Meaning of Folklore

Alan Dundes, Simon J. Bronner

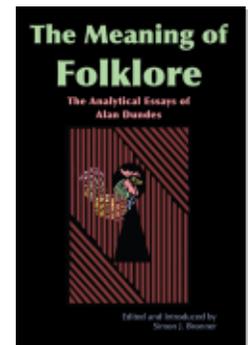Published by Utah State University Press

On Game Morphology:
A Study of the Structure of
Non-Verbal Folklore

Introduction

This essay is included as a demonstration of Dundes's structural analysis, derived from methods introduced by Vladimir Propp and other Russian formalists. But its statement on the materials covered by folkloristic inquiry is even more significant. In 1964, when this essay was published, most folklore studies focused on what was called "oral literature." Dundes showed the domination of narrative in folkloristic thought by pointing out the binary of "verbal/non-verbal" dividing traditional genres. The negation of "non-verbal" assumes that "verbal" (that is, speech and narrative) is the central term by which "other" genres are evaluated.

Dundes set out to change that definitive preoccupation with oral literature as part of his general campaign to treat folklore as a type of knowledge in social lives, rather than a relic textual form. This is what he meant by an elastic "modern" concept of folklore, in which all cultural expressions that repeat and vary within groups constitute folklore. If games and dances can be shown to have comparable structures, then they are part of a whole called folklore, rather than divisible into central verbal and marginal non-verbal parts. The organic rhetoric of morphology is significant, because it refers to the holistic structure of an organism (such as a plant), which has observable essential parts enabling the organism to live. The linear structure analyzed in morphology differs from the presentation of non-sequential "elements" for games, such as rules governing action, and physical setting. See, for example, the ten elements in E. M. Avedon (1979). Robert A. Georges (1972) gave a folkloristic definition of games, i.e., behavioral models defined by competition and rules.

Dundes's intention here was to raise epistemological questions about the rationale for including different types of material under the rubric of folklore. His revelation that many forms of children's play, coming at a formative time in human development, composed a narrative plot involving a departure and return to home has stimulated other studies focusing on the sociopsychological meaning of this structure for children. I suggested that the structural function of the game narratives described by Dundes was to enact the tripartite structure of rites of passage (separation, transition, incorporation) on a daily basis, at

a time of rapid physical and social changes, especially in American society, which is noted for encouraging the values of individualism and self-reliance in children (Bronner 1990). When children mature, they are discouraged from game playing, and the departure from home theme is not reinforced. An example is the interpretation of "Hide and Seek" in America, a game encouraging individualism because of the symbolic roles it assigns. In contrast to countries having games with a more authoritarian It role, in this American game a parental, low-power It searches for children who independently hide before returning to the "safe" home base. (See the experiments with high and low power Its in Sutton-Smith and Gump 1972). Although stating that folktales and games are "quite different media of expression," Brian Sutton-Smith observed that they are similar in being models that "represent behaviors occurring in other settings, both real and imaginary." His cross-cultural study of twenty-five societies found that those possessing games of strategy tended to have folktales in which the outcome is determined by strategy. He posited that games of strategy were associated with high obedience training in childhood, and that strategic outcomes in tales were culturally provided rewards for obedience in games. In contrast, the game of "Hare and Hounds" (and the related chasing games of "Tag" and "Hide and Seek") involved physical skills associated with achievement training (1972; also see Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959).

Dundes's subsequent work in games shifted to the gendered nature of structural rules. Following his reference to the bullfight in the previous chapter on "Structuralism and Folklore," he found a male/female binary in the competitive structure of boys' games "Hare and Hounds," in fact, is typically described as a male game). He argued that the game begins as male to male combat, but ends in the victory of one male, who "feminizes" the opponent (see the chapter on "Gallus as Phallus" in this volume, as well as other essays by Dundes [1987a, 1997e]). Other issues of genre analysis in folkloristics that Dundes raised also remain (See Harris-Lopez 2003; Georges and Jones 1995a; Honko 1989; and Ben-Amos 1976).

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Are children's games, a form of non-verbal folklore, and folktales, a form of verbal folklore, structurally similar? I am suggesting in the following article that they are and also that there are many other non-verbal analogues to verbal folklore forms. Consequently, the definition of folklore should not be limited to verbal materials.

Although structural analysis, as an effective means of descriptive ethnography, has been applied to a number of types of folklore expression, it has not been employed in the study of children's games. Yet games, in general, and competitive games, in particular, are obviously patterned. In competitive games, the participants are aware that play is governed by definite limiting rules. The application and the interrelationship of these rules result in an ordered sequence of actions by the players, and these action sequences constitute the essential structure of any particular game.

In order to delineate the structure of a game, or any other form of folklore, one must have a minimum structural unit. Only with such a unit can there be any precise segmentation of the continuum of game action. As a trial unit, I propose to use the *motifeme,* a unit of action which has been used in structural studies of folktales.[1] One obvious advantage of employing the motifeme is that if game action can, in fact, be broken down into motifemes, then it would be relatively easy to compare the structure of games with the structure of folktales.[2] Before examining the pronounced similarities in game and folktale structure, it is necessary to emphasize one important difference between the two forms. The difference is dimensionality. The folktale is concerned with conflict between protagonist and antagonist, but the sequence of plot actions is unidimensional. Either the hero's actions or the villain's actions are discussed at any one moment in time at any one point in the tale. Vladimir Propp, a Russian folklorist, made, in 1928, a thought-provoking examination of fairy tales and devised a distribution of functions (motifemes) among the *dramatis personae* of the tales.[3] He noted, for example, that functions VIII (villainy), XVI (struggle), and XXI (pursuit) belong to the villain's sphere of action. Certainly, functions IV (reconnaissance) and V (delivery) in Propp's analysis are villain and not hero actions. In games, however, one finds a contrast: there are at least two sequences of actions going on *simultaneously*. When A is playing against B, both A and B are operating at the same time, all the time. This is theoretically true in folktales, but only one side's activities (usually the hero's) are described at a given point in the tale. A folktale is, therefore, a two-dimensional series of actions displayed on a one-dimensional track, or, conversely, a game is, structurally speaking, a two-dimensional folktale.

In his notable discussion of folktale morphology, Propp drew particular attention to function VIII, villainy. In this function, a villain causes harm or injury to one member of a family by abducting a person or stealing an object, etc., thus creating the actual movement of the folktale.[4] At the same time, he astutely observed that a folktale could begin with the desire to have something or a deficiency or lack as a given ground-rule. In the analysis, Propp considered lack (function VIIIa) as morphologically equivalent to villainy (function VIII). If a folktale did not begin with a state of lack, then a state of lack could be created by an act of villainy. This same distinction can also be applied to the structure of many games.

A game can begin with an object which is missing, or the object may be hidden before play begins. In some games nothing is missing, but the initial portion of game action (corresponding to Propp's "initial" or "preparatory" section of the folktale, functions I–VII) brings about the requisite state of lack or insufficiency. In games of the first type, an individual may hide from the group (as in "Hare and Hounds") or the group may hide from an individual ("Hide and Seek"). In games of the second type, an individual or object may be abducted or captured, which also results in a lack. This happens, for example, in the child-stealing game of "The Witch." Other characteristics shared by both folktales and games will become apparent in the following discussion of several specific games.

In "Hare and Hounds,"[5] the boy chosen as the Hare (the choosing by counting out rhymes or other means may be construed as pre-game activity) runs away to hide. Usually a fixed time span, a specific number of minutes, or counting to some arbitrary number, marks the formal beginning of the chase, much as the iteration of an opening formula marks the passage from reality to fantasy in the beginning of a folktale. In fact, some games actually have opening formulas such as "Ready or not, here I come." The game, then, begins with a lack, the missing Hare. The quest, so popular in folktales, is equally popular in games. The Hounds attempt to find and catch the Hare, just as the hero in folktale seeks to liquidate the initial lack (function XIX).

Note, however that two sets of actions, or motifeme sequences, are involved in the game. One action is from the point of view of the Hounds, the other from the perspective of the Hare. The sequences include the following motifemes: lack, interdiction, violation, and consequence.[6] In one motifemic sequence, the Hounds want to catch the Hare (lack). They are required to catch him before he returns "home," a place agreed upon previously (interdiction). If the Hounds fail to do so (violation), they lose the game (consequence). In the second motifemic sequence taking place simultaneously with the first, the Hare wants to go "home" (lack), but he is required to arrive there without being caught by the Hounds (interdiction). If he fails to do so (violation), he loses the game (consequence). It is possible to win the game, by liquidating the lack, by either of two actions: catching the Hare or returning "home" safely. But it is impossible for both Hare and Hounds to win and also impossible for both Hare and Hounds to lose. Here is another point of contrast with folktales. In folktales, the hero always wins and the villain always loses. In games, however the outcome is not so regular or predictable: sometimes the Hare wins, and sometimes the Hounds win. As Caillois has pointed out, one characteristic of competitive games is that the opponents are equal and, in theory, each opponent stands the same chance of winning.[7]

The game of "Hare and Hounds" might be structured as follows:

	Lack	*Interdiction*	*Violation*	*Consequence*
Hare	wants to go home	without being caught by Hounds	is caught (isn't caught)	loses game (wins game)
Hounds	want to catch absent Hare	before he arrives back home	do not catch Hare (do catch Hare)	lose game (win game)

The double structure is also illuminated by comparison with analogous folktale structure. From the Hare's point of view, one could say there was a hero pursued (function XXI) and that the hero is rescued from pursuit (function XXII), assuming the Hare wins. The game-folktale analogy is even closer in those versions in which the Hare is required to leave signs, such as strips of paper, to mark his trail. In folktales, when the hero runs from his pursuer, he often places obstacles in the latter's path. These objects mark the trail, but also serve to delay the pursuer. From the point of view of the Hounds, i.e., with the Hounds as heroes, the Hare appears to serve as a donor figure, inasmuch as the dropped slips of paper are "magical agents" (identified as function XIV) which aid the hero-Hounds in liquidating the initial lack.[8] The donor sequence, then, is another point of similarity between games and folktales.

In a popular American children's game which Brewster calls "Steps,"[9] the leader, or "it," aids the others in reaching him (to tag him) by permitting various steps, such as baby steps, giant steps or umbrella steps. In this game, the donor figure grants the privilege of using certain "magical" steps. The fact that the magical aid is not granted until the hero is tested by the donor is also a striking parallel to folktale morphology. After the donor ("it") permits the number and type of steps, (e.g., four baby steps), the recipient ("hero") is required to say "May I?" If the latter passes the politeness test, he is permitted to take the steps which bring him closer to his goal. However, should he neglect to express the etiquette formula, the donor will penalize him by ordering him to step backwards, thus moving him away from the goal. More often than not in folktales, civility or politeness to the donor will provide the needed magical agents while discourtesy deprives the would-be hero of these same agents.

In some games, the presence of a donor sequence appears to be optional rather than obligatory, as is also true in folktales. In "Thimble in Sight"[10] an object, such as a thimble, is hidden. Actually, the object is supposed to be visible but not obvious. The children seek to discover or notice the object (lack). As each child does so (lack liquidated), he indicates his success by exclaiming a verbal formula such as "rorum torum corum," much as the successful player in "Hide and Seek" announces his return "home" with the phrase "Home free." (These verbal formulas would appear to be analogous to closing formulas in folktales.) In this form of "Thimble in Sight" there is no donor sequence but in some versions, the hider aids the thimble-seekers by giving helpful clues such as "You're freezing" or "You're cold," when the seeker is far away from the quest-object, and "You're warm" or "You're burning," when the seeker is close to the object. In such versions, the seeker could presumably request assistance from the donor by asking, "Am I getting warm?" Nevertheless, since the game can be played without the donor sequence, it is clear that the sequence is structurally not obligatory.

The frequency of the donor sequence in games and folktales also demands attention. One would suspect, for example, that since the donor sequence is comparatively rare in American Indian folktales, as compared with Indo-European folktales, the donor sequence would be infrequent in American Indian games. The presence or absence of such a sequence might even be correlated with magic and religion. If a person can make magic or seek a religious vision as an individual, then the need for a donor might be less than in those cultures in which experts or intermediaries supply magic or religion.

So far, mention has been made of a number of games in which the initial lack is part of the given. The game's action does not begin until an object or person is removed or secreted. "It" may absent himself or herself in order to produce the initial lack situation. However, in

"The Witch" the lack is the result of "its" abducting someone.[11] In this game, the parallel to folktale structure is also apparent. A mother leaves her seven children, named after the days of the week (Propp's function I, "One of the members of a family is absent from home"— still bearing in mind that Propp's morphological analysis was made of folktales and not games). Before leaving, the mother tells her children, "Take care the Old Witch does not catch you" (function II, "An interdiction is addressed to the hero"). The witch enters and the children do not take heed (function III, "The interdiction is violated"). The witch pretends that the children's mother has sent her to fetch a bonnet (function VI, "The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings"). The child goes to get the bonnet (function VII, "The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy"). The witch abducts one of the children (function VIII, "The villain causes harm or injury to one member of a family"). The mother returns, names her seven children, and thus discovers that one of her children is missing. The remaining children cry, "The Old Witch has got her" (function IX, "Misfortune or shortage is made known"). The sequence of motifemes is repeated until the witch has abducted all the children. This action is analogous to the repetition of entire moves in folktales, e.g., elder brothers setting out successively on identical quests.

The mother then goes out to find the children (function X, "The seeker agrees to or decides upon counteraction," and function XI, "The hero leaves home"). The mother encounters the witch and asks her for information about the whereabouts of her children. In the standard ritual dialogue, one finds possible traces of the standard donor sequence, as identified by functions XII–XIV. In this game, the witch functions as donor. The mother finally arrives at the place where her children are being held captive (function XV, "The hero is transferred, reaches, or is led to the whereabouts of an object of search"). This function or motifeme is of great significance to the structural analysis of both games and folktales. Propp remarks (page 46), "Generally the object of search is located in another or different kingdom." Anyone familiar with children's games will recall that many make mandatory the penetration of the opponent's territory. In "Capture the Flag" (Brewster, pages 69–70), the object of the search is the opponent's flag, clearly located in the "enemy's kingdom."

Now the mother discovers her lost children (function XIX, "The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated"), and mother and children pursue the witch. The one who catches the witch becomes the witch in the next playing of the game. In folktales, a pursuit often follows the liquidation of the initial lack, but more commonly the villain pursues the hero (function XXI, "The hero is pursued"). The hero inevitably escapes (function XXII, "The hero is rescued from pursuit"). Propp remarks that "a great many folktales end on the note of rescue from pursuit." The same might be said of games. In many games, "it," or the villain, is the one who pursues the "hero"-seekers after the latter have obtained the quest-object, such as the flag in "Capture the Flag." Of course, one reason why the game of "The Witch" is similar to folktales is the fixed nature of the outcome! The witch never wins, just as the villain in folk tales never wins.

Critics have been sceptical of Propp's morphological analysis on the grounds that he limited his material to Russian fairy tales. Competent students of the folktale, however, are aware that most, if not all, of the tales Propp analyzed can, in fact, be classified according to the Aarne-Thompson system as tale types. Others complain that Propp was too general and that his functions apply to literary as well as to folk materials. It is true that Propp's concept can be correlated to the plot structure of *Beowulf* and to most of the *Odyssey*

(Cf. his functions XXI to XXXI with the end of the *Odyssey*). Clearly, the game of "Old Witch" contains a number of Propp's functions and, in one sense, the game appears to be a dramatized folktale. Moreover the "Old Witch" game bears a superficial resemblance to the Aarne-Thompson tale type 123, "The Wolf and the Kids." But what is important here is that the morphological analysis of folktales appears to apply equally well to another genre of folklore—traditional games, thereby providing further confirmation of the validity of Propp's analysis.

When one perceives the similarity between the structure of games and folktales it is also possible to see parallels among special forms of the two genres. For example, one type of folktale is the cumulative take. In these tales (Aarne-Thompson types 2000–2199), one finds chains of actions or objects. Usually, there is repetition with continual additions. In ballads this stylistic feature is termed "incremental repetition." Stith Thompson, in his discussion of tales of this type, noted, but without further comment, that they had "something of the nature of a game."[12] This game-tale analogy is obvious in "Link Tag" in which "it" tags someone. The tagged person must take hold of the tagger's hand and help him or her tag others; the next one tagged joins the first two and so on.[13] (The same structure is obviously found in those folk dances in which couples or individuals form ever-lengthening chains.)

Another sub-genre analogy might be trickster tales (or jokes) and pranks. In trickster tales and in most pranks or practical jokes, the primary motifemes are fraud and deception (Propp functions VI and VII) so there can even be an exact identity of content as well as form in folktales and games.[14] For example, in some versions of tale type 1530, "Holding up the Rock," a dupe is gulled into believing that he is holding up a wall. But "Hold up the wall" is a hazing stunt at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, in which, according to one report, a student is required to squat with his back against a wall as if supporting it.[15] A more surprising example is the prank analogue of tale type 1528, "Holding Down the Hat," in which victims were fooled into grabbing feces concealed under a hat.[16] Perhaps the greatest similarity in trickster tale and prank morphology is their common parodying of standard folktale and game structure. Instead of liquidating an actual lack, a false lack is feigned. Thus the unsuspecting initiate is sent snipe-hunting, armed with a sack and a flashlight, or an apprentice is persuaded to seek some quest-object which, according to the occupation group, may be striped paint, a board-shortener, or a left-handed monkey wrench.

The morphological similarity between game and folktale suggests an important principle which may be applied to other forms of folklore. Basically, these different forms derive from the distinction between words and acts. Thus, there is verbal folklore and non-verbal folklore. The distinction is made most frequently with respect to myth and ritual. Myth is verbal folklore or, in Bascom's terms, verbal "art."[17] Ritual, in contrast, is non-verbal folklore or non-verbal art. Myth and ritual are both sacred; folktale and game are both secular. (Whether all games evolved from ritual is no more or less likely than the evolution, or rather devolution, of folktales from myths.) Whereas folklorists have, for some time, known of the similarities between myth and ritual, they have not recognized the equally common characteristics of folktale and game. Moreover, they have failed to see that the verbal/non-verbal dichotomy applies to most, if not all, of the standard genres of folklore. The proverb, clearly an example of verbal folklore, has for its non-verbal counterpart the gesture. They are functionally equivalent as both forms may sum up a situation or pass judgment on a situation. Riddles are structurally similar to proverbs in that both are based upon topic/comment constructions, but they are distinct from proverbs in that there is always a referent to be guessed.[18] Non-verbal equivalents include a variety of difficult tasks

and puzzles. The distinction between proverbs and riddles applies equally to gestures and non-oral riddles. The referent of the gesture is known to both the employer of the gesture and his audience *before* the gesture is made; the referent of the non-oral riddles is presumably known initially only by the poser.[19]

Superstitions are also illuminated by this verbal/non-verbal distinction. Folklorists have long used terms such as "belief" and "custom" or "practice" in discussions of superstitions. In this analysis, practices or customs would be examples of non-verbal folklore since actual physical activity is involved. The distinction may even apply to folk music. If folk narrative, for example, is set to music, it would then be termed folksong; if a game were set to music, it would then be termed folk dance. (Note that the etymology of the term "ballad" supports this distinction.) I am *not* implying that folksong derives from folk narrative or that folk dance derives from game but only suggesting that these supposedly disparate genres have much in common. For example, the basic sequence of lack and lack liquidated found in folktales and games is also found in folk dance. In many dances, a couple is separated, or from the man's point of view, he has lost his partner (lack). The remainder of the dance consists of reuniting the separated partners (liquidating the lack).[20] Moreover, the leaving of home and returning home occurs in folktales, games, folk dances and folk music. Structurally speaking, it does not matter whether "home" is a house, a tree, a position on a dance floor or a note.

The techniques of structural analysis should be applied to genres of folklore other than games and folktales. These forms, from the design of quilt patterns to tongue-twisters, can be defined structurally. One would guess that such analyses will reveal a relatively small number of similar structural patterns underlying these apparently diverse forms.

Specifically, I have tried to demonstrate that at least one nonverbal form of folklore, children's games, is structurally similar to a verbal form, the folktale. If, then, there are non-verbal analogues (e.g., games) for verbal folklore forms (e.g., folktales), then folklore as a discipline cannot possibly be limited to the study of just verbal art, oral literature, or folk literature, or whatever smiliar term is employed. Kenneth Pike has observed that "Verbal and non-verbal activity is a unified whole, and theory and methodology should be organized or created to treat it as such."[21] It is time for folklorists to devote some of the energies given over to the study of verbal folklore to the study of folklore in its non-verbal forms. Compared to folk narrative and folksong, such forms as folk dance, games, and gestures have been grossly neglected.[22] Admittedly there are complex problems of transcription but surely they are not insuperable.

Notes

1. See the author's "From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales," *Journal of American Folklore*, 75 (1962), 95–105; and "Structural Typology of North American Indian Folktales," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 19 (1963), 121–30.
2. A recent interesting study by John M. Roberts, Brian Sutton-Smith, and Adam Kendon, "Strategy in Games and Folk Tales," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 61 (1963), 185–199, demonstrates that folktales and games are strikingly similar models of competitive situations and that folktales with strategic outcomes are positively correlated with the occurrence of games of strategy in given cultural settings. However, the comparison of game and folktale content was limited to a generalized consideration of "outcomes." The delineation of game structure should facilitate this type of cross-cultural study.
3. Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale,* edited by Svatava Pirkova-Jakobson, translated by

Laurence Scott, Publication Ten of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics (Bloomington, 1958), pp. 72–75. Propp's study was also issued as Part III of the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXIV, No. 4 (1958), and as Volume 9 of the Bibiliographical and Special Series of the American Folklore Society.

4.   Propp, 29.

5.   Alice Bertha Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* vol. I (New York, 1964), 191.

6.   One should remember that an interdiction is a negative injunction. Compare, for example, "Don't open your eyes" with "Keep your eyes closed." It should also be kept in mind that one form of consequence can be lack, while another form can be liquidation of lack (Propp's functions VIIIa and XIX). Brian Sutton-Smith in "A Formal Analysis of Game Meaning," *Western Folklore*, 18 (1959), 13–24, lumps game action into a cover-all term, "The Game Challenge." While he does discuss the structure of game time and space, he does not really conceive of games as linear structural sequences of actions nor does he appear to be aware that there are two distinct sets of action sequences in the game he analyzes, "Bar the Door," one set for theperson who is "it," the central player, and one set for the children who attempt to run past "it" as they go from one base to the other.

7.   Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games,* translated by Meyer Barash (New York, 1961), 14. The double set of rules existing in games makes their analysis somewhat different from the analysis of folktales. Sometimes the two patterns are distinct in that there is no rapid change from one set of rules to the other for an individual player. In baseball, for example, the rules of "offense" apply for the team at bat until three men have been put out. Similarly, the rules of "defense" for the team in the field apply for the same period. At the end of the period, the teams exchange places (and rules). However, in other games, such as basketball or football, the rules can change at any time. In football, an intercepted pass or a recovered fumble by the team on defense immediately transforms the defense team into an offense team, and the same action immediately transforms the team previously on offense to a defense team. In "How many miles to Babylon?" described in Paul G. Brewster, *American Nonsinging Games* (Norman, 1953), 52–53, players who attempt to run from one end of a rectangular space to another may be caught by the player in the middle; they now belong to that player and aid him in catching others trying to cross the field.

8.   It is quite likely that magical gestures such as touching a certain tree, crossing one's fingers, or assuming a certain "safe" position (such as squatting in "Squat Tag") are analogous to the host of magical agents which protect protagonists in folktales.

9.   Brewster, op. cit.,164.

10. William Wells Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York, 1963), 152; Brewster, op. cit., 46.

11. Gomme, op. cit., Vol. II, 391–396. For a New York State version called "Old Witch," see Anne Gertrude Sneller, "Growing Up," *NYFQ*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (June 1964),89–90 (Editor).

12. *The Folktale* (New York, 1951), 230 and 234.

13. Brewster, op. cit., 67.

14. Ibid., 120–126.

15. Fred Eikel, Jr., "An Aggie Vocabulary of Slang," *American Speech*, 18 (1946), 34.

16. James R. Caldwell, "A Tale Actualized in a Game," *JAF*, 58 (1945), 50.

17. William R. Bascom, "Verbal Art," *JAF*, 68 (1955), 245–252.

18. Robert A. Georges and Alan Dundes, "Toward a Structural Definition of the Riddle," *JAF*, 76 (1963), 113 and 117.

19. For examples of non-oral riddles, see Jan Brunvand, "More Non-Oral Riddles," *Western Folklore*, 19 (1960), 132–133. Note that this form of folklore is defined negatively, in terms of the presumably primary verbal form: riddles. In the same way, the term "practical joke" represents a qualifying of the primary term "joke," which is also verbal. Even the term used here of "non-verbal folklore" continues the same bias in favor of the primacy of verbal forms. At least gestures are not called non-oral or non-verbal proverbs.

20. In the structure of folk dance, the same distinction is found of beginning either with a state of lack or causing a state of lack by an act of villainy. Some dances have an "it" who is without a partner (lack) and who seeks to obtain one (lack liquidated). Other dances begin with couples, but during the dance one or more couples become separated (lack) and reunite only at the end of the dance (lack liquidated). For an interesting study of dance morphology, see Olga Szentpal, "Versuch einer Formanalyse der Ungarischen Volkstanze," *Acta Ethnographica*, 7 (1958), 257– 334; also Gyorgy Martin and Erno Pestovar, "A Structural Analysis of the Hungarian Folk Dance (A Methodological Sketch)," Ibid., 10 (1961), 1–40.

21. *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior,* Part I (Glendale, 1954), 2. These categories of "verbal" and "non-verbal" folklore are arbitrary distinctions which do not necessarily reflect objective reality. Obviously jump rope rhymes, counting out rhymes, and finger rhymes involve both words and actions.

22. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, for example, in his *The Science of Folklore (*New York, 1930), gives these forms short shrift. The unfortunate trend continues. One looks in vain for extended mention of these forms in annual folklore bibliographies, works in progress lists, and surveys of folklore research.