In Basile's Pentameron, the excuse given for telling the fifty stories of the collection seems very curious to Western readers. A prince has married a Moorish slave woman who when pregnant conceives a strong desire for the pretty objects possessed by the Princess Zoa, who is the rightful bride of the prince. The prince procures the objects for his wife, and the last object, a dancing doll, has the power to give her a further craving, i.e. to hear fairy stories. Because she is pregnant, and denying her desires will do harm to the baby she carries, her husband gratifies all her longings and collects a group of ten women to tell stories for the five days left before her delivery. Cravings for food during pregnancy are frequently heard of in this country, but the idea of craving something other than food, and of its being so important to the baby's welfare, is unusual, and leads to curiosity about the dynamics behind the obviously widespread superstition that the pregnant woman's cravings must be satisfied.

There are several related Motifs concerned with longings in pregnancy: T571, Unreasonable demands of pregnant women; H936, Tasks assigned because of longings of pregnant woman; H1212.4, Quest assigned because of longings of pregnant woman; and C152.2, Tabu: refusing unreasonable demands of pregnant woman. Thompson and the other Motif Indexes list many sources for the motif; all of these that are available in English have been consulted, and the resulting collection of incidents has been surprisingly consistent in expressing a deep psychological significance for woman of her cravings in pregnancy.

In Western medical and psychological literature, the cravings of pregnant women are discussed as an obstetrical problem. It is not given much medical significance and then only in reference to cravings for food rather than for other objects or events. While there is a physiological basis for some cravings, e.g. for dirt, paper or starch (pica), which provide minerals lacking from the diet, "normal" cravings seem to have no physiological basis and are treated in the medical literature as whims of the pregnant woman to be ignored or humored away. Those concerned with explaining them find a psychological association between regression, vomiting, nausea, and cravings.

Lucile Newman cites two psychoanalytical studies of woman's sexual problems: "It is suggested by Deutsch and further elucidated by Benedek that pregnancy is a period of regression of the woman to an infantile state approximating that of the fetus within her. It is characterized by introversion, by dependence, in short, by self-indulgence; and society responds by according the pregnant woman extraordinary leeway in definition of the limits of acceptable behavior." The infantile state is characterized by an oral fixation, so that "old unconscious fantasies around introjection become mobilized." The woman who has ambivalent feelings about the pregnancy and specifically the fetus will then express these feelings in oral acting-out: vomiting is a symbolic expulsion of
the fetus and shows the classic upward displacement of symbolism. Cravings for foods, opposite to vomiting in being incorporative rather than expulsive, seem to reflect the affirmative side of the ambivalence, though the symbolism is probably not that simple. Deutsch sees many foods craved by pregnant women as symbols of fecal material (for Americans, pickles, chocolate bars, peanut butter) so that eating them is symbolic of incorporating that which was formerly rejected, i.e. the fetus, and represents an obsessive undoing of an unconscious tendency to destroy the child.

Rejection of the fetus or pregnancy implies rejection of the female role. In Newman's study of perinatal environment, she interviewed many women who claimed to have cravings, and the specific foods mentioned often included foods that must be gone out for -- hamburgers, pizza, Mexican burritos, etc. The desire to go out may reflect self-indulgence but also shows rejection of the female domestic role of preparing the food at home.

Obeysekere looks at the pregnancy cravings of the women in a small village of Ceylon in their total cultural context and finds a clear corroboration of this idea that cravings stem from a denial of the feminine role. In Lagalla, Ceylon, women are considered inferior to men and ritually unclean, and their proper role is one of submission and domestic drudgery. A woman from Ceylon uses a telling proverb in describing the relative status of the sexes: "Anything was permitted to males, whether in mode or dress, speech or action. The saying was always 'After all, he is a man. Therefore it is all right. A dog urinates at every bush.' Men were thus the rulers and women were the ruled, their only defenses consisting of submissiveness, affection, and tears." In this context, the custom of dola-duka, or cravings that must be satisfied at any cost, is a socially instituted way for the women to express their emotions and break from the drudgery of their lives. The pregnant woman begins the period of dola-duka by renouncing the ordinary domestic duties of a woman and the staple foods, such as rice, that typify them. Her husband must do her work and become submissive to her, for if he fails to satisfy any of her longings, not only will he sin against his karma, but the ears of the fetus will rot. The specific foods most desired by pregnant women have social connotations that show their role in dola-duka: various sweets and other childhood foods that bring back the period of early childhood, when the sexes are not distinguished in any way in the society; expensive and rare foods that the husband must go to great trouble to get; festival foods, that are associated with the few vacations a woman has from drudgery; male foods, those men eat in their rituals; food expressing hostility toward the fetus, such as pineapple, which it is believed will hurt it, or honey, which symbolizes menstruation, i.e., the non-pregnant state; and penis symbols, such as bananas, which show desire for the male role. Some idiosyncratic choices were also recorded, including some cravings for particular objects, such as a piece of green cloth. In some instances Obeysekere was able to relate these individual desires to the woman's personal history in the same way the others are related to the culture.

Rejection of the feminine role implies desire for the male role, or, symbolically, for the penis. This is seen in the foods desired in Ceylon and will be seen frequently in the folktales dealing with cravings. Ambivalence toward the fetus and the compulsive need to introject it symbolically; rejection of the female role; resultant hostility toward the male; and envy of his role as represented by the penis are all clearly related.
psychological states that are expressed by pregnant women when they make "unreasonable demands," as the Motif Index puts it.

In Lagalla the period of dola-duka is a "culturally constituted defense" of the woman against total frustration in her requisite role as an inferior being. The fact of its status as a well-recognized social entity, enforced by the sanction of karma and fear of harm to the fetus, is all-important. The woman has the cravings because she knows they will be satisfied. The motivation for fulfilling her desires must come from the society, from outside herself, so that everyone must feel it is necessary for the baby and the society, not just for the pregnant woman. Thus her desires do not seem to stem from mere self-indulgence and she can gain satisfaction from their fulfillment without guilt or obligation. In most societies with tales of cravings, it is tabu for the husband to refuse to satisfy his wife. In ancient Ireland it was part of the legal code:

For the longed-for morsel, i.e. the longing of a pregnant woman, i.e. what she longs for not being given her, i.e. by her own husband, and it was through penuriousness or niggardliness the food was withheld on this occasion, or it was in wantonness. The fine which is for it has a stay of three days, i.e. body-fine.

In ancient Hindu law-books, such as the Yajnavalkya (iii 79), it is listed as a duty to fulfill the wishes of a pregnant woman since otherwise the embryo would be exposed to injury. In other societies, while not codified in law, the necessity for the satisfaction of cravings is supported by superstition. In "Petrosinella," Day II Tale I in the Pentamerone (Tale Type 310, The Maiden in the Tower), the pregnant woman longs for some parsley from the garden of an ogress and steals it, defending herself to the ogress on the grounds that she must prevent her baby's being born with parsley on its face. She also said the ogress should be glad she didn't give her the sore eye, since whoever failed to gratify the wish of a pregnant woman could be punished with what was called the orzaiul, a swelling and redness of the eyelids.

Parsons notes that on Andros Island there is the belief that if a pregnant woman does not get the particular food she craves, that part of her face or person she subsequently touches or scratches will be marked in her child with an impression of the desired substance. A child with the mark of a fowl on her face, and a woman with the hairs of a hog were cited to her as evidence. Liebrecht, the German translator of the Pentamerone, cites a similar belief in Italy, where the word for "birthmark" is yoglie, i.e. "longings" or "fancies." He gives a verse in which a mother-in-law advises a pregnant girl to bit her fingernails or grab her backside when she feels a craving, so that the baby's birthmark will be in those places and will grow out or be hidden. The fact that now many women crave strawberries may come from this old superstition through the power of suggestion, since many birthmarks actually do resemble strawberries.

Ela, in discussing the pregnant longings of Hindu women, says the longings are fostered by the seeming necessity of yielding to them, since by the theory of "two-heartedness" it is believed that the child within her is demanding that which is necessary to its own welfare. Penzer, in a note in the Ocean of Story, explains this further, saying that the source of the superstition in Hindu literature appears to lie in the belief in
transmigration; the embryo remembers its sensations and desires in a former life and expresses them through the mother. Of course, this is even a more complicated means of providing external sanctions for fulfilling the mother's desires.

Pregnancy cravings in Hindu literature are called dohada, which means "two-heartedness." It is obvious why the dohada motif has had great appeal to storytellers, aside from its psychological significance: a pregnant woman's craving can be the motivation for any kind of quest or adventure the narrator may feel like telling. Penzer says "It is surprising to what varied use the dohada has been put and what an important part it plays in Hindu fiction .... Sometimes it is merely used as a start-motif for a story, but at other times it acts as a means of introducing some incident which, but for the strange longing of the woman, would have been quite out of place. Thus the water of life, the Garuda bird, magic chariots, etc., can be suddenly and unexpectedly introduced. Then, again, a tale may be quite devoid of incidents until the dohada gives it a sudden jerk by creating a demand for the husband's entrails, or some equally disturbing request." Bloomfield, in an article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society (which appears as the basis of Penzer's Appendix on the dohada in Ocean of Story), lists six ways that dohada functions in Hindu fiction: dohada 1) injures the husband; 2) prompts the husband to great deeds; 3) takes the form of pious deeds; 4) it an ornamental incident in a story; 5) is feigned by the woman for some purpose; and 6) is obviated by tricking the woman into believing her desire is being fulfilled. This list sheds some light on the cultural and psychological functions of dohada: aggression against men, desire to be in the superior position, and, in the last one, the suggestive and non-physiological nature of the dohada.

The incidents of pregnancy cravings in Hindu fiction are largely literary elaborations on the theme and often serve stylistic or poetic purposes, such as Vasavadatta's craving to hear the stories of magicians in the Ocean of Story or Zoza's similar desire in the Pentamerone, rather than psychological. In true oral literature, however, in nearly every area of the world, the stories dealing with cravings can very clearly be interpreted psychologically in terms of rejection of the fetus and male envy.

In the oral stories the desire of the women is always for food, and for one of a surprisingly few kinds of foods. An attempt was made to discover from the ethnographies of the people who tell the stories what foods they crave in real life. In the few studies that were available, the foods craved were not the same as those in the stories. This might be expected, since the stories reflect psychological rather than social reality. They are not stories about the society but serve a psychological function within the society. There is a much greater consistency among the foods craved in the stories than in life, because the former serve as symbols of more general human concerns, while the foods craved by real women are closely related to their particular culture and personal history.

By far, the most frequent foods longed for by the women in the stories are fruits and fish. There are, however, exceptions: eggs or vegetables, such as yams and radishes, which are closely related to fruits, and eels or the tails of animals, which are in the same category as fish. These connections will be elucidated in detail in the analysis of the tales below.
Fruit always has, of course, a feminine connotation. In this context it is symbolic of the fetus as well. The ancient command "Go thou and be fruitful and multiply" and the phrase that a marriage "bears fruit" when children are born express this clearly. The woman, of course, is the bringer of the "fruit of her womb." A myth from the Eko contains the belief that a childless woman could go to the woods and pick a fruit, and when she opened it there would be a child.\(^{17}\) Again, the desire to eat that which represents the fetus is the woman's compulsive undoing of the rejection of it, expressed in oral terms.

In one of the Child ballads cited, the pregnant woman sends her lover for berries.\(^ {18}\) In the Irish heroic myth of Fionn and the Feinn, "Grainne, who was now with child, asked for these wonderful berries [from the quicken-tree of Dubhos] whereupon Diarmaid slew their giant guardian and sent the warriors with the berries to Fionn."\(^ {19}\) In some Japanese versions of Type 551, Three Brothers on a Quest, the quest is to get a marvelous pear to satisfy the longings of the pregnant wife of one of them.\(^ {20}\) In an Indian myth of the Orissa, a pregnant girl desires bombax fruit. Her husband couldn't climb the tree so she gave him her golden bangle and told him to cut it into bits and stick them into the tree for footrests. He did, and got the fruit, but he couldn't remove the pieces so they stayed there and later became thorns.\(^ {21}\) Here she gives her sex, symbolized by the bangle, as a stimulus to her husband to please her.

A Ceylonese tale tells of a woman who saw a crow eating a juicy mango and decided she must have one. Her husband had to steal one but while he was in a tree the Rakshasa who owned it came home and said the husband could take the fruit on the condition that, if the child were a girl, it would be his.\(^ {22}\) The Rakshasas are ogress like those in Europe; they live chiefly upon human flesh and possess some supernatural powers.\(^ {23}\) This is typical of many stories in which the husband must undergo great difficulties to secure the food his wife desires, sometimes at the expense of life or limb. It would seem that the husband is castrated in some way; these tales are essentially women's fantasies and express hostility toward the man and desire for his penis by castrating him. The ogre here is, as Roheim says it always is,\(^ {24}\) the castrating father figure. An interesting note is that, in these stories, where the husband is accosted by an ogre while fulfilling his wife's pregnancy desire, the ogre always takes the child only if female, which supports the postulate that the ogre is the castrating father. In "Petrosinella," mentioned earlier, and the analogous "Rapunzel" in Grimm (where the motif of pregnancy cravings is implicit, though not listed by Thompson), the witch takes the female child after its birth. In another Indian myth, the woman desires kerela, a vegetable that only grows in the garden of a tiger, who tells the husband he may have the kerela but "If the child is a girl, give her to me; if it is a boy it will be yours," and the baby is a girl when born.\(^ {25}\)

The castration of the husband does not always require an ogre, however. In a Philippine story a woman desires bignay fruit but asks for something else. The first fruit her husband brings her is the wrong kind and makes her vomit; then she asks for fish roe and deer liver, but they also make her vomit so she throws them to the dogs whose barking wakes her husband. He becomes a centipede and overhears her saying that she was afraid to ask for what she really wants because it is so difficult to get. He sets out on a difficult quest and when he eventually finds the tree its branches are sharp knives. He climbs the tree and gets the fruit but is cut by the
knives. As he is dying he puts a piece of the fruit on his spear and throws it all the way back to his wife. Here the castration is very straightforward, and the woman even gets the penis she desires, symbolized by his spear, as well as the fruit.

Another version of this story sounds like a masculine retelling of the feminine tale: the man finds the tree and gets the fruit with no trouble, but runs into some beautiful girls who seduce him into giving the fruit to them; they then tell him that the baby his wife is carrying is not his. When he gets home and his wife still demands bolnay fruit, he buries her alive at the base of the bolnay tree. The first part of this version is exactly like that above and they come from approximately the same area, so it is likely that they have a common origin.

Another story in which the woman desires fruit and the man is castrated while getting it seems to have originally been a male fantasy. This story is from the Eko in Nigeria, a tribe where the men are considered inferior to the women and must serve them. Talbot, who gives the tale, also gives myths explaining why women are superior: in the beginning there were only women on the earth, and when a god killed one of them, he gave the others the gift of men as propitiation, saying that they will always be the women's servants. In another myth, a man has the power of talking to animals, but he will die if he tells anyone his secret. When his wife wheedles him, he tells her just to please her, knowing that it will mean his death. This tribe has a priestess cult from whose rites men are barred on penalty of death, and the chief wife, not the husband, is the head of the household. Talbot says "so strictly are women's rights guarded by native law that even now it is not at all unusual for a wife to summon her husband before Court on the heinous charge of having made use, without permission, of some of her property, perhaps a pot or pan."

In this kind of society the woman does not have the same need for a period of rest from feminine drudgery as dola-duka provides, but she might still have the feelings of rejection of the fetus that are perhaps universally present in women during early pregnancy, due to a condition in which the physiology of the body has not yet adjusted to the parasite within it. In the tale, a Python brought his wife some ripe Aju fruit because he thought it would please her. She liked it so much she demanded more, but he could not find it. The rest of the story concerns the male only, and probably reflects his feeling about his place in the society. He had to steal the fruit from a farmer, a man who had a son with no hands and feet. (Python had both hands and feet in those days.) After Python had made several trips to the tree to steal fruit, the farmer put his son under the tree to find out who the thief was. When Python came the boy said no stranger could climb his father's tree, but if he could borrow Python's hands and feet he would get the fruit for him. So Python cut off his hands and feet and tied them on the boy, who climbed to the top of the tree and threw down the fruit but refused to come down himself and called for his father. The father came and frightened Python away with a great spear, and he had to throw himself along the ground in the only way he could to get away. The snake is phallic, in the first place, and the castration is multiple, in the cutting off of his hands and feet and the threatening spear of the father. It is clear that the husband feels himself castrated by his wife's demands; the "hands and feet" he was born with have been tricked out of him by someone.
Birds' eggs or fish roe are sometimes desired by the pregnant woman; as the products of female fertility, they clearly serve the same function as fruits. In an Ila tale from Rhodesia, the husband who climbs a tree for eggs is killed by a snake, symbolizing the male role the wife is assuming by ordering him to serve her. This is another society in which women are inferior and daughters regarded as chattel while sons are highly desired. The story is supposedly told as a "warning" to women.

Vegetables sometimes are desired, but these are nearly always root vegetables and serve the same symbolic function as fruit: growing within the body of mother earth, they parallel the fetus in woman. An ancient Tahitian story concerns yams; Rapunzel is named for the rampion her mother desired, which is similar to radishes; St. Patrick magically supplied a woman with leeks, which she had seen in an hallucination while pregnant.

The other main category of foods desired by pregnant women in tales is fish, which is generally recognized as a phallic symbol and is in this context indicative of male envy. In a very strange Angolan tale a woman when pregnant longed only for fish. Her husband spread his net and when he felt that it was heavy began to draw it in. The fish said "Wait, please, because I am the father of a child." (This establishes the phallic symbolism.) Then he waited, and the fish said "Pull now!" He pulled out a big fish, and as he carried it home he heard other fish following in the grass. He gave it to the woman and she asked him to scale it but he refused so she scaled it herself. He also refused to eat it, so she ate it alone. The fish sang all the time she was preparing and eating it. When she sat down after eating, the fish in her belly said "Where shall I get out?" The woman said "Get out by the soles of my feet." The fish answered her "By the feet, wherewith you walk on dirt?" So she said "Get out by the mouth." "By the mouth, where you swallowed me?" So said "Seek wherever you wish." The fish said "Then I get out here!" and the woman burst in the middle. The fish then went away. While certainly phallic, the total significance of the fish is complex, since it leaves her body like a fetus. It may have just this dual meaning: Benedek asks "What aspect of the body image does the fetus represent? It may be the missing penis in some cases ..." In the fish's joyful singing while she is scaling and eating it, it seems to represent the phallus of her husband. It is not necessary to insist that the symbolism be consistent as long as it is structurally coherent.

In a Pukapuka story a woman wants a certain kind of fish and will have no other. Finally, her husband catches an eel and this satisfies her; in another Hawaiian story some sacred eels are cooked to mollify the pregnant woman. A Samoan story, of which there are several variants in Hawaii also, concerns a lucky pearl fishhook that the husband uses to obtain fish for his wife.

A myth from the Sina cycle in the Tokelau Islands seems to indicate that to be acceptable the fish must symbolize not only the desired phallus but the husband's submission as well. In this society the women are subjugated; they must do most of the labor, including, even after marriage, that of their parents' house, while the men spend their hours companion-
ably in the men's "clubs." Macgregor notes that "A desire for special foods on the part of pregnant women is called an umiti, and the greatest effort is made to fulfill such desires." In the myth a woman desired fish when pregnant and her husband told his parents, who sent his sister to the reef to catch the fish. She caught them by sitting with her legs outspread against the current, so that the fish would come between them. When the husband brought the fish to his wife, she vomited each time she ate them. After the third time, the husband watched and saw how his sister was catching them. He didn't give the fish to his wife, but angrily went to tell his parents how his sister was fishing. She overheard him and went into exile. Here, the fish, not being caught by the husband, does not satisfy the wife's desire for the male role of domination.

This society has a very strong kinship tabu: brothers and sisters are separated before puberty and are not allowed to speak to each other, sit on the same mat, or be in the house together. In light of this tabu, the fact that the fish phallus came to the wife from "between the legs" of his sister may contribute to making it unacceptable.

It is interesting to note that, while the husband may have some difficulty in procuring the fish, in none of these tales is there an ogre who prevents him from getting them, nor is the husband killed or castrated. There seems to be a clear structural difference in the tales according to the nature of the food desired. In the fish stories, the fish itself represents the phallus so that the step of castrating the husband, as in the fruit tales, is not necessary.

A few other desires of pregnant women in tales may be related to the desire for the fish phallus. In the Ocean of Story, "Vasavadetta dreamed of floating in the air. Her husband gratified that longing by employing spells, machines, juggling, and such-like contrivances." Ela notes "Two of the women [in Hindu fiction] gratified their longing to roam aloft in an airship, a longing which can be matched by the similar 'symbols' in the desire-dreams collected by our psychoanalysts." Floating or flying sensations (e.g., on a magic carpet) are very common in dreams as well as fantasies, and Roheim always interprets them as symbolizing an erection -- which in this case would be a form of male envy. In some stories the women longed for birds: in a Tonga tale a woman ate a pigeon even though it was their god and produced a pigeon-headed child; in a Hawaiian tale a woman longs for parson birds. The birds as symbols of flight might be interpreted in the same way as the flying dreams.

There are a few other miscellaneous objects desired by pregnant women in the tales, but they can be interpreted in the same terms of rejection of the fetus and male envy. As among the Ceylon women in Obeyesekere's study, some of the wives in the tales expressed a desire for honey, which symbolizes menstruation and thus the non-pregnant state. In an Indian myth a woman craved honey but refused cold honey that was brought to her; she wanted it "fresh and warm" and climbed a tree to eat it directly from the hive. A Hawaiian tale says "Three sons are born to the two at Warlua, each birth preceded by a pregnancy craving satisfied only by the little Menehune people, who bring ice from the mountains of Hawaii, awa (a fruit) planted by the birds at Panaewa, honey from the mingled blossoms of lehua and pandanus to be found only on Hawaii." (Ice appears in one other story, also from Hawaii, in which the husband has to climb a mountain to get it. Certainly, in Hawaii, a demand for ice is an extreme enough task to show dominance over the husband.) In
a. Child ballad the pregnant woman sends her lover for red wine, and in the Ocean of Story a woman desires a bath in blood. These have the same menstrual connotations as the honey.

In a story from Andros Island a woman "wanted everything." Her husband met a creature and cut off its tail, and she ate it. When the creature woke up he came and demanded his tail back. When she called for help, her husband said she wanted too many things, and the creature tore her open. The tail is phallic, but the story this time is masculine -- a reaction to the whole business of cravings, in which the woman "gets hers" for making too many demands.

One other desire completes the list of items for which cravings are expressed, except for some fanciful objects in the Hindu literary sources. In two stories from the Polynesian Island of Niu, pregnant women want to eat human flesh; one says she desires to eat "walking things" and after eating a man her body becomes very large and she gives birth to a large child. Several stories in the Ocean of Story have this theme. This is probably another expression of the need for introjection of the fetus due to ambivalent feelings about it.

The consistent symbolic meaning in the many tales about pregnancy cravings, from many highly divergent societies, makes it clear that cravings play an important part in the psychological acceptance of pregnancy by women. But this does not seem to be true for segments of our society, where cravings are generally treated with humor or ridicule (if present at all, except for some superstitions still extant among some subgroups). One reason may be that the social role of women in portions of our society is much less restricted than in most primitive or folk societies. Benedek says, "Passive-dependent needs revived, the pregnant woman thrives on the solicitude of her environment. If her needs are unfulfilled, the frustration of her oral-dependent wishes may motivate well-known symptoms such as perverse appetite, nausea, or morning sickness. These symptoms seem to diminish in frequency and intensity under cultural influence .... The subjective symptoms of pregnancy are minimal in women who, becoming pregnant by mutual consent, can count on their husband's care and loving participation in their great experience." The institution of pregnancy cravings and their satisfaction, such as the dola-duka of Ceylon, in other societies assures the woman of the "care and loving participation" of her husband, whereas the structure of our society supposedly makes such an apparatus superfluous. It is widely agreed by obstetricians in this country, however, that the greatest problem in normal pregnancy is overeating which results in expectant mothers becoming overweight. This suggests that the psychological needs met by cravings, when they are taken seriously, find satisfaction in a more general oral indulgence when they are denied.

Women all over the world have very different roles in their societies, but they are biologically identical, especially in their function as bearers of children. Benedek says "Psychoanalytic theory is based on the axiom that motivational forces originate in organic sources." The motivational forces originating in the organic condition of pregnancy are clearly shown in folklore to be as universal as pregnancy itself.
NOTES

1. This is based on titles in the Grinstein Index, Psychological Abstracts, 1927-1968; Index Medicus, 1960-1968; also Alfred Ela, "Longings of the Pregnant," Boston Medical and Surgical Journal 183 (1920); and Lucile F. Newman, "Culture and Perinatal Environment in American Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1965).


3. Ibid., p. 57.


7. Ibid., p. 342.


23. Ibid., p. 34.


29. Ibid., p. 99.

30. Ibid., p. 97.

31. Ibid., p. 98.

32. Ibid., pp. 374-376.


34. Ibid., p. 2.


40. Ibid., p. 262.

41. Ibid., p. 25.


43. Ibid., p. 80, Footnote.
44. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 80.

45. Ibid., p. 38.

46. Penzer, op. cit., 2, Chapter 22, p. 137.

47. Ela, op. cit., p. 46.


52. Ibid., p. 506.


54. This is listed in Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature without a specific reference and the volume is unavailable.


56. These are alluded to in Penzer, op. cit., 9, p. 222, but without specific references and the volumes are unavailable.

57. Benedek, op. cit., p. 739.

58. Ibid., p. 727.

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