real world personages or may be a fabulous entity. Yet the moment an entity enters a symbolic genre, it loses the concrete qualities it had while in other genres. In the framework of a symbolic genre it turns into a symbol of another entity.

The proverb and riddle are wholly couched in symbolic terms, often to such a degree that they become obscure even to a younger generation of the society in which they are current. In these two genres the character is an explicit symbol, a significand of another entity, the significatum.

FIGURE 8: Patterning of symbols

SIGNIFICAND (poetic image)	INTERMEDIATE SYMBOLIC LEVELS		SIGNIFICATUM
seven pairs of iron shoes are worn out	enormous period of time		
marvelous speedy transportation by a flying carpet	enormous spatial distance	barrier between human and fairy tale world	substantial qualitative difference between two worlds
Great Flood	major natural catastrophy	barrier between human and mythic epoch	
two opposed ethnic groups (Moslem and untouchables; Jews and Arabs)		barrier between human and numskull worlds	
spitting of roses gold covering	exceptional beauty	positive moral qualities	positive fairy tale heroine
spitting of toads pitch covering	exceptional ugliness	negative moral qualities	negative fairy tale heroine

In the **proverb** the symbol is built as a typical symbol: the poetic image in the proverb is a generalization of an idea formed on the basis of a multitude of particular cases — in principle an infinite number of cases (see the discussion of the proverb in Permjakov 1968, 1970). Once created, the poetic image becomes the significand of additional generalizations, and through them of additional multitudes of particular cases. This pattern could be represented graphically in the following manner (see a detailed discussion in Jason 1971b):

```
PARTICULAR        PARTICULAR        PARTICULAR
  CASE              CASE              CASE
     \               |               /
            ABSTRACTION
              IDEA   A
                 |
             METAPHOR
            /          \
   ABSTRACTION          ABSTRACTION
     IDEA  B              IDEA  B
     /     \              /     \
PARTICULAR PARTICULAR  PARTICULAR PARTICULAR
  CASE       CASE        CASE       CASE
```
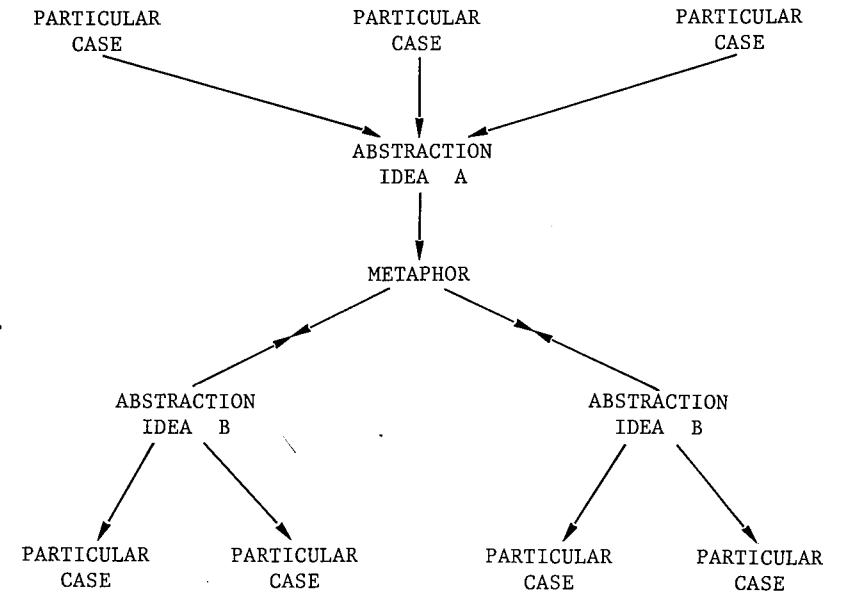
FIGURE 9: The proverb

Example 105

Generalization: Two are of the same sort, i.e., what is good for one of them, will suffice for the other, too.

Poetic image: "Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." (Scotland: Henderson 1881:86).

For proverbs used in particular cases in their natural contexts see Hain 1951.

In the **riddle** the symbol is metaphorical. An element is especially chosen so as to represent an attribute of the hidden entity-to-be-guessed. The hidden entity is most often a material entity, rarely an idea. The relationship between the metaphoric symbol and the symbolized attribute is a one-to-one relationship. The sum total of the elements in a riddle is designed to describe the entity-to-be-guessed. In the ideal case this is done to the extent that an operational definition is devised, so that the entity-to-be-guessed cannot be mistaken for another entity. In fact, however, riddles often have several solutions, i.e., several significata, which correspond to the definition which the riddle gives.

Example 106

Significand (the definition of the entity to be guessed):
    "I can go [across] on a bridge of glass
    And I can come [across] on a bridge of glass
    If the bridge of glass is broken
    There is no one in Islay or Ireland
    Who can recondition the bridge of glass."

Significatum: "Sheet ice".
(Ireland: Hull and Taylor 1955:41, no. 302)

Significand: "Thirty white horses on a red hill
    Now they tramp, now they champ, now they stand still."

Significatum: "Teeth and gums".
(England: Halliwell 1843:116, no. 184)

The **parable** combines aspects of the proverb and the riddle. Like the riddle, the poetic image of the parable has, in principle, a single significatum. Like the proverb, this significatum is an idea and not a material entity (such as a maxim, a censure or approval, an advice).

Example 107

A parable told to a girl who, while sitting next to her boy-friend, cast eyes on others:

"One was there eating his bread. Another one approached him, while also eating his bread. The first one looked at the bread of the second one. Said the second one: — What are you looking at my bread for? Haven't you also got a piece?"
(Israel Jews: IFA 2405; parable).

In the **formula tale** the tale element is a metaphoric symbol of a link in a chain. The element is stripped of all, or almost all, its real or fabulous attributes. Only a single attribute of the element is of interest in the formula tale: the ability of the element to serve as a link in a chain. Therefore almost any being and object may serve in the chain of a formula tale (see above, Example 53).

In the **lying tale** (AT 1875 ff.) a chain of ever bigger entities is constructed. But entities do not possess the real property of being larger with respect to the entity which precedes them in the chain — rather just the opposite. The effect of graded size is achieved through comparison in which a naturally bigger object is pictured as being smaller than a naturally smaller object. Through this paradoxical comparison the naturally smaller object is conceived as being exceptionally big. The element symbolizing large size is a metaphoric symbol: it is a symbol of the attribute of size (see above, Example 66).

In the **topsy-turvy-world tale** a special world is described in which entities possess physical properties and abilities which are often in some way contradictory to the properties which the same entities naturally possess. The significand (the poetic image) is symmetrically opposed to the significatum (the natural entity), i.e., it is an inverted image (see above, Example 53). The relationship between the significand and the signifacatum is a one-to-one relationship, and thus the significand is a metaphoric symbol.

The topsy-turvy-world tale may be understood as a counterpart to the wisdom novella: the subject of the wisdom novella is the exercise of human intellect, while in the topsy-turvy-world tale the intellect playfully inverts into its opposite, i.e., madness. This inversion of the intellect is projected onto the plane of the material world, and thus the topsy-turvy world as a whole

represents an inverted typical symbol of the human intellect (see Jason 1973b).

With the **numskull tale** about the wise-men-of-Gotham we enter another field. The numskulls seem to be a symbolic personification of man's childhood, the period in which man does not yet know the basic laws of nature and basic technology, and has to learn how to apply his deductions (see discussion in Jason 1972). In growing up, man overcomes this stage. The grown-up man is symbolized in numskull tales by the "stranger" who comes to the numskull world and solves their problem. Child and grownup are confronted here by the typical symbols of numskull and human stranger.

More symbolic genres can be differentiated, such as many subgroups of the joke genre, or the stories about the "wise fool" (Nasr-ad-Din, see Wesselski 1911). These have not been sufficiently investigated to date to allow even a brief description here.

★　★　★

The symbolic genres could be summarized in the following table:

	SINGLE TEXT	WHOLE GENRE	TERMS	RELATIONS BETWEEN TERMS	QUALITIES OF TERMS	MATERIAL ENTITY	IDEA ORDER	IDEA CHAOS	SINGLE SIGNIFICATUM	MULTITUDE OF SIGNIFICATA
PROVERB	+			+			+			+
RIDDLE	+				+	+			+	
PARABLE	+			+			+			+
FORMULA TALE	+		+				+		+	
LYING TALE	+			+			+		+	
TOPSY-TURVY WORLD TALE	+			+	+			+	+	
NUMSKULL TALE		+		+	+		+		+	

FIGURE 10:   Symbolic genres

The genres are divided into groups according to several dimensions. The numskull tale reveals its symbolic import when taken as a corpus of texts. The genre as a whole rather than any single text exhibits the typical property of the numskull world: the lack of an entity, material or spiritual. In all other symbolic genres, a single text represents the symbolic quality of the genre.

The symbolic quality can be expressed in three ways: through the repertoire of terms as in the riddle and formula tale; through the relations between terms as in the proverb, parable, lying, topsy-turvy-world and numskull tales; and through the qualities of terms (distinctive features). This latter column is not quite independent, because the genres which appear in it also use one of the other two ways to express symbolic import. The riddle expresses this import through the assemblage of terms-to-be-guessed, and the topsy-turvy-world tale through the relations between terms. In the topsy-turvy-world tale, the qualities of terms (their being oxymoronic) seem to be the more important means of expression.

The significatum of the text may be either an idea or a material entity (such is the case in the riddle: the entity is the term-to-be-guessed; very rarely is the entity an idea). The ideas can be divided into two groups: ideas which express order, and ideas expressing disorder (chaos).

The proverb and parable organize experience by supporting cultural and social norms on various levels, through maxims, advice and censure.

The formula tale orders the universe by arranging terms belonging to different realms of existence into a single uniform sequence. The chain of sequential links of the formula tale has a direction. We can conceptualize this chain as a directed line ("vector") which can run in various directions. The line can run back and forth (AT 2014 A), form a closed circle (AT 2031 C) or form a spiral (AT 2320). The arrangement of the links in the chain and their inner structure are amenable to description by algebraic formulas (see an attempt by Šklovskij 1919; this patterning corresponds to the level of narrative structure in

narrative genres; the formula tale is a quasi-narration). Thus the formula tale exposes the narrative structure. It may be that one of the basic ideas conveyed by this genre is the ordering of a diversified universe into a uniform universe by fitting the diverse terms into one uniform model: a uniform pattern underlies the diversified world.

The lying tale has a simple patterning: it orders its universe to ascending size. The chain of ever bigger terms develops in one direction only. The basic idea of this genre is a limited, one-sided order, namely gradation.

The numskull tale starts with a universe lacking an entity, whether material or spiritual, i.e., with a not yet fully ordered universe, and ends with the supply of the missing entity, i.e., with an ordered universe. The order is established as an outcome of the narrative action in time. No such development is possible in the other symbolic genres, as they are non-narrative. Order in the formula tale is not established as a result of an action in time, but rather as a result of a "filling in" of the "slots" in an "unfolding" of the model. As a model is by definition static, i.e., the dimension of time is not relevant to it, the movement in the tale is a quasi-movement and does not take place in narrative time.

The same holds for the contrastive genre, the topsy-turvy-world tale, which symbolizes disorder (chaos). This genre is also quasi-narrative; the events neither take place along the dimension of time nor follow logically from each other. The topsy-turvy-world tale denies the orders of nature and society, and dissolves the ordered universe and the ordered intellect into chaos.

Lastly, the text of a proverb or a parable is a significand for what are in principle an infinite number of significata (particular cases in reality). In all the other symbolic genres the text is, in principle, a significand for a single significatum (whether this significand is a single text or the whole genre). The riddle's significatum is the term-to-be-guessed. In the principle on which the riddle is based, this term is a single entity; in reality, however, riddles can be applicable to several entities (though they are limited in number), which share those distinctive

features which the significand of the riddle uses to signify the significatum.

The other four symbolic genres — the formula, lying, numskull and topsy-turvy-world tales — each signify an idea which is a single significatum: the ordering of a diversified universe into uniform logical molds; the idea of gradation; the process of transforming the non-ordered childhood universe into the ordered adulthood universe; the chaos, respectively.

Function

22

Biology of ethnopoetry

The investigations of the social and psychological aspects of ethnopoetry branch into two directions, each being developed in a different general framework by investigators with different backgrounds. The first and older direction deals with questions, answers to which can be found through observation and description. This description is labeled the "biology of oral literature" and was developed by scholars with a philological background, mainly in Eastern and Central Europe, and among American folklorists and some proponents of the functional approach. The other direction deals with problems, answers to which can be found by interpreting data and relating them to the framework of the whole culture, i.e., problems relating to meaning, message and function. This direction has been developed recently by scholars with anthropological and psychological backgrounds (semiotics, symbolic anthropology, French structuralism), mainly in Western Europe and the Anglo-Saxon countries, and lately in Eastern Europe as well.

Biology asks questions about the use of the ethnopoetic work in society, its performance, transmission and distribution in geographical space.

Use in society. The ethnopoetic work is used in various social situations, each of which can be conceptualized as a communicative event (see Georges 1969; Abrahams 1969 tried to devise a universal system of genres based on the aspect of communi-

cation). An ethnopoetic work may be used to fill an evening of entertainment. Fairy tales, novelle, legends, jokes, riddles, epics or lyric songs may be told or sung at a gathering of young people in a village, or may shorten the nights of seasonal agricultural workers. Songs may be sung on a Sunday morning dance in the village square, or by children in ritual Christmas caroling. A child may be calmed with a nursery rhyme, a formula tale or a cradle song. A song with a rhythmic melody may be used to co-ordinate the efforts of several people working on a common piece of work. The long nights of the Moslem Ramadan fast spent in coffee houses will be shortened by a fairy tale or an epic song (Lord 1960). A feudal lord will keep a bard to glorify his and his ancestors' deeds in epic songs (Vansina 1965).

In higher structured social situations the ethnopoetic work is used as a part of sacred and profane rituals (customs) where specific items have an obligatory position (i.e., where, when and who should say/sing/narrate what to whom).

The use of specific items in particular situations has an important function in oiling the wheels of the social action. For instance, ethnopoetic texts, while being part of the harvest customs, can serve to further the performance of mutual duties between the peasants and their feudal lord or workers and their employer (see Weber-Kellermann 1965); or, being a myth and told as part of a welcome ritual to guests, or as information, the text can serve to affirm the rights of a political group over its territory ("mythological charter of rights on territory" — Malinowski 1954). Proverbs are used in loosely structured social situations to express feelings, wishes, censure, etc., which could not well be expressed in ordinary speech by a person of the same position in the social network toward certain other nodes in this network, without breaking some social norms (see description in Hain 1951). Proverbs may also serve in a particular culture to bring up one's case in a court proceeding (Messenger 1959).

Presentation. The presentation of the ethnopoetic work includes its dramatic patterns (see chapter 11), the narrator and

his activity and the composition and activity of his audience, the narrating community. Questions should be asked such as age, sex, ethnic identity, social status, kinship relations, the occupations of the narrator and his audience. For a differently composed audience the narrator will change his story, use a different repertoire. For instance, an all-male or all-female audience may allow for sexual themes. In a situation where there is inter-ethnic or inter-faith rivalry, an audience consisting only of "our group" will enjoy works ridiculing and despising the rival groups.

How far do the narrator's personal characteristics (such as age, sex, position in kinship network, occupation) determine preferences in the composition of the repertoire and emphasis on certain details of the plot at the expense of others? How should the relation between the performer and his text, or his whole repertoire be handled? So far we have no example of a detailed description of a performative canon, we do not yet know what it is likely to be. What is norm and what is deviation or individual creation? What causes deviations, or stimulates creativity? Are we to look for answers to such questions in the society and the changes it undergoes? Or in the private life history of the performer, in his psyche? Or somewhere else? So far no systematic investigation of these and similar questions has come to our attention, in spite of several weighty monographs being published on narrators (see, for instance, the monographs by Asadowskij 1926 and Noy 1963b; for a first attempt in this directions see Dégh 1969).

Transmission. Ethnopoetry is transmitted from one performer to the next in two ways: during a period of learning, the performer learns the ethnopoetic canon which enables him to perform, and as a mature performer he learns new material from his fellow performers (i.e., he enriches his lexicon). Both processes have been well described and amply illustrated with experiments by Lord (1960). Although Lord deals with only one specific genre — the historic epic — his observations seem to hold for other genres too (see Noy 1963b, Introduction).

The process of transmission may also have social aspects, which

Lord did not deal with. Who in the community is allowed, obliged, willing to teach (=transmit) what to whom? Who has ownership rights on works, and who can transfer or sell which work to whom? Scattered and unsystematic information on this point may be found in anthropological literature (the subject is not indexed in Murdock 1971, and is therefore difficult to trace).

Distribution. Questions should be asked, such as: what is the density of performers in a settlement, tribe or district; what types of performers exist in a culture, and which of them are found in a certain area and social grouping; what are the differences in size and composition of the repertoire of the various types of performers and of various districts, social and sex groups; what constitutes an average repertoire? What constitutes a representative sample of communities, performers and their repertoire? Our knowledge on these subjects is so far very meager (the only study of this sort which came to our attention is by Nikiforov 1930).

23

Interpretation of ethnopoetry

The interpretation of ethnopoetry has developed in two fields: sociological-anthropological and psychological interpretations. What does ethnopoetry — its genres, individual works, a single element in the work — mean, and how does it function in society? Does the work and its poetic imagery express the individual's psychical processes and problems?

The reader will notice that these are not questions of literary analysis, but sociological and psychological questions. Yet it seems that the meaning of a work shapes it to a great extent as a literary work. Our concept of mode (see above, paragraph 2.2) by which we defined the system of genres, is taken from this realm. "Genre" seems to be a psychological reality as much as "phoneme" is, the mode being a principal "distinctive feature" in this framework.

23.1   THE MESSAGE

What does ethnopoetry "say" or "mean" to its bearers, the narrating community? "Is" ethnopoetry "a message"? Does it "bear a message"? And if it does bear one, what does this message consist of? Who wants to deliver what kind of message to whom?

The meaning of ethnopoetry will be considered in relation to (a) the overall social system, and (b) to the individual as an element in a given social system. Such procedure supposes a different assortment of "messages" for each society, each genre being addressed in a different manner to a particular component in the social system. As in previous attempts at getting at the "real" meaning of ethnopoetry (such as the attempt at psycho-analytic interpretations), here too it is supposed that this meaning is not readily observable on the surface of the work. The meaning or message has to be sought in the deeper levels of ethnopoetry and much of the work done is interpretation. It is assumed that an ethnopoetic work (of any genre) addresses itself to some problem. This may be a national, social or universal human problem. The work poses the problem, deals with it in some manner and resolves it.

The problems and the solutions are not discussed abstractly in the work, but are expressed through poetic images. The complication of the plot, the latent or manifest conflict between the characters, expresses the problem; the solution of the conflict expresses the solution to the problem. The characters and their distinctive features determine the nature of the problem expressed in the conflict. The characters may have a national identity, may belong to a particular social class, may be natural (human) or fabulous. A conflict between two characters with opposed traits will express problems and tensions between the groups or categories which they represent (the typical character who represents his group — see above, paragraph 18.1.1.8). The solution of the plot conflict, which may be the victory of one character over another, will represent a solution to the problem. The problem is resolved in favor of that party whom the victor represents.

23.1.1 Analysis of a sample text

Let us summarize the text of the tale:

A poor brother asks his rich brother for a loan in order to buy food for the Passover feast. The rich one refuses and curses the poor one:

Go to Hell. The poor brother understands the curse as advice and sets out to find Hell in order to borrow money for the feast. On his way he meets Elijah the Prophet, who shows him a robbers' den with seven sacks of gold and tells him to take from it as much as he needs. The poor man takes a few coins, as much as he needs for the feast.

On the day of the feast the rich brother sends his children with the remnants of the meal to the poor brother. They, however, find him feasting. When questioned by the rich brother the poor man informs him about the robbers' den. The rich brother goes to the den and tries to steal a whole sack of gold. The robbers take hold of him and kill him. (AT 676; recorded from a Jew from Yemen, IFA 1161; full text published in a German translation in Noy 1963b, no. 35)

The tale deals with the class conflict. A poor man and a rich man are confronted with each other. The two characters in the plot conflict start from a point of equilibrium: they are brothers, i.e., they inherited their father's fortune in equal parts. The first evidence of disequilibrium is brought in when they are pictured as having opposing personal qualities: the poor is portrayed as being friendly and modest, the rich as being rude and greedy. The second element of disequilibrium is brought in by their contrasting class positions. One is poor, the other rich:

	Poor Brother		Rich Brother	
Social relation	(+)	sibling	(+)	sibling
Personal qualities	(+)	positive moral qualities	(−)	negative moral qualities
Class position	(−)	low class: poor	(+)	high class: rich

The inequality between the two characters in personality and class position as opposed to their equality on the level of social relations (being siblings) creates the plot conflict in the tale. The rich brother has the means to help his poor brother and is by social norms of the narrating society obliged to do so, yet he disregards this obligation, i.e., negatively fulfills the sibling role: he refuses the loan to his poor brother and even curses him. The curse represents an outright attack on the poor brother. The

rich man also exhibits negative moral qualities: he is not content with the wealth already alloted to him by fate, but goes to the robbers' den and greedily grabs a whole sack of gold. The poor brother, on the other hand, positively fulfills his social role as sibling: he asks the proper relative for help, and does not answer the rich man's attack by a counter-attack. He exhibits positive moral qualities: he is content with his lot and takes from the robbers' den just enough to satisfy his present need. Both the conflict between the two brothers and the solution of the conflict are expressed through religious symbols. The latent class conflict is brought into the open by the poor brother's need for a loan to prepare a religious feast. In his eagerness to prepare the feast properly, the poor man wants to fulfill a religious commandment; in his refusal to grant the loan to his poor brother, the rich one puts obstacles in the way of the fulfillment of this command. The resolution of the conflict is brought about by agents of the sacred power: Elijah the Prophet and the mysterious robbers with their sacks of gold are the means by which judgement is brought upon the characters. The righteous poor man is rewarded and the wicked rich man is punished.

With the reward of the poor man and the punishment of the rich one the disequilibrium which causes the conflict in the plot is resolved, and the social equilibrium is symbolically restored. The equilibrium is restored on three levels:

(a) Social norm: the normative relations between siblings are affirmed by punishing the transgressor;

(b) Religious norm: the religious command is reaffirmed by rewarding the party more eager to fulfill it; and,

(c) Class conflict: the poor becomes rich and thus the class conflict is resolved, as the brothers are now in the same social class, i.e., all people are equal.

The social equilibrium which was upset at the beginning of the tale is restored at its end.

23.1.2 The message

Let us return to the questions raised at the beginning of the discussion: who wants to deliver a message? What is the message that is being delivered in our sample tale? To whom is the message being directed? Why is the message being delivered?

The second question, namely, what is the message, is discussed here; the other three questions lead to the next paragraph (23.2) in which the function of ethnopoetry in society is discussed. In our sample tale the message seems to be multileveled. The basic level consists of the message about the social equilibrium, which has to be maintained. The ordering of relations between siblings and the fulfillment of religious commandments are secondary messages in this particular tale.

23.1.3 Message of a particular genre

The message which a particular ethnopoetic genre bears is closely tied to the culture of which the genre is a part. Therefore, a similar story may change its message, or rearrange the levels of this message, as it passes from one culture to the next. Since the message or the system of messages which a genre bears is the sum total of the messages carried by all of the items belonging to a genre, a genre's message can be understood only within the context of a particular culture and can usually not be generalized to a universal level.

Only some very vague indications about the problems addressed by ethnopoetry can be attempted here. National problems are usually raised in the heroic epic (in romantic epic the hero belongs to "our folk", and the rival suitor to "the enemy"). Accordingly, epic poetry seems to develop in societies which are in a state of protracted struggle with a national enemy (this may hold for both sides of the conflict!). Jewish sacred legend has also to a great extent been adapted to express national problems (see below, Example 109) and even fairy tales can be exceptionally adapted to this purpose.

Example 108

Instead of the usual two unsuccessful elder sons and the successful youngest son, a Yemenite Jewish fairy tale features an unsuccessful grown-up Moslem and a successful young Jew (Noy 1963b, no. 28; heroic fairy tale, AT 551).

Social problems are handled by the novella. In the wisdom novella about the wise judgement justice is the central value; in addition, in the confrontation between the wronged poor man and the wicked rich man, the poor man will win his case. In the swindler novella the hero is often a poor lad who was wronged by rich rascals; by cheating them the poor lad wins his rights.

Many ballads deal with intra-familial conflicts, such as love affairs, or acts of revenge among family members. The love affairs are illicit (premarital sexual relations and pregnancies, adulteries), and end tragically: at least the woman, and sometimes both partners, lose their lives. In spite of the tragic end of those characters who dare to defy the rigidly imposed social norm of chastity, the song glorifies the lovers. They are a poetic symbol of this defiance. Thus the song bears the message of the possibility of breaking through the normative framework in general.

Proverbs seem to deal with problems which arise on the level of day-to-day human relations. Curiously enough, even a cursory review of any proverb collection will show that in the same society different proverbs may solve the same problem in patently contradictory ways. An explanation of this fact has not yet been found (see Jason 1971b).

In all sub-genres in which the fabulous is overcome, i.e., the carnavalesque fairy tale, the novella and the joke about clerics, the robber legend and the Trickster tale — man meets the Fabulous in either an overt or covert confrontation. The conflict with the Fabulous is resolved in favor of man through various poetic images. In the tale about the encounter with the stupid ogre (AT 1000-1199), and in the robber legend (AT 952 ff.), the confrontation is overt; in the novella and the joke about clerics, a direct confrontation between the positive layman and the negative cleric (who is stupid, ignorant, greedy and lecherous) may be shown; or the conflict may be covert when the cleric is seen alone performing his negative acts. This is how the Trickster behaves in most texts and as a consequence he is laughed at by the audience. The only group of tales the message of which has been systematically investigated, is the group of Jewish Near Eastern sacred legends. The following example gives a synopsis of the problems and solutions found in the corpus (the investigation is reported in detail in Jason 1968).

Example 109

The investigation, reported here, was made on a corpus of 700 texts, recorded in the years 1955-1967 as a random sampling from Jewish immigrants to Israel. The immigrants come from all the Moslem countries, or from Balkan countries which for centuries had been under Ottoman rule. The culture of the immigrants is fairly similar all over this vast area, and thus the tales could be dealt with as a single corpus. The genre of sacred legend is quite important for this culture, and comprises about 20% of all collected prose items. (For a detailed description of the recorded tales in all genres see Jason 1965. The time scheme of the corpus is given in Example 92 [b].) The detailed list of problems dealt with in the sacred legends is as follows (adapted from Jason 1968 and 1975b):

A. Universal human problems: The Sacred and mankind.
  1. Human rebellion against the Sacred.
    1.1 Man doubts the power of the Sacred and the order of things in nature and society which the Sacred power created and supports. The sacred power has to justify itself and show that it manages the world's affairs in the proper way (the Sacred's answer is comparable to God's answer to Job).
    1.2 Does the virtuous man receive reward and the sinful man punishment? The tale shows that this is the case, although in life it seems not to be so.
    1.3 Man openly rebels against the Sacred, refuses to acknowledge God's omnipotence and even sets out to make war against Him, but loses.

2. The problem of human suffering.

   2.1 Suffering in general.

      2.1.1 Is there a relief for human illness/barrenness? Saints and religious paraphernalia do ease human suffering in the tale.

      2.1.2 Can natural public disaster (droughts, epidemics) be remedied? God in His mercy will not let mankind suffer endlessly, and after intensive prayer sends rain or stops epidemics.

   2.2 Decrees of fate.

      2.2.1 If fate has decreed a course of life full of suffering, man will not be able to escape this lot.

      2.2.2 Poverty which is decreed by fate cannot be remedied.

      2.2.3 There is no escape from death; at most, man can find respite for the time being.

B. Internal social problems of the Jewish community: these are solved to the advantage of the religious leader and the norms of the society, thus supporting the existing social order.

   1. The religious leader (and other agents of the Sacred) vs. his community.

      1.1 The leading social status of the religious specialist (or the authority and power of the agents of the Sacred) is affirmed.

         1.1.1 The religious leader displays extraordinary zeal in fulfilling religious duties.

         1.1.2 The sacred power works miracles for the sake of its agents in order to show publicly how holy (powerful) a particular agent is and thus to strengthen his authority.

         1.1.3 The agent of the Sacred performs miracles in public in order to glorify himself.

         1.1.4 The religious leader is in open conflict with the rank-and-file members of the community and overcomes them by his miraculous power.

      1.2 The sacred power and its agents work in the society.

         1.2.1 The sacred power and its agents extend help and protection to the Jewish community and to its members in need and danger.

         1.2.2 The sacred power and its agents punish individual members of the community who transgress social norms.

   2. The class conflict is solved so as to keep up the social equilibrium.

      2.1 Distribution of alms is miraculously rewarded.

      2.2 Wealth is given as reward for virtuous behavior (charitableness).

      2.3 Charity (virtue) is opposed to miserliness (greed).

      2.4 Miraculous punishment (impoverishment) is brought upon the miserly and the greedy.

      2.5 The rich unsuccessfully attack the poor.

C. National problems of the Jewish community.

   1. The problem of the Diaspora.

      1.1 How did we end up in the Diaspora? (Through military defeat.)

      1.2 Why did we remain in the Diaspora in spite of the Second Temple being built? (Because of our own sins.)

      1.3 There is a miraculous continuity between the Land of Israel and the Diaspora.

      1.4 In the Diaspora we suffer especially from an inability to perform certain religious duties.

      1.5 The state of being in the Diaspora, which is a punishment, is justified by our own sins and bad temper.

      1.6 The miraculous end of the Diaspora will come in the Days of the Messiah, by the opening of a miraculous path to the Holy Land.

   2. The sacred power solves the conflict with the gentile society in favor of the Jewish community.

      2.1 Covert conflict.

         2.1.1 Fellow Jews who are living freely and undisturbed are found in unexpected places (remote geographical points and high social positions).

         2.1.2 A gentile individual or community receives help in distress from an agent of the Jewish sacred power, and acknowledges the supremacy of this power.

      2.2 Overt conflict.

         2.2.1 A gentile individual or community attacks a Jewish

individual, a Jewish community or an agent of the Jewish sacred power (a saint or holy object); the Jewish sacred power rescues the attacked and punishes the attacker.

2.2.2 The two parties, Jew and gentile, clash before a neutral judge; Jewish sacred power helps its side to win.

Through these three groups of problems a line of development can be traced:

A. The sacred power is doubted and establishes itself and its agents before man in general and in the confines of a particular society.

B. The sacred and its agents keep up the norms and the order inside Jewish society which are questioned by members at large (often in the form of sin).

C. The sacred power and its agents miraculously defend the Jewish society from attack by the gentile society.

23.2 FUNCTION AND USE

Since Malinowski's famous work on myth in society (1954) much has been written about the functions of myth and other ethnopoetic genres in society. At present the overt and covert functions of oral literature will be distinguished. For the sake of clarity the overt function will be labeled **use** and the covert function will be labeled **function**. The use of the ethnopoetic work was discussed above, in chapter 22. In various situations diverse works will be used. The work bears messages, but in most instances, the work is used not for the message it bears, but for its literary and artistic merit. The investigation of the use of oral literature should be done on the level of investigation of social behavior. The message should be investigated on the level of the society's culture as a whole. (For a detailed discussion of the various uses of legends in differing social contexts see Klimova 1967, who shows how the literary form of the legend changes according to its use. The message is not

discussed in this study.)

23.2.1 Function and use — The Trobrianders' myth

Let us return to Malinowski's Trobrianders in order to explain more clearly the difference between use and function.

Example 110

A number of grottoes, clumps of trees, stone heaps, coral outcrops, springs and heads of creeks are labeled "hole" or "house" by the native Trobrianders. The story goes that on these spots the mythic ancestors climbed out from an underworld, and established the present lineages of Trobriand society. Each clan has its emergence hole; the country around this hole belongs to the descendants of the original ancestors from then on. In any dispute over land property and residence rights descent is figured from the mythic ancestors and thus the connection to the certain hole and the land around it is a decisive argument in favor of the members of a lineage (adapted from Malinowski 1954:111-112).

Malinowski found that the emergence myth of the Trobrianders was used by the natives as a charter of the social unit in question in very pragmatic matters of land rights and status. The same myth may function in the society's overall culture in some other way. In order to find out what this function is, a thorough investigation of the respective culture's whole ethnopoetic corpus is necessary. One of the functions indicated by Malinowski (1954:116) is that of strengthening the inner unity of the social group on local and kinship levels. Nobody uses the myth consciously, i.e., does not tell it on a particular occasion with the purpose in mind to strengthen this inner unity of the group, but everybody will use the myth consciously in a conflict with other social groups, especially in disputes over land rights and status.

The myth about the ascendance of the tribe's mythic ancestors from an underground world through a hole is not automatically a charter of rights to the patch of land from which the ancestors are believed to have ascended. It is sensible to understand this

myth as a charter of rights only in connection with a social norm which states that common ancestry, and the ascendance of the common ancestors from the soil, entitle members of the social group to this particular patch of land. The same emergence myth in Pueblo Indian tribes is not used in this manner. The Pueblo do not display a natural feature of the soil and call it the original hole of ascent, but rather build by themselves a hole in the *Kiva* in any place they chance to settle, as a symbol of the underground abode and ascendance hole (see s.v. Emergence myth, *Kiva, Shipap* in Leach 1950). The Trobrianders were in need of a symbol of their property rights which would regulate their legal affairs and ensure the proper functioning of the social system, i.e., would not leave a tribe permanently landless. They used whatever they already had in their spiritual treasury which was best suited for this purpose. This turned out to be the emergence myth. A story about the conquest of land by ancestors of the respective clans and tribes would do the same service. So it was, apparently, in ancient Israel: as the story goes, the land was distributed to the tribes and to particular families at the time of the conquest of Canaan. This land could not be sold permanently; when sold it had to be returned every fifty years to the owner entitled to it through descent from the clan to which it had originally been allotted (Leviticus 25:10, 13-17, 25-28, 31, 33-34; Joshua 15:20-21:42). Thus, in the outcome, as in Trobriand society, no family remained permanently landless.

The emergence myth itself forms one complex with myths having an inverted spatial image: in mythic times proto-humans lived in the sky and descended from there through a hole to Earth. Since for practical purposes there are no holes in the sky, spots in the sky cannot be used to mark land property, myths with this inverted image are not suited to be used as pragmatic charters of a community's land rights. When the function of the ascendance myth is investigated, it has to be understood in the frame of, among others, its symmetrical inversion, the descendance myth.

23.2.2 Function of ethnopoetry

The assumption here is that oral literature fulfills some function in the overall social system. This function varies from one society to the next. In delivering a mesage, the ethnopoetic work fulfills a function in the social system. Above (paragraph 23.1) it was asked, who wants to deliver a message? To whom is the message being directed? Why is the message being delivered? The answer to these questions will vary from one culture to the next, from one genre to the next and from one message to the next. As the subject has not been systematically investigated, all that can be indicated is the direction in which answers may be sought. Let us turn to our examples, the sacred legend and the ballad.

The sacred legend. The example of the Jewish Near Eastern sacred legends (see above, Example 109) brought up three groups of problems. Each group of problems is handled by a segment of the tale corpus. Calculation showed that 50% of the randomly collected texts deal with national problems (group C in the example), 25% deal with the social problems (group B) and the remaining 25% with universal human problems (group A). We may conclude that the national problem overrides the social problems of the Jewish community in the Diaspora; historical investigation confirms this result.

The legends deal with the most vital problems of the society, its internal integrity and its very existence in a hostile environment. They fill the need to maintain the emotional balance of society's members in the face of constant treatment as second class citizens — abused, and unsure of property and life. In the legend the Jew always overcomes his gentile adversary, which is exactly the opposite of what has happened in real life. By establishing itself in the tale-group A and by strengthening the belief of society's members in its omnipotence, the official sacred power enables man to rely upon it, to feel secure under its protection and to overcome his fears and feelings of insecurity. The same is the case when the religious leader is supported, his right to leadership affirmed beyond doubt and his miraculous power displayed. The rank-and-file member of

the society is thus taught that his leader is powerful and is able to protect him from danger, social as well as natural (e.g., he is able to heal illness).

Legends about social conflicts (group B of the problems) fulfill an integrating role in the society. In the absence of any formal provision for social care, the Jewish community developed an informal system of charity to help the needy and to blur social contrasts. The obligation to distribute alms, however, was not a legal obligation, subject to formal enforcement, but a moral obligation, a "virtuous deed". A miser could be socially ostracized, but no more, and the poor man would remain hungry. Here the legend, in miraculously punishing the miserly, restores, on a symbolic level, the social justice or balance which the miser disturbs in his refusal to distribute alms. Tales about a poor man who miraculously becomes rich, and a rich man who tries unsuccessfully to imitate him, are especially to the point (see above, paragraph 23.1.1). The poor man, who had nothing, receives wealth in order to become equal to the rich man, and thus the social balance which was disturbed is restored. When the rich man, however, tries to obtain even more wealth, he is again trying to disturb the social balance and is therefore punished. Thus, by symbolically restoring the social balance, the legend supports the established order of society. The trespasser is symbolically punished, and everything is orderly again.

The sacred legend fulfills its general function in society by tying in the culture's value system with its social organization through poetic imagery. One of the very highest and thus most determining levels of the value system of the culture under discussion, the concept of the official sacred power and its all-permeating qualities, is brought to bear on the social particulars and concrete acts in the life of the individual.

Let us return to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter: who is the sender of the message and who is the receiver? It seems that the society as a body is the sender; the individual member of the society, especially the rank-and-file member, is the receiver. In our case the message is being delivered for the sake of keeping society going in an orderly way. Let us remember that sacred legends comprise about 20% of all prose ethnopoetic works handed down in the society under discussion, and are quantitatively the largest single genre in this ethnopoetry (see comparative tables in Jason 1966).

As the "body of society" is an abstraction and not a living being which can act, there are always members in the society who are sensitive to society's needs and who act on its behalf. These are the many known and anonymous authors and compilers of exempla collections – preachers and rabbis. We do not imply that these people consciously invented the legends. The legends are genuine ethnopoetry and are older than the society which now uses them; the compilers chose whatever suits their needs from the pool of material available. In our case, the wide use of such materials in oral tradition is supported by the written tradition.

The ballad. The function of Scottish ballads may be understood in terms of Gluckman's "rites of rebellion (1963, chapter 30)". It is hard to imagine that ballads reflect real life situations; according to ballads, 50% of maidens in 17th-18th century Scotland (the time when the ballads were collected) were pregnant out of wedlock, and women were engaged in adultery and consequently executed by their families. A more reasonable interpretation of this preoccupation with illicit love affairs would be to suppose that the singer found relief from society's pressures through singing about someone who had been courageous enough to break the norm to which the singer was unfortunately bound. Thus, the act of singing the song helps to maintain the emotional balance of a society's member and thereby works to integrate the society, reducing tensions created by its system of norms. The addressee of the message is again any member of the society, especially a younger member who might still be in the stage of rebellion. He is not yet in the leading position (such as being head of a family) which would dispose him to strongly support the existing social order with all its norms, however unpleasant it may be to accept them. It is more difficult to find the deliverer of the message in this case.

No procedure exists so far by which he could be found, and since there is no documentation about either the composer of ballads or about the time and place of their composition, all that can be done is guesswork. A good guess seems to be that the same younger generation composed them, again through their representatives.

Change of function. An ethnopoetic work can change its function as the society changes. Let us quote an example from our fieldwork. A leading member of a Near Eastern community which immigrated to Israel was asked on one occasion, before an audience derived from other communities than his own, to tell a native story as an example of his oral literature. His culture possesses beautiful fairy tales and novelle, but he refused out-right to tell such a story, which he considered "foolish". Instead he told a simple sacred legend which glorifies the miraculous powers of a certain local rabbi from the past generation: the rabbi struck blind a community member who did not behave respectfully enough toward the rabbi. The story was concluded with the exclamation: "Such great rabbis have been in our community! The children of the man who was blinded are now here; they can confirm my story!"

In this performance the function of the legend has changed. In its original setting the legend expressed the problem of the tension between the religious leader and the rank-and-file member of the community (see above, Example 109, group B 1.1.4). The legend fulfilled the function of supporting the religious leader, and through him, the established order of the society. In the new setting the legend fulfills an entirely different function. The religous leaders and the social order which the legend supported do not exist any more. Now, one of the important problems before the immigrant is the building of a new identity and establishing his status in the new society. His personal status will in part depend on the status of his immigrant community among other immigrant communities. Consequently, he tries to show off the splendor of his community in terms which are meaningful to him: the great miraculous power of his local rabbi.

In consequence, the legend changed from group B of inter-social problems to group C of inter-community problems. The man used the legend on this particular occasion because it functioned in his own emotional balance as a counterweight to the actual position, not a very high one, which his community holds within Israel immigrant society as a whole.

Synthesis

24

The tale as a whole

The text. So far we have been breaking down the ethnopoetic work into its components; let us try now to weave the separate threads back into the web of a folk tale.

The choice fell upon a short novella which was recorded recently:*

> It is told about Rabbi Salant that once a woman came to ask him:
> — Rabbi, the pot became *taref* [defiled];
> — What happened?
> — Milk splashed into it. — He asked her:
> — Where did you buy the milk? — She told him the name of the milkman. He sent for the milkman:
> — How much water did you put into the milk? — The milkman told him. He called her:
> — Come in! *Kasher, kasher, kasher!* [ritually clean] ! —
> — And when was it that you last cooked meat in the pot? — She could not recall the year when she had cooked meat last.

Cultural realia. In a traditional Jewish household separate dishes have to be kept for food which contains milk and for food

---

* The tale was recorded by the staff of the Israel Folklore Archives—IFA (Ethnological Museum and Folklore Archives, Haifa; for a report on the Archives see Jason 1965) in 1965, mss. no. 6469. It was told by an Ashkenazic Jew, born and living in Jerusalem.

which contains meat (*Shulhan Aruh (kitzur)*, chapter 46, paragraphs 8-10). Fish and vegetables are neutral and may be cooked and served in any dish. If milk touches a meat dish, the dish and its contents become *taref* (=ritually defiled). The meat has to be thrown away and the dish ritually cleaned. If, however, the ratio of dairy to meat is 1:60 or less, the meat dish remains *kasher* (ritually clean), and both the food and the dish are usable (*Shulhan Aruh, Yore dea,* chapter 98, paragraph 10). In any case, however, the housewife has to consult a rabbi on the matter. This is what the woman in our story did. The rabbi made his decision on the basis of the ratio of water in the milk. Had the milk been sold in its pure state, the actual quantity of milk which splashed into the meat pot might have exceeded the allowed 1:60 ratio.

The genre. The tale is set in the realistic mode. The genre is novella, sub-genre wisdom novella, and division wise judgement.

Macrocomposition. The tale is one-episodic (see above, chapter 13).

Narrative structure. The following analysis of the tale's narrative structure is done according to the basic three-function move model (see above, chapter 12). The tale is composed of two basic moves:

Move A

	Subject	Action	Object
Function A	Milk	splashed into meat pot	of Woman
Function B	Poor Woman	applies for judgement to	Rabbi Salant
Function C	Rabbi Salant	declares pot	of Woman

Tale roles: HERO — the poor Woman
DONOR/TESTER — Milk
DONOR/TESTER — Rabbi Salant

Move B

	Subject	Action	Object
Function A	Milkman	dilutes milk with water	Rabbi Salant
Function B	Rabbi Salant	interrogates the	Milkman
Function C	Milkman	confesses guilt to	Rabbi Salant

Tale roles: HERO — Rabbi Salant
DONOR — Milkman

Analysis of the tale text:

Move	Function	Move	Function	Tale text
1	B			It is told about RABBI SALANT that once a WOMAN came to ask him: — Rabbi, the pot became *taref!* — — What happened? —
	A			— MILK splashed into it. — [*WOMAN*]
		2	[A]	[The *MILKMAN* dilutes the milk with water; RABBI SALANT is suspicious of it.]
		connective inf 1		He asks her: — Where did you buy the milk? — She told him the name of the milkman.
			B	HE sent to call the *MILKMAN*: — How much water did you put into the milk?—
			C	[The *MILKMAN*] told HIM.
	C			HE called *HER:* — Come in! *Kasher! Kasher! Kasher!*
Punch line:				— And when was it lastly that you cooked meat in the pot? — She could not recall the year when she had cooked meat last.

Note: Move 2 is embedded in function C of move 1; function A of move 2 is a deleted function in the tale and has to be recon-

structed. The punch line stands outside the move model framework and transforms the whole story into a punch line joke (if the woman has not cooked meat in the pot, the whole question about the ritual cleanliness of the pot is pointless).

Anthropomorphous terms. There are three characters active in the tale: the poor woman, Rabbi Salant and the milkman. The chart shows their distinctive features (see above, paragraph 18.1):

LABEL	Woman	Rabbi	Milkman
NAME	—	R. Salant	—
NICKNAME	—	—	—
AGE	adult	adult	adult
SEX	female	male	male
APPEARANCE	normal	normal	normal
ATTIRE	poor	official robe	average
MODE OF BEHAVIOR	—	wise	treacherous
DEGREEE OF TYPICALITY	typical	unique	typical
QUANTITY	single	single	single
SOCIAL STATUS	low	high	medial
PROFESSION	housewife	judge	milkman
KINSHIP	married	married	married
PROPERTY	pot	irrelevant	merchandise
ACTOR	active	active	active
REQUISITE	—	—	—
WE/OTHER	we	we	other
TRANSFORMATION	—	—	—
MODE OF BEING	realistic	realistic	realistic

FIGURE 11: Anthropomorphous terms

Object-like terms. The following objects are mentioned in the tale: a pot, milk, water and meat. The chart lists their distinctive features (see above, paragraph 18.3):

LABEL	Pot	Water	Milk	Meat
NAME	—	—	—	—
AGE	several years old	irrelevant	fresh	irrelevant
ORIGIN	human product	natural	bought from milkman	animal
SHAPE	cylindric	changeable	changeable	non-geometric
RELATIVE SIZE	normal	much	a little	normal
RELATIVE WEIGHT	normal	normal	normal	normal
MATERIAL	metalic	chemical	organic	organic
COLOR	gray	transparent	white	reddish
DEGREE OF TYPIFICATION	typical	typical	typical	typical
QUANTITY	single	single	mass	mass
BELONGS TO	housewife	none	milkman	none
ACTOR	—	—	active	—
REQUISITE	+	+	—	+
USE in tale	cooking	cheating	food	metaphor
USE in reality	cooking	drinking	food	food
TRANSFORMATION	—	—	—	—
MODE OF BEING	realistic	realistic	realistic	realistic

FIGURE 12: Object-like terms

Spatial dimension. The event in the tale takes place in a single location: the rabbi's reception room. This is known from the cultural context. From this central point other points in space are viewed, to which, however, the tale's action does not lead. These are the woman's home from where she came to the rabbi, and the whereabouts of the milkman from where he is called by

the rabbi (see above, paragraph 19.3). In the space model the tale takes place in the center, Area 1, "our settlement": both the narrator and the characters in the story lived in Jerusalem. The stage is wholly realistic (see above, paragraph 19.1).

Temporal dimension. The tale is composed as a single episode, there being no periods of empty time between one action and the next. The amount of time which passes from the start of the events to their end may be estimated as an hour (see above, paragraph 20.3).

The tale is set in an historical period specified by the time span within which Rabbi Salant acted as rabbi in Jerusalem (from 1878, d. 1909), i.e., "recent generation period". Within this period, however, no further specification is given (see above, paragraph 20.4).

Symbolic dimension. All three characters are typical symbols (see above, paragraph 21.3). The rabbi represents the religious leader of the Jewish traditional community to whose authority a lay member of the community (here represented by both the woman and the milkman) may apply for advice and support, and whose judgement they have to accept. The milkman represents the rich class as opposed to the poor class (represented by the poor woman). Thus the woman carries two symbolic loads, each load in a different move of the tale: in move A she represents the lay social group of the community which includes the rich class as well; in move B she represents the poor class. The figure of the milkman is not so neatly divided. He plays only in move B and carries there his double symbolic load representing the lay and the rich.

Two additional elements in the tale are patterned as typical symbols: the observation of religious laws about separating dairy products and meat stands for the observation of any religious commandment (Blackman, 1954, vol. 4:487-553, *Pirqe Avot,* chapter 2, paragraph 1). The diluting of the milk with water stands for the cheating which the merchant class is believed to practice against its poor clientele, and forms the basis of the tension between these two groups, or between the

poor and the rich in general.

The message. The tale deals with two problems:

(a) The problem of observing the religious commandments (represented by the food mixing taboo), and, on a more general level, the problem of affirming the official value system which is expressed to a great degree in the form of religious commandments. This problem is expressed in Move A, which is the upper level in the narrative structure.

(b) The second problem in the tale is dealt with in Move B, which is the lower level in the narrative structure. Here, the problem of tension between the social classes is handled: the woman, who is apparently so poor as not to be able to afford to throw away the defiled food, is confronted with the small businessman who owns some resources, and thus, is, in her understanding, rich.

The observation of religious commandments represents a financial burden on the poor. Not always can the poor man bear the necessary expenses. On the other hand, the observance of the commandments is one of the important factors which maintains the traditional social order. The woman's call on the rabbi comes to solve her dilemma by helping her observe the commandment without further expenses.

The second problem is the confrontation between the classes. The poor woman, who for many years has not had the means to buy meat, is opposed to the deceitful milkman who dilutes milk with water and nevertheless demands full payment for his merchandise. The milkman is the representative of the higher social classes. This representative is met with often, the poor people have to daily give him the pennies they earn by hard labor, and they have no possibility of controling his honesty (in several other tales from the same community the milkman has been found to be the target of jokes implying his dishonesty).

In our tale the confrontation between poor and rich is indirect. The parties do not meet in the tale's action, and the woman

does not hear the milkman's confession (the rabbi calls her in afterwards). The confrontation is expressed by the problem of religious observance, and through the acts of a third character, the rabbi, who is the representative of the system expressed in the commandment.

The rabbi shows that the milkman is morally at fault, and thus resolves the conflict between the poor and the rich in favor of the poor (who emerges morally superior to the rich, especially as she is eager to observe the commandments; "do not deceive" is, of course, also a commandment, and the rich man did not observe this commandment).

The rabbi declares the meat-pot and the food in it to be *kasher* and thus also resolves the class conflict in favor of the poor: the poor woman is now able to equal the rich in observance. In the ideal state of affairs all are equal before the Almighty, and all have to observe His commandments. In reality, however, it is easier for the rich to practice observance. The rabbi enables the poor woman to fulfill the religious duty, and thus makes her equal to the rich before God.

The justification of the poor woman and the accusation of the rich man restores on a symbolic level the social equilibrium which is distorted by the split of society into classes.

The story is framed by a punch line; the tale would be complete without this punch line. The punch line emphasizes the poverty of the woman, about which we know anyway from the story, for she is too poor to throw away the defiled food.

In addition to reiterating this point, the punch line brings up a new viewpoint on the problem of religious observance: it casts doubts on the solution given in move A. This solution affirmed the absolute need for religious observance. In the punch line we suddenly hear that the pot is a meat-pot only nominally: the woman did not cook meat dishes in it at all. The pot has not actually been defiled by the splash of milk, and the vegetable food which may have been cooked in it is anyway neutral to either meat or milk. Thus, the question put to the rabbi was superfluous from the start.

The inadequacy of the level of values has already been hinted at in the story. The religious problem both rises and is resolved not on the level of values, where it properly belongs, but on the societal level. Had the woman not been poor she could have thrown away both the food and the dish in case of a doubt, and would not have bothered herself and the rabbi with such a trifle. There would have been no problem from the beginning. And had the milkman not been a rascal, the rabbi could not have declared the pot *kasher* i.e., he could not have solved the problem of observance so as to enable the woman a reasonable observance of the religious duty. The commandment which is representative of the value system at large leads to a blind alley. Thus, there was no possibility of solving the value problem on its own level. In order to solve the problem the story had to employ the societal level on which the particular commandment about food taboos is completely irrelevant.

The function. The various levels of the story fulfill different functions on the level of society at large (see above, paragraph 23.2).

The story serves to praise the rabbi — how clever he is — and to support his status. This the story does both in regard to this particular rabbi, Salant, and to "the rabbi" in general. The principal role of the class of rabbis in traditional society is to represent society's values and ideology, and to symbolize, uphold and develop them. To support the rabbi means to support the social value system which supplies the *raison d'être* for society's existence.

The next function is related to the foregoing. The rabbi whose authority is being affirmed in the first function of the story acts so as to support the demand for observance of religous commandments. These commandments, and through them, the whole system of values, are reaffirmed by the rabbi's judgement: everybody is both obliged and able to fulfill religious duty.

The other two problems are handled so as to directly strengthen the existing social order. Both are problems of tension:

(a) Tension between social classes, and

(b) Tension between the demand of norm-observance and people's resistance to the yoke of norms.

By restoring social equilibrium on the symbolic literary level the rabbi blurs the real disequilibrium and smoothes the psychological edges of tension. By casting doubt on the whole issue of rigorous observance, in the punch line, the second tension is loosened with relieving laughter at the "stupid" woman who made an issue out of nothing.

★ ★ ★

In our analysis of the tale all the dimensions proposed here have been brought to bear on each other.

The elements of the tale which lie on its very surface, such as characters and requisites and their properties, supplied clues to the lower levels of the tale — the message the tale bears and the function it fulfills in the social system. The location of our sample tale in the center of the space model and in the "recent generations period" on the temporal framework, makes the event of the tale appear more real to the narrating community. The message is more vivid, which adds to the effectiveness of the tale's functioning in the society. And lastly, the narrative structure organizes the message of our tale into separate structural units, and orders them hierarchically.

Thus, message and function seem to be the outcome of the organization of the tale on other levels. Or, to put it the other way round, do message and function, if they are themselves the underlying factors, determine the organization of the elements on levels which lie nearer to the surface of the work?

The analysis of our sample tale is empirical. The inter-relations and processes which are going on between the various levels and dimensions of oral literature have not yet been systematically investigated. Is there a point of beginning from which the thread can be unwound from the ball of the circular problem just sketched? Is there one basic dimension which dominates all the rest? Or, is it a "chicken and egg" question, i.e., the

postulate being that the various dimensions are equal and have grown together in the developmental process of the literary work as such? If so, how do they determine each other? Do their inter-relations change with each genre? Or is the system of dimensions a stable network which makes up the totality of the ethnopoetic work?

We should conclude our present discussion with these questions, in the hope that our work has helped to lay the framework for their consideration and eventual solution.

References
Indices

ABBREVIATIONS

AT — Aarne,A., and S.Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*.
        Folklore Fellows Communications 184. Helsinki 1961.

IFA — Israel Folklore Archives, Ethnological Museum and Folklore
        Archives, Haifa, Israel.

Mot — Thompson,S., *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*. 6 vols.
        Bloomington, Ind., 1955-1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AARNE, Antti
    1910 *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* [A list of folktale types].
          Folklore Fellows Communications 3. Helsinki. Revised by
          S.Thompson in 1928: *The Types of the Folktale*. Folklore
          Fellows Communications 74. Second revision: Folklore
          Fellows Communications 184, 1961.

ABRAHAMS, Roger D.
    1969 The Complex Relations of Simple Forms. *Genre* 2:104-128.

AFANAS'EV, Aleksandr N. (editor)
    1914 *Narodnyja russkija legendy* [Russian folk legends]. Vol. 1.
          Kazan: Molodyja sily.

    1957 *Narodnye russkie skazki* [Russian folk tales], edited by
          V.Ja.Propp. 3 vols. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo
          Hudožestvennoj Literatury.

AHARONI, Yohanan
    1966 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. Translated by A.F.Rainey. London: Burns & Oates.

AHIKAR
    1913 *The Story of Ahikar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic Versions*. Edited by F.C.Conybeare, J.R.Harris, and A.S.Levis. 2nd edition. Cambridge: University Press.

ALEKSANDER Hartley B.
    1916 *North American Mythology*. The Mythology of all Races, vol. 10. Boston: Marshall Jones.

ALIEVA,A.U., A.M.GADATAL', and Z.P.KARDANGUŠEV (translators and editors)
    1974 *Narty. Adygskij geroičeskij epos*.[Narts. Adyg heroic epic]. Moscow: Nauka.

ANDREEV,N.P.
    1929 *Ukazatel' skazočnyh sjužetov po sisteme Aarne* [Index of tale plots according to the system of Aarne]. Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Russkoe Geografičeskoe Obščestvo. Partial English translation by H.Jason, RAND Paper P-3853, Santa Monica, 1968.

    1934 Problema istorii fol'klora [The problem of the history of folklore]. *Sovetskaja etnografija*, No. 3:28-45.

ANGELOV", Božan", and Hristo VAKARELSKI (editors)
    1936 *Sianki iz" nevidelitsa, Kniga na b"lgarskata narodna balada* [Shadows from the unexpected, Book of Bulgarian folk ballads]. Sofia: D"ržavna pečatnica.

    1939 *Trem" na b"lgarskata narodna epika* [Gate to the Bulgarian folk epic]. Sofia: T.F.Čipev".

APULEIUS MADARENSIS
    1910 *The Story of Cupid and Psyche, as related by Apuleius*. Edited by L.C.Purser. London: G.Bell.

ASADOWSKIJ, Mark
    1926 *Eine sibirische Märchenerzählerin* [A Siberian tale teller]. Folklore Fellows Communications 68. Helsinki. English translation by J.R.Dow. Center for Intercultural Studies in Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Monograph series No. 2. Austin, Texas, 1974.

ASTAHOVA,A.M., V.V.MITROFANOVA, and M.O.SKRIPIL (editors)
    1960 *Byliny v zapisjah i pereskazah XVII-XVIII vekov* [Epics in recordings and retellings of the 17-18 centuries]. Moscow-Leningrad: AN SSSR.

BAUSINGER, Hermann
    1959 Strukturen des alltäglichen Erzählens. *Fabula* 1:239-254.

BEIDELMAN, Thomas O.
    1961 Hyena and Rabbit: A Kaguru Representation of Matrilineal Relations. *Africa* 31:61-74.

    1963 Further Adventures of Hyena and Rabbit: The Folktale as Sociological Model. *Africa* 33:54-69.

BEN-AMOS, Dan
    1966 Narrative Forms in the Haggada: Structural Analysis. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

BGAŽBA, H.S. (editor)
    1959 *Abhazskie skazki* [Abhasian folk tales). Suhumi: Abgiz.

BIEBUYCK, Daniel, and Kahombo C. MATEENE (translators and editors)
    1971 *The Mwindo Epic from the Banyanga (Congo Republic)*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

BIN GORION, Micha Joseph (editor)
    1916-22 *Der Born Judas* [The spring of Judah]. 6 vols. Leipzig: Insel.

    1966 *Mimmqor Yisrael* [From the source of Israel]. Tel Aviv: Dvir

BLACKMAN, Philip (editor)
    1951-56 *Mishnayot*. 7 vols. London: Mishna Press, L.M.Schonfeld.

BOGATYREV, Petr, and Roman JAKOBSON
    1929 Die Folklore als besondere Form des Schaffens [Folklore as a special form of creativity]. In: *Verzameling van opstellen door ond-leeringen en bevriende vakgenooten opgedragen aan mgr. Prof. Dr. Jos. Schrijnen (Donum Natalicum Schrijnen)*, pp. 900-913. Nijmogen-Utrecht: N.V.Dekker & Van der Vegt.

BOGOMOLOV, B. (editor)
    1950 *Byliny* [Epic songs]. Leningrad: Sovetskij pisatel'.

BOLTE, Johann, and Jiří POLIVKA
    1913-1931 *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* [Notes to the child and home tales of the Grimm Brothers]. 5 vols. Leipzig: Dieterich.

BOMPAS, Cecil H. (translator and editor)
1909 *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. London: David Nutt.

BOŠKOVIC-STULLI, Maja
1962 Sižei narodnih bajki u srpsko-hrvatskim epskim pjesmama [Folktale plots in Serbo-Croatian epic songs]. *Narodna umjetnost* 1:15-36.

(editor)
1959 *Istarske narodne priče* [Istrian folktales]. Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost.

1963 *Narodne pripovijetke* [Folk tales]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.

BREMOND, Claude
1970 Morphology of the French Folktale. *Semiotica* 2:247-276.

1973 *Logique du recit* [Logic of narration]. Paris: Seuil.

1976 Morphology of the French Folktale: The Ethic Approach. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature*, edited by H.Jason and D.Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

BRIGGS, Katherine M. and Ruth L. Tongue (editors)
1966 *Folktales of England*.London: Routledge and K.Paul.

BRITAEV,S., and K.KAZBEKOV (translators and editors)
1951 *Osetinskie narodnye skazki* [Osetian folk tales]. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Hudožestvennoj Literatury.

BRODY, Hayyim, and Meir Wiener (editors)
1934 *Mivhar ha-šira ha-ivrit* [Selection of Hebrew Poetry]. 2nd edition. Jerusalem: R.Mass.

CHILD, Francis J.
1882-1898 *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

CHRISTIANSEN, Reidar Th.
1958 *The Migratory Legends. A Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants*. Folklore Fellows Communications 175. Helsinki.

(editor)
1964 *Folktales of Norway*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

ČISTOV,K.V.
1963 Russkie narodnye sotsial'no-utopičeskie legendy XVII-XIX vv. [Russian social-utopian legends in the 17th-18th centuries]. In: *Istorija, iskusstvo, fol'klor slavjanskih narodov*,edited by B.A.Rybakov. Moscow: AN SSSR.

COLBY, Benjamin N.
1973a A Partial Grammar of Eskimo Folktales. *American Anthropologist* 75:645-662.

1973b Analytical Procedures in Eidochronic Study. *Journal of American Folklore* 86:14-24.

DAN, Ilana
1976 The Innocent Persecuted Heroine: An Attempt at a Model for the Surface Level of the Narrative Structure of the Female Fairy Tale. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature*, edited by H.Jason and D.Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

DÉGH, Linda
1965a Processes of Legend Formation. In: *IVth International Congress for Folk-Narrative Research in Athens (4.6-6.9. 1964), Laographia* 22:77-87, edited by G.A.Megas.

1969 *Folktales and Society: Story Telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

(editor)
1965b *Folktales of Hungary*.Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

DÉGH, Linda and Andrew VAZSONYI
1973 The Dialectics of the Legend. Folklore Preprint Series, vol. 1, no. 6. Bloomington, Ind: Folklore Publications Group.

DELORKO, Olinko (editor)
1967/8 Narodne pjesme sinjske krajine (pjesme tradicionalnog sadržaja [Folk songs from the province of Sinj; songs of traditional content]. *Narodna umjetnost* 5-6:111-157.

DJURIČ, Vojislav (editor)
1947 *Narodne junačke pjesme* [Heroic folk songs]. Belgrade: Prosveta.

DOWSON, John
1957 *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*. 9th edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

DRORY, Rina
1976 Ali-Baba and the Forthy Thieves: An Attempt at a Model for the Surface Level of the Narrative Structure of the Reward-and-Punishment Fairy Tale. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature*, edited by H.Jason and D.Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

DUNDES, Alan
1962 The Binary Structure of "Unsuccessfull Repetition" in Lithuanian Folktales. *Western Folklore* 21:165-174.

1964 *The Morphology of North American Indian Folk Tales.* Folklore Fellows Communications 195. Helsinki.

1966 Here I sit; A Study of American Latrinalia. *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 34:91-105.

EBERHARD, Wolfram and Pertev N. BORATAV
1953 *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* [Types of Turkish folktales]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

ELEONSKAJA, Elena
1912 Nekotoriya zamečanija po povodu složenija skazok [Some observations on the composition of fairy tales]. *Etnografičeskoe obozrenie*, 24, No. 1-2:189-199.

ELIADE, Mircea
1961 *The Sacred and the Profane.* Translated by W.R.Trask. New York: Harper & Row.

EPSTEIN, J. (translator and editor)
1935-1952 *Babylonian Talmud.* London: Soncino Press.

ERDESZ, Szandor
1961 The World Conception of Lajos Ami, Story-Teller. *Acta Ethnographica* 10:327-344.

FIRDAUSI (Abu'l Kasim Mansur)
1967 *The Epic of the Kings: Shah-nama, the national Epic of Persia.* Translated by R.Levy. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

GARBER-TALMON, Yonina
1951 Ha-zeman ba-mitos ha-primitiwi [Time in primitive myth]. *Iyyun* 2:201-214.

GEORGES, Robert A.
1969 Behavioral Models: Their Relevance for Analysis of Traditional Play Activities. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 33:1-23.

GINZBERG, Louis
1909-1938 *The Legends of the Jews.* 7 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.

GLUCKMAN, Max
1963 *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa.* London: Cohen & West.

GREIMAS, Algirdas J.
1966 *Semantique structurale* [Structural semantics]. Paris: Larousse.

GRIMM, Jacob and Wilhelm
1812-15 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [Children and home tales]. 3 vols. Berlin: Reimer. English translation by F.P.Magoun and A.Krappe, *The Grimm's German folktales.* Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969.

GRIMM, Jacob
1854 Vorrede [Introduction]. In: *Volksmärchen der Serben* [Serbian folktales], edited by V.S.Karadschitch. Berlin: Reimer.

GÜTTGEMANNS, Erhardt
1973 Einleitende Bemerkungen zur strukturalen Erzählforschung [Introductory remarks to the structural investigation of narrative]. *Linguistica Biblica* 23-24:2-47.

1976 Fundamentals of a Grammar of Oral Literature. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature*, edited by H.Jason and D.Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

HAIN, Mathilde
1951 *Sprichwort und Volkssprache. Eine volkskundliche Dorfuntersuchung* [Proverb and folk speech. An ethno-sociological investigation of a village]. Giessen: W.Schmitz.

HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, James O. (editor)
1843 *The Nursery Rhymes of England.* 2nd edition. London: J.Russell Smith.

HAPGOOD, Isabel F. (translator and editor)
1915 *The Epic Songs of Russia.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (Krauss Reprint Co., New York 1969).

HEILFURTH, Gerhard
1954 *Das Bergmannslied: Wesen, Leben, Funktion* [The miner's song: Nature, life, function]. Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag.

HENDERSON, Andrew (editor)
1881 *Scottish Proverbs.* Edited by J.Donald. Glasgow: Th.D. Morison.

HERODOTUS
1880 *History of Herodotus*, a new English Version. Edited by G.Rawlinson and Sir H.Rawlinson. 4th edition. 4 vols. London: J.Murray.

HERSKOVITS, Melville J. and F. Frances (editors)
1958 *Dahomean Narrative.* Evanstone, Ill.: North Western University Press.

HORNER, George R.
1975 A Structural Analysis of Bulu (African) Folktales. In: *Structuralism and African Folklore,* edited by S.O.Anozie. New Paltz, N.Y.: Conch Magazine.

HULL, Verman and Archer Taylor (editors)
1955 *Collection of Irish Riddles.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press.

HYMES, Dell H.
1968 The 'Wife' who 'Goes Out' Like a Man: A Reinterpretation of a Clackamas Chinook Myth. *Social Science Information* 7:173-199.

JACOBI, Hermann
1903 *Mahabharata, Inhaltsangabe, Index und Concordanz der Calcutaer und Bombayer Ausgaben.* [Mahabharata, Contents, index and concordance of the editions of Calcutta and Bombay]. Bonn: F.Cohen.

JASON, Heda
1965 Types of Jewish Oriental Oral Tales. *Fabula* 7:115-224.

1966 Jewish narrating in Jemen and in Israel. *Fabula* 8:93-106. Reprinted in H.Jason, *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei 1975.

1967 Oral Literature and the Structure of Language. RAND Paper P-3733. Santa Monica: The RAND Corporation. (Mimeo)

1968 Conflict and Resolution in Jewish Near Eastern Sacred Tales. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. Shortened version published in chapters 3 and 4 in: H.Jason, *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei 1975.

1969 A Multidimensional Approach to Oral Literature. *Current Anthropology* 10:413-426.

1970 The Russian Criticism of the 'Finnish School' in Folktale Scholarship. *Norveg* n.s. 14:287-294.

1971a The Narrative Structure in Swindler Tales. *ARV* 27:141-160.

1971b Proverbs in Society: The Problem of Meaning and Function. *Proverbium* 17:617-623. Reprinted in H.Jason, *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei 1975.

1971c About the "Historical" and the "Local" Legends and their Relatives. *Journal of American Folklore* 84:134-144. Reprinted in H.Jason, *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei 1975.

1972 Jewish Near Eastern Numskull Tales: An Attempt at Interpretation. *Asian Folklore Studies* 31:1-39. Reprinted in: H.Jason, *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei 1975.

1973a Aspects of the Fabulous in Oral Literature. Paper read at the 9th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Chicago, September 1973.

1973b The Genre in Oral Literature: An Attempt at Interpretation. *Temenos* 9:156-160.

1975a *Ethnopoetics. A Multilingual Terminology.* Jerusalem: Israel Ethnographic Society.

1975b *Studies in Jewish Ethnopoetry.* Taipei: The Orient Cultural Service.

1975c *Types of Oral Tales in Israel.* Jerusalem: Israel Ethnographic Society.

1976a Content Analysis of Oral Literature: A Discussion. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature,* edited by H.Jason and D. Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

1976b Rabbi Wazana and the Demons: Analysis of a Legend. *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson,* edited by L.Degh and H.Glassie. Bloomington, Ind.: Research Center for Language and Semiotic Studies, Indiana University.

1976c A Model for Narrative Structure in Oral Literature. Forthcoming in: *Patterns in Oral Literature,* edited by H.Jason and D.Segal. The Hague: Mouton.

1976d Sippur David wa-Golyat: yezira epit amamit? [The story of David anf Goliath: A work of folk epic?]. *Hasifrut* No. 23:23-41.

JOLLES, Andree
1965 *Einfache Formen* [Simple forms]. 3rd edition. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

JOSIPPON
1694 *The Wonderful and most Deplorable History of the Later Times of the Jews ...* by Josephus Ben Gorion. London: J.Wilde.

KLIMOVA, Dagmar
1967 Versuch einer Klassifikation des lebendigen Sagenerzählens [Attempt at a classification of the contemporary legend narrating]. *Fabula* 9:244-253.

KOVACS, Agnes
    1967 Rhythmus und Metrum in den ungarischen Volksmärchen
          [Rhythm and meter in Hungarian folktales]. *Fabula* 9:169-243.

LAKOFF, George P.
    1972 Structural Complexity in Fairy Tales. *The Study of Man*
          1:128-150.

LANE, Edward W. (translator and editor)
    1925 *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.4 vols. London: G.Bell
          & Sons.

LEACH, Mary (editor)
    1950 *Standard Dictionary of Folklore and Legend*. 2 vols.
          New York: Funk & Wagnalls Comp.

LEVI-STRAUSS, Claude
    1963 *Totemism*.Translated by R.Needham. Boston: Beacon Press.

LOPYREVA, E. (editor)
    1955 *Liričeskie narodnye pesni* [Lyric folk songs]. Leningrad:
          Sovetskij pisatel'.

LORD, Albert B.
    1960 *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University
          Press.

LÜTHI, Max
    1970a Familie und Natur im Marchen [Family and nature in the
          fairy tale]. In: M.Lüthi, *Volksliteratur und Hochliteratur*.
          Bern and München: Francke.

    1970b Der Familiarismus der Volksballade [The family in the
          folk ballad]. In M.Lüthi, *Volksliteratur und Hochliteratur*.
          Bern and München: Francke.

    1974a *Das europäische Volksmärchen: Form und Wesen* [The European
          fairy tale: Form and nature]. 4th edition. Bern and München:
          Francke.

    1974b *Märchen* [Fairy tale]. Sammlung Metzler. Stuttgart: J.B.
          Metzlersche Buchhandlung.

MALINOWSKI, Bronislav
    1954 Myth in Primitive Psychology. In: B.Malinowski, *Magic,*
          Science and Religion. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

MARANDA, Elli K. and Pierre MARANDA
    1971 *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*.
          The Hague: Mouton.

MASSIGNON, Genevieve (editor)
    1968 *Folktales of France*.Chicago and London: University of
          Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

MEGAS, Georgio A. (editor)
    1970 *Folktales of Greece*. Chicago and London: University of
          Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

MELETINSKIJ, Eleazar M.
    1958 *Geroj volšebnoj skazki; proishoždenie obraza* [The hero of
          the fairy tale; the genesis of an image]. Moscow: Izdatel'
          stvo Vostočnoj Literatury.

    1963 *Proishoždenie geroičeskogo eposa; rannie formy i arhaičeskie*
          pamjatniki [The genesis of the heroic epic: early forms
          and ancient texts]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Litera-
          tury.

MELETINSKIJ, Eleazar M., Ju. NEKLJUDOV, E.S.NOVIK and D.M.Segal
    1969 Problemy strukturnogo opisanija volšebnoj skazki [Problems
          of the structural description of the fairy tale]. In: *Trudy*
          po znakovym sistemam, edited by Ju.Lotman, 4:86-135. Tartu:
          Gosudarstvennyj Universitet. Reprinted in: *Texte des sowje-*
          tischen literaturwissenschaftlichen Strukturalismus, edited
          by K.Eimermacher. München: Fink, 1971. English translation
          in: *Soviet Structuralist Folkloristics*,edited by P.Maranda.
          The Hague: Mouton, 1974.

    1971 Eščo raz o probleme strukturnogo opisanija volšebnoj skazki
          [Again about the problem of the structural description of
          fairy tales]. In: *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, edited by
          Ju.Lotman, 5:63-91. Tartu: Gosudarstvennyj Universitet.

MESSENGER, John C, Junior
    1959 The Role of Proverbs in a Nigerian Judicial System. *South-*
          western Journal of Anthropology 15:64-73.

MILADINOV", Dimit"r" and Konstantin" (editors)
    1942 *B"lgarski narodni pesni* [Bulgarian folk songs], edited by
          M.Arnaudov". 3rd edition. Sofia: D"ržavna pečatnica

MIL'MAN,Z.A. (editor)
    1958 *Uzbekskie narodnye poemy* [Uzbek folk poems]. Taškent: AN
          Uzbekskoj SSR.

MURDOCK,George P.,Clellan S.FORD, Alfred E.HUDSON, Raymond KENNEDY,
Leo W.SIMONS, and John W.M.Whiting
    1971 *Outline of Cultural Materials*. 4th revision, 5th printing
          with modifications. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations
          Area Files, Inc.

NIKIFOROV, Aleksandr I.
  1927 K voprosu o morfologičeskom izučenii narodnoj skazki
        [On the question about the morphological study of the
        folktale]. *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Sloves-
        nosti Akademii Nauk SSSR* 101:173-178. English translation
        by H.Jason in *Linguistica Biblica* 27-28:25-35.

  1928 Narodnaja detskaja skazka dramatičeskogo žanra [The
        children's folktale of the dramatic genre]. *Skazočnaja
        Komissija v 1927 g. Obzor rabot,* edited by S.F.Ol'denburg.
        Leningrad, pp.49-63.

  1930 Teperešnij zaonezkij kazkar-opovidač [The contemporary
        narrator in the Zaoneg district]. *Etnografičnij visnik*
        No. 9:143-186.

  1971 Skazka, ee bytovanie i nositeli [The folktale, its life
        and bearers]. *Russkaja fol'kloristika,* edited by S.I.Mints
        and E.E.Pomerantseva. 2nd edition. Moscow: Visšaja skola.

NOVIKOV, Ivan (translator and editor)
  1959 *Alamži Mergen, burjatskij epos* [Alamži Mergen, Buryat
        epic]. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Hudožestven-
        noj Literatury.

NOY, Dov
  1965a The Universe Concept of Yefet Shvili, a Jewish-Yemenite
         Story-Teller. *Acta Ethnographica* 14:259-275.

  (editor)
  1963a *Folktales of Israel.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

  1963b *Jefet Schwili erzählt* [Yefet Shvili narrates]. Berlin:
         Walter de Gruyter.

  1965b *Jewish Folktales from Morocco.* Jerusalem: Jewish Agency.

  1968   *Contes populaires racontes par des Juifs de Tunisie* [Folk
         tales told by the Jews of Tunisia]. Jerusalem: Jewish Agency.

OPIE, Peter and Jona (editors)
  1961 *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren.* Oxford: Claredon.

ORTUTAY, Gyula (editor)
  1962 *Hungarian Folktales.* Budapest: Corvina.

  (editor)
  1964 Tagung der Sagenkommission der International Society for
        Folk-Narrative Research (Budapest 14-16 October). [Session
        of the Comission for Legend of the International Society
        for Folk-Narrative Research]. *Acta Ethnographica* 13.

O'SULLIVAN, Sean (editor)
  1966 *Folktales of Ireland.* Chicago and London: University
        of Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

OTTO, Rudolf
  1957 *The idea of the Holy.* Translated by J.W.Harvey. 2nd
        edition. London: Oxford University Press.

PARKER, Henry (editor)
  1910-14 *Village Folk Tales from Ceylon.* 3 vols. London: Luzac.

PARRY, Milman and Albert B.LORD (translators and editors)
  1953-54 *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs.* 2 vols. Cambridge, Mas.
           and Belgrade: Harvard University Press and Serbian
           Academy of Sciences.

PEETERS, Karel C. (editor)
  1963 Volkskunde-Afdeling van het XXVe Vlaams Filologencongress.
        Speciaal Congressnummer [Ethnographic section of the 25th
        Flemish Congress of Philologists. Special Congress number].
        Volkskunde 64.

PERMJAKOV, Grigorij L.
  1968 *Izbrannye poslovitsy i pogovorki narodov Vostoka* [Selected
        proverbs and sayings of the people of the East]. Moscow:
        Nauka.

  1970 *Ot pogovorki do skazki; zametki po obščej teorii kliše*
        [From the proverb to the fairy tale; observations on the
        general theory of models]. Moscow: Nauka.

PEUCKERT, Will-Erich
  1969 Die Welt der Sage. In: *Vergleichende Sagenforschung,*
        edited by L.Petzold. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buch-
        gesellschaft.

PINO-SAAVEDRA, Yolando (editor)
  1967 *Folktales of Chile.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

POESCHEL, Felix J.
  1878 *Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande* [The folktale of
        Shlaraffia]. Halle a/S: Karras.

POMERANTSEVA, Erna V.
  1965 *Sudby russkoj skazki* [Historical development of the
        Russian folktale]. Moscow: Nauka.

PRITCHARD, James B. (editor)
  1955 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.*
        2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: University Press.

PROPP, Vladimir Ja.
    1928 *Morfologija skazki* [Morphology of the Folktale]. Lenin-
          grad: Academia. 2nd edition; Moscow: Nauka, 1968. English
          translation: Philadelphia 1958; 2nd edition: Austin 1969.

    1946 *Istoričeskie korni volšebnoj skazki* [Historical roots of
          the fairy tale]. Leningrad: Izdanie Leningradskogo
          Universiteta.

    1964a Printsipy klassifikatsii fol'klornyh žanrov [Principles
          of classification of folklore genres]. *Sovetskaja etno-
          grafija,* No. 4:147-154.

    1964b Žanrovyj sostav russkogo fol'klora [The repertoire of
          genres in Russian folklore]. *Russkaja literatura,*
          No. 4:58-76. English translation in *Genre* 4(1971):213-248.

PUTILOV, Boris N. (editor)
    1957 *Byliny* [Epic songs]. 2nd edition. Leningrad: Sovetskij
          pisatel'.

PUTILOV, Boris N. and B.M.DOBROVOL'SKIJ
    1960 *Istoričeskie pesni XIII-XVI vekov* [Historic songs from
          the 13th to 16th century]. Moscow: AN SSSR.

RADIN, Paul (editor)
    1945 *The Road of Life and Death, a Ritual Drama of the American
          Indian.* New York: Pantheon Books.

    1949 *The Culture of the Winnnebago, as Described by Themselves.*
          International Journal of American Linguistics, Memoir 2.

    1956 *The Trickster.* New York: Philosophical Library.

RANKE, Kurt (editor)
    1966 *Folktales of Germany.* Chicago and London: University of
          Chicago Press and Routledge & Kegan Paul.

RIVLIN, Joseph J. (editor)
    1949 *Širat jehude ha-targum* [Songs of Kurdish Jews]. Jerusalem:
          Jerusalem: Bialik Insitute.

ROŠIANU, Nikolae
    1974 *Traditsionnye formuly skazki* [Traditional formulas of the
          fairy tale]. Moscow: Nauka.

SAUSSURE, Ferdinand de
    1959 *Course in General Linguistics.* Edited by C.Bally and
          A.Sechehaye. Translated by W.Baskin. New York: Political
          Library.

SEBEOK, Thomas A.
    1962 The texture of a Cheremis Incantation. *Memoires de la
          Societe Finno-Ugrienne* 125:523-527.

SEKI, Keigo (editor)
    1963 *Folktales of Japan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ŠEVERDIN, M.J. (editor)
    1961 *Uzbekskie narodnie skazki* [Uzbek folk tales]. 2 vols.
          Taškent: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Uzbekskoj SSR.

SKAFTYMOV, Aleksandr
    1924 *Poetika i genezis bylin* [Poetics and origin of epic songs].
          Moscow: Jaksanov.

ŠKLOVSKIJ, Viktor B.
    1919 Svjaz' priemov sjužetoslozenija s obščimi priemami stilja
          [The relation between the compositional method of the
          fabula and the general methods of style]. *Poetica* 2:115-150.

SYDOV, Carl von
    1948 *Selected Papers on Folklore.* Copenhagen: Rosekilde & Bagger.

THOMPSON, Stith
    1955-58 *Motif-Index of Folk Literature.* 2nd revised edition
          6 vols. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

    1966 *Tales of the North American Indians.* Bloomington, and
          London: Indiana University Press.

THOMPSON, Stith and Warren E.ROBERTS
    1960 *Types of Indic Oral Tales. India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.*
          Folklore Fellows Communications 180. Helsinki.

TODOROV, Tzvetan
    1969 *Grammaire du Decameron* [Grammar of the Decameron]. The
          Hague: Mouton.

TURNER, Judith
    1972 A Morphology of the "True Love" Ballad. *Journal of American
          Folklore* 85:21-31.

TYNJANOV, Jurij N.
    1929 *Arhaisty i novatory* [Traditionalists and innovators].
          Leningrad: Priboj. Reprinted: W.Fink, Munchen, 1967.

UFFER, Leza
    1945 *Raetoromanische Märchen und ihre Erzähler* [Raetoromanic
          folktales and their narrators]. Basel: G.Krebs.

VANSINA, Jan
    1965 *Oral Tradition, a Study in Historical Methodology.*
        Translated by H.W.Wright. Chicago: Aldine.

VOLKOV, Roman M,
    1924 *Skazka: rozyskanija po sjužetoslozeniju narodnoj skazki*
        [The fairy tale:An investigation on the structure of the
        folktale]. Vol. 1. Odessa: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo
        Ukrainy.

WEBER-KELLERMANN, Ingeborg
    1965 *Erntebrauch in der ländlichen Arbeitswelt des 19. Jahr-*
        hunderts [Harvesting customs in agricultural working
        relations of the 19th century]. Marburg/Lahn: Elwert.

    (editor)
    1957 *Ludolf Parisius und seine altmärkische Volkslieder* [Ludolf
        Parisius and his folk songs from the Altmark]. Berlin:
        Akademie Verlag.

WESSELSKI, Albert (editor)
    1911 *Der Hodscha Nasreddin* [Hoja Nasr-ad-Din]. 2 vols. Weimar:
        A.Duncker.

WESTERMARCK, Edvard A.
    1920 *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco.* Åbo: Åbo Akademi.

Author Index

Dan (1976) 70, 78
Degh (1965a) 211, 213
——— (1965b) 113, 132, 138, 141, 153, 155, 160, 162, 163, 171, 174, 184, 190, 193, 201, 210, 224,
——— (1969) 251
——— & Vazsonyi (1973) 21
Delorko (1967/8) 62
Djurić (1947) 162, 226, 230
Dowson (1967) 130
Drory (1976) 70, 78
Dunes (1962) 70
——— (1964) 70, 78, 79
——— (1966) 44
Eberhard & Boratav (1953) 88
Eleonskaja (1912) 64, 70, 78
Eliade (1961) 206
Erdesz (1961) 187

Gadatal, Alieva et al. (1974) 62
Garber-Talmon (1951) 206
Georges (1969) 249
Ginzberg (1909-1938) 143
Gluckman (1963) 266
Greimas 7
——— (1966) 70, 78
Grimm (1854) 9
——— (1969) 121, 132, 138, 167
——— n.d. 158, 210
Güttgemanns (1973) 70, 78
——— (1976) 70, 78

Hain (1952) 239, 250
Halliwell (1843) 62, 240
Hapgood (1915) 64, 81, 96, 110 113, 124, 125, 127, 132, 146, 164, 225, 234
Heilfurth (1954) 44
Henderson (1881) 109, 184, 239
Herodotus 10
Herskovits (1958) 123, 192

Horner (1975) 78
Hull & Taylor (1955) 109, 185, 240
Hymes (1962) 221
——— (1968) 14

Jacobi (1903) 123
Jakobson, Bogatyrev & (1929) 13
Jason (1965) 259, 273
——— (1966) 12, 167, 187
——— (1967) 70, 80
——— (1968) 216, 235, 236, 259
——— (1969) 14
——— (1970) 5
——— (1971a) 70, 78, 83
——— (1971b) 112, 239, 258
——— (1971c) 9, 12, 130, 131, 133, 213
——— (1972) 112, 132, 140, 184, 185, 190, 199, 203, 223, 225
——— (1973a) 19, 24
——— (1973b) 143, 184, 242,
——— (1975a) 104
——— (1975b) 215
——— (1976a) 104
——— (1976b) 151
——— (1976c) 70, 71, 80
——— (1976d) 11
Jolles (1965) 9

Kardangusev, Alieva et al. (1974) 62
Kazbekov, Britaev & (1951) 118, 156
Klimova (1967) 262
Kovacs (1967) 90

Lakoff (1972) 80
Lane (1925) 89, 170
Leach (1950) 264
Levi-Strauss (1963) 106
Lopyreva (1955) 66, 109
Lord (1960) 6, 12, 59, 64, 65,

Lord, (con't) 78, 126, 149, 250, 251
Lord, Parry & (1953-1954) 64, 92, 120, 127, 132, 157, 169, 172, 230
Lüthi (1970a) 136
——— (1970b) 136
——— (1974a) 21, 170, 171, 172,
——— (1974b) 10, 21

Malinowski (1954) 250, 262, 263
Maranda & Maranda (1971) 70
Massignon (1968) 129, 132, 138, 139, 155, 157, 164, 173, 179, 182
Megas (1970) 84, 110, 118, 138, 156, 183, 190, 201, 202, 228
Meletinskij (1958) 10,
——— (1963) 10
——— et al. (1969) 70, 78, 104
——— (1971) 70, 78, 104
Messenger (1959) 250
Miladinov" (1942) 132
Mil'man (1958) 62, 117, 139
Mitrofanova, Astahova et al. (1960) 193
Murdock (1971) 252

Nekljudov, Meletinskij et al. (1969) 70, 78, 104
——— (1971) 70, 78, 104
Nikiforov (1927) 9, 70, 78, 80,
——— (1928) 69
——— (1930) 252
——— (1971) 89
Novik, Meletinskij et al. (1969) 70, 78, 104
——— (1971) 70, 78, 104
Novikov (1959) 117
Noy (1963a) 115, 140, 160, 161,

Noy, (con't) 173, 174, 180, 181, 188, 189, 193, 210, 233
——— (1963b) 47, 65, 86, 88, 112, 116, 117, 122, 123, 132, 140, 141, 148, 149, 150, 153, 165, 168, 172, 178, 189, 190, 192, 202, 211, 214, 227, 234, 251, 255, 258
——— (1965a) 187
——— (1965b) 110, 132, 135, 149, 154, 168, 173, 221, 227
——— (1968) 160

Opie (1961) 44
Ortutay (1962) 10, 96, 127, 152, 153, 158, 183, 201
——— (1964) 9
O'Sullivan (1966) 119, 171
Otto (1957) 19

Parker (1910-1914) 115, 116, 144, 145, 183
Parry & Lord (1953-1954) 64, 92, 120, 127, 132, 157, 169, 172, 230
Peeters (1963) 9
Permjakov (1968) 239
——— (1970) 239
Peuckert (1969) 38, 213
Pino-Saavedra (1967) 107, 118, 129, 132, 135, 138, 139, 144, 154, 155, 172, 174, 175, 183, 201
Poeschel (1878) 208
Pomerantseva (1965) 10
Pritchard (1955) 62, 192
Propp (1928) 9, 70, 78, 79, 103, 104, 108, 136
——— (1946) 10
——— (1964a) 9
——— (1964b) 9
——— (1968) 9

Type and Motif Index

306	155	465	115	561	132	850ff.	39

306 155
311 38
312 38
312 D 96
313 138
313 III 129, 136
314 136, 138, 201
315 162
326 40
327 41
328 41
328 A* 138, 153
329 129, 155
400 47, 160, 199, 201
400 I-IV 86, 88
400 V-VI 88
400ff. 155
403 40, 94, 126, 144, 145, 203, 227
403 A 228
404* 160
407 160
408 40, 47, 126, 160
410 118
412 144
425 10, 47, 112, 160, 199, 201
425 II-V 152
425ff. 155
425 E 62
425 *Q—
 Jason (1965) 160
433 B 62
449 88
450 127, 137
451 137
460 190, 196
463 A* 113, 138, 153, 155, 160, 162, 163, 171, 174, 184, 193, 201

465 115
470* 209
471 190, 196
471 A 62
476* 141
476*—*A—
 Jason (1975) 112, 119, 161, 173, 180, 181, 209
480 39, 94, 131, 203, 229
480 IV 175
502 116
506-508 134
507 A III 152, 155
510 40, 62, 94, 131, 132, 155, 166, 203, 227
510 Ib 65
510 A 139, 155
511 40, 166
513 C 172
514 123, 129
516 62
516 I 118
516 B 86, 145
519 118, 156
531 135, 152, 154, 155, 156, 183,
531 Ib 155
531 IVc 151
545 132
545 A 166
550 86, 118, 156, 183
550 I-III 153, 155, 190, 210, 224
551 88, 110, 116, 118, 132, 138, 156, 190, 201, 202, 258
555 43
*559 I—
 Andreev (1929) 87, 155, 227
560 183

561 132
563 41, 140
565 39, 140, 183
566 182
567 117
590 62
591 39
613 39, 94, 203
650 132
653 II-III 96, 110
653 A 87, 88, 94
653 B 87, 94
676 39, 94, 112, 139, 174, 203, 235, 154
676 *A—
 Jason (1975) 39
681 *A—
 Jason (1965) 123, 211
700 40
706 40, 65
706 C 65
707 139
707 II, IV 86
707 III 47, 152, 153, 183, 201
709 40
725 62
735 A 159
751 C* 189
754 174
757 91
760* 189
766 121, 207
774 37
800 178
804 62, 189
810-819 38
810 179
821 A 179
822* 180
836 F* 88
841 233
849* 168

850ff. 39
850 *A—
 Jason (1965) 88
851 86
853 A 40
854 40
856 II 86
859ff. 40
875ff. 40
879 40
880ff. 27
881 40
883 40
894 40
898 40
910ff. 27
922 8
922 *C—
 Jason (1965) 8
930 *G—
 Jason (1965) 121
950 10, 13, 84
950ff. 27
952ff. 38, 258
960 116, 132
960 *C—
 Jason (1965) 148, 150, 168, 178
970ff. 27
978 117
1000 83
1000-1198 41
1000-1199 231, 258
1001-1029 83
1030-1198 83
1045 84
1049 84
1060 84
1063 B 84
1088 84
1120 83
1146 84
1170-1199 38

Genre Index

Numbers indicate examples

Ethnic Index

Number indicates example