FOLKLORE IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH
PART I: FOLKLORE AS THE OBJECT OF INVESTIGATION

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What uniquely characterizes anthropology as a discipline is its methods of cross-cultural investigation and comparison, and its approach to distinct social and cultural systems as interrelated parts of broader wholes. The goals of anthropology are ideally to gather and analyze both synchronic and diachronic data about man's biological, social and cultural realities, their interdependence on one another, their universal characteristics, their diverse manifestations, and their evolution, in order to make generalizations about the nature of man and the human condition. In the following two part paper we will discuss folklore as it is interrelated with other phenomena which fall within the scope of anthropological inquiry.

Folklore is here limited to verbally based phenomena and is regarded as a certain kind of human behavior which is the product of complex cognitive systems, and which is a nexus in which the overt and structured relationship of human experience and language, as well as social psychological and cultural factors are seen. For this reason one can bring to bear conceptual models and analytic tools from other disciplines on both the productions and the contents of folklore, thereby producing a broad and varied range of data which can be used in the description and analysis of various kinds of phenomena.

All societies have special utterances of varying degrees of importance which are passed from individual to individual and from generation to generation by oral or written transmission. This is seen in the fact that folklorists and ethnographers can collect in any human group a corpus of utterances which can be classified, to the satisfaction of the investigators, as "folklore." Our first task will be to limit the universe we are concerned with and which we have labeled "folklore," and then to discuss the perspectives from which it can be viewed. In regard to the latter we can either focus our attention on the "form," "meaning" and "function" of the utterances themselves (the topic of this installment of the paper), or we can use the utterances as a medium of analysis to anlyze other phenomena of which they are an interacting part (the topic of part 2 of this paper, to appear in the March edition of the Folklore Forum). In other words we will apply models of various kinds which act much like a spotlight on an area, throwing certain features into the shadows while focusing attention on others. This highly selective attitude to information is one of the basic characteristics of a model and is necessary in order to allow proper attention to be given to one set of events without distraction from all the thousands of other signals transmitted to the senses by a given phenomenon.

Alternative models, like different lenses of a fine camera, can reveal different kinds of information about a phenomenon just as wide angle lenses, telephoto lenses and the like give us different views of a single subject. Too religious adherence to one particular model, however, will lead inevitably to a distorted description and false ex-

planations. This in turn will result in the rejection of not only the model, but also of many of the valid goals and products of its practitioners, once enough anomalies have been perceived to discredit the general theories they have produced. In the history of anthropology this is clearly seen in the waves of theory generated during the development of anthropological thought.

Nineteenth century evolutionists developed a science of history which aimed at explaining the cultural evolution of man in terms of development in a unilinear direction. This was demolished under the criticism of the diffusionists, who in turn were demolished by the functionalists. In fact the functionalists turned their backs altogether on diachronic studies, which had been basic to preceeding models. Each model was built to replace the one it was displacing without bothering to salvage in some degree the pieces left by its predecessors. It is only recently that some of the problems of the early evolutionists are coming back into prominence along with a striving to develop an integrated approach in which theoretical contributions, basic problems and certain achievements from the past are synthesized into new models with the aim of generating more powerful theories to account for human existence and development.

Models, in sum, are untested hypotheses on which we base our work, but which must be adjusted or discarded as new data is generated and new facts emerge. Another characteristic is that models are arbitrary; that is, we may ask as many different questions abouta phenomenon and set up as many different hypotheses as we consider relevant to our interests. If one approach proves unsatisfactory, we discard it for another. If it proves weaker than some other approach we either abandon it for the more powerful model or merge the two into a more effective instrument. In fact the combination of models in the investigation of a phenomenon and the unprejudiced but selective and motivated use of data generated by studies employing different models can give us more insight and detail into an area, thereby making possible more powerful and more general statements about it.

In this discussion of folklore no one model is favored over the others. The purpose of the paper is only expository, involving a minimum of criticism and aims at presenting a variety of approaches which have been taken in the study of folklore within anthropology, along with some suggestions as to what else can be done within the scope of anthropology itself as well as on its margins where it overlaps with related disciplines.

Up to this point "folklore" has been vaguely described only as certain utterances with varying degrees of importance found in every society and passed from one individual to another and from generation to generation. It has been characterized as a product of complex cognitive systems of individuals and as a nexus in which are seen the overt and structured relationships of human experience and language as well as social, psychological and cultural factors. Let us add to this the stipulation that it be principally orally transmitted thus excluding novels and poems which are composed and "performed" in written form. We will also limit "folklore" here to label a spectrum of utterances, 1) ranging from short expressions like proverbs or jokes, to myths and epic songs which last several hours or nights in the telling, and 2) ranging in degrees of

Structural complexity from loosely structured anecdotes to highly structured songs. This, of course, is no definition but will provide a temporary frame of reference for discussion.

Let us now focus our various metaphpric lenses on folklore to discuss respectively its form, its meaning and its function. By form is meant folklore as linguistic utterances and the structured relationship of phonological, morphological and syntactic elements with metaphoric and other stylistic devices which produce the configurations we divide into genre. Such an approach is, of course, not limited to folklore but applies to all literature and ideally takes the form of a basic component in comparative literature investigating not only the literatures - both oral and written - of different linguistic groups, but also the configurations of these forms over time, their interrelationships, their development and their transitions from the oral to the predominately written medium and the morphological changes this entails. The emphasis here is exclusively on form, and the units of analysis are linguistis and stylistic.

In discussing "meaning," emphasis is shifted from linguistic and stylistic structures to the place of special utterances within the society which produces and perpetuates them. The questions asked here are: "what does genre X mean to the people who use it?" "What do they think important enough about it to transmit it from person to person and from generation to generation?" "How do they regard it and relate it to the rest of their experience?"

The goal of this approach is to "get the native's point of view." That is, to try to see and understand the object of investigation from his perspective. The type of analysis used here is "emic," that is classifications of phenomena that are based on features validated internally in terms of the society in question. Descriptions of this nature are really folk models of a particular phenomenon, and such folk models from a wide range of different societies can be collected and compared. This particular approach in anthropology, even though traditionally of interest, is only now being formalized into a workable methodology grounded in cognitive and linguistic theory (Wallace 1968:336-340; Goodenough 1964: 36-39).

The emphasis of the third approach is on the "function" of various genre within a given society; that is, it stresses the relationship of these genres with the other social, cultural and psychological elements present. This type of analysis is by nature "etic" as opposed to "emic," since the phenomena to be analyzed are arranged by the analyst into systems of classification based on externally devised or generalized criteria without regard to the classification systems of the people within the society under investigation.

Etic and emic models are of course not mutually exclusive since the emically derived folk models from different societies when compared cross-culturally must be analyzed into categories imposed by the analyst, categories which are external to all the folk models under investigation. In a reverse situation an etic description of the sound system of an exotic language - namely a phonetic description where all the sounds of a language are noted in transcribing the words - precedes an emic analysis which discovers how these sounds aree arranged by this language

into meaningful patterns. Within such patterns several related but distinct sounds are grouped into categories due to their complimentary distribution in words, and are perceived by speakers as one phonic unit. Such units are phonemes and such an analysis is a phonemic analysis. In fact it is from the phonetic and phonemic analyses of language that the etic-emic distinction arises (Pike 1954: 60).

Form

Edward Sapir has pointed out that the medium of all literature is language, just as marble is the medium of sculpture. This holds for oral as well as written literature, therefore any study of the structure of folklore utterances must begin with the study of their medium. There are, of course, two types of literary expression. The products of one type can be translated into a different linguistic medium without much loss, while those of the other are highly dependent on the structure of the language in which they exist.

If we regard language as the code of a culture functioning to carry messages between members of a community, the second type of literary expression can by described as a situation in which the code and message are so intertwined that the message cannot be separated from the code without loss. This is seen in forms where constraints are placed on the arrangements of morphemes (words and affixes) into an utterance by a model of composition which dictates the predominance of metrical and rhythmic patterns. Such forms are poems, chants, songs, etc. Other kinds of specific verbal utterances are those taking advantage of lexical peculiarities such as plays on words and tongue twisters. Some proverbs, riddles and jokes fall into this category. In such cases, exact translation is impossible.

The first type of literary expressions, on the other hand, is characterized by the independence of the message from the code. Such forms as tales, legends, marchen, proverbs, myths, etc., fall into this class. The limitations of translation here are on the differential experience of peoples and the different ways each language has for classifying this experience. For example, those things which have been chosen in an Australian aboriginal society to be expressed in the form of stories, legends and myth may be difficult to understand without some knowledge of the physical, social and cultural context of the community. Even in cases where the experience of two communities are similar their languages may categorize and label it in different ways. This problem, however, is for the most part minimal, since metaphors, imagery, exotic situations and distinctive terminologies which occur in a tale or legend can always be expressed by peraphrasing and glossing. The constraints on translation here then are those imposed by diverse experience, not by diverse languages. The formal dependence of verse on its linguistic medium is seen in the phonological, the morphological and the syntactic components of the language since combinations of these elements impart meanings apart from the meanings of words and phrases. Sapir illustrates this formal dependence with the example of the prosodic aspects of poetry in various languages.

Greek verse, he says, is quantitative and depends on the principle of "contrasting weights," that is the alternation of long and short syllables. This was natural to the Greeks, maintains Sapir, since quantitative dis-

tinctions "were keenly live facts in the daily economy of the language." The tonal accents in Greek, even though they were only secondarily stressed phenomena, helped give the syllable its "quantitative indifivuality." Latin, like Greek, was also characterized by an accute awareness of quantitative distinctions, therefore Greek meter was carried over into Latin with little strain. Since Latin accent was more markedly stressed than Greek, however, the result was probably the feeling that Latin verse modeleled after the Greek meter was somewhat more artificial. The dynamic basis of English, on the other hand, is contrasting stress, that is alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, rather than the alternation of long and short syllables. For this reason English verse has an entirely different slant, resulting in a different development of its poetic forms. French differs in still another way since "the syllable has great inherent sonority and does not fluctuate significantly as to quantity and stress." This meant that French prosody developed on the basis of unit syllable groups, that is so and so many syllables per rhythmic unit, giving rise to assonance and rhyme.

Chinese prosody is controlled by the factors of syllable-group and rhyme and in this respect is similar to the French metric system. Since Chinese, however, is a tone language, that is, differences in tone mark differences in word meanings, another factor is added to the possibility of Chinese verse. This factor is contrasting tone, or alternation of syllables with level tones and those with rising or falling (inflected) tone (Sapir 1949: 228-230).

To further illustrate the formal dependence of verse on language let us take an example from the morphological level of language. T. G. H. Strehlow, in an article written to demonstrate the complexity of the Aranda language of Australia and its capability for handling literary expressions, points out the fact that in Aranda, the verb can take a large number of affixes which allow a fine expression of meaning in one word which would take a whole sentence in English to express. He gives as an example the verb atakeri-takererperelatanaguna, taken from an Aranda myth.

This word is derives from:

1) atakererama, a simple verb which means "to become vested," "to spread out roots." This verb can be analyzed into the constituents atakera, a noun, and the verb erama, "to become." By reduplication of its element the word now becomes:
2) atakeri-takererereperama, meaning "to become full of roots," "to spread out roots everywhere." The erama constituent is then reduplicated becoming erep-erama. The word is now:
3) atakeri-takererereperama, meaning "to become a bundle of roots," "to spread one's roots in every conceivable direction." The verb is then put into the imperative of the positive active voice taking the form:
4) atakeri-takererepelatana. Finally an emphasizing article - guna is affixed resulting in the words:
5) atakeri-takererereperelatanaguna, meaning "remain rooted down firmly for all time."

(Strehlow 1964: 81).

As our two examples indicate, languages vary considerable in the raw

materials from which literary forms are created. Consider a suffixing language like Aranda which can pack five nuances into a single word with only the addition of a syllable (suffixing or reduplication). Its prosody will also limit alternatives of contrast, thereby placing constraints on the choice and form of words combinable to fit the metric pattern of a verse. It will be virtually impossible, therefore, to capture in translation all the structural elements of a chant or song text composed according to these rules, elements which transmit sometimes five shades of aesthetic and mystic meaning.

In analyzing a form belonging to the first type of literary expression, that one which is relatively free from its linguistic matrix, we must also take note of the medium in which it exists, since formal properties of language are shaped into a numver of literary devices which enhance narrative forms by making them more pleasing to both raconteur and audience, and by intesifying dramatic vividness, humor, seriousness, etc., without imposing major hindrances to translation. Dmitri Shimkin, in a discussion of Wind River Shoshone literary forms, gives several examples of this, two of which are "play on sounds" and "play on sequential devices."

"The constant alternation of consonants and vowels," says Shimkin, "the phonemic differentiation of two vowel lengths, and the regular patterning of the three distinct degrees of stress infuse Shoshone with a distinct rythmical swing. In general, "he continues, "the initial vowel of each verbal stem in a word is stressed, with secondary stresses on succeeding odd vowels." Many exceptions are found to this rule, however, preventing regularity from crystallizing into monotony. "Speakers of the language clearly appreciate its melody," he continues, "For the rules of good elocution, in myth-telling and oratory alike, demand a continuous flow of words elided into one another. They demand a flow that pulsates in waves of ever-rising pitch, and is broken by the metronome of stress. They permit no stoppages or changes in that flow, or, in fact phonetic contrasts of any sort, as media of artistic expression" (Shimkin 1964: 344-345).

Among the examples Shimkin gives for the category he labels "play on sequential devices," is one illustrating the polysynthetic characteristic of Shoshone morphology, and one illustrating characteristics of syntax which are widely used in Shoshone narrative.

In Shoshone, as in Aranda, many elements can be combined into a single word which the speaker can readilt analyze. For example the word u-go-ri-ka-'ma-xwa-c, is equivalent to ten English words: "having just finished destroying something (someone) invisible by eating with teeth." Loose joining of such words to the substance of the sentence is also permitted by the syntactic device of personal pronoun prefixes. "It matters little," however, "that the logical connections (of such words with the substance of the sentence) must often remain obscure." One may translate uremi'wiak-wic'du:'wunaix, for example, by "as they are walking," or "because they are walking," or "in their walking - a black spot appeared" (Ibid: 346).

It is hoped that these very limited examples have demonstrated the need for studying the folklore repetoire of a society not only in terms of the themes and motifs of the folklore utterances themselves, but also

in terms of the linguistic medium in which they are created and transmitted, and the range of possibilities this medium offers for stylistic variation. Only in this way can the texts collected be fully appreciated as to their intricacy of design, and the creative and critical capacity of reconteaur and audience.

Beyond the formal structure of its linguistic matrix, every folklore utterance has another structural level on which elements such as similies, metaphores, symbols, images and formulaic devices are related in terms of contrast, comparison, equation, etc. The relationship of these elements in a tale are the structure of the tale, and can be described in purely structural terms, that is statements which "say something about relations rather than about relata themselves" (Sebeok 1964b: 358).

Using structural criteria it is also possible to partially define genre. In the category of verse, for example, various forms can be posited by identifying in a corpus the different structural configurations of metric patterns with length of line, alternating states of metaphor and fact, equations built with symbols and imagery and so on. In prose forms of oral literature - where structure is less constrained by the language - types can be defined by the different patterning of motifs, imagery, symbols and in some genres the distinctive and predictable use of formulaic devices. In fact, the Soviet folklorist Vladimir Propp, dealing with the morphology of the folktale, makes the claims that all fairy tales are in fact of a uniform structure. To my knowledge, however, no structural typology of folklore has ever been proposed including adequate samples from non-western societies.

Structural elements and the patterning of these elements carry semantic weight, much as the structured and predictable occurrence of sounds and sound units (syllables, words and sentences) denote meaning. In the case of literature the meaning transmitted by the structure of the utterance or text is very often ambiguous or obscure and is much less predictable than its more restricted linguistic medium. If we consider as the norm the daily use of language where the function is communication in an as efficient manner as possible, the "literary" use of language can then be considered a deviation from the norm in the direction of "hypersemanticization." Before expnading on this it will first be necessary to briefly outline the model from which it comes.

Any speech event involves a sender, a receiver, a code which carries a message, and a context. The code, in this case language, consists of a finite set of elementary signs and symbols as well as rules for their permissible combination. The signs of the code are arbitrary but conventional, being accepted by both sender and receiver. The message is determined by the similar experience of the sender and receiver and by the context which determines the appropriateness of different messages.

The combination of sounds into words and words into phrases and sentences all represent semantic elements which make up the message. This is first order semanticizing and belongs to the pompetence level of language. Hypersemanticizing, however, is on the more superficial level of performance and is of a secondary and less stable order. Uriel Weinreich points out that there are two marks of hypersemanticization;

1) "... the phonic vehicle of signs assumes an independent symbolic value (whether 'impressionistic' - sound - imitative - or 'expressionistic' i.e. synesthetic); a special semantic

relation is imputed to signs with similar vehicles (rhymes etc.): in short, incipient correlations between content and expression are exploited, in contrast to the arbitrariness of this relation in semantically 'normal' uses of language."

2) "Over the scope of a given text (poem, etc.) meanings are imputed to some signs which are richer than, or otherwise deviant from, the meanings of the same signs outside the text. Whereas in the 'standard' use of language the receiver of a message must decode it, not decipher it (crack the code), in 'hypersemanticized' language the common code is modified ad hoc, and the receiver of the message must guess the code modification before he can properly decode the message" (Weinreich 1966: 147-148).

In poetry this is the problem of "sound and Sense" where the structured metric and phonemic systems carry a message above the first order level of semantics represented by normal grammar and lexicon, and in conjunction with the second order level marked by stylistic distortions of the grammatical norm. In prose this is done by stylistic features as well as symbols and images created from the lexicon. When we move into the manipulation of language on the performance level, in fact on a level of performance where semanticity is secondary and tertiary, we are dealing with a situation determined by the context (psychological, cultural, social and physical). On these semantic levels cuturally defined symbols and belief, and individual and collective experience and emotions are related in such a way that feelings of sadness and joy, humility and pride, seriousness and frivolity result. Whereas the first order semanticity (that of normal language itself) is necessarily stable and predictable, and common to an entire speech community, the secondary and tertiary levels are relatively unstable and varied according to different tastes, conventions and experience, and also unpredictable due to the freedom of individuals to manipulate the language they speak according to their differential performance abilities.

We can ask what hypersemanticization signifies in individual utterance, and also on a more general level what broader meaning are imputed by an entire genre. For instance poems in our culture are associated with judgements of good-bad, beautiful-ugly, etc., and involve the presence of an aesthetic. Hypersemanticization of a poetic utterance would therefore signify on its most general level an aesthetic value. Jokes are related to humor, and require a "sense of humor," while myths relate to the meaning of human existence or natural conditions and are symbolic forms proceeding from a world view.

All of these - aesthetics, humor and world view - are structured systems which belong to the ideational order of human reality and which are learned by individuals and shared, to one degree or another, by them within a community. Since similar genres exist in different societies with different ideational configurations we are led to ask such questions as : "Do semantic variations of a single genre exist in different societies?" That is, do the characteristic code modifications of a genre, say of poetry, in different cultures necessarily signal only aesthetic meaning, or can they also signal meanings of vastly different types belonging to entirely different - and in some cases very important - categories of life? Answers to these and similar questions can best be sought by applying an emic model in the analysis of folklore utterances.

Meaning

Songs in our culture are generally sung for entertainment and are connected with an aesthetic, that is a qualitative feature of the event (song in this case) involving enhancement of the experience and the present enjoyment of the intrinsic quality of things (D'Azevedo 1958). The structure of the song, its linguistic and musical components, are hypersemanticized elements which signal some experienced or imaginable situation and relate it in a structured way to a complex of feelings resulting in a sense of satisfaction or enjoyment. Even if the song is sad or disturbing in some other way an aesthetic satisfaction is gained by the very act of relation. The point here is the relating of various cognitive categories and emotions by the phonic structures. In fact we might think of an aesthetic as a matrix consisting of a range of emotions and feelings arranged perpendicular to a special set of standards. The way these relationships are brought about in a song are by means of the layers of interrelated musical, linguistic and poetic structures of the song denoting and interrelating these emotions. Also by means of the evaluation of this process against aesthetic standards another level of enjoyment and appreciation is signaled. This can be demonstrated, I think, by the reaction one usually has to a work of art whether it is a simple poem, a complex film, a painting, a symphony or sculpture. The first impressions one has are of feeling. Adjectives like, "beautiful," "compelling," "overwhelming," etc., are the first to be applies. Upon some reflection, however, the aesthetic standards one judges the work against reveal the "intricacy," the "smoothness," the "texture" etc. of the piece. An aesthetic experience, however, is a complex event which cannot be as easily analyzed as we have suggested; still we believe that this is the general contour of such an experience.

In speaking of Western songs, therefore, we can say of them that they are "gay," "sad," "pretty," "nice," "bad" etc. but never that they are "powerful" (in the literal sense of the word) or "dangerous." Among the Papago Indians, however, the latter not the former is the case. In order to understand this one must bo beyond what we consider the category of Papago song and view singing in the broader context of the Papago view of the world.

A basic belief among the Papago is that all living things possess to varying degrees some kind of power or strength which they label giwgdag. All living things fit together in the world in a balanced relationship which can be consciously or unconsciously upset by certain behavior. For example if a person kills or mistreats a horned toad for no reason the power alignments are somehow upset and the person will become sick. The sickness is not willfully induced by the horned toad himself, but by the action of the human being which causes a reaction in the giwgdag of the horned toad. If the person is himself especially strong at that time he will not sicken immediately; however, when he is in a weaker condition (not necessarily evident by outward signs) the giwgdag of the horned toad will induce sickness in him. Some natural elements (which are also considered "alive") are by nature evil and their giwgdag will always adversely effect human beings. One of these things is lightning. If a tree is struck by lightning and a piece of the wood is unwittingly handled by a human the giwgdag of the lightning will cause sickness.

In case of any illness the Papago patient goes to a makai, or medicine

man, to be diagnosed. He will be told by the makai that he is suffering from the horned toad sickness or the lightning sickness or a host of others, and will then be sent to a singer who will sing the appropriate songs which heal him. It seems here that the songs are ways of manipulating giwgdag, in this case to the end of healing. The thesis that songs manipulate giwgdag is supported by the singing, in earlier days of certain songs before a deer hunt which were supposed to slow down the deer so the hunters could get in bow and arrow range of them Obviously the songs effected the power or strength (giwgdag) of the deer so that they could no longer run fast. It is also maintained by the singers that such songs are dangerous and if not sung properly can themselves cause illness. An informant of one of the authors, a well known and respected singer, told someone that the songs he had sung in a collecting session were dangerous and that he sang them only because he had been asked. This is clearly a case where songs have nothing to do with an Aesthetic, but act as a means of manipulating power for the exploitation of the environment, for the welfare of men and conceivably also for witchcraft. Short songs in our culture are related to an aesthetic, in Papago culture to power. With us they are to be regarded as things in themselves, as the end product of an action, while among the Papago they are means to an end designed to induce some change in the observable world.

Regarding certain special linguistic utterances as functional tools is not restricted to the Papago culture. In fact some genres seem to be cross-culturally of this type. One example is the charm whose effectiveness "depends on its literal exact citation." Any departure from its precisely set mechanism may render its "magic" ineffective (Sebeok 1964: p. 356). In such cases the often tightly structured elements themselves seem to carry supernatural import. The power, or effectiveness, is in the special patterning of sounds, images and formulae themselves. Specialists in every culture who handle such special linguistic instruments - charms, songs, incantations, myth - understand why they are effective even though the non-specialists often do not. In order to discover just what these utterances mean to the people who create and perpetuate them, what part they play in the life of the community, it is often necessary to learn something about the "philosophy" of the natives, an "ethnophilosophy," and about their "science" (in its broadest sense) an "ethnoscience," both in the restricted tradition of the specialist as well as in the general tradition of the entire community. Such "philosophies" or"sciences" are rational, often well though out and internally consistent bodies of knowledge and belief.

In approaching such bodies of knowledge and belief we must begin by learning how the native divides his experience into coherent categories which comprise his view of the world. This can be done by discovering relevant domains through the analysis of language which functions as the code of the culture and is the most flexible system of communication it possesses. Important domains will be labeled with words in order that they may by transmitted easily within the society. By means of formal semantic analysis of terminological systems these domains ban explicated (Frake 1962, Sturdevant 1964, Goodenough 1964, 1968, Casagrande and Hale 1967), and a description of the world view of a community may be made. Out of this analysis will emerge patterns of covert belief and systems of overt knowledge which can often account for behavior.

It may also be possible to do semantic analysis of entire discourses in terms of symbols, formulae and other structural elements. In approaching myth from this perspective the myth can be seen as "ethnoepistomology" which overtly accounts for the existence of the world and a social group on one level, and on another may symbolize complex religio-philosophic categories and premises not otherwise labeled or even capable of being labeled by single words or stock phrases.

On a less esoteric level we also see other, shorter genres of folklore used by individuals in a number of ways to smooth social relationships and to achieve goals in the daily business of living in a society. In West Africa for example proverbs and riddles have very special contexts and are employed in situations of persuasion such as litigation, as well as in innumerable cases where diplomacy is required. A repertoire of such sayings and skill in using them are therefore indispensible in many African groups for the successful functioning of a person in the social, political and legal spheres of life. Also in our own society skill in handling jokes and humorous anecdotes increases the chances of successful operations of salesmen, preachers and public speakers. A repertoire of and knowing that, when and how to use such utterances is therefore active knowledge which is to a large degree conciously cultivated by individuals. In fact it is even possible to elicite rules of thumb from some individuals on how to use these forms. In most cases, however, the investigator will have to prepare a set of questions or a set of hypothetical cases which he can use to elicite responses from individuals indicating the general rules of use. Meaning and appropriate use of genre can therefore be established by 1) observing when, where, how used and who uses them, 2) by questions about them and responses to hypothetical situations suggested by the analyst, and 3) by the formal semantic analysis of relevant terminologies.

As pointed out at the beginning of this section, a single genre may have different meanings in different cultures. It may be a functional tool in one culture, while in another it may be associated with an aesthetic. In studying folklore cross-culturally one can therefore not simply assume the meaning of a genre, but must establish it in terms of the culture in which it exists. If it has been demonstrated that a genre does have a qualitative feature which enhances the enjoyment of the people who perpetuate it, we cannot automatically assume that the aesthetic in question is anything like the one we have. Even in our own tradition it is obvious that different groups react in different ways to artistic stimuli, and that over time "canons of beauty" and "taste" change. When approaching the aesthetic of an exotoc culture therefore we must take an objective position.

In studying a folk aesthetic the goal is to explicate the standards against which an object or event is judged through observation, projective tests, ad hoc questions, the collection and analysis of the unsolicited comments of the people themselves in discussing the performance of a song or the telling of a tale, and by semantic analysis of the descriptive terms used. It should be possible, therefore, to write a theory of the folk aesthetic which could be empirically tested by applying it in the form of criticism of folklore utterances. Such an aesthetic theory would be proven correct if the people (the Gola for example) would agree on the comments made by the investigator about the utterances, saying in essence, "Yes, that is what a Gola feels when he hears

this piece. Those are the comments that a Gola would make." This of course means that the investigator must understand the language and the full range of meanings of the special words used in expressing ideas concerning aesthetic matters before even attempting to posit a structural description of an aesthetic in a different culture.

Function

In this section emphasis is shifted from folk models validated in terms of the internal structure of a culture to analytic categories set up by the investigator. Such categories - social control, value reinforcement, solidatity and feedback - may or may not be recognized by the people within the culture. Generally they are not. In discussing the function of folklore utterances our attention is focused on the interaction of the utterances with other elements of the culture and the cause and effect relationship operating in this process. On the synchronic plane we look for the results that the performance of a certain action have. The function of that act is then defined in terms of its results. From a diachronic perspective we seek factors acting upon one another to cause the disappearance of patterns and the creation of new ones, and the infusion of new meaning into old forms. This involves innovation, diffusion and syncretism.

The most obvious examples of the function of folklore is seen in the stories, legends and tales told to children or retold in adult company around campfires or in peasant cottages the world over. By picturing in dramatic style the rewards and honor of certain acts and the horrors or unpleasantness of others, models of behavior are constantly being presented providing guide lines of what the society considers appropriate behavior. Anecdotes, jokes and proverbs are also constantly underscoring and reiterating values and opinions which are important in maintaining the smooth functioning of society. Even songs and stories created by raconteurs and bards for purposes of entertainment are also made from a common store of cultural values, and function to instill and reinforce these values giving more cohesion to a social group and contributing to its stability.

An example of the application of a functional model in the investigation of folklore is seen in the recent study by William Peacock of Indonesian proletarian drama known as ludruk. Peacock investigates ludruk in relation to the modernization process now taking place in Indonesia, a process which places extra strain on the peasant population which is forced to take up drastically different life styles as industrialism increases. Ludruk, sayed Peacodk, "helps persons sybolically define their movements from one type of situation to another," such as rites of passage in small primitive societies help individuals make the transition from childhood to adulthood and full participation in their culture. In ludruk the themes are movement from the village to the factory. The participants of these dramas are both actors and spectators who are "seduced by ludruk into empathy with modes of social action involved in the modernization process." That is, through participation in the dramas, proclivity is developed within the participants to "favor certain roles, situations, goals, or means on occasions when daily life offers a chance to choose which role one can play" (Peacock 1968: 6). In this sense ludruk acts as a model for adapting to the new environment of mddernization and functions as a mechanism for easing the process

of this adaptation in the individual. At the same time it stimulates the modernization process by symbolically defining new roles, and patterns of appropriate behavior

Towards a Truly comparative Literature

The universe under discussion in this paper, which we have labeled "folklore, was limited at the outset by imposing arbitrary boundaries. Our focus has, however, been on folklore as linguistic utterances differentiated from the ordinary utterances of daily like by structural, semantic and functional criteria. Upon analyzing them however, we see that they expand outside the boundaries we have imposed in the directions of 1) written literature in the area of "form," 2) aesthetics and world view in the area of "meaning," and 3) in the area of "function" to the interaction of external factors such as social and environmental processes. If our principle interest is folklore as an object of study for its own sake, the boundaries defining our universe will have to be adjusted in the direction of literature and our approach will be that of comparative literature in its broadest sense. In this enterprise, the data, methods and collaboration of scholars from anthropology, linguistics, folklore, stylistics, poetics and history of literature must be combined and the definition of "folklore" adjusted according to the demands of its new relationships.

In analyzing folklore in this context a basic typology should first be set up on purely structural criteria. Such a typology would overlap both written and oral literature. Secondly, these types should be refined by adding the criterion of "meaning." This means that one structural type should be checked cross-culturally to see how it is regarded within its own cultural context. Thirdly, these types should be further refined by viewing them as configurations through time being modified by the changing conditions of their contexts which brings about change in both structure and meaning. An example of this is seen in the epic song which was, in oral tradition, a set of formulaic devices and themes constantly being worked into new compositions by bards. With the introduction of writing these songs were put into the written medium and frozen into a standardized form which then became a stable model of style for other kinds of composition. On the basis of the typological criteria outlined here, genres could be more strictly defined, thus more easily handled.

In written literature there are both expository and artistic bodies of writing, the latter being closely identified with aesthetics which in turn relates this type of literature to art in general. In primitive societies oral literature also possesses forms which are definitely related to the aesthetic standards of its culture, and those which are connected with entirely different things. The question we can ask here is how general is the aesthetic use of language in oral literature? This leads in turn to the whole problem of aesthetics which has been of traditional concern to Western philosophy and art. In order to arrive at a satisfactory definition of aesthetics we must see it in all of its varied manifestations. That is, we must study it cross-culturally in the most primitive as well as the most complex societies.

The role anthropology can play in such a comparative literature is an

important one with a precedent going back to the early days of American anthropology and the interests of Franz Boas in art, languages and literature. In the introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages in 1911, Boas defined as one of the goals of anthropology, the study of American Indian languages and literatures. Boas, Benedict, Sapir and Radin all contributed to this area of scholarship which Dell Hymes has termed "anthropological philology," or the philology of peoples without philology of their own. This, he continues, has been the "third great interprise of European Civilization following upon and complementing classical and oriental philology" (Hymes 1968: 353). With the exception of the work of Melville Jacobs and Dell Hymes this aspect of anthropology has almost ceased to exist; however, "with the increase of linguistic competence among ethnographers and the possibility of computer programs to handle some of the philological work (concordances, for example), collection and publication of texts may again expand, especially if it is remembered that an analyzed and edited text fit for publication is not mere data, but a scholarly product" (Hymes 1964: 292).

Beyond the area of anthropological philology, however, a knowledge of linguistics should be an important part in the study of any form of literature. This is well illustrated in the stimulating book Style in Language which is the result of a symposium bringing together outstanding literary, linguistic and folklore scholars as well as psychologists and anthropologists. Of special interest in this volume is the closing statement on poetics and linguistics by Roman Jacobson (Sebeok 1964a).

The anthropology of art has also been neglected since Boas' day; however, recent interest in aesthetics (D'Azevedo 1958) and ethnomusicology (Merriam 1964) have stimulated new interest in an anthropological approach to art in general. Alan Merriam has in fact outlined a model for such an approach which views are from a social scientific and cross-cultural rather than a humanistic and ethnocentric perspective, focusing attention on the role of the artist in his society and the total cultural context of artistic activity. Within the scope of this model he includes music, verbal art and plastic and graphic art, and also provides a frame of reference adequate for the application of both behavioral and cognitive models (Merriam 1966).

An anthropologist or folklorist interested in contributing to a broad comparative literature finds, therefore, both precendents and new models and techniques for the study of oral literature. Anthropology contributes the cross-cultural perspective and the experience and methodology necessary in dealing with non-literate peoples, and comparative literature the stimulus and the appropriate questions. The task of anthropologists then is to study as many on-going traditions as now possible in a field situation using the models and methods which linguistics and anthropology can provide. A field study of this kind would be like any other problem oriented ethnography, differing only in the problem being investigated. Here the focus would be on the oral literature of a people and its linguistic medium and structural complexities, the meaning its carriers attach to it, and its function in the society.

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