

# **FOLKTALES IN AN EVOLUTIONARY CONTEXT**

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## **Declaration**

I certify that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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## Summary

This thesis builds the foundation of a methodology for the quantitative analysis of the folk narrative system. Just as anthropology uses analyses of different cultures to examine the human past; researchers could use analyses of our oldest form of literature, the folk narrative, to examine aspects of worldwide culture and changes in culture over time. This thesis develops a quantitative methodology based in part on small, grammatically defined units. For this type of analysis to be viable, careful consideration of many aspects of the folk narrative system is required.

Chapter One presents the qualities of the folk narrative that make it an apposite choice for investigations of worldwide cultures and cultural changes over time. These qualities include: the fundamental importance and cross-cultural nature of the folk narrative; the reliable development of narrative ability in all humans; the ability of the folk narrative to convey information; and the large number of collected folk narratives as a resource.

Chapter Two explores different styles of literary analysis with a focus on structural content analysis and the types of information that have resulted from the use of these different styles. Multiple types of structural analysis by both folklorists and linguists are considered. The grammatical unit chosen for the methodology presented in this paper - nominative case - is a specifically and externally defined, countable unit that is able to operate cross-culturally and that has connection to meaning on a larger scale.

Chapter Three is a paper in which nominative case in a random set of tales was counted. This paper operates as a test of the unit and also serves to corroborate the idea that the difference between the predominant gender in tales told by males

and females is large enough to impact on a data set which does not control for gender.

Chapter Four lays the groundwork for the expansion of the methodology from a random set of tales in a large, academic library to a worldwide representative data set using Murdock's compilation of cultural divisions (Murdock). In addition, the presented methodology is expanded to include the many interactive parts of what is termed the folk narrative system. Certain parts of the folk narrative system which should be considered are outlined but it is noted that there are probably many more parts of the system which can be studied. The expansion of the methodology to an investigation of the folk narrative as a system enables the quantitative analysis to remain connected to the matrix of culture, text, storyteller, environment and other factors. The result of any specific study is seen in the context of other influences that change as the investigated parts change. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the way in which this methodology enables one to access a wide range of information.

Chapter Five is a paper that quantifies the asymmetry between male and female storyteller's production of female folk narratives and puts the asymmetry in the context of other folktale and anthropological research. Chapter Six holds a different part of the folk narrative system constant - the storyteller - and analyzes the collector's role in the differential reproduction of female tales. Chapter Seven touches on the remarkable potential the folk narrative has to address fundamental questions about human culture and possibly cultural changes over anthropological time scales.

Chapter Three has been published as: "What Happened to the Heroines in Folktales: An Analysis by Gender of a Multi-Cultural Sample of Published

Folktales Collected from Storytellers." *Marvels and Tales*, Vol. 23.2: (2009): 227-47.

Chapter Three, "Response to Gottschall" has been published as: "Reply." *Marvels and Tales*, Vol. 23.2: (2009): 443-448.

Chapter Five has been published as: "Asymmetry in Male and Female Storyteller Priorities: An Analysis by Gender of a Sample of Published Folk Narratives Collected from Storytellers Worldwide." *Politics and Culture: Online-Only Journal: Special Evolutionary Issue*. Ed. Joseph Carroll. 2010. Web.  
<http://www.politicsandculture.org/2010/04/28/contents-2/>

Chapter Six has received a revise and resubmit from *Journal of Folklore Research*.

## Preface

On a parent participation day at my daughter's preschool, the teacher had just finished reading a book to a semi-circle of three-year-olds. "Who were you?" the teacher asked the group. The boy and several girls had identified with the hero of the story. One little girl, however, inched forward, opened the book, and began turning the pages. Finally she found the page for which she had been searching. "There I am!" she cried triumphantly and pointed to a picture of a little girl in a crowd, the only little girl pictured in the book (Ragan, *Fearless* xxiv). At that time, I was reading up to twenty picture books per day to my daughters. I had the feeling there were more books about heroes than about heroines. When an astrophysicist recommended I do a statistical survey, I did an informal survey of Dr. Seuss books and found that over ninety percent of the characters were male. The proximate result of these two incidents was my book *Fearless Girls, Wise Women and Beloved Sisters: Folktales from Around the World* (Ragan, *Fearless*). This combination of statistics and folktales has ultimately led to my thesis.

Since I was young, I've had a fascination for folk and fairy tales. At different stages of my life I have read different types of folk narrative including the fairy tale, folktale, anecdote, epic, historical folktale, proverb and literary fairy tale in English, German, French, Japanese, Old English and Middle High German. (See Appendix I 193-200, and Appendix II 201-202.) I read over 30,000 tales for the compilation of my books *Fearless Girls, Wise Women and Beloved Sisters* and *Outfoxing Fear*. (See Appendix III 203-231.) As I was reading, it seemed there were large scale patterns - connections or relationships - among tales, cultures, storytellers and information. It was to study these patterns that I began my thesis.



It is the aim of this thesis to build the foundation of a methodology that uses the folk narrative to tell us more about the human mind and aspects of worldwide culture. It is also possible this methodology might be extended in the future to help us understand changes in the human mind over thousands of years. However, the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. It is the aim of this thesis to make a beginning.

Oral literature has been sub-divided into many categories; e.g. the folktale, the fairy tale, the anecdote, myth, personal history, ballad, oral history, etc. Rather than allow these divisions to circumscribe my investigation, I have chosen to use narrative which emanates from the oral tradition rather than the literary tradition, as a category. I use the general term 'folk narrative' to identify this category as a whole. It is a very general definition, however in the first paper presented in the thesis, a specific, pre-determined and externally determined definition was used - the Dewey Decimal Classification of "Folk Literature." Further in this thesis, the folk narrative concept is expanded to the concept of a folk narrative system. Ultimately, this folk narrative system would include all the smaller subdivisions listed above. The analytical structure of the presented methodology is designed to accommodate analyses of each type of oral literature depending on which types a researcher chooses to analyze. A unique feature of this methodology is that it not only allows the inclusion of a large array of specific characteristics and genres, but also allows the researcher to maintain the connection of all parts in a matrix which possibly extends from the intimate aspects of a storytelling session to human universals. It must be understood that this thesis constructs the core of the methodology and makes the first uses of the presented methodology to analyze certain parts of the folk narrative system within the context of gender. This thesis

also outlines the breadth of possible future research which could build on the foundations of the approach presented here.

Although this thesis deals with information about how humans think, it is also possible that this methodology might be extended to examine what is called "cultural evolution." Volumes have been written putting forth various understandings of evolution (For biological evolution, see: Darwin; Dennett). The attempt to understand the concept of cultural evolution wrought a paradigm shift across many academic fields and led to the emergence of fields such as sociobiology (e.g. E.O. Wilson, *Consilience*, *On Human, Sociobiology*; Hrdy, *Mother, Mothers, The Woman*) evolutionary biology (e.g. Bonner; Gowaty), evolutionary psychology (e.g. Barkow, Cosmides and Tooby), cognitive psychology (e.g. Thorndyke; Rubin), evolutionary linguistics (e.g. Hurford, Studdert-Kennedy and Knight; Knight, Studdert-Kennedy and Hurford; Ruhlen), evolutionary anthropology (e.g. Dunbar; Chase; O'Brien and Shennan), evolutionary archaeology (e.g. Mithen), evolutionary philosophy (e.g. Distin; Gould) and evolutionary Literature (e.g. Carroll, *Literary*; B. Boyd, *Origins*). Much of this research deals with specific cultural attributes such as language and altruism, but there is less examination of the overarching concept of what constitutes culture or a cultural attribute (O'Brien and Shennan p. 5). When I state that the methodology presented in this thesis might eventually be used to examine what is called cultural evolution, it is meant to highlight possible future uses of the method, therefore I am not being specific, but rather considering cultural evolution generally as changes in culture over long time spans.

Most of the quantitative approaches developed by these new evolutionary fields follow the diffusion of genes approach and have to do with tracking

transmission of memes (Dawkins) or cultural attributes (e.g. R. Boyd and Richerson; Cavalli-Sforza, Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman; Sperber). Another interesting approach examines specific relationships between genes and culture in human populations and presents a model based on coevolution of genes and culture (Durham). The quantitative methodology presented in this thesis is more like the Durham approach in that it examines relationships within a system (See: Lewontin; Gray; Oyama, Griffiths and Gray; Laland, Odling-Smee and Feldman; Weber and Depew; Ingold).

## Chapter One: The Folk Narrative as a Human Fundamental

*“When something has the ability to attract and repel one so forcefully, one may assume that it deals with fundamentals” (Lüthi 22).*

Anthropology uses analyses of different cultures to examine the human past; analyses of oral literature from different cultures could possibly serve a similar function. As the oldest form of literature, oral literature represents an extraordinary key to our understanding of changes in culture over time. If we were to analyze and compare oral literature from different cultures, we could possibly identify cultural differences worldwide and identify universals or differences among the cultures. If we were to analyze and compare oral literature from hunter-gatherer, agricultural and industrial societies, we could possibly identify universals or changes in the way humans have thought across millennia, thus tracking the evolution of human culture.

The folk narrative can be viewed as an information storehouse, a pre-literate library with tomes that encompass everything from overarching universals to personal and highly individualized information exchange. Folk narratives have been collected over the past 200 years from all types of societies: hunter-gatherer, pastoral, agricultural and industrial. There is a data base large enough to accommodate extensive surveys of worldwide cultures as well as surveys which explore questions about the changes in cultures over time. The aim of this thesis is to build the foundations of a methodology for the quantitative analysis of the folk narrative: so we can better understand the folk narrative and the folk narrative system; and possibly elicit information from the folk narrative about human culture and human cultural changes over time.

## **The Folk Narrative and Cultural Evolution**

If one is to use the folk narrative to study questions about worldwide culture or the evolution of culture, the first question one must ask is whether there is any indication that the folk narrative is of importance to all humans. If folk narratives are solely connected to the specific culture from which they are collected, if a particular tale is connected specifically to a specific culture and only that culture, then the folk narrative cannot be used to study worldwide cultures or changes in human cultures over time. However, if the folk narrative transcends individual cultures at some level, if the folk narrative has some level of importance to all humans; then it may be possible to use the folk narrative to track worldwide differences in thought as well as changes in thought over anthropological time. In biological evolutionary studies, proof of evolutionary importance includes the qualities of ubiquity and endurance (Jones 10-16, 293-297). Ubiquity and endurance are qualities that indicate how effective a trait has been as judged by natural selection over thousands of years. The folk narrative exhibits both of these qualities.

The ubiquity of a trait is a measure of how fundamental a trait is, because ubiquitous traits were most likely established before humankind migrated from Africa and are therefore more closely associated with the origins of humans. These traits have been so integral to human survival that they developed early and have continued to be passed on for all of the intervening millennia. Some cultural traits are found in limited frequency. For example, one can identify the probable independent invention of writing in Sumeria, China and Mesoamerica (Crystal 196). On the other hand, some cultural traits such as language, are found in every

human society. The folk narrative is ubiquitous. Every known culture practices storytelling (Sugiyama, "Food" 222; Thompson, *Folktale* 5-6). Anthropologists have collected tales from every type of society and from all corners of the globe. For example, tales have been collected from modern industrial society in the United States of America (Dance); the agriculturalist Mayan people of Central America (Laughlin); the pastoralist Dinka people of eastern Africa (Deng); and the hunter-gatherer Eskimo in Quebec (Nungak). The folk narrative is a trait all humans share and therefore the folk narrative is more closely associated with human origins than less ubiquitous traits.

Endurance is another measure of evolutionary importance. The folk narrative as a genre is found not only in modern industrial societies and agricultural societies, but also in hunter-gatherer, preliterate cultures such as The Reindeer Chukchee of northeastern Siberia (Norman), the Ju/'hoan of southern Africa (Bieseke) and the Muṛkan of northeastern Australia (McConnel). Therefore, the folk narrative as a genre pre-dates writing, agriculture and permanent settlements (Sugiyama, "Narrative" 233-234). Not only the folk narrative genre but also individual tales show remarkable endurance. The Grimms' *Kinder-und-Hausmärchen* were first published in 1812 and are still popular today, 200 years later. In addition, Grimms' tales have been translated into more than 160 languages. The Norwegian tale, "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" collected in Norway in about 1859 by Asbjørnsen and Moe, echoes back at least 2,000 years to the Roman Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche," written down in the second century (Tatar, *Classic* 186-200). "The Shipwrecked Sailor" (Wm. Simpson 50-56), an ancient Egyptian tale, was probably written in Dynasty 12, 1991-1786 BC (Wm.Simpson 5), but it reads like one of the episodes from "Sinbad

the Seaman” in *The 1001 Nights* (Burton 385-462) which is still widely read today, 4,000 years later; and the story of Scheherazade, the framing tale of *The 1001 Nights*, is mentioned in a Persian text from 944 (Burton 6; Haddawy xv-xvi). These tales have traveled across time and have also overleapt cultural barriers.

In conclusion, the folk narrative as a genre is found worldwide; the folk narrative genre and even individual tales can survive for centuries; and at least some folk narratives cross-cultural boundaries. Therefore, on some levels, the folk narrative transcends individual cultures and is applicable to humans across cultural boundaries and across time.

Not only do all societies practice storytelling, but the ability to generate and understand narrative is also found universally across individuals within cultures with no formal instruction necessary. In studies of Western children, a child's ability to tell a story emerges very early. It reliably develops between the ages of two and a half and three years of age (Sugiyama, "Food" 222). It is possible to differentiate even farther. There is a difference between the ability to form hypothetical or contrafactual ideas - to pretend - and the ability to comprehend the idea of representation itself. At age two, children can pretend. Between age two and four a critical development takes place; children understand narrative. "Four year old children can comprehend the landscape of consciousness as the story character's mental representation of the actual situation that is depicted in the story" (Astington 158). In other words, children acquire the ability to understand four levels of intentionality. Chimpanzees can understand about three levels of intentionality: I (1) believe that you (2) want me (3) to believe... (Dunbar 96-97). Humans easily reach to a level of four with stories: Audience/Author (1) understand that character A (2) believes that character B (3) wants character C (4)

to believe... (e.g. Dunbar 82-7). In other words, anyone (1) who has read *Pride and Prejudice* understands that Elizabeth (2) knows that Jane (3) wants Mr. Bingley (4) to think well of her. Children of age four can see that someone else's statements, even a fictional character's statements, represent their belief of reality, even if the belief is mistaken. Children can also comprehend that the character will act in accordance with his/her representation. Humans have "...in the terms of cognitive psychology, a theory of mind, a more-or-less automatic understanding of what it means to be someone else" (McEwan 5). The development of theory of mind in two and four year olds, plus the fact that autistic children do not engage in pretend play lead Sugiyama to posit a feedback loop between storytelling and the theory of mind: "At the very least it would appear that narrative provides us with the opportunity to expand our knowledge of human nature and the conditions that constrain it both universal and local" (Sugiyama "Reverse" 189).

Another indication as to the ancient origins of narrative in humans is that a child's ability to tell a story emerges concurrently with the early stages of language development (Astington 153). Children are able to comprehend and tell stories shortly after they learn to speak, and this testifies to the fundamental nature of the narrative.

The indication that the folk narrative has worldwide importance to all humans and importance over time is strong. This includes: 1) The cross-cultural ubiquity of the folk narrative; 2) The ability of the folk narrative to cross cultures; 3) The ability of the genre as well as individual folk narratives to survive for millennia; 4) The reliable development in humans of the ability to generate and understand narrative; 5) The relationship between narrative and theory of mind; and 6) The close timing between the development of language and the



development of narrative capability. Therefore the folk narrative can be used to study questions about worldwide culture and about changes in culture over time. In addition, the oral narrative is our oldest form of literature, therefore certain aspects might be tracked through societies representing different time periods in human cultural evolution. In conclusion, the folk narrative seems likely to be an excellent source of information about the evolution of thought and culture in humans.

### **The Folk Narrative as an Information Storehouse**

If one is to use the folk narrative to study questions about the evolution of culture, one must also ask whether there is any indication the folk narrative contains information. Humans find narratives entertaining, but is there any indication folk narratives contain and communicate information, serve a function or contain information scholars would find useful? The wealth of the folk narrative as an information storehouse is apparent when one considers a sample of the research by scholars who have found the study of folk narratives pertinent to their fields.

#### **1. Anthropology**

Anthropologists recognize tales as an integral part of the societies being studied and anthropologists collect folk narratives the same way they collect other information about the society, from canoe building to kinship structure. Barre Toelken states that folklorists collect tales, customs and beliefs "in the belief that only through a study of folklife can we ever understand the nature of human cultural history and expression" (Toelken 31). Anthropologists recognize multiple

functions of the oral narrative such as, to strengthen tradition, to educate, to maintain conformity, and to apply social pressure (Bascom 344-347).

There are many theories about the type of information the folk narrative conveys. For example, anthropologist-folklorist Alan Dundes felt folklore was mostly fantasy and recommended a psychological approach ("Anthropologist"). Benedict used a literal, historical approach but felt that tales also act as daydreams and wish fulfillment. She noted incongruities between actions in the tales and actual social practices to support her idea (*Zuni* xx-xxi). Bascom cited Rattray's work in West Africa to show the use of the folk narrative as a psychological outlet and Bascom also cited the Native American, Jicarilla, to show an example of a society where there was a high correlation between myth and actual conduct (340-342). Boas, a pioneer of modern anthropology, believed in a one to one relationship between folklore and culture and preferred a literal historical reading. Therefore he advocated a thorough collection of texts as well as a thorough investigation of the cultures from which the narratives were collected. (Dundes, *Game* 8-9).

Bieseke compared the content of a Ju/'hoan narrative to the patterns of life in the Ju/'hoan culture and concluded that the folk narratives of the Ju/'hoan could be seen as communication and were used for education, sharing information and creating consensus (59). Bieseke also found that tales "reflected the situation-specific knowledge that hunter-gatherers are interested in inculcating" and that details of the environment and social interactions could be communicated fully because there was the "scaffolding in the unfolding of plot" (60). Bieseke concluded: "There was, at least for some time in human history, a set of conditions under which the 'prose' narrative form was useful enough to be selected for" (59).

Tonkinson noted a specific connection between Australian Aboriginal narratives and environment. "Because many [narratives] tell of journeys covering hundreds of miles of desert, through areas that Mardudjara in many cases have not seen, they broaden the ...geographical outlook of the Aborigines..." (89). When Tonkinson requested it, one of the elders who had narrated a myth drew a detailed map of the area in the narrative, including the location of soaks, creekbeds and rocks (92-93). Tonkinson remarks on the "diversity of content that coexists with the narratives' striking uniformity of structure" (94).

The collection and analysis of the folk narrative has been largely marginal to anthropology and the tales are mostly seen as corroborating information already acquired through anthropological studies of the particular culture from which a particular narrative was collected. However, both Biesele and Tonkinson noted that narratives function to convey detailed information about the environment. Biesele and Bascom both noted that the folk narratives communicate information about social interactions as well.

## **2. Archaeology**

Archaeologist Donald Bahr established locations in the Hohokum Chronicles by comparing descriptions in the tales to the mapped prehistoric irrigation canals of the Salt River Valley, near Phoenix, Arizona (124-125, 324-25). Archaeologist Josephine Flood held that Australian folktales retain accurate recall of information about migrations, extinctions, climatic and geological changes (112-113, 179-180). One of the earlier amateur archaeologists, Schliemann, used the works of Homer to locate Troy. Although there is still debate as to whether the site, Hissarlic, is actually Homer's Troy, Schliemann discovered a

rich archaeological site using the folk narrative as a guide (Deuel 148-154; Duchêne 46-47).

### 3. Psychology

In the folk narrative, Jungian psychologists find universal, symbolic archetypes which are held to be expressions of the collective unconscious (e.g. Von Franz, Estes). Freudian psychologists find an individual psychological development based on universal problems humans face (e.g. Bettelheim). For example, in *Uses of Enchantment*, Bettelheim applied Freudian analysis to specific tales as well as to the fairy tale genre in general. Bettelheim concluded that fairy tales have been refined over centuries and therefore are able to “speak simultaneously to all levels of the human personality” and to multiple stages of development (5). The tales offer examples of “both temporary and permanent solutions to pressing difficulties” (6) and the tales are mechanisms which help a child find meaning in life (32).

Bettelheim analyzed a number of fairy tales from a Freudian perspective. “Hansel and Gretel” was interpreted as a tale about overcoming oral craving, regression, denial and fixation to primitive levels of development (160-162). Bettelheim discounted literal meanings and gave the example that becoming king or queen at the end of a fairy tale symbolizes individual independence and has no social or historical overtones (127). Instead, Bettelheim stressed the aspect of the fairy tale that allows the listener to deal with the unconscious not through rationality but through rearranging and fantasizing about the story elements. As Bettelheim says, “A witch as created by the child’s anxious fantasies will haunt him; but a witch he can push into her own oven and burn to death is a witch the

child can believe himself rid of" (166). Evil in the fairy tales is obvious and powerful but always overcome. With the guarantee of a happy ending, the child doesn't have to worry about letting his unconscious come to the fore since he knows that whatever happens, he'll live happily ever after (10). Although events in the tales are improbable, they are presented as if they are ordinary enough to happen to you and me, and they are accepted because they facilitate the child's ability to talk about and deal with difficult issues (31). In this way, Bettelheim explains how a tale would deal with the child's truth more effectively than a rational explanation.

Bettelheim foreshadowed the idea of the folk narrative as a cultural artifact which evolves under selection pressure. He noted that characters are typical rather than unique; they are clearly drawn with only essential details included, thus the tales become universally applicable (40). Bettelheim found that the fairy tale was particularly able to carry important information because, he said, the fairy tale is the result of common conscious and unconscious content which has been shaped by conscious minds across thousands of years. Thus fairy tales represent the consensus of many people regarding what they view as universal human problems and what they accept as desirable solutions (32).

In summary, in *Uses of Enchantment*, Bettelheim concluded that fairy tales carry important information to the conscious, the preconscious and the unconscious mind on whatever level is functioning at the time (6). Thus psychology has also found that the folk narrative conveys information.

#### 4. Literature

Max Lüthi analyzed the fairy tale as a literary work and stressed the points of style shared in fairy tales: a penchant for action, the lack of detailed description and the isolation of characters and episodes (50). For Lüthi, the power of the fairy tale lay in the text itself without reference to individual storytellers or storytelling communities, in other words, without reference to the social and cultural contexts (34). Lüthi's analysis focuses on the folktale's unique combination of the folktale message, structure and style and especially the folktale's artistry: "We experience the fairy tale as a work of art" (46).

A newer form of literary analysis has worked to study connections between the oral narrative and biological aspects of the brain. Literary scholar, Brian Boyd, analyzed the connection between the 2.5 second 'present' memory storage of the brain and the length of line in *Horton Hears a Who* by Dr. Seuss (B. Boyd, "Horton" 204). This investigation illustrated how literature crosses the line often drawn between culture and biology. Cognitive Psychologist David Rubin examined oral literature in relation to the brain's limited capacity for memory. Rubin showed how oral literature's constraints such as meaning, imagery, rhyme, alliteration and rhythm combine to cue recall and decrease memory load (Rubin).

#### 5. Socio-historical

The socio-historicists analyze the connection between the social conditions and the tale at the time the tale is written down or initiated, thus both oral and literary forms of folk and fairy tales are seen to be grounded in history, emanating from specific struggles (Zipes, *Great Fairy Tale* 868). Theoretically, each telling of a tale is seen to reflect the social concepts of the historical epoch in which that

tale was told. For example, socio-historicist Jack Zipes examined the telling of tales in societies from prehistory to the present. Zipes found that in prehistory tales and the telling of tales were a way to bind the community together. The tales had an ever changing variation, unconscious structure, and a face to face method of transfer and the tellers relied upon memory and the present moment to shape the message of the tale for that particular telling (*Happily* 69-73). With the instigation of a hierarchical society, folk and fairy tales were used by individuals in the larger community to represent the wish fulfillment of the lower classes and to challenge the status quo (Zipes, *Happily* 138; Zipes, *Creative* 225). Zipes pointed out that as printing and a literate populous developed, the oral tales were taken over by an elite, monied class oriented toward reproducing staple, salable items. Thus a single individual became able to impart his version to a much larger group of people. This power eventually extended to corporations, such as the Disney corporation, in which only the very powerful and rich can be the storytellers; and the stories these corporations tell are re-experienced in exactly the same format in a one-way passage to thousands of audiences over decades (Zipes, *Fairy Tale* 84-86). Thus Zipes followed the millennia-long centralization of human society and its effect on storytelling.

The analysis of "Rumpelstiltskin" by Jack Zipes is an example of a more specific socio-historicist analysis (Zipes, "Rumpelstiltskin"). From early societies until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, women controlled spinning in a sphere separate from male influence. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, women had lost power in the political and social arenas, but women had still maintained power over their own productivity in spinning. With the introduction of the spinning factories during the Industrial Revolution, women were having to cede control in this arena as well.

Zipes compared two versions of Grimms' tale "Rumpelstiltskin." The earliest version, from the Ölenburg Manuscript from 1810 is closest to the storyteller and this version was compared with the last and most heavily rewritten version from the Grimms' 1857 edition of *KinderundHaus Märchen*. In the Ölenburg Manuscript from 1810, women - the girl and her maid - unite to defeat the male figure, Rumpelstiltskin. By the end of the tale, the girl has been initiated into the women's field of spinning flax into yarn. In the 1857 version, the spinning girl's life is completely circumscribed by men - her father, her husband, Rumpelstiltskin and the male servant who discovers Rumpelstiltskin's name. Spinning in the tale has been appropriated by men so thoroughly, the tale views being able to spin flax to gold as better than being able to spin flax to yarn (Zipes, "Rumpelstiltskin" 56-58). Zipes concluded that this folktale addressed female oppression resulting from the change in the economic situation and the changes in the two versions reflected social conditions and concerns of the time in which each tale was written down.

Socio-historicists investigate the content of the tale, the act of storytelling and the information which tales convey. Like anthropologists, the socio-historicists find information in the content of the tales which corresponds to already known information, the social history of the epoch in which the tale is written down. However, in this style of analysis, the folk narrative is interpreted within a context that includes the teller, the tale, the society, the act of telling a story and the social message. Because the socio-historicists envision the tale as part of a larger social system and because socio-historicists study connections between the tale and the social context, this style of analysis has helped lay the groundwork for the style of large scale folk narrative analysis this thesis develops.



The question has been asked: Is there any indication that the folk narrative contains information? A search through research in diverse fields has answered this question. The folk narrative has been shown to contain and communicate information on multiple levels and in different areas. Folk narratives can communicate specific information to modern scholars and folk narratives also communicate specific information to the audience at the time of the telling. The types of information conveyed range from the location of waterholes to the developmental psychology of children, to the relationship between the length of the present perceived by our brains and the length of line in a poem. The folk narrative also functions in community building and information exchange. Information was not only found in the content, but also in the structure of the narrative. The wealth of information and different types of information found by many scholars in the folk narrative demonstrates that the folk narrative presents considerable possibilities for examining fundamental questions about human culture and the evolution of human culture.

### **The Folk Narrative as a Resource**

The wealth of the folk narrative as an information storehouse is apparent, but if one wishes to study evolutionary questions one must be able to assemble a representative worldwide data set. Therefore one must establish that the number of folk narratives is large enough and covers enough cultures worldwide to assemble the requisite data set. There is a large treasury of folk narratives which has been collected over the past 200 years. The Grimms' collection of 1812 served as an impetus for many other national collections such as the Danish collection by Asbjørnsen and Moe (1845) and the Russian collection by Afanas'ev (1855 -

1863). Some collections were made by early anthropologists who followed on the heels of explorers and occupation by colonial powers, such as the Agikuyu collection by Routledge (1910) and the Valenge collection by Earthy (1933). As a result of the influence of Franz Boas in the early 1900's, there are many large, well-documented collections of folktales such as the many collections by Parsons (1918 - 1943), collections of the Cochiti (1931) and of the Zuni (1935) by Benedict and of African-American collections by Hurston (1930). More recently, there has been a significant effort to collect worldwide on a formal level with precise transliterations and translations, such as the collections of narratives of the Nunggubuyu by Heath in 1980, of the Nez Percé by Walker in 1988, of the people of the Marshall Islands by Tobin in 2002. On a less literal but still detailed and academically robust level, there are the collection of narratives, such as those from the Eskimo by Hall in 1975, the Limba by Finnegan in 1966 and the Amur River region by van Deusen in 2001. There is a data base large enough to accommodate extensive cross-cultural surveys in the present. In addition, the data base includes narratives from industrial to hunter-gatherer cultures in sufficient numbers to explore questions about the evolution of culture. Many scholars have analyzed individual tales or groups of tales; however the resource as a whole entity remains untapped.

“...once recorded, very little subsequent use may be made of such material [collected folk narratives]. Indeed, these archival collections, once published, often molder on our shelves waiting for the professional folklorist, or someone else, to make use of them in a dim and uncertain future.” (Bascom 279)

In summary, the folk narrative is fundamental in human cultural evolution. This is demonstrated by the folk narrative's ability to endure; because the folk narrative is ubiquitous; and because narrative ability reliably develops in humans. Thus the folk narrative offers us the chance to analyze cultural similarities and differences worldwide, and to possibly identify changes in the way humans have thought across millennia, in other words, to track the evolution of human culture. The folk narrative contains many kinds of information at many levels and this begs the question; how does one elicit that information?

## Chapter Two: Analysis of the Folk Narrative

*"To see a world in a grain of sand*

*And heaven in a wildflower*

*Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,*

*And eternity in an hour."* William Blake

We have seen the types of information scholars from many fields have gleaned from the folk narrative. However, the primary goal of this thesis is to build the foundations of a methodology which can be used to identify and analyze aspects of the human mind as well as possibly track changes in the way humans have thought across long periods of time. These are types of information which have not yet been elicited from the folk narrative.

By investigating other methodologies, one can see which ideas might be useful for this purpose. Different forms of content analysis are the current, dominant method for analyzing tales. Diffusion of memes is the current, dominant method for analyzing cultural evolution. The diffusion of memes approach is based on the diffusion of genes approach in the study of biological evolution, however an alternative approach views the gene as part of a large system which co-develops and co-evolves.

This thesis proposes a quantitative methodology based on the idea of the folk narrative as part of a large interacting system. To elicit information about changes in culture over time, the methodology is large scale, quantitative research which ultimately enables general, qualitative analysis. Two key choices for the presented methodology are to divide the folk narrative into countable,

independently defined units, and to quantify the relationship between and among the units in the context of the folk narrative as part of a system.

The first questions in the quest for a methodology are: How have other scholars who have studied the folk narrative arrived at their information? What kind of information did their methods enable these scholars to elicit and what kind of information was unable to be perceived using their methodologies?

### **Standard Content Analysis**

Content analysis is the current, dominant method for analyzing narrative texts. Many methods of investigation come under the large umbrella of content analysis. Content analysis is defined as "the systematic, objective quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf xv). Content analysis is often used in "communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business" as well as folk tale analysis (Neuendorf xv). The units used in standard content analysis consist of the researcher's definitions, questions, evaluation guidelines and evaluations made by coders, usually research assistants. Critical to this style of analysis is the aim for an objective view of the subject matter coupled with the idea that there is no true objectivity, only a socially agreed upon reality. Therefore the guidelines are specifically designed to shape the coders' opinions, and the validity of the study hangs upon the various coders' opinions and judgments being the same. The basis of the analysis is not the question "is it true?" but rather "do we agree it is true?" (Neuendorf 11).

An example of a sociologist employing this method is Whyte's study, *The Status of Women in Preindustrial Societies*. This study used a data set which comprised ninety-three preindustrial cultures and analyzed fifty-two questions as

they related to each culture. Then the study analyzed the patterns of association among these questions to see if general cross-cultural patterns would emerge. The underlying assumption in Whyte's organizing framework was a societal model of male-dominated versus female-dominated. Many of Whyte's results were categorized on a scale from male dominance to female dominance. Therefore Whyte concluded: "Our findings do lead us to doubt that there are any cultures in which women are totally dominant over men" (167). Whyte's methodology and theoretical position, his questions and the organization of the answers to his questions, facilitated the investigation, but also played a powerful role in defining the results of the study. This is a major stumbling block of this style of content analysis.

As I have argued above (20-21), psychologist Bruno Bettelheim's content analysis of the fairy tale presupposed the Freudian worldview and assumed that meaning in the tales could be understood regardless of cultural conventions and contexts. For example, Bettelheim assumed that all children understand they are the protagonist and they identify with the protagonist without considering gender (9). In addition, Bettelheim often drew specific conclusions from a detail in a single variant of a tale without considering whether that detail was also included in the hundreds or thousands of other variants of that same tale (e.g. 171). Thus by removing context and by assuming Freudian paradigms and assuming their universal application, Bettelheim's analysis of the fairy tale resulted in the corroboration of the Freudian paradigms. Again, because of the researcher's theoretical position, the assumptions buried in the organization and in the questions facilitated investigation, but also powerfully determined the results and the information elicited from the narratives.

### **Content Analysis Based on Structure**

Researchers are familiar with their own culture but the questions I propose to investigate deal not only with other cultures but also with cultures of the past. A way others have attempted to minimize the researcher's assumptions and maximize the ability to operate cross-culturally has been to use a small, tightly defined unit rather than a theoretical approach.

This methodology is well represented by the "Finnish School" as well as by Propp's method of analysis of folktales. The Finnish method based analysis on the idea that each type of folktale derives from an "ur-folktale" or original form. This method requires a scholar to do a complete life history of a tale. First, one identifies the tale using the Aarne-Thompson Index, then not just some, but all variants of that particular tale are collected. Then a researcher is meant to uncover all the facts about the history of the tale before any interpretation is done, but the time it takes to produce a complete geographical, life-history of a tale basically precludes the possibility of working on the interpretation of the tale (Dundes, "Folklore in Literature" 29).

Since the first step of this method is identification of a type of tale, the Finnish method has compiled the centerpiece of folktale studies, the massive classification system called the Aarne-Thompson Index. The Aarne-Thompson Index classifies folktales at the semantic levels of theme and motif, which supposedly operate independently and survive transmission as a unit. However, a clear cut division into types does not actually exist on the level indicated by the Aarne-Thompson Index. Some tales can be classified in several tale types. If a tale includes a stupid ogre and a magical object, it involves an arbitrary decision to

determine whether that tale is placed under IIA Tales of Magic (Objects) or IID Tales of the Stupid Ogre (Dundes, "Etics" 63). At times, the Aarne-Thompson Index switches from larger divisions such as themes to smaller divisions such as motifs.

Another key assumption in this method is that there is an original form of a tale and that all variants of a tale go back to one parent form. It is assumed a tale decays over time and by comparing the variants, the scholar attempts to identify the geographical path of the tale's dissemination. Using the resulting geographical distribution and dispersion maps, the scholar tries to trace a tale back to its origins and its original form. (Holbek 33; Thompson, *Folktale* 429-436).

The assumption of an original text is interesting and problematic. Recognizing the similarities of tales and their facility for substituting an evil magician for an evil dragon is like recognizing the way a child has her mother's eyes or her father's nose. We often trace our ancestors back to some great-great-grandfather who fought in the American Revolution or who immigrated to Australia. Yet, our actual ancestry does not trace back to one founding person, but to a larger and larger network of persons who have interacted over time. Even if we trace mitochondrial DNA back to an Eve from which every living human has received their mitochondrial DNA, we are not looking at a single originator, rather we are looking at a survivor, but still a variant, along an evolving path. Although this is similar to the diffusion of genes approach used in biological and evolutionary studies, the choice to investigate the diffusion of a cultural artifact assumes a path and an origin and this shapes the investigation and results. For example, to track the path of a tale, the Finnish method assumes that the folktale decays over time and that folktales correct themselves (Dundes "Devolutionary"



18). A change in the text is considered a mistake and results in a contaminated text (Thompson, *Folktale* 437). In an evolutionary context, however, change is a means of putting forth options that may or may not be more useful than what already exists. Change itself is a critical strength of any system which is placed under a form of natural selection. Therefore, if a storyteller makes a change while telling a tale, that change may or may not be a successful change which is then passed on through other retellings, but when considering the folk narrative in an evolutionary context, it is a strength of the folk narrative system that both change and stability exist in the system.

Classification systems drive research toward certain types of analysis and information. For instance consider the question: What are the major animal groups worldwide? To answer this question, one could assume that the first letter was very important and divide all animals into those whose names begin with A (aardvark, antelope, ant...), and those that begin with other letters (crocodile, elephant, shark...) It would be a classification scheme, but most would agree that this classification would not be able to answer the question in a meaningful way. Through categories of tale-types, the Aarne-Thompson Index enables one to identify and compare specific folktales and their variants as well as to identify and compare different parts of tales, but it does not necessarily allow one to compare the tales in a way that is meaningful with regards to the worldwide, cross-cultural issues this thesis intends to investigate.

Another researcher, Vladimir Propp, also attempted to construct a comprehensive analytical scheme by examining Aarne-Thompson Index types 300-749 - the fairy tale - and a sample set of one hundred Russian tales. Like the Finnish method, Propp reduced the tales to small units, which presumably operate

independently and could, without alteration, be transferred among tales. Propp believed that the themes of the Aarne-Thompson Index were too unfocused and unreliable, therefore Propp made a new minimal unit, the “function” ( 25-65). Propp noted that the names of actors and their attributes changed, but the actions did not (20). A hero might be carried to another kingdom by a horse, a bird or a boat, but structurally this did not matter; the hero being carried was the constant element (19). So Propp assumed *who* and *how* were not important and he analyzed the fairy tale on the basis of action. As Propp tried to prove that the functions were independent of how they were fulfilled, he found himself having to consider the consequences of the actions and how these related to the hero. In other words, the separation between action and subjects began to blur. As in the Aarne-Thompson Index, a clear cut division of units did not exist.

In his analysis of Grandfather Tiger, anthropologist Eberhard noted the anthropologist’s preference for the Finnish method over Propp’s method. Eberhard focused on sociological information in Taiwanese folktales and advocated the use of as many variants as possible (102). While Propp felt that the actors and their attributes and accoutrements were unimportant, Eberhard sees these as critical to an understanding of the culture in which the tale is embedded.

“For Propp, for instance, the replacement of the tiger by another animal is irrelevant, as such a replacement does not change the structure. For us, however, such a change may significantly correlate with social data such as age, sex, class, or ethnic group, perhaps even with area and ecological data. Thus we would always prefer collections made on the basis of the Finnish method to those made on the basis of the Propp method.” (Eberhard 103)

In conclusion, both the Aarne-Thompson Index and Propp classify but do not interpret content. Although these systems use small units that were intended to operate independently, neither of these systems is internally consistent. However, in this style of content analysis, details in tale variants from many cultures are considered. Thus information from many cultures is included, but a tale is not exclusively linked to the culture that produced or transmitted that tale. Despite the problems in the Aarne-Thompson Index, this style of analysis, the division of tales into small units, manages to track tales cross-culturally. We are still left with the question: What is the best way to minimize a researcher's unacknowledged cultural assumptions and to remain open to the broadest range of information in the folk narrative?

### **Structural Content Analysis by Linguists**

A linguistic view of the narrative states: "Some higher level of organization takes place in stories that does not take place in strings of sentences" (Rummelhart 212). In order to define this organization, linguists use a story grammar, a set of rules that describes the structure of all stories regardless of content. Although similar in idea to the Aarne-Thompson Index and Propp, story grammars take their cue from sentence grammars. A sentence rule is: Sentence = Noun phrase + Verb phrase. A story grammar could be: Story = Setting + Episode. Just like "Noun phrase" is a technical term, so too "Setting" and "Episode" are technical terms that have rules about how they are to be treated. For example, "Setting" can be written out in English words like "inside a house." However, "Episode" has further divisions and might be written: "Episode" = Beginning + Change of State + Cause + Development + Cause + Ending (Rubin 28-29). These divisions are added or

separated as mutually exclusive alternatives. These are then summarized using criteria such as Initiation and Motivation (Rummelhart 213-221). This style of content analysis "involves reconstruction of the composition of the narrative. The assumption is that the researcher is a competent reader of narratives" (Neuendorf 5). In the case of a story grammar, the researcher defines the setting and where the episodes begin and end as well as the motivation and the other criteria.

“Connected discourse differs from an unrelated string of sentences in that it is possible to pick out what is important in connected discourse and summarize it without seriously altering the meaning for the discourse. The same is not true of strings of unrelated sentences. Since such strings lack structure and do not make meaningful wholes they cannot be summarized at all.” (Rummelhart 226)

One need only read through a series of unrelated sentences and compare that to a tale and one can see the validity of part of this statement. Strings of unrelated sentences do not have the structure, the organization, inherent in a story. However, like Propp and Aarne, linguists assume "it is possible to pick out what is important...and summarize it without seriously altering the meaning" (Rummelhart 226). It is this assumption typical of content analysis that again becomes problematic. In the very first example of content analysis above, we have seen how Whyte used an ideological system to organize his material, thus defining the outcome. For years, it seemed the Aarne-Thompson Index had constructed a method of structural analysis that escaped the ideological bias of the researcher. Rummelhart's statement, however, draws attention to the usually unacknowledged assumption that "it is possible to pick out what is important...and summarize it

without seriously altering the meaning" (Rummelhart 226). When feminist scholars focused on the Aarne-Thompson Index's structural analysis of folktales, they mounted a serious challenge to this assumption.

Maria Tatar used Aarne-Thompson tale type 400 (AT 400) and its analog Aarne-Thompson tale type 425 (AT 425) to show the unequal treatment of males and females in the Aarne-Thompson Index (Tatar, *Off* 159). AT 400 is entitled, "The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife." AT 425, a similar tale type but with a female protagonist, is not entitled, "The Woman on a Quest for her Lost Husband," but is entitled, "The Search for the Lost Husband." When the protagonist is male, he is the subject of the tale type. When the protagonist is female, she is not the subject of the tale type; in fact she is not even included in the title of the tale type. The first theme listed in AT 400 is entitled "The Hero" whereas the first theme in AT 425 is not entitled "The Heroine," but rather, "The Monster as Husband." Thus the heroine of the female tale type is neither included in the title nor the first theme, but her husband is included in both. As Maria Tatar stated, "The Aarne-Thompson Index offers a particularly vivid example of the way in which the most expert readers of a folktale rewrite it even as they do nothing more than summarize its events" (Tatar, *Off* 159).

Therefore, it is not viable to assume that a researcher using content analysis can reconstruct the organization of a narrative in a way that is reproducible by all researchers. Although content analysis attempts to be a systematic, objective quantitative analysis that might be reproduced by other researchers, there are still many decisions made by the analyst that may or may not be held in common even with other researchers. Linguists recognize that, "...all discourse analysis involves

judgment. Structural analyses entail numerous judgments, many of which remain nonexplicit" (Trabasso and Sperry 610).

Trabasso and Sperry go on to state, "Our results indicate that judgments of importance are determined in part by local linking of one event to another by causal and/or logical inferences" (610). This brings up another critical assumption in linguistic narrative analysis -- there is a strong focus on causality. Narratives are seen as a series of causal events, which are then divided into a hierarchy of superordinate goals and subordinate goals. "A frequent example of a cause which operates at a distance and yet is a direct cause occurs when a goal motivates an action..." (Trabasso and Sperry 598).

"The story of the Father, His Son and the Donkey" is a good example of this goal oriented analysis and its problem:

"A man and his son were once going with their donkey to market. As they were walking along by his side a countryman passed them and said, 'You fools, what is a donkey for but to ride upon?' So the man put the boy on the donkey, and they went on their way. But soon they passed a group of men, one of whom said, 'See that lazy youngster, he lets his father walk while he rides.' So the man ordered his boy to get off, and got on himself. But they hadn't gone far when they passed two women, one of whom said to the other, 'Shame on that lazy lout to let his poor little son trudge along.' Well, the man didn't know what to do, but at last he took his boy up before him on the donkey. By this time they had come to the town, and the passersby began to jeer and point at them. The man stopped and asked what they were scoffing at. The men said,

'Aren't you ashamed of yourself for overloading that poor donkey of yours -- you and your hulking son?' The man and boy got off and tried to think what to do. They thought and they thought, until at last they cut down a pole, tied the donkey's feet to it, and raised the pole and the donkey to their shoulders. They went along amid the laughter of all who met them until they came to a bridge, when the donkey, getting one of his feet loose, kicked out and caused the boy to drop his end of the pole. In the struggle the donkey fell over the bridge, and his forefeet being tied together, he was drowned.

*Try to please everyone, and you will please no one.* (J. Jacobs, *Aesop* 149-151)

The superordinate goal in this story is defined as taking the donkey to market. The subordinate goals are the goals in each episode, where a person comments and the father reacts. Although the tale divides logically into these goals, the moral at the end gives the message of the tale and that message is not associated specifically with any of the individual goals, nor with the superordinate goal stated at the beginning of the tale, but with the tale as a whole. In other words, the construction of a narrative is not necessarily related to the information that narrative communicates. So, for example, if one were investigating mate preferences, using the superordinate goal of unmarried at the beginning of the tale, married at the end of the tale (Gottschall, "Patterns" 378), one would have designed research which would uncover the organization of the tale, not necessarily the information in the tale.

When one views a tale as a series of causal events, one disregards a prominent characteristic of the folk narrative, its highly interactive nature. In

cultures with oral literature, many storytelling sessions include audience feedback and participation. Z. Pallo Jordan documented a storytelling session in which “no less than six of the audience went with the principal narrator. They began 'fattening' the narrative with dialogue, mimicry, bird calls, graphic descriptions of the grass-warbler's stunts when left alone in the sky...Far from feeling he [the original narrator] was being interrupted, this man was the most delighted of all” (xvi-xvii). Anthropological research has shown that individuals in foraging societies acquire a large percentage of their information through information exchange (Sugiyama, "Reverse" 190), therefore information exchange cued by a folk narrative could be a key aspect of the folk narrative and one that a causal analysis of a tale would miss.

The assumption of a causal relationship also ignores the co-development and interaction of multiple aspects of the system including the culture, the storyteller and the tale as exemplified by Zipes' analysis of the changes in the narrative "Rumpelstiltskin" and the way those changes related to that particular historical epoch (See above 22-23). There are other parts of the folk narrative system one could consider, such as the influence exerted by environment on information exchange. For example, an Australian folk narrative about a walkabout might have a very similar construction to another walkabout narrative, but the information about waterholes and soaks and landmarks would be very different depending on where the tale was told (See above 19). A different type of information exchange might be social information as shown in the collection of women's tales from Egypt by Watson, which accents the function that narratives have in creating and maintaining group cohesion (17-20).



Tests about causality seem to associate causality with memory. Rubin states: "The logical necessity of each action in the causal chain is an easy-to-recall and important aspect of the structure of the stories: if part of a causal chain is forgotten, it can and must be constructed from what remains" (28). There seems to be part of an oral tale that is required for memory and a part that contains information. These two are not necessarily different, but as in the above cases, it can be seen that there is more information in a narrative than content analysis by causal chain elicits.

In summary, content analysis which begins with a theoretical view, such as the content analysis done by Bettelheim, obtains results which are highly specific to the judgments of the researcher. Content analysis which has used small divisions, such as the Aarne-Thompson Index and Propp, has had problems connecting the classification to meaning as well as problems with the independence of the units. Content analysis which imitates the rules of grammar still involves the assumption that one can summarize a narrative without changing its meaning and although linguists have attempted to mitigate the effects of this assumption, linguists focus on causal analysis which ignores many elements of the folk narrative system.

In constructing a methodology which is able to operate cross-culturally and across time, I have searched for a way to minimize a researcher's unacknowledged assumptions, and to remain open to the broadest range of information. The use of small, specifically defined units of study seems most effective. The use of pre-existing, pre-defined, units places less weight on the personal judgments of individual researchers; facilitates comparison; and enables various studies to be

merged. Therefore, I chose to use specifically defined, and externally defined units for a large scale analysis.

### **Methodology: The Unit**

To develop a methodology that can study differences in human cultures and changes in human culture over large time scales, the methodology has to be able to operate across culture and over time. The above investigation suggests one would need 1) Specifically defined units, such as structural units, which operate cross-culturally, 2) Externally defined units, in order to mitigate the influence of the assumptions and judgments made by individual researchers, 3) Tightly defined units to enable quantitative analysis, and 4) Units that have a connection to meaning on a larger scale.

I have chosen to use nominative case, the subjects of sentences, as my unit. First, nominative case, the subject of a verb, is a specific, well defined, grammatical concept. Nominative case is one of the most basic rules of grammar which linguistic experts maintain is found in all languages (Greenberg, Hockett, Jackobsen). Therefore, nominative case operates cross-culturally. Second, the definition of nominative case comes from linguistics, a field of study other than folk and fairy tales, folklore or anthropology. Third, nominative case is identifiable and it is countable. Counting does not involve judgments, opinions or coder bias. Fourth, nominative case can cross the barrier between structure and meaning because a subject is not only a grammatical construct but also is closely related to what is being discussed in the sentence (Quirk 11). In short, nominative case is a specifically defined, externally defined, countable unit which also enables a connection between quantitative results and qualitative assessment.

For every tale, I counted the gender of every nominative case, first and third person nouns and pronouns - subjects - of simple and compound sentences, main and subordinate clauses, active and passive voice. (See Appendix IV 232-242.) For every tale there was a result that looked like a fraction. For example, from the book *Behind Closed Doors* by female collector Monia Hejaiej, my count of tale number seven "The Old Witch and Satan" (235-36) by female teller Sa'diyya resulted in 13 male to 35 female nominative case, my count of tale number twenty-four "Overpowering Desire" (322-25) by the same female collector and the same female teller resulted in 124 male to 5 female nominative case. The tallies for all tales counted were listed in a chart. (See Figure A.) (See Appendix V 243- 256.)

**Figure A**

| TOC # | Teller's<br>Name | Editor's<br>Gender | Collector's<br>Gender | Teller's<br>Gender | # Male/<br># Female |
|-------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 7     | Sa'diyya         | ---                | F                     | F                  | 13/35               |
| 24    | Sa'diyya         | ---                | F                     | F                  | 124/5               |

**Caption for Figure A:** "TOC #" category represents the book's Table of Contents' identification of each narrative. "Editor's Gender" is left blank because this particular book was compiled by the same person who collected the tales. Therefore there was only a "collector" not a collector and editor. " # Male / # Female" category represents the number of male nominative case compared to the number of female nominative case in each story. I collected more information than just this, but for explanatory purposes, the chart has been truncated to include just the information being discussed here. (See Appendix V 243-256.)

I then used the fractions of gendered subjects to classify each tale in the context of gender. The use of a countable unit allows one to set a specific, well-defined threshold in a continuous trait. Creating a threshold is similar to the way one can define specific colors in a spectrum. Although blue gradually becomes purple, one can use wavelengths to separately define the colors. " It is obvious that any continuous trait can be transformed into a discrete, dichotomous, or polychotomous one by the introduction of thresholds along the continuous scale of measurement" (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 73). Where the percentage of female nominative cases in a tale exceeded  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total count of gendered nominative case in the tale, the tale was denoted a Female tale. Where the percentage of male nominative cases exceeded  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total count of gendered nominative case in the tale, the tale was denoted a Male tale. The introduction of a threshold can make differences observable. At  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority the dominance of one gender is clear. A column was included to denote the gender of the tale. (See Figure B.) (See Appendix V 238-253.)

The assumption that frequency of one gender in nominative case is an appropriate tool to measure which gender the tale is about, is an extrapolation of the standard grammatical definition of the subject of a sentence: "The subject of the sentence has a close general relation to 'what is being discussed'..." (Quirk 11). If a high percentage of subjects of the sentences in a folk narrative are of a single gender, then it is logical to say that that particular gender has a close general relation to what was being discussed. This connection between a countable unit and meaning on a larger scale is a powerful connection. It enables one to bring the tale into the same context as the teller and the collector, the context of gender. Rather

**Figure B**

| TOC<br># | Teller's<br>Name | Editor's<br>Gender | Collector's<br>Gender | Teller's<br>Gender | Tale's<br>Dominant<br>Gender | # Male/<br># Female |
|----------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 7        | Sa'diyya         | ---                | F                     | F                  | F                            | 13/35               |
| 24       | Sa'diyya         | ---                | F                     | F                  | M                            | 124/5               |

**Caption for Figure B:** "TOC #" category represents the book's Table of Contents'

identification of each narrative. " #Male / #Female" category represents the number of male nominative case compared to the number of female nominative case in each story. To get category "Tale's Dominant Gender," one adds #Male nominative case to # Female nominative case, then uses that number as the denominator and places #Male (or #Female) nominative case in the numerator to see if the fraction exceeds 2/3. Therefore for Tale #7, # Female over # Male plus # Female looked like this:  $35 / 13 + 35 = 35 / 48$  which equals 0.73 female nominative case, which is more than 0.66 or 2/3. Therefore tale #7 is denoted a Female (F) tale. Likewise tale # 24 is processed as  $124 / 124 + 5 = 124 / 129 = 0.96$  male nominative case which is more than 0.66 or 2/3. Therefore tale # 24 is denoted a Male (M) tale. (See Appendix V 238- 253.)

than consider the tale as an observed trait and, for example, look at the diffusion of specific traits, this method looks at "statistical interactions among developmental factors" (Oyama, Griffiths and Gray 3). Both the storyteller and the tale were able to be considered as co-dependent, co-developing parts of an interacting system, the folk narrative system. (See Gray; Oyama, Griffiths and Gray.) This method of analysis also maintains the connection between the narrative and the narrator. Each teller has a style and a reason for telling a specific tale, some narrators are verbose, some are laconic, some tell in public, some tell only in private settings, but if we

examine thousands of tales from many cultures and find that there is a statistically significant difference in the gender of the tale as it relates to the gender of the teller, we will have been able to better understand the relationship between the teller and his/her tale in a broad, cross-cultural context.

This was a key decision in the methodology. This idea of including all parts of a system co-constructing and co-developing appealed to me in light of the highly interactive nature of the folk narrative. One can easily imagine a mother telling "Little Red Riding Hood" as a bedtime story to her children, and imagine one of the children saying, "It's not so good if she dies at the end." The immediately apparent parts of the folk narrative system in this situation include: the time of day; the place; the storyteller, who would have acquired the story from someone; that the storyteller would have chosen to tell this tale or would have told it at the request of her children; the context-dependent information; the audience participation; and the social bonding.

In a different version of the tale recorded in Brittany in 1885, which had supposedly been told around firesides for over a century, Little Red Riding Hood performs a striptease for the wolf and ultimately escapes (Tatar, *Classic* 3). A comparison of these two makes the context-dependency of the narrative apparent. The time of day might be the same; the place is different; there might be a gender difference in the storyteller; the storyteller may have acquired the story from the same gender or a different gender person; like the mother in the example above, this storyteller could also have told this tale either because s/he chose it or at the request of the audience; the audience is different; the historical period might be different; the information communicated is probably different; the type of social

bonding would be different; and one can imagine that the audience participation would be different.

While on one level the way the story is told and the way the story is received may be different, on another level the information communicated may be the same. For example, Bettelheim's analysis that the tale "Little Red Riding Hood" is concerned with the choice between the pleasure-seeking id and the responsibilities that come with facing reality, still holds weight in either of the above settings. In addition, the tale is not necessarily tied to the particular culture either variant was collected from. The mother in the example above could be in Germany telling her children "Röttcapchen" or in China telling her children "Grandaunt Tiger." One can thus extend the study of the folk narrative to the study of the folk narrative within the context of the folk narrative system. In doing so, one can study the folk narrative system for fundamental concepts in a worldwide context and but one can still maintain the folk narrative's connection to the social matrix and to the individualized context which is inherent in every telling of a tale.

When one views the folk narrative as part of a large interacting system, all of the aspects mentioned above can be studied by choosing a couple of interacting parts and controlling other variables. One has to consider the whole system but not study it all at once (Oyama, Griffiths and Gray 4). The folk narrative system can also be sub-divided in other ways to study how other aspects of the system interact. Thus the analysis progresses "through discussion of specific traits, rather than through some overall description of culture. Biological evolutionary theory has generally developed along the same lines; specific features of an organism, rather than the whole organism, have been the focus of attention" (Cavali-Sforza and Feldman 69). In the methodology developed in this thesis, the small unit is always

seen as connecting to the larger system because the method is based on the idea of the parts of the system co-influencing and co-constructing each other. The results are specific but not final because there are many interacting parts and the system is fluid. Multiple different studies will have to be done and added to each other before any kind of finality can be assumed. Therefore it will also be an important part of this methodology to place findings in the context of other research.

For my first survey (See below 47-74), I chose to investigate the editor, collector, storyteller and tale in the context of gender. Although there are many other variables, such as gender of translator, gender of audience, setting, etc., which need to be studied to thoroughly understand the relationship, one must begin somewhere.

The issue is to determine if there is any relationship between the folk narrative, the storyteller, the collector and the editor in the context of gender.



**Chapter Three: What Happened to the Heroines in Folktales: An  
Analysis by Gender of a Multi-Cultural Sample of Published  
Folktales Collected from Storytellers.**

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**Abstract**

Using grammatically defined units and a random selection of 1,601 folktales, this paper analyzes the gender of protagonists of published folktales as related to the gender of editors, collectors and storytellers. The differential representation of female folktales is statistically quantified. Independently reproducible results uphold mainstream feminist objections to supposedly impartial analyses of folk and fairy tales, and indicate that structuralist analyses which have not taken gender into account in the compilation of their data sets can be considered compromised. This paper demonstrates what mainstream feminists consider obvious but mainstream scholars in some other fields consider unproven assumption.

Although the gender/sex question has diminished in importance in fields such as Women's Studies, Folk and Fairy Tales and Folklore (B. Boyd, "Jane" 1), this question remains prominent in fields such as Sociobiology, Evolutionary Psychology and the emerging field of Literary Darwinism (Gottschall and Wilson). Gender first emerged as a significant issue in the study of folk and fairy tales in light of the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Bottigheimer, *Grimms'*; Lundell; Stone, "Things Walt Disney", "Misuses"; Tatar, *Hard Facts, Off*; Zipes, *Don't Bet*). Scholars analyzed common Western fairy tales and criticized the image of the passive, somnolent beauty (e.g. Bottigheimer, "Silenced

Women"; Kolbenschlag), the focus on self-sacrifice, marriage and the helpless woman (Rowe), and the connection of women's power and action with evil and ugliness (Lieberman 197).

Lundell mounted a formidable challenge to the Aarne-Thompson Index, the structuralist, dominant, classification scheme used in the study of folk and fairy tales. Lundell offered many examples of how the Aarne-Thompson Index places both male and female protagonists under male headings, ignores female activity, focuses on male activity at the expense of females, portrays females as passive and uses different standards to evaluate male and female behavior (Lundell). "That there is urgent need for revision of these research tools is made particularly clear when we read the following cross-reference in the Motif Index: '*Man*, see also *Person*.' '*Woman*, see also *Wife*'" (Lundell 162). Tatar's criticism of the system concluded: "The Aarne-Thompson Index offers a particularly vivid example of the way in which the most expert readers of a folktale rewrite it even as they do nothing more than summarize its events" (Tatar, *Off* 159).

Eventually this folk and fairy tale scholarship led to the acceptance of the idea that a male-centered tale from a male teller, collected by a male incorporates "a shared male worldview and experience," thus "the maleness of the collector conditions the choice of tales that are told, as well as the manner in which they're told" (Bottigheimer, "Luckless" 268). For many folk and fairy tale scholars this theory seemed so obvious that it has been treated as proven truth and much subsequent scholarship has focused on in-depth analysis within the context of the individual tales (e.g. Dundes, *Red*; Zipes, *Trials*), collections (e.g. Blackwell; Zipes, *Brothers*), cultures (e.g. Berndt; Del Negro; Hejaiej), life-stories (e.g. Sawin), analysis of performance (e.g. Ben-Amos; Meyer; Tsing), or of gender

itself (e.g. Stephens, "Male"). This trend often acts as a "critique of structuralist or formalist approaches that see texts as independent from lived experience or social content" (Berger 3). The strength of this approach is an intimate understanding of narrative functions as they relate to individuals and groups.

However, in the context of broader trends, one needs to recognize that other fields such as sociobiology, evolutionary psychology and even literary criticism in the emerging field of Literary Darwinism have continued to address and actually focus on the gender/sex issue. Scholars in Literary Darwinism have been drawn to the folktale as a resource (e.g. Gottschall, "Patterns," "Quantitative;" Sugiyama, "Origins," "Narrative," "Reverse"). Darwinists see endurance and cross-cultural ubiquity as evidence that a trait has conferred a reproductive advantage. Narrative and narrative ability are cross-cultural and endure. Every known culture tells its tales, from hunter-gatherer to the modern industrialist cultures (e.g. Hall; Deng; Karasik; Dance). The folk narrative has possibly been a part of our evolutionary history for 30,000 - 100,000 years (Sugiyama, "Narrative" 233). Even individual tales are able to survive for thousands of years (Zipes, *When Dreams* 51; Shumaker vi). In addition, most individuals within every culture have the ability to tell tales and understand narrative without any formal instruction (Sugiyama, "Narrative" 233). Darwinists see human reliance on the exchange and sharing of information as having favored the ability to convey relevant information in a memorable way (Pinker 482; Sugiyama, "Food" 228). Tales are a likely means for this information transfer because tales are remarkably memorable especially as compared to a twenty digit number. Recently scholars in fields such as English Literature and Evolutionary Psychology have begun applying Darwinian ideas to literature, children's literature and folk and fairy tales (e.g. Gottschall and Wilson; B. Boyd,

"Origin"; Carroll, "Human"). These scholars' scientifically inspired analyses are based in evolutionary theory and recently have included the application of statistics.

An example of this kind of analysis is Gottschall's "Quantitative Literary Study: A Modest Manifesto and Testing the Hypotheses of Feminist Fairy Tale Studies." Gottschall's hypothesis is: Since feminists have claimed that European fairy tales reflect "arbitrary gender norms of western patriarchal societies," then an analysis of gender norms in world folktales should prove the "social construction hypothesis" right or wrong ("Quantitative" 207-8). In other words, if gender representations in European fairy tales were shown to be the same as gender representations in folktales in the rest of the world, then the gender norms would be pan-human rather than constructed by Western patriarchy. Gottschall based his statistical analysis on content analysis of 1440 tales guided by evolutionary theories such as sex difference in mate preferences.

Gottschall states that a motivation for his analysis is that: "[T]he defining empirical claim of classic feminist gender theory is that gender is primarily...a product of nurture not nature" and that this idea has "shaped an immense body of feminist literary criticism" ("Quantitative" 207). Gottschall continues, "nowhere is this truer than in feminist analysis and critique of European fairy tales." He cites a retrospective issue of *Marvels and Tales* (Haase, *Fairy*) which "shows that most of the core claims of feminist fairy tale studies continue to enjoy broad support" (Gottschall, "Quantitative" 207). Gottschall concludes that: "The broad trends observed in European fairy tales were never violated" in world folktales ("Quantitative" 217). Therefore, the passive females of western tales would not be a product of a male construct of western patriarchal societies because females were

just as passive in other traditions. Thus, Gottschall concludes, the feminist social construction hypothesis failed.

Gottschall, himself, touches on the critical problem of his analysis. He attempts to respond to the claim that the European fairy tale sample reflects a male editing process and therefore analysis of this material will result in reaffirming the patriarchal view. Gottschall finds this idea unlikely because it would mean that “the dozens of male and female folklorists, ethnographers, anthropologists and other scholars...despite their varying national, disciplinary, ideological, and historical backgrounds – made exactly the same type of editorial manipulations...” (“Quantitative” 218).

If these scholars are correct in claiming that the fairy tale sample reflects a gendered editing process, then we would expect to observe this in the relationship between the predominant gender in folk and fairy tales and the gender of the editor, collector and storyteller. The aim of the current study was to use a carefully defined and randomly selected set of folktales to statistically analyze these questions: Is there a relationship between the predominant gender represented in a tale and the gender of the editor, collector and storyteller? Is the difference between the predominant gender in tales told by males and females large enough to impact on a data set which does not control for gender? Specifically, it was hypothesized that if there is gendered influence by editors, collectors and/or storytellers on the sample, then there will be a difference in the number of tales with predominantly female characters reproduced by female vs. male editors, collectors and/or storytellers.

## **Methodology**

General qualitative conclusions from quantitative analyses may help us perceive fundamental patterns in literature and culture (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 70). Although cultural issues are often complex, one can choose a level or milieu for analysis that makes differences observable. Any continuous trait can be made discrete by defining thresholds, similar to the way one could separate black from grey using wavelengths (Cavalli-Sforza 73). Specific units such as universal grammar constructs (Greenberg, "Universals of Grammar"; Hockett; Jakobson) can be used to define countable units in literature. Unlike standard content analysis which depends upon characterizations by various investigators, the counting of independently defined and identifiable grammatical constructs involves specific units not opinions. This use of countable units would allow one to set a specific, well-defined threshold to make differences observable in a cultural trait. This would also mitigate the problems of working in translation since the chosen grammatical constructs would be universal and therefore translatable. Simple but rigorous statistical surveys using averages or chi square fit will track changes, although more complicated statistics could also be used. (See Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman.)

### **Filters**

A tale in an anthology or even a tale told in a marketplace is material that has gone through a number of filters. The filters include: The editor, the collector and the storyteller. Storytellers generally draw their tales from a pool of their culture's tales, but storytellers tell their favorites and tales they think their audience will enjoy. Collectors collect folktales from some storytellers, not all, and collectors do not necessarily collect every tale the particular storytellers know. Editors include

tales from some collectors, not all, and from some of the collectors' storytellers, not all the storytellers, and not all the tales. This paper tracks and quantifies the differential representation of tales with predominantly female or male characters through these three filters.

## Method

The gender of each tale was established using universal, grammatically defined units. (Greenberg, "Universals of Grammar"; Hockett; Jacobsen). Nominative case nouns and pronouns (subjects) of simple and compound sentences and of main and subordinate clauses were counted. Where the percentage of female nominative cases in a tale exceeded  $2/3$ , the tale was denoted a Female tale. Where the percentage of male nominative cases exceeded  $2/3$ , the tale was denoted a Male tale. Thus a discrete threshold (over  $2/3$ ) of countable units (subjects) was established to define the gender of a tale as Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman suggested: "Any continuous trait may be transformed into a discrete...one by the introduction of thresholds along the continuous scale of measurement" (73). At  $2/3$  majority the dominance of one gender is clear, the simple division by three is commensurate with the data set, and differences are observable.

Some might object that a tale can be "about" women but still not have over  $2/3$  female in the nominative case. This paper's assumption that frequency of one gender in nominative case is an appropriate tool to measure which gender the tale is "about," is based on the standard grammatical definition of the "subject of a sentence." "The subject of the sentence has a close general relation to 'what is being discussed'" (Quirk 11). Therefore if over  $2/3$  of the subjects in the tale are of one gender, it is logical to say that that particular gender has a close general

relation to ‘what is being discussed.’ Hence the designation of a “Female” or “Male” tale. This paper analyzes the differential representation of tales with predominantly female or male characters as defined by a tale with more than 2/3 of one gender in the nominative case, therefore this analysis does not include tales which are not dominated by one or the other gender.

The books used in this paper come from Fisher Library of the University of Sydney, because the collection was large enough to provide large numbers of folktales. The set of folktales used in this analysis came from the 398.20 up to, but not including 398.21 in the Dewey Decimal Classification’s organization (Mitchell). Section 398.2 in the Dewey System is defined as “Folk Literature” as opposed to another section for religious mythology and yet another section for “belles-lettres by identifiable authors.” Section 398.2 – 398.209 comprises: “Folk Literature...Fairy tales, Folk literature by language” and section 398.209 3 – 398.209 9 comprises “treatment by specific continents, countries, localities (Mitchell 853). Thus the use of the Dewey Decimal Classification enabled a random survey within a pre-determined and externally determined definition of folktales.

It was important to obtain a random, unbiased sample, not influenced in any way by my favorites. Therefore, within the 398.20 section, the color of the book’s spine determined the subset of books used. Where possible, the genders of the editor, collector, storyteller, and tale were determined. (See below pp. 68-70). The subset of blue and red books did not include enough female editors, collectors or storytellers for a statistically significant sample. Thus, all green books with female editors in the Fisher 398.20 section were subsequently analyzed. The results were added to the information in the random survey.



One needs to recognize the difficulty inherent in this kind of research: Few editors give information about the gender of both the collectors and the storytellers. However, twenty-five different cultures or countries, with multiple examples from each continent, were represented in this random survey. (See below 72-74.) Over 396 different storytellers (over 298 male (M) and over 98 female (F)), over 45 different collectors (over 30 M and 15 F), 10 different editors (5 M and 5 F) and 1601 stories (1400 M and 201 F) have been included in this random survey. (See below 72-74). The exact numbers of storytellers and collectors were unable to be determined because some books gave the gender without identifying the storyteller and/or collector, thus making it possible to include the gender data, but impossible to determine the number of individuals who contributed to the data.

I was able to isolate the effects of editors, collectors and storytellers of each gender by compiling statistics for each permutation of the three filters. For example: The book, *Mayan Tales from Zinacantan* (Karasik), has a female editor, a male collector and both female and male storytellers. The first tale is designated FMM, because that tale has a “F”emale editor, a “M”ale collector and a “M”ale storyteller. The eleventh tale in the book is designated FMF, because it has a “F”emale editor, a “M”ale collector and a “F”emale storyteller. Every tale I surveyed was thus classified.

To determine the influence of the storyteller filter on the gender of the tales, I compared the gender of the tales in the two groups FMF and FMM. In both groups, the gender of the editor, F, and the gender of the collector, M, remain constants, and can for the moment be ignored. Notice that with these constants, FMF becomes \*\*F and FMM becomes \*\*M, allowing comparison of the gendered storytellers.

I determined the “N”umber of female and male tales told by the female storyteller,  $N_f(\text{FMF})$  and  $N_m(\text{FMF})$ . I determined the “P”ercentage of female tales told by the female storyteller by putting the number of female tales over the total of the male and female tales:

$$P_f(\text{FMF}) = \frac{N_f(\text{FMF})}{N_f(\text{FMF}) + N_m(\text{FMF})}$$

I repeated the above for the male storyteller, obtaining the percentage of female tales told by the male storyteller,  $P_f(\text{FMM})$ .

The influence of the gender of the “S”toryteller on the percentage of female tales in the FMF/FMM group is measured by the difference between the female and male percentages:

$$S_{(\text{FMF};\text{FMM})} = P_f(\text{FMF}) - P_f(\text{FMM})$$

More generally, the storyteller influence is:

$$S_{(**F; **M)} = P_f(**F) - P_f(**M)$$

There are four permutations in which both the collector and editor can be kept constant and the Storyteller gender filter can be determined:  $S_1 = \text{FMF};\text{FMM}$  (as noted above),  $S_2 = \text{MMF};\text{MMM}$ ,  $S_3 = \text{FFF};\text{FFM}$  and  $S_4 = \text{MFF};\text{MFM}$ . Notice that each category can be denoted as  $**F; **M$ , using  $*$  to denote the editor and another  $*$  to denote the collector as constants. The average of all these categories,  $S_1$ ,  $S_2$ ,  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  is the overall influence of the storyteller.

Similarly, to measure the influence of the “C”ollector:

$$C = P_f(*F*) - P_f(*M*)$$

and of the “E”ditor:

$$E = P_f(F^{**}) - P_f(M^{**})$$

The same technique can be applied to books which eliminate one or two of the categories as long as the stories have not gone through a more primary filter.

Therefore, books by collectors who note her/his storytellers' genders may be considered by using the permutations:  $C_1 = FF$ ;  $MF$  and  $C_2 = FM$ ;  $MM$ , or more generally,  $F^*$  and  $M^*$ . Since the tales have passed through the Storyteller filter, the storyteller can be held constant to determine the influence of the collector. The collector is differentiated from the editor in that a collector obtains her/his stories from the storyteller while an editor obtains her/his stories from collections compiled by collectors.

One can compare percentages of the summed data using the above method to isolate the influence of storytellers, collectors and editors. For example: The percentages of female tales told by male storytellers in the  $*M$  and  $**M$  categories result in an overall average of 8% female tales told by male storytellers. (See Table 1 below 65.)

In general, computing percentages allows us to see patterns in data, however, it does not take into consideration issues such as the fact that in one  $*M$  category with 454 tales the percentage was 2% female tales and in one  $**M$  category with only 8 stories the percentage was 25% female tales. In other words, percentages do not allow one to generalize from a small, measured sample to the larger unmeasured population. Therefore my methodology included testing my data with a widely accepted test of statistical significance, the chi square test, to determine whether or not the results can be generalized to a larger, unmeasured population. The chi square test enables one to determine whether or not two different samples are different enough that one can generalize from the samples to the larger

population from which the samples were drawn (Connor-Linton). In this case, the chi square test has been applied to the data to determine whether observed gender differences are statistically significant. The chi square test was applied to the numbers of tales in each category rather than the percentages. For example, in the example above,  $N_m$  (FMF) and  $N_f$  (FMF) were compared to  $N_m$  (FMM) and  $N_f$  (FMM).

Since a tale does not exist independently of a storyteller, it is not possible to determine the “true” or “baseline” ratio of female to male tales in any culture. In addition, since the method presented here involves counting, a standard deviation is also not applicable.

## Results

The results demonstrate that the predominant gender represented in a tale is related to the gender of the storyteller. Using the method above to isolate filters, the differential representation of female tales by gender of the storyteller is 36%. That is, female storytellers told about 44% female tales, while male storytellers told about 8% female tales. Three of the six compared categories isolating the storyteller filter are significantly different using a chi square test,  $p < 0.001$  (See Table 1 below 65.) The other three categories contain too few stories to enable a statistical comparison.

The difference between female and male collectors is not as pronounced as between female and male storytellers when it came to choosing the gender of the tales. (See Table 2 below 66.) There were not enough data to perform a chi square test on the gender of the editor. There were not enough data to obtain a result in a comparison of percentages because in 2 out of only 8 categories there was only 1

tale (MFF and MFM). (See Table 3 below 67.) However, the percentages again show that neither male nor female editors included 50% female tales.

The results also indicate that the predominant gender represented in a tale is related to the passage through a triple, single-gender filter (MMM or FFF). A comparison of the three female filters (FFF) and the three male filters (MMM) yields a difference of 48% (See Table 4). That is, when female editors selected from collections by female collectors who had collected from female storytellers, the result was 52% female tales, and when male editors selected from collections by male collectors who had collected from male storytellers, the result was 4% female tales. This difference is statistically significant using the chi square test,  $p < 0.001$ .

This survey also established that female storytellers made up less than 25% of the storytellers cited and the female tales made up about 12% of the total tales. The average number of stories told was three tales per female storyteller and four tales per male storyteller.

In summary, the results demonstrate that there is a statistically significant difference in number of female and male tales depending on the gender of the storyteller and whether the tales had passed through a triple, single-gender filter.

## **Discussion**

The feminists and fairy tale scholars who contend that the folk and fairy tale sample reflects a male editing process are correct. Their objections to previous, supposedly impartial, scientifically inspired analyses of folk and fairy tales have been well-founded. The results, even from this initial survey, indicate that the difference between the predominant gender in tales told by males and females is

large enough to impact on a data set which does not control for gender. This is a statistical, not an ideological argument. If one studies tales, most of which have passed through a male editor, male collector and male storyteller, one could not extend the conclusions from the study to the folktale as a genre since there is a category of tales which is ignored, namely female tales.

The results of this paper place constraints on the results, conclusions and analytical techniques which have been drawn from studies which have not taken into account the genders of tales and filters. If an unbalanced data set was used, those studies are compromised. In addition, any future study which attempts to draw conclusions about the folktale or culture from the folktale, but does not consider gender in the compilation of the data set, can also be considered compromised. Therefore, the study of the folktale needs to be altered. Any data set used for the study of the folktale as a genre should control for or at least stipulate why it has not controlled for the probably unbalanced data set which results from a preponderance of male editors, male collectors, male storytellers and thus male stories.

Although this study represented a relatively small sample of cultures, twenty-five, the number of stories, 1601, is commensurate with Gottschall's 1440 tales. (Gottschall, "Quantitative"). In addition, support for this paper's results comes from Holbek's analysis of approximately 700 tales collected by a single male collector in the mid and late 1800's (Holbek). To ensure a single cultural influence, Holbek used only fairy tales and a very tight geographic area, one county in northern Denmark. Even though Holbek did not use a reliably reproducible definition of the gender of the tale, his analysis forms a somewhat complementary analysis to this paper's large-scale analysis.

Holbek also found that the gender of the tale was related to the gender of the storyteller. “Male and female repertoires differ. There is a distinct tendency for men to prefer masculine fairy tales, whereas women’s repertoires are more evenly distributed between the two genders of fairy tales” (168). Holbek’s analysis showed that men told 12.3 % female tales and women told 45.9% female tales (168), which is remarkably close to the results in this paper which show that men tell 8 % female tales and women tell 44% female tales.

Additional support for the conclusion of this paper comes from the work of Margaret Mills. From 1974-1976 in and around Herat and Kabul, Afghanistan, Mills collected over 500 and analyzed a sample of 450 prose narratives from both males and females. Mills found that 11% of tales told by men had exclusively female main characters but that tales told by women were more evenly divided, with 48% male main characters and 49% female main characters (187-188). Again, despite the lack of reliably reproducible definition of ‘main character,’ or in other words, the gender of the tale, Mills’ work supplies complementary evidence from another individual culture with results that are similar to this paper’s results of the folktale world-wide.

It should be noted that in the current study, there were variables unable to be controlled for, such as the collectors’ decisions as to which narrative constituted appropriate material. Farrer has claimed that for years, women’s tales have been demoted to a non-legitimate category. For instance, it is argued that there are the male genres of tall tales and yarns, but that the female corollaries are “exaggeration and gossip.” In addition, Farrer argues that when multiple tellings of the same tale are recorded, the male version is often preferred. In other cases, women storytellers

were used only when males were unavailable or tales told by females were discounted altogether (Farrer vii).

Collectors' assumptions about the proper place to collect tales could not be inferred from this analysis. It has been argued that the male storyteller occupies the public sphere while many females tell stories in an intimate sphere (Yocum 46). Therefore, the male storytellers are the most obvious and easy to collect from. In addition, the majority of collectors to date have been male and they often have limited access to women's tales because of social constructs in the societies being studied (Farrer, "Introduction" x; Herscovits 10). The above constitute part of the collector filter, but do not necessarily exist just because of the gender of that filter.

In counting grammatical units rather than using evaluations, this paper does not assume cultural or genetic coding in the folktales or in the differential ratios between tales told by men and women. This method does not assume a nurture vs. nature dichotomy. Instead the relationships amongst tales, propagators, environments, information etc. can be considered as an inter-relational system. This analysis of the relationship between the tale and the editor, collector and storyteller is only the beginning of the analysis because there are other parts of this system which could and should be analyzed, such as the possible influence of the audience, the difference in information conveyed and the environment in which the story is told.

The gender of the audience may well exert an influence on the gender of the tale (Benedict, *Zuni* XL-XLII). Holbek suggested that since men tell tales to predominantly male audiences, such as in the army or at taverns, men would be more likely to tell male tales to these audiences. Women tend to tell stories in



homesteads, thus frequently they have mixed gender audiences and mixed age audiences which might elicit a more egalitarian choice of tales (Holbek 405-406).

The different ratios could be a reflection of the different environments males and females each inhabit and thus the different types of information selected for (Gowaty, "Introduction" 7). For example, Yocum's analysis of storytellers examined place, audience and type of information conferred. The man occupied a public sphere, therefore his stories were performance centered and conveyed a different type of information from the intimate and contextual choice of stories of the woman storyteller (Yocum). In other words, the difference in ratios of gendered tales told by men and by women may not reflect a gender or sex difference, but rather a difference in selective pressures that males face and females face. This is similar to the way men might discuss troubles at work and women might discuss whose child has the chickenpox. For these aspects to be studied, however, collectors will have to note the audience gender and context of the telling of the tale; as for example Harold Scheub does in *The World and the Word* (Zenani).

In addition, the presented method does not assume that there is a "correct" or "true" "baseline." This study does not assume that everyone, both males and females, should tell a 50/50 ratio of male/female stories. However, quantifying that men and women tell different ratios enables a more judicious assembly of a data set and opens up questions as to why this difference occurs. It is not only interesting that female storytellers tell approximately a 50/50 ratio and male storytellers tell almost exclusively male tales, but also interesting that there is a difference in the ratio of gendered tales told.

This analysis also touches on the difference between multiple, single-gendered filters in anthologies. Had the tales in anthologies been primarily told, collected by, and edited by females, one might expect a different ratio of female and male tales in anthologies. This suggests that the current male-dominated environment has resulted in a decrease in the number of female tales compared to what it would have been had there been a female-dominated environment.

The observations which resulted in this paper were garnered during the past fifteen years. While compiling folktale anthologies (Ragan, *Fearless*, *Outfoxing*) and searching through over 50,000 folktales, I became aware of patterns, such as a probable connection between the gender of protagonists of a tale and the gender of the editor, collector and storyteller. The critical issue then became finding a method to study these patterns, a method that would allow the study of folktales in terms that are reproducible and well defined enough to be subjected to a scientific methodology. Given the problematic relationship amongst fields such as the different feminisms, evolutionary psychology and sociobiology, my hope was to develop a method that would enable any discussion to at least begin on the same page, with a well-defined, less subjective and better understood data set. What resulted was a methodology for large scale statistical analysis intimately connected to my own lived experience.

A functional large scale methodology for studying folk and fairy tales gives many advantages in addition to an increased ability to communicate across disciplines. Recognition of the issues associated with collection and publication can aid in the recovery of neglected folktale texts by women and can open the possibility of uncovering a corpus of folktales outside of, or at least on the periphery of the male world. In addition, this methodology could extend the

examination of the information within the folktales. Currently, information in folk and fairy tales is used to investigate cultural changes in a socio-historical context. A large scale methodology might open the possibility of using the information to investigate cultural changes over anthropological time scales. An independently reproducible methodology would also increase the possibilities of eliciting data to test hypotheses such as whether or not folktales have been used to convey information about the environment such as food (Sugiyama, "Reverse") or wayfinding (Tonkinson).

This paper has adduced evidence for the interdependence of the gender of the tale and the gender of the storyteller as well as the interdependence of the gender of the tale and the gender of a combination of three filters. Past and future studies of the folktale as a genre which have not considered gender in the compilation of the data set can be considered compromised. According to historian Gerda Lerner, "The social cost of having excluded women from the human enterprise of constructing abstract thought has never been reckoned" (Lerner, *Patriarchy*). This paper is one of the steps in that reckoning.

**Chapter Three, Table 1: Results For Storyteller Filter**

|                           | # F Tales | # M Tales | % F Tales                          | % M Tales                          | Chi Square              |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (FF) *F <sub>1</sub>      | 27        | 105       | 20 %                               | 80 %                               | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| (FM) *M <sub>1</sub>      | 11        | 443       | 2 %                                | 98 %                               |                         |
| (MF) *F <sub>2</sub>      | 41        | 59        | 41 %                               | 59 %                               | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| (MM) *M <sub>2</sub>      | 43        | 474       | 9 %                                | 91%                                |                         |
| (FFF) **F <sub>3</sub>    | 26        | 24        | 52 %                               | 48 %                               | Not determined          |
| (FFM) **M <sub>3</sub>    | 2         | 6         | 25 %                               | 75 %                               |                         |
| (MFF) **F <sub>4</sub>    | 1         | 0         | 100 %                              | 0 %                                | Not determined          |
| (MFM) **M <sub>4</sub>    | 0         | 1         | 0 %                                | 100 %                              |                         |
| (MMF) **F <sub>5</sub>    | 1         | 6         | 14 %                               | 86 %                               | Not determined          |
| (MMM) **M <sub>5</sub>    | 4         | 98        | 4 %                                | 96 %                               |                         |
| (FMF) **F <sub>6</sub>    | 13        | 21        | 38 %                               | 62 %                               | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| (FMM) **M <sub>6</sub>    | 6         | 55        | 10 %                               | 90 %                               |                         |
| <b><u>Storyteller</u></b> | ----      | ----      | <b><u>Average</u></b> %<br>F Tales | <b><u>Average</u></b><br>% M Tales | ----                    |
| <b>Female</b>             | ----      | ----      | <b>44 %</b>                        | <b>56 %</b>                        | ----                    |
| <b>Male</b>               | ----      | ----      | <b>8 %</b>                         | <b>92 %</b>                        | ----                    |

**Chapter Three, Table 2: Results For Collector Filter**

|                          | # F Tales | # M Tales | % F Tales                   | % M Tales                   | Chi Square              |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (FF) F <sub>1</sub> *    | 27        | 105       | 20 %                        | 80 %                        | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| (MF) M <sub>1</sub> *    | 41        | 59        | 41 %                        | 59 %                        |                         |
| (FM) F <sub>2</sub> *    | 11        | 443       | 2 %                         | 98 %                        | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| (MM) M <sub>2</sub> *    | 43        | 474       | 9 %                         | 91%                         |                         |
| (FFF) * F <sub>3</sub> * | 26        | 24        | 52 %                        | 48 %                        | Not determined          |
| (FMF) * M <sub>3</sub> * | 13        | 21        | 38 %                        | 62 %                        |                         |
| (MFM) * F <sub>4</sub> * | 0         | 1         | 0 %                         | 100 %                       | Not determined          |
| (MMM) * M <sub>4</sub> * | 4         | 98        | 4 %                         | 96 %                        |                         |
| (MFF) * F <sub>5</sub> * | 1         | 0         | 100 %                       | 0 %                         | Not determined          |
| (MMF) * M <sub>5</sub> * | 1         | 6         | 14 %                        | 86 %                        |                         |
| (FFM) * F <sub>6</sub> * | 2         | 6         | 25 %                        | 75 %                        | Not determined          |
| (FMM) * M <sub>6</sub> * | 6         | 55        | 10 %                        | 90 %                        |                         |
| <b><u>Collectors</u></b> | ----      | ----      | <b>Average</b><br>% F Tales | <b>Average</b><br>% M Tales | ----                    |
| <b>Female</b>            | ----      | ----      | <b>33 %</b>                 | <b>66 %</b>                 | ----                    |
| <b>Male</b>              | ----      | ----      | <b>19 %</b>                 | <b>81 %</b>                 | ----                    |

**Chapter Three, Table 3: Results For Editor Filter**

|                  | # F Tales | # M Tales | % F Tales | % M Tales | Chi Square     |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| (FFF) $F_1^{**}$ | 26        | 24        | 52 %      | 48 %      | Not determined |
| (MFF) $M_1^{**}$ | 1         | 0         | 100 %     | 0 %       |                |
| (FFM) $F_2^{**}$ | 2         | 6         | 25 %      | 75 %      | Not determined |
| (MFM) $M_2^{**}$ | 0         | 1         | 0 %       | 100 %     |                |
| (FMM) $F_3^{**}$ | 6         | 55        | 10 %      | 90 %      | Not determined |
| (MMM) $M_3^{**}$ | 4         | 98        | 4 %       | 96%       |                |
| (FMF) $F_4^{**}$ | 13        | 21        | 38 %      | 62 %      | Not determined |
| (MMF) $M_4^{**}$ | 1         | 6         | 14 %      | 86 %      |                |

**Chapter Three, Table 4: Results For Same Gender In All Three Filters**

|     | # F Tales | # M Tales | % F Tales | % M Tales | Chi Square              |
|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| FFF | 26        | 24        | 52 %      | 48 %      | p< 0.001<br>significant |
| MMM | 4         | 98        | 4 %       | 96 %      |                         |

### Chapter Three, Appendix A: Determination of the gender of a tale

Nominative case, first and third person nouns and pronouns (subjects) of simple and compound sentences, main and subordinate clauses active and passive voice were counted. Where the percentage of female nominative cases in a tale exceeded 2/3, the tale was denoted a Female tale. Where the percentage of male nominative cases exceeded 2/3, the tale was denoted a Male tale. Neuter nominative case was not counted.

Compound subjects, where the gender was noted were counted individually and counted throughout the tale even when grouped together, if able to be distinguished. For example: "John and Mary talked and they laughed." counted as 2 male (M) and 2 female (F). Counting plural pronouns individually was only used up to three subjects and only where the subjects could be clearly distinguished. Thus a tale with two brothers and one sister in a boat resulted in a 2 M to 1 F count throughout whenever the pronoun "they" was used, but in a tale with 12 protagonists in varying situations a result was unable to be determined unless the 12 were all one gender, then the group was counted as 1 M or 1 F every time it was in nominative case. Every person of the 12 whose gender was identifiable and who was individually named in a sentence was counted for that sentence. The exclusion of second person nominative separates actions from potential actions.

Example: Excerpt from: Ruth Benedict, *Tales of the Cochiti Indians*, "The Tip Beetle's Revenge" p. 127. *"There was a **boy who** never obeyed his father and mother. Every little animal that came near him, **he** stepped on it, and when **he** came across a snake **he** threw stones at it and killed it. One morning **he** started to go out and his **father** and **mother** said, "Don't kill any little bugs or snakes on*

*your way," But **he** didn't mind; **he** stepped on bugs and threw stones at the snakes. The **spirits** of the bugs and snakes were angry."*

A tally of male subjects equals 11. "Who" in the first sentence is the subject of the dependent clause and refers to the male subject "boy" and therefore counts as 1 male subject. In the second sentence, "he" is the subject of the compound verb "thrw" and "killed." Therefore this "he" has been counted twice. A tally of female subjects equals 1. "Mother" in the third sentence is half of the compound subject of the independent clause and thus counts as 1 female subject. The understood second person subject of the command, "Don't kill any little bugs..." was not counted. "Spirits" is the subject of the last sentence in the example. However the group is larger than three and the gender is not noted, therefore this subject did not enter the tally.

The determination of the gender of this excerpt (as if it were the whole tale) would be: 11 M, 1 F. The number of M over the sum of all gives the percentage (11/12) of Male nominative case which equals 92%. This is larger than 66.6% thus making this excerpt a Male excerpt.

The gender of the tale was entered into a table. Results for the above example were: F (editor gender ) F (collector gender) F (storyteller gender) M (tale). Every tale in every book in the random survey was counted and entered into the table.

Not all tales were counted all the way through. Where the tale was very long and a count of the first three pages resulted in a clear predominance of one gender, each subsequent page was divided into quarters and the gender of each quarter page was estimated. For example: A glance at the excerpt above would show dominance of the male gender without a specific count and if it were about



1/4 of a page, it would be estimated as 1/4 M. If the result came to within one page of a 2/3 division, the nominative cases throughout the tale were counted. (See Appendix IV 228-237.)

### Chapter Three, Appendix B: Books in Random Survey with Culture and

#### Filter noted

| Continent | Book Bibliography   | Filter   | Culture/<br>Country                       |
|-----------|---|--|---|
| Africa    | Jackson, M. <i>Allegories of the Wilderness, Ethics and Ambiguity in Kuranko Narratives</i> . Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982.                        | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Kuranko,<br>Upper Guinea,<br>Sierra Leone |
|           | Zenani, M.N. <i>The World and the Word Tales and Observations from the Xhosa Oral Tradition</i> , Coll. H. Scheub. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1992. | M,F  | Xhosa,                                    |
| Asia      | Narayan, K. with Urmila D.S. <i>Mondays on the Dark Night of the Moon, Himalayan Foothill Folktales</i> . Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.                  | F,F  | Himachal<br>Pradesh,<br>India             |
|           | Surmelian, L. <i>Apples of Immortality Folktales of Armenia</i> . London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968.   | M,M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                             | Armenia                                   |
|           | Walker, W. S. and A. E. Uysal. <i>Tales Alive in Turkey</i> . Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1966.  | M,M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                             | Turkey                                    |
|           | Zong I. S. <i>Folktales from Korea</i> . Seoul: Hollym International, 1952.   | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Korea                                     |
| Europe    | Briggs, K. M. <i>A Sampler of British Folk-Tales</i> . London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> , <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Britain                                   |
|           | Danaher, K.. <i>Folktales of the Irish Countryside</i> . New York: D. White, 1970.  | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Ireland                                   |
|           | MacGregor, A. A. <i>The Peat-Fire Flame: Folk-tales and traditions of the Highlands and Islands</i> . Edinburgh: Ettrick Press, 1947.               | M,M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                             | Scotland                                  |

|                  |  |  |  |
|------------------|--|--|--|
|                  | Murphy, M. J. <i>Now You're Talking: Folktales from the North of Ireland</i> . Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1975.  | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Ireland  |
|                  | Ó Catháin, S. <i>The Bedside Book of Irish Folklore</i> . Dublin: Mercier Press, 1980.   | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> , <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Ireland  |
|                  | Simpson, J. <i>Icelandic Folktales and Legends</i> . Berkeley: U of California P, 1972.  | F, M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                            | Iceland  |
| Oceania          | Ahern, A. and the Mornington Island Elders. <i>Paint-Up</i> . St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2002.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Aboriginal<br>Australian                         |
|                  | Counts, C. D. A. <i>The Tales of Laupu</i> . New Guinea: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1976.  | F, M   | New<br>Guinea                                    |
|                  | Edwards, R. <i>Yarns and Ballads of the Australian Bush</i> . Australia: Rigby Publishers, 1981.   | M, M   | European<br>Australian                           |
|                  | Heath, J. <i>Nunggubuyu Myths and Ethnographic Texts</i> . Canberra: Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1980   | M, M   | Aboriginal<br>Australian                         |
|                  | Keats, N. C. <i>Bush Yarns of Yester Years</i> . Self-published.   | M, M   | European<br>Australian                           |
|                  | Kuschel, R. <i>Animal Stories from Bellona (Mungiki): Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands</i> : Vol. IV. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1975. | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Bellona Is.,<br>Solomon<br>Islands,<br>Polynesia |
|                  | McKay, H. F. <i>Gadi Mirrabooka: Australian Aboriginal Tales from the Dreaming</i> . Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 2001.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Aboriginal<br>Australian                         |
|                  | Tobin, J. A. <i>Stories from the Marshall Islands</i> . Hawaii: U of Hawaii P, 2002.   | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Marshall Is.,<br>Micronesia                      |
| North<br>America | Benedict, R. <i>Tales of the Cochiti Indians</i> . Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1931.   | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> , <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Native<br>American                               |

|               |  |  |                                 |
|---------------|--|--|---------------------------------|
|               | Dance, D. C. <i>Shuckin' and Jivin': Folklore from Contemporary Black Americans</i> . Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1978.                                 | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> , <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | African-American                |
|               | Einarsson, M. <i>Icelandic-Canadian Oral Narratives</i> . Canada: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Mercury Series Paper # 63, 1991.          | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Icelandic-Canadian              |
|               | Hall, E. S., Jr. <i>The Eskimo Storyteller Folktales from Notak, Alaska</i> . Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1975.                                     | M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Eskimo, Noatagmiut/Naupaktomiut |
|               | Hurston, Zora Neale. <i>Every Tongue Got to Confess</i> . New York: Harper Collins, 2001.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | African-American                |
|               | Nangak, Z. and E. Arima. <i>Eskimo Stories from Povungnituk, Quebec Illustrated in Soapstone Carvings</i> . Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1969. | M,M,M  | Eskimo, east side of Hudson Bay |
|               | Parsons, E. C. <i>Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina</i> . Massachusetts: The American Folk-Lore Society, 1923.                             | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | African-American                |
| South America | Basso, E. B. <i>The Last Cannibals: A South American Oral History</i> . Austin: U of Texas P, 1995.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                               | Kalapalo, Brazil                |
|               | Chapman, A. <i>Masters of Animals Oral Traditions of the Tolupan Indians Honduras</i> . Switzerland: Gordon & Breach, 1992.                          | F,M  | Tolupan, Honduras               |
|               | Karasik, C. <i>Mayan Tales from Zinacantán</i> . Coll. Trans. R. M. Laughlin. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press: 1988.                       | F,M, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>                             | Mayan, Mexico                   |

Pages 77-87 of this thesis have been removed as they contain published material. Please refer to the following citation for details of the article contained in these pages:

Gottschall, J. (2009). Response to Kathleen Ragan's "What Happened to the Heroines in Folktales?". *Marvels & Tales* 23(2), 437-442.  
<https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/369102>.

## Response to Gottschall

**Kathleen Ragan**

"Reply." *Marvels & Tales*, Volume 23, Number 2, 2009, pp. 443-448

The last hundred years of scholarship have given a world-wide, cross-cultural context to the study of the folk narrative and a pervasive recognition that “When something has the ability to attract and repel one so forcefully, one may assume that it deals with fundamentals” (Lüthi 22). Therefore, folk and fairy tale scholars are perfectly poised to enter and help shape the emerging field of Literary Darwinism which connects evolutionary theory and literature.

In Gottschall’s interesting response, he acknowledges the basic soundness of my research. This agreement presents us with the opportunity to broaden the topic of this reply and to explore an evolutionary approach to the study of the folk narrative. It is important to first note that Gottschall raises questions on three points:

1. That my sample is not large enough “to be considered representative of world folk traditions.” (“Sampling”)
2. That “Ragan’s 2/3 threshold is a needless complication.” (“Elimination of Moderating Effects”)
3. That “Ragan suggests that earlier scholars, me included, have been blind to the issue of possible gender distortion in their studies.” (“Framing”)

Point number one would be a serious concern if I had claimed that my results are representative of world folk traditions. Although a logical extension of my work is to see *if* the results are representative of world folk traditions, my

current paper deals with a more tightly defined issue: bias in a data set of random tales from a large academic library.

Point number two deals with a choice I made in the analysis of my data. Cavalli-Sforza recommends that for complex cultural issues, one choose a level for analysis that makes differences observable. (See Cavalli-Sforza.) I specifically chose the two-thirds threshold for simplicity and clarity. After  $1/2$ , the next simplest fraction is  $1/3$ . Just as a fifty-one percent majority is needed to pass a law, but a two-thirds majority is needed to override a veto, the two-thirds threshold creates a definitive example of “Female” or “Male” dominance in the tale. Gottschall would prefer an analysis which eliminates the defining threshold. That analysis might give interesting results too, but it is a different study.

Regarding point number three, there seems to be a regrettable misunderstanding. In my paper I wrote that to his credit, Gottschall, himself, identified the problem that a biased data set would cause. Gottschall has made daring forays into the emerging field of Literary Darwinism and has certainly not been blind to possible gender bias. However, my research established that data sets which do not effectively control for gender are very likely to be biased. A biased data set compromises the research done with that data set regardless of the intentions of the researcher.

The time is ripe for folk and fairy tale experts to explore the use of sociobiological and evolutionary concepts. However, the fundamental question of how scientific style analysis will be applied is as yet undetermined and very important. In the case of literature, scientific style analysis will not be applied to the physical world by a social being, rather it will be applied to the social world by a social being. This raises the important question: How should scientific style

investigation be applied to the study of the folk narrative and with what caveats?

In the following exploration of this question, theoretical points will be illustrated using examples from my paper and from Gottschall's response.

The scientific style analysis applied to culture by sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists is highly reductionistic. Reductionism has two basic and limiting assumptions which must be well understood and constantly kept in mind. The first assumption is that dividing an entity into smaller units will enable a better understanding of the larger entity. Sociobiology uses the "selfish" gene, a self-replicating biological unit, and the meme, a theoretical, self-replicating, cultural unit. (See Dawkins.) However, difficulties with the idea of a "selfish" meme self-replicating can immediately be discerned. Calling a tale a selfish meme is simply personification. A fairy tale is no more selfish than it is lonely or married. Secondly, a tale cannot replicate itself. Folk and fairy tale experts know that a tale is part of a marvelous, complex, interactive system that has many other parts as well. These other parts include but are not necessarily limited to: the storytellers, collectors, editors and audiences and probably the time of day, the time of year and the place in which the tales are told. Other parts of the system also possibly include the multiple types of information and social bonding communicated. To define the tale as a selfish, self-replicating meme ignores the necessary vision of this whole, interactive system which co-develops and co-replicates.

A second key assumption in reductionism is that properties of the small unit and properties of the whole system will be the same or very similar. This type of analysis works well with the mechanical world where a clock can be dismantled, each part investigated, its function understood and the clock described in terms of the operation of its parts. This methodology works less well with something like a



cake, which cannot be easily dismantled into eggs, flour, and heat. It has yet to be seen whether reductionism can be effectively applied to social and cultural questions. (See Lewontin.)

In order to effectively apply reductionistic analysis to folk and fairy tales, great care must be taken to thoroughly understand what is being investigated and how the results were reached. For example, my paper deals specifically with a data set from an academic library comparable to other academic libraries which would or might be used to assemble a data set of tales to be studied. The .05 chi square result literally means that one can be almost sure that 95% of books in this library would fit this pattern. Gottschall is correct in stating that my research considers only books which denote gender of the editors and/or collectors and storytellers. However when Gottschall notes the “*very small sample*” of a “*key comparison*” (MMM vs. FFF), it should be remembered that my paper’s results refer to the data set and that this was one category of a number of categories within the 1601 tale data set from Fisher Library and this category had enough points to be subjected to the chi square and this result matched results from the other categories subjected to the chi square.

When applying reductionism to literature, it is also important to thoroughly understand how the results are reached and the choices made in the methodology. Reductionism involves dividing an entity into parts in order to better understand that entity. How one divides the entity is a crucial question. When tracking gender, I chose the section of the folk narrative system which included the tale, teller, collector and editor. I chose the 2/3 threshold to make differences observable.

Understanding the very specific nature of my paper’s results does not disappoint because these results have such large ramifications. The results show

there is a high percentage of male editors, collectors and storytellers; a clear connection between the gender of the tales and the gender of the storytellers, collectors and editors; a persistence of this pattern in the 1601 tales in my study, and also in the supporting, albeit less definitive, evidence from the 700 tales in Holbek's study and the 450 tales in Mills' study. Based on these results, researchers can now assume that a random selection of tales from an academic library yields a biased data set. Unless additional research disproves my results, any analysis of the folk tale genre which has not effectively controlled for gender in the compilation of its data set can be considered compromised. A responsible researcher will now control his/her data set for gender because a biased data set seriously compromises any results and theories drawn from that data set.

In doing reductionistic research it is not only important to thoroughly understand what is being investigated and how results were reached, it is also crucial how the results are applied. A large problem with reductionistic analysis is that specific results of small units are extended to other levels of analysis where these results are not applicable. For example, Gottschall interprets my results to indicate that "most of the bias in folktale sex ratios occurs...in the first stage, the storytelling stage." The application of my results to this issue is not warranted by the data. The results at hand are strong enough to indicate bias in a random data set of tales from a large, academic library not at which level bias takes place. Likewise unwarranted is an extension of my results to a support for classic feminist theories. The results in my paper establish that a data set which is uncontrolled for gender is very likely to be biased. While this strongly supports the feminists who suggested that a biased data set was a problem, this is different from support for feminist

theories in general. In reductionistic analysis, it is important to limit the application of the results to the appropriate level of analysis.

A related and even more problematic issue in reductionistic analysis is the tendency to extend specific results to “human universals.” When social beings ask questions about our social world, we tend to tap into our historical and ideological assumptions. Often these assumptions reside in an opening statement which defines the context. Having accepted the context, one is then led inexorably to that author’s conclusion. For example, when Gottschall wrote, “The goal of all tale tellers is...” he went on to develop an intricate idea. However I would like to examine his opening by itself to better understand how a simple opening can define a context.

“The goal of all tale tellers is...” In those seven innocent words there are three major ideological assumptions which would seriously impact research done with this phrase as a starting point. These assumptions are: A one-way relationship (“goal of tale tellers”), a causal relationship (“goal”) and a human universal (“all”). A one-way relationship disregards the part of the folk narrative system which includes audience feedback, participation and influence on the choice of story. A one-way relationship also disregards the possibility of environment-specific information communication. The assumption of a causal relationship ignores the co-development and interaction of multiple aspects of the system including the culture, the storyteller, group cohesion, the tale and the influence exerted by environment on information exchange. Assuming a human universal would have made moot the question of the number of tales since a small number of tales would be considered sufficient given that a “human universal” was under discussion. This is not to say that one cannot make assumptions. However, given the weight

accorded scientific style methodology and the application of these results to the social rather than the physical world, great care must be taken to understand and justify and attempt to avoid ideological assumptions.

In my attempt to avoid making ideological assumptions, I have used rules from a field of study other than folk and fairy tales, folklore or anthropology. I have counted nominative case, one of the most basic rules of grammar which linguistic experts maintain is found in all languages. Counting does not involve judgments or opinions or coder bias. One has to be able to identify nominative case and to keep count. A counting error could be made, but the clear 2/3 threshold definition of Female and Male tales meant that a counting error of one nominative case did not shift a story from the Female to the Male category.

When Gottschall mentions coder bias, it should be understood that Gottschall's study used questions created by a researcher. Then various student "coders" read tales and coded them using certain guidelines which were to shape the coder's opinion. In a study such as Gottschall's, coder bias is a significant issue because the validity of the study hangs in great part upon the various coders' opinions being the same. Counting, as done in my study, is different. Counting does not involve coder bias.

In order to effectively apply reductionistic research to literature, an intimate knowledge of the material makes it easier to construct a thorough and well-understood study. For example, there is no evidence that a computerized count of nominative cases would be as Gottschall suggests "more accurate." This is especially because a simple computerized count of female and male pronouns eliminates nominative case proper nouns, titles such as "the princess," subjects of relative clauses and subjects of compound verbs. A computerized count would

certainly be less time consuming, however using a computer program, and indeed any reductionistic analysis, necessitates the ability to recognize when the results make no sense. There is a great amount of information and understanding gained by going through the tales oneself. As one counts/reads more and more tales, one makes a powerful connection to the material so that unexpected information comes gradually to the fore. Therefore, as the application of scientific style analysis to folk and fairy tale analysis is being developed, it is important that the methodology be developed with the input of folk and fairy tale experts.

The idea of the folk narrative as a meme is an exciting idea. Tales exist in every known culture and even individual tales survive for centuries and overleap cultural boundaries. It is easy to believe that the folk narrative has conveyed evolutionary advantages. These advantages might relate to such fundamental human adaptations as group cohesion, exploitation of second-hand information, virtual planning and theory of mind. However, it should be remembered that the seductive idea of the folk narrative as meme has reductionism at its core. Therefore the methodology and results should be very well understood and the interactive nature of the folk narrative system should be respected. Tempting as it may be to leap to exciting and far-reaching theories and tempting as it may be to extrapolate results to universal human characteristics, this should be resisted. Instead we should look to develop a careful approach, well grounded in an understanding of the folk narrative system. This paper is a first step in the development of a methodology which will hopefully enable us to view the marvelously integrated folk narrative system from many points of view. Hopefully we will also manage to maintain the sense of wonder these tales perpetuate.

## Chapter Four: The Folk Narrative as a Web of Relationships

*"One may consider any corpus of folkloric texts as a 'natural experiment' in memorization conducted on the grandest of scales; with a cast of thousands performing across periods of centuries" (Rubin 3).*

As demonstrated previously (12-27) there is a strong indication that the folk narrative is important in human cultural evolution and that the folk narrative contains many kinds of information at many levels. In Chapter Three, a random set of tales was examined in the context of gender. The study used countable biological units - storytellers, collectors and editors - and an externally and specifically defined, countable unit of grammar - nominative case. The study detected a relationship between the gender of the storyteller and the gender of the tale. Although the quantitative results were specific, these results were placed in the larger context of an extensive scholarly debate about whether a random sample of tales would reflect a gendered editing process. The quantitative results within the framework of the qualitative discussion enabled conclusions to be drawn about the study of the folk narrative. Therefore the assumption that one can elicit information from an analysis of details in folk narratives collected from storytellers is a workable assumption.

This analysis of the relationship between the tale and the editor, collector and storyteller is only the beginning of the analysis because there are other parts of this system which could and should be analyzed. As each of the relationships is studied, we will gradually acquire a detailed picture of the complex workings of the folk narrative system. Since the folk narrative is fundamental to human culture, we can expect that the relationships among parts of the folk narrative system will

be mirrored in studies of similar relationships conducted in other fields. The development of a theory of cultural evolution will be a long process. One will have to consider “a longish list of psychological, social and ecological processes” in order to reach a “full-fledged theory of cultural evolution” (Henrich, R. Boyd and Richerson 129). Therefore it is the intention of this thesis to build the foundations of a methodology using the folk narrative to study cultural evolution, and to carefully lay the groundwork for further, more comprehensive and more statistically rigorous studies.

A method must be found to assemble a worldwide representative data set that is random in the sense that the tales are not chosen by the researcher. A more comprehensive definition of the folk narrative must be outlined. It is also necessary to understand the different types of information which can be elicited from the folk narrative system and determine what types of information one is seeking and how to elicit that kind of information.

### **Methodology: The Data Set**

To investigate questions about changes in culture over time, one needs a worldwide data set. The composition of a data set can significantly shape results and the issue of how to compile a random but representative data set is not a simple issue. Only with a large, random, but representative data set which has been examined for autocorrelation can one employ tests of statistical significance when studying evolutionary development.

In the first survey (See above 49-76), the issue under investigation was a data set from the books in a large academic library. To give an indication of the extent of worldwide representation, the above survey noted the twenty-five

cultures represented and grouped them basically by continent (See above 74-76). Although this gave an indication of the scope of worldwide representation, there is the need for a more standardized method of compiling a creditable representation of worldwide cultures. There must also be a standard with which one can judge the credibility of a claim to worldwide representation.

The complicated issue of how to compile a representative, cross-cultural, worldwide sample has been tackled by anthropologists. Prior to Murdock and White's "Standard Cross-Cultural Sample," scholars chose their own samples and often, availability or access were significant factors. The samples were often small and rarely intersected with samples of other scholars, who may have studied the same or a similar issue. "What is needed to correct this situation is a large world sample constructed with strict regard to ethnographic distributions and sophisticated sampling procedures, which can be used in different studies, so that the results of each can be intercorrelated with one another..." (Murdock and White 5). Although Murdock and White's sample has been shown to have different ranges of autocorrelation problems (Eff), Murdock remains a valiant and highly functional compilation of cultural divisions based on language, economic and political connections.

The "Standard Cross-Cultural Sample" denotes specific cultures, however Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures* uses the "Standard Cross-Cultural Sample" as a basis for dividing the world into six roughly equivalent regions and then subdivides these regions into twenty-five groups each. Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures* gives examples of the sub-groups and defines these groups primarily through longitude and latitude or geographical proximity and language. However, the *Atlas of World Cultures* also takes into consideration cultural connections,



geographically close language isolates and ancient cultures. With Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures* one can compile a representative worldwide sample without being restricted to the specific cultures listed in the "Standard Cross-Cultural Sample."

The use of Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures* to denote the cultural groups will enable readers to gauge how representative a sample is. For example, if a researcher has obtained data from three groups of Murdock's North American region, a reader can see that if the three groups are N01, N02 and N03 - Western Eskimos, Central and Eastern Eskimos and Boreal Algonkians - the sample is less representative than if the researcher had used N02, N12 and N25 - Central and Eastern Eskimos, Northern Shoshone, People of South Central Mexico. The use of an independently defined system designed to create a representative worldwide sample also sets a common standard which will enable researchers to compare their research with other research. Data collection using the presented methodology is time-intensive, therefore Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures* is a guide and an ultimate goal, but not yet a fully realized goal.

### **Definition of the Folk Narrative**

In order to use the folk narrative to study cultural evolution, one must not only compile a representative worldwide sample, one must also be explicit about what is meant by folk narrative. For the first paper, I used the definition of the folktale as those narratives in books in the 398.2 Dewey Decimal Classification. It was a convenient, externally defined definition of the folk narrative for the examination of a library. However, some libraries use the Library of Congress classification system. In addition, there are books that include folktales but which

would not come under the folktale classification of either system. There are a number of collections made by ethnologists and/or their wives who followed in the wake of explorers such as *With a Prehistoric People: The Akikuyu of British East Africa* by W. Scoresby Routledge and Katherine Routledge. There are ethnological studies such as *Myths of the Mun̄kan* by Ursula McConnel. These books are often placed in the anthropology section of a library but books like these would enable more intricate cultural studies, since these books represent tales collected closer to the time of the culture's first interaction with Western culture. Therefore, future studies should not be limited to the 398.2 classification and we are left with the question of how one defines the folk narrative.

Folklorists are so familiar with the oral narrative they subdivide the category into folktales, fairy tales, literary fairy tales, legends, historical legends, poetry, anecdotes, jokes, counting rhymes, ballads, proverbs, epics and myths. Individual cultures have different divisions. For example, the Xhosa associate types of folktale with the time of day that type of folktale may be told (Z. Jordan xviii). Anthropologist Helen Watson was so impressed by the connection between the tales told by women in Cairo and autobiographical tales told by those same women, that she included both types of tale in her book (Watson). Genres are not inviolable; they are manmade categories which are intended to facilitate comparison and study. "With the folktale as with all other products of man's artistic endeavor the scholar runs the risk of too subtle analysis...Much hair-splitting has taken place in the past and much useless effort devoted to the establishment of exact terms for the various kinds of folktale" (Thompson 7). A more effective approach to this issue for this style of investigation may be to define which qualities of the folk narrative are important in studies of cultural evolution.

### 1. The Storyteller Represents the Culture

One of the reasons for using the folk narrative is the assumption that each telling of a folk narrative by a storyteller represents the culture from which the tale was collected and therefore each telling can contribute its own cultural perspective to a cross-cultural sample. In order to generalize from details about the storyteller/tale relationship to larger, qualitative ideas, the storyteller must be part of the culture and the folk narrative must be as representative of the storyteller as possible, but how does one know if a storyteller represents the culture? If the storyteller does not represent the culture the narrative comes from, we cannot say that culture has been represented in the worldwide data set.

The large scope of cross-cultural surveys means most scholars will work from translated collections made by others. Collecting and writing down oral narrative works to preserve the voice of the "folk" in history, but also creates something new in the form of cultural communication (Naithani 55). There are scholarly collections that assiduously credit storytellers and translators and give information about where and how the narrative was collected. There are individuals who compose tales inspired by folktales, such as Hans Christian Andersen, E.T.A. Hoffmann and Angela Carter. There are also authors who retell tales, such as Philip Sherlock, Alison Lurie and Suzanne Barchers. There are also tales which are largely retold tales but not immediately recognizable as retold tales. For example, Burton's *Arabian Nights* were not so much "true" translations of tales, but were tales that were retold by Burton in the attempt to entertain an English-speaking public (Haddawy xxiii; Naithani 19). In the study of folktales, there has long been a recognition that retold and heavily rewritten tales are in a different category from the folk narratives which emanate from the cultures in

which they are collected. (e.g. Dundes, "Perspective" 260-61; Haase, "De-colonizing" 22-24; Naithani 19; Stephens, *Retelling* 3-4; Zipes *Happily* 41-53).

"The realities of texts like these [retold tales] undermine the assumption that collections in English translation still have a direct relationship to oral narratives..." (Haase, "De-Colonizing" 24 ).

How can we be sure we have a "genuine" folktale? Folklorist Utley stated, "There is nothing to tell us but the presence of John Jones aged 75 who learned the tale from his grandmother - the mark that the collector knew the operational problem and tried to meet it" (Utley "Folk Literature" 14). Therefore, the most certain way to identify storytellers who have a strong connection to the cultures where these tales are said to come from is to use collections which make clear the "web of relationships involving narrators, collectors, editors and translators (not to mention publishers)..." who have contributed to the transition of a tale from oral literature in one country and language to written literature in a different country and language (Haase, "De-Colonizing" 22). If a collector has given enough details for the researcher to establish that the source had a connection to the culture being studied, a researcher can then evaluate that connection. Key items might include the name and tribal or cultural affiliation of the narrator as well as the date and place the tale was collected. It will be important for a researcher to set her/his standard for evaluating and justifying that the narrators used in the study represent the different cultures, and to make that standard clear. This leads to the next problem which is how do we know we have a tale that represents the storyteller?

## **2. The Narrative Represents the Storyteller**

Cross-cultural surveys compare details from folk narratives collected from storytellers from various cultures. In order for this method to work, the details in

the tales must represent the storyteller as accurately as possible and the storyteller much represent the culture from which the tale has been collected. If the details in the narrative do not represent the storyteller, we have again failed to represent the storyteller/tale relationship from that particular culture. When assuming that one can use details in folk narratives to track ideas cross-culturally, one must be very careful that this assumption does not devolve into the simplistic idea that any narrative can be used.

"The assumption that traditional narratives are simple, direct expressions relies on the assumption that all the published texts have oral origins, that orality is pure and natural, and that this natural origin essentially survives intact and defines each text's unequivocal and primary level of significance, whatever the language of that text and despite whatever mediation, alteration, or appropriation might occur at the hands of collectors, editors, and translators." (Haase, "De-Colonizing" 20-21)

Again the issue of retold versus collected comes to the fore. It is edifying to look at a comparison of the Grimms' original draft for the opening of "Briar Rose" which was the closest version to the storyteller and the heavily rewritten opening as it stands in the Grimms' final edition:

The original draft: "[Briar Rose] pricked her finger with the spindle and immediately fell into a deep sleep. The king and his retinue had just returned and they, too, along with the flies on the wall and everything else in the castle, fell asleep...." (Tatar, *Hard* 27).

The final edition:

"[Briar Rose] took hold of the spindle and tried to spin. But no sooner has she touched the spindle than the magic spell took effect, and she pricked her finger with it. The very moment that she felt the prick she sank down into the bed that was right there and fell into a deep sleep. The king and the queen, who had just come home and entered the great hall, fell asleep, and the whole court with them. The horses fell asleep in the stables, the dogs in the courtyard, the pigeons on the roof, and the flies on the wall. Even the fire that had been flaming on the hearth stopped and went to sleep, and the roast stopped crackling, and the cook, who was about to pull the kitchen boy's hair because he had done something wrong, let him go and fell asleep. And the wind died down, and not a single little leaf stirred on the trees by the castle..." (Tatar, *Hard* 27).

Through much research, the Grimms' informants have been identified, but like many of the popular collectors of that time period, they did not identify their sources (Grimms). Other authors around that time sometimes identified the collectors and/or storytellers (J. Jacobs, *English*) and others incorporated a description of the narrators and the telling as part of their books of tales (Curtin Southwest Munster). More recent scholarship show great attention to the complex issues of moving a tale from the oral realm in one culture to the written realm in another culture. For example, Laughlin's *Tales from Zinacantán*, includes extensive biographies of the informants accompanied by photographs as well as the tale in both the original Tzotzil and an English translation. Some scholarly versions even have line by line transliterations like Aoki and Walker's collection of Nez Percé tales. Collections in which translations and transliterations are given, serve to

preserve the actual words of the storyteller, thus these volumes are more reliable for the types of surveys proposed by this methodology.

In order to judge which books are more reliable in maintaining a strong connection between the tale and the teller, we again return to Haase's vision of the "web of relationships involving narrators, collectors, editors and translators..." ("De-Colonizing" 22) and we return to Utley's reliance on the mark that the collector "knew the operational problem and tried to meet it" ("Folk Literature" 14). Whether one uses narratives designated as folktales, legends, fairy tales or epics, the critical factor in the decision of which folk narrative collections to use is that the collector has understood her/his role in preserving as much of the cultural and personal context as possible and this can be seen by whether or not the collector gives information about the storyteller and the context. If a collector has given information about the storyteller, it is more likely that collector has also made an effort to keep the connection between that storyteller and her/his tale more faithfully than a collector who does not credit his/her storytellers. This kind of critical evaluation of the collections has been based on the important work done by folklorists, folk and fairy tale scholars, anthropologists and others who have examined the complex interactions of the folk narrative system. The use of only quality collections will enable a fairly confident assumption that details in the tales as much as possible represent the storyteller who represents his/her culture.

### **3. The Folk Narrative and Natural Selection**

A third important aspect of the folk narrative applicable to evolutionary studies is the idea that the text used has undergone at least some selection. In studies of biological evolution, natural selection figures highly as the means by which adaptations undergo evolution. One of the reasons for using the folk

narrative in the study of cultural evolution is that the process of oral literature and the process of evolution seem to resemble each other. Both connect survival with repetition, variation and selective retention of units that are more functional than others. If one is to examine questions about cultural evolution, it would be better to use tales that have undergone selection, preferably over centuries.

There are many problems with the idea of cultural selection pressure on oral narratives, however, folk narratives are the only form of literature that has consistently been brought under selection pressure by many people over time. Rubin stated: "Oral tradition is not one mind trying to be novel, but many minds trying to be conservative" (7). On the other hand, Finnegan points out that there can be extensive movement between oral and written literature and that oral literature is not necessarily impromptu composition nor is oral poetry always performed by the poet. For example, Mediaeval Gaelic court poets composed the poems then gave them to bards to sing (Finnegan, "What is" 275). Different storytellers and societies and types of stories have different relationships to repetition. Finnegan points out that Mandinka narrations are "a fascinating blend of stability and change with both memorisation and fluidity involved" ("What is" 264).

If collections do give information about the storyteller, it is even more rare that collections will give the history of the transmission of the tale. There are some societies which "call the blood" and track back their family's ownership of a tale, but for the most part, it is exceptional to find the passage of a tale cited through one or two people prior to the storyteller. (See Ruth Tongue.) How can one be assured that the collected tale is an oral tale? How does one certify the passage of a tale through a selection process?



Collected tales are single expressions of many tellings of one particular tale by a single storyteller. The collected tale is one performance out of a lifetime of performances. This is a limitation but, we do know about that one performance and the collections we use should tell us something about that moment. Again, I return to the idea that the best sources are those which make clear the "web of relationships" which constitute the folk narrative system and sources which indicate that a collector has understood the operational problems and the broader implications involved in the collections of tales. Therefore, the collections that should be used are those collections which credit the storyteller and give information about the act of collection, the moment of collection and the history of the transmission of the tale. These will be the collections which keep the strongest connection between the storyteller and the society s/he is to represent as well as the connection between the storytellers' words and the collected text. As demonstrated above (43-45), the tale itself is a part of a large, interactive folk narrative system. The moment of collection is also a part of that system. The more information we have about each of these moments and the more of these moments we study, the better we will understand how the folk narrative operates cross-culturally; and eventually we may understand how the folk narrative functions as part of cultural evolution.

Whether the collected narratives are called folktales, fairy tales, legends or myths, the defining qualities for this study are that the narratives are prose narratives told orally by an identifiable storyteller to an identifiable collector at a certain moment.

## **Types of Information**

The last issue immediately applicable to the development of this methodology is an understanding of the types of information we hope to elicit from the folk narrative. As demonstrated above (17-25), there are many types of information which prior examinations have elicited from the folk narrative. Archaeologists and anthropologists have found detailed information about the environment as well as personal and general information about social structure. Some of this information would have been of specific interest to the people listening to the story and other parts of this information tell the modern scholars more about the culture from which the story came. (See above 17-20.) We have also seen that the information in folk narratives is simultaneously communicated on many levels. Bettelheim concluded that the folk narrative speaks to all levels of the psyche. (See above 20-21.) Therefore, we can expect to elicit this kind of specific information from the folk narrative.

Humans have been characterized as knowledge-seeking, knowledge-using organisms (Kaplan 582). There are many things that influence how humans think about things, how we learn and what we learn. For example, during the day when there are pressing needs that must be met, many important choices are probably based on information previously acquired and new information is probably absorbed on a non-conscious level because there is a powerful need for conscious attention elsewhere. "[The] limited processing capacity of humans means that knowledge acquisition like assessing environment should be rapid and done in a way that would not compete with conscious processing - more automatic, immediate, intuitive" (Kaplan 584-85). A modern example might be the way we

drive a car; an example from our hunter-gatherer past might be landscape assessment as we traverse a savanna.

There are times of the day, however when immediate pressures and dangers are lower, such as sitting around a campfire at night. At this time, the types of information learned might be different, because we have time to think about the information differently. We have already seen that setting and audience makeup might influence the information communicated, but setting and time of day might also influence what information can be absorbed. There are different ways of learning for different types of information. The way a mother teaches a child not to touch something hot or the way a chimpanzee learns to peel a stick to fish for termites is different from the way we learn to think about philosophy. In addition, some of our knowledge is learning about a specific task and other knowledge is acquired on speculation. Why we learn to tie a shoe is different from why we learn to read. Tying a shoe has immediate and useful applications. The object of the study is direct, the results are expected. When we learn to read, we understand it is important, but we don't really understand what we're going to get out of it.

The stated goal of this thesis is to use folk narratives to acquire information across cultures, and even more ambitiously, to acquire information across eras of human existence as different as hunter-gatherer tribes and industrial city dwellers. The information the storytellers and folk narratives consciously and unconsciously communicated to people of the same time and place; the information storytellers and folk narratives are able to communicate across generations; and the information modern scholars are able to absorb given the built in assumptions of our era all represent different types of information we can learn from the folk narrative.

There is a story about an anthropologist who asks a Maasai warrior, "When a baby lion is born, are its eyes open or closed?" The warrior answered, "If you knew the answer to that question, wouldn't you be dead?" The scholar's question assumed a directed learning pattern and assumed a dichotomy as an answer - open or closed (yes or no). The answer, which seemed like a non-sequitur to the question asked, was the result of the way of thinking from within a society where people dealt personally with lions. Studies which request information and direct answers, like the above question, will probably be able to elicit a yes, no or I-don't-know answer, but these studies will not necessarily recognize or include answers like the proffered answer above. Yet, that answer is rich with information about the way the warrior thought. This is information I would like to access; and a question I have long pondered is how to make the methodology open to information like this.

To uncover information like this, one of the most important issues is eliminating unperceived assumptions. It has been argued above that the use of a specifically defined, small and countable unit eliminates many opinion-based elements of standard content analysis. (See pp. 29-42.) It eliminates the researcher's questions and their assumptions and assumptions about what the correct form of the answer is, like the dichotomous answer requested in the question about a baby lion's eyes, or like Whyte's assumption of a continuum from male to female dominance (above pp. 29-30). It eliminates coders' bias and agreement problems (above p. 30). The use of a small countable unit also eliminates the need to ensure that all coders make the same cultural assumptions and judgments. For example, in standard content analysis, the coders would most often share the same educated, Western, industrial society's assumptions about how

to view the studied material. Counting smaller units avoids these largely unrecognized assumptions.

Does the use of a small unit make a difference to the type of information we might be able to elicit? Obviously there are limitations. Nominative case is small enough and definitive enough to be countable and to cross-cultures. However, nominative case also has - through its definition - a relationship to meaning on a larger scale; because the subject of the sentence has a relationship to what the sentence is about. This connection between the small and large scale presents an opportunity to use specific measurements to tie into what people consider important on a conscious and even an unconscious level. In addition, there are other small grammatical units which could possibly be used.

Different approaches make different information observable. Does the examination of relationships -- rather than the examination of a specific trait -- make a difference to the type of information one elicits? Cultural issues are complex and operate on multiple levels. The advantage of viewing the folk narrative as a system is that any answer is seen in the context of other influences that change as the investigated parts change. The collector can be held constant to investigate the storyteller and tale in the context of gender (see below 113-141), or the storyteller can be held constant to investigate the collector and tale in the context of gender (see below 142-169). Because the folk narrative is viewed as a system, all parts can be considered. Even the personal can be taken into consideration. In viewing the web of contributors, each person's contribution is considered. However, the study encompasses thousands of tales, therefore the system is able to be viewed from a generalized standpoint as well.

This approach, based on viewing the folk narrative as a system and examining the interactions between parts of the system, is quite different from asking a direct or directed question. Instead of beginning with a theory and proving or disproving that theory, both the ideas and the theory emerge as the data comes in. The data shapes the ideas.

Allowing the data to shape the theory enables one to remain open to unexpected connections and results, as different aspects of the system are investigated. In addition, new results can be merged with previously obtained results to better understand the relationships within the folk narrative system and the operation of the folk narrative system as a whole. To move from the folk narrative system to the larger picture of cross-cultural comparisons or to cultural change over long periods of time, one can put a result in the context of research from other fields. As we consider detail after detail, the research in this thesis suggests that we will be able to put them all together to gain a more comprehensive vision of human culture.

**Chapter Five: Asymmetry in Male and Female Storyteller  
Priorities; An Analysis by Gender of a Sample of Published Folk  
Narratives Collected from Storytellers Worldwide**

*Politics and Culture: Online-Only Journal: Special Evolutionary Issue.*  
04/28/2010. Web.

**Abstract:**

The folk narrative is a largely untapped resource with the potential to address fundamental questions about human culture and cultural changes on anthropological timescales. The methodology developed in this paper is used to analyze the gender of protagonists in folk narratives as related to the gender of storytellers. Using grammatically defined units and a representative data set of 1640 published folk narratives collected from storytellers around the world, the differential representation of female folk narratives is quantified. Independently reproducible results indicate a pronounced asymmetry in male and female priorities: male storytellers tell predominantly male tales and female storytellers include a balance of genders in their tales. A search for a similar asymmetry in other theoretical and experimental work identifies an alignment with prior anthropological research. This work combined with a review across multiple fields suggests that a useful societal model would be a model based on degrees of cooperation between genders.

Oral Literature is like an information storehouse – a pre-literate library. Its tomes encompass everything from overarching universals to personal and highly individualized information exchange. For Freudian psychologist Bruno Bettelheim,

the tale “Hansel and Gretel” was about oral greed and dependence (Bettelheim 159-166; Zipes, *Grimm* 58-63). For Socio-historicist Jack Zipes, the tale “Rumpelstiltskin” reflected the change in control of female productivity during the Industrial Revolution (Zipes, “Rumplestiltskin”). Philosopher Ernst Bloch saw the fairy tale as a challenge to “consider yourself as born free and entitled to be totally happy...”(167). The wealth of the folk narrative as an information storehouse is even more apparent when one considers the wide range of fields which have studied the folk narrative: psychology (e.g. Bettelheim; Von Franz), history (e.g. Bottigheimer; Zipes, *Rumplestiltskin*), archaeology (e.g. Bahr, *Short Swift*; Flood), anthropology (e.g. Dundes, “Folklore;” Thompson), literature (e.g. Lüthi; B. Boyd), philosophy (e.g. Bloch), folk and fairy tale studies (e.g. Stone; Tatar), women’s studies (e.g. Haase, *Fairy Tales*; Zipes, *Don't Bet*), and evolutionary studies (Ex: Rubin; Sugiyama). This paper develops a methodology to elicit data from the folk narrative for large scale, worldwide analyses designed to explore questions about human culture and the evolution of human culture.

The folk narrative system is a unique resource because it has the potential to track cultural adaptations worldwide as well as to investigate issues on anthropological time scales. Tales have been collected from all types of societies and there is a large treasury of folk narratives which has been collected over the past 200 years. There is a data base large enough to accommodate worldwide cultural surveys as well as surveys which use folk narratives from hunter-gatherer, pastoral, agricultural and industrial societies to explore questions about the evolution of culture. Many scholars have analyzed individual tales or groups of tales, however the resource as a whole entity remains untapped.



“So far as the anthropologists are concerned...while it has been customary over a long period to collect a representative sample of the oral narrative of the people they happen to be studying, it is an open secret that, once recorded, very little subsequent use may be made of such material. Indeed, these archival collections, once published, often mold on our shelves waiting for the professional folklorist, or someone else, to make use of them in a dim and uncertain future.” (Bascom 279)

Although some studies have been conducted using the folk narrative to analyze evolutionary issues, methodology is a serious issue. Without thorough consideration of ethnological research and critical analysis regarding the collection of folk narratives, a data set is likely to have ascertainment bias. For example, in folklore, folktale, and fairy tale studies there is a large body of research documenting that retold tales are more representative of the mindset of the authors and of the authors’ times, than representative of the original culture (e.g. Dundes, "Fairy Tales" 260-61; Haase, "De-Colonizing" 22-24; Naithani 19; Stephens, *Retelling* 3-4; Zipes, *Happily*, 41-53). Retold tales are narratives that have been inspired by folk narratives but which are written by an author. (See Andersen.) On the other hand, scholarly volumes of collected tales credit the collector and the storytellers and sometimes the translators. The tales have often been translated from tape recordings of storytelling sessions, and sometimes line by line transliterations and translations of texts are also given. This attention to detail not only preserves the tales but also helps to approximate the oral verbalization of the teller. In the case of collected tales, the quality of the source can best be evaluated by whether the collection makes clear the “web of relationships involving

narrators, collectors, editors and translators” (Haase, "De-Colonizing 22).

Therefore, in any cross-cultural analysis if the tales are meant to represent different cultures, the inclusion of retold tales in the data set would compromise the results (e.g. Gottschall, "Beauty" 179).

The overall aim of this paper is to develop a careful approach to the quantitative analysis of the folk narrative system. The methodology aims to be well grounded in an understanding of the folk narrative but also pertinent to fields such as anthropology, folklore and sociobiology. The hypotheses are tightly defined, the analysis is based in concrete details and the results are specific. Thus the analysis progresses "...through discussion of specific traits, rather than through some overall description of culture. Biological evolutionary theory has generally developed along the same lines: specific features of an organism, rather than the whole organism, have been the focus of attention,” (Cavali-Sforza and Feldman 69). Henrich et al suggest that one will have to consider “a longish list of psychological, social and ecological processes” in order to reach a “full-fledged theory of cultural evolution” (129). Accordingly, this paper is intended as the first of many detailed, quantitative studies of the relationships among different parts of the folk narrative system. When combined, it is possible these studies will not result in not only a better understanding of the folk narrative system itself, but also a better understanding of how that system works in the context of human cultures and in the context of changes in human culture over anthropological time.

In this paper, it is suggested that a carefully constructed methodology can elicit data from the folk narrative system. It is hypothesized that in a worldwide sample of folk narratives, there is a relationship between the predominant gender represented in a tale and the gender of the storyteller. If there is a gendered

influence by storytellers, then there will be a difference in number of predominantly male and female characters in narratives reproduced by male versus female storytellers. This requires firstly, the careful construction of a methodology.

### **Methodology: Units**

In a quantitative method that examines folk narratives for cross-cultural information, two key items can significantly shape the results of the investigation: the units chosen and the data set.

Units are man-made categories. The units used in standard content analysis consist of the researcher's definitions, questions, evaluation guidelines and evaluations made by research assistants (e.g. Whyte 1978). However, a study can also use a countable, universal unit as long as this unit can operate cross-culturally and conveys information. This study uses the gender of the storyteller and compares that with the gender of the tale. The gender of the tale is defined by counting the gender of all nominative case words, subjects, in the tale.

Nominative case is a countable, independently defined, grammatical unit and linguists have determined that nominative case is universal - every language has nominative case (Greenberg; Hockett; Jackobsen). Nominative case nouns and pronouns of simple and compound sentences and of main and subordinate clauses are counted. Take the following sentence for example: "Once upon a time there was a Bedouin chief who had a son, but he was lazy and feckless," (Hejaiej 133). This would be counted as three male nominative cases. "Chief" is the subject of the verb "was." "Who" refers to the chief in the main clause and is the subject of the verb "had" in the relative clause "who had a son." "He" is the subject of "was" in the dependent clause "but he was lazy and feckless." (See Appendix IV 228-237.)

Where the fraction of female nominative cases in a tale exceeds  $2/3$ , the tale is denoted a Female tale. Where the fraction of male nominative cases exceeds  $2/3$ , the tale is denoted a Male tale. Thus a discrete threshold (over  $2/3$ ) of gendered, countable units (subjects) is established to define the gender of a tale. “Any continuous trait may be transformed into a discrete...one by the introduction of thresholds along the continuous scale of measurement” (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 73).

At  $2/3$  majority, the dominance of one gender is clear, increments of one third provide a level of precision appropriate for the data set, and differences are observable. The  $2/3$  threshold definition of Female and Male tales also means that a counting error of one nominative case does not shift a story from the Female to the Male category. To make sure that the whole spectrum of tales is included in the analysis, two analyses have been conducted, one using two categories: Male tales (M) and Female tales (F) and another analysis using three categories: Male tales (M), Female tales (F), and MF tales in which neither gender reached the  $2/3$  majority of subjects.

This paper’s assumption that frequency of one gender in nominative case is an appropriate tool to measure which gender the tale is “about,” is based on the standard grammatical definition of the “subject of a sentence.” “The subject of the sentence has a close general relation to ‘what is being discussed’...” (Quirk 11). Therefore if over  $2/3$  of the subjects in a tale are of one gender, it is logical to say that that particular gender has a close general relation to ‘what is being discussed.’ Hence the designation of a “Female” or “Male” tale.

Given the scope of a worldwide survey, tales in English and tales translated into English have been used. Every culture has males and females, this is a

biological human universal and therefore transcends individual cultures. However, not all languages have gendered pronouns. For example in German, the neuter word “das Mädchen” means “girl” and the nominative case pronoun for girl, in English “she,” would also be neuter in German “es.” However, every culture denotes female and male, so the German girl, Little Red Riding Hood for example, would have a name and context or title that would denote her as a female regardless of the neutral pronoun. In addition, any person translating a German story about a “Mädchen” into English would not use the neuter “it” but the appropriately gendered pronoun “she” in the nominative case, since English pronouns do denote male and female genders in nominative case. Therefore gendered nominative case is countable, universal and carries some specific information across cultures.

The gender of all nominative cases in every tale has been counted. On the basis of the count, each tale was assigned a gender: M (Male), F (Female) or MF (neither Male nor Female reaches the 2/3 majority). The gender of every tale has been recorded along with the gender of the storyteller and the gender of the collector for that tale. For example, tale # 1 in "The Folktales of Egypt" (El Shamy 3-14) is classified as MM M (Male Collector, Male Storyteller, Male tale.) (See Appendix V 239-253.)

### **Methodology: Data Set**

The data set is a crucial component of any quantitative analysis. If one aspires to use tales to examine ancient and worldwide cultural developments, one must address the quality of the data's source as well as the number and distribution of cultures represented.

Because the presented method uses details as its data, it is important that the details of the examined tales reflect the society of origin as accurately as possible. Given the worldwide context, translated tales must be used. Scholarly anthologies of collected tales are the preferred resource, since these anthologies can be considered the closest approximation of the original cultures given the scope of the survey (Dundes, "Fairy Tales" 259-260). Collected/translated tales should not be confused with retold tales and retold tales should not be used (Dundes, "Fairy Tales" 265; Haase, "De-colonizing" 24).

One must not only use quality sources, but also include a creditable representation of world cultures. For the compilation of a representative worldwide sample, the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample lists 186 societies which are "relatively equally distributed among the six major regions of the world," (Murdock, Standard 6). The six major regions are: Sub-saharan Africa (A), Circum-Mediterranean (C), East Eurasia (E), the Insular Pacific (I), North America (N) and South America (S). In the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, certain societies were selected to represent various areas within the six regions. This selection was based on issues such as superiority of ethnographic coverage or the society's distinctiveness in language, economy or political organization (Murdock, "Standard" 6).

In 1981, Murdock constructed a systematic sub-division of the six large regions (Murdock, *Atlas*). He divided each large region into twenty-five culture groups. These sub-divisions were based primarily on geographic proximity and language families and are mostly ordered in geographically adjacent units. Thus if one uses Murdock 1981, one may select societies from these regions for a valid sample. One need not use the societies Murdock listed in the Standard Cross-

Cultural Sample or that Murdock listed in the *Atlas of World Cultures*, but one may put together one's own data set using Murdock's regions. Thus one can compile a representative sample still based in Murdock's ethnological classification system. It is important to note that the author has assembled a data set using the six regions and subdivisions from Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures*, but not Murdock's specific societies. For example, in group N 01, the author has used tales from different Inuit tribes than Murdock used, but all Inuit used in this study come from the same latitude and longitude region and the same language group as those in Murdock's N 01 (Murdock, *Atlas* 61-62). Because the tribes listed in the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample fall within the regions of Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures*, it is still possible to compare data with studies which use the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. This paper operates at the level of Murdock's six large regions and each of the six regions is represented by multiple collections, multiple of Murdock's sub-divisions are also represented in each of the large six regions. (See below 133-135.) This paper's results are not yet specific to Murdock's individual sub-divisions or to individual cultures.

The use of Murdock's cultural regions ensures a degree of equitable worldwide representation. In addition, the use of an independently defined classification system which is carefully designed to create a representative worldwide sample sets a standard by which all worldwide surveys of folk narratives can be assessed. The level of credibility is proportional to the data set's conformity with the number and spread of Murdock's stipulated sample. In the field of anthropology, Murdock's representative worldwide sample is the standard which makes cross-cultural research viable, enables the comparison of various cross-cultural studies and enables one to assess the credibility of results from

various studies. Murdock's work can serve the same purpose in the large scale study of the folk narrative system.

This study worked within four parameters: Murdock's culture areas, whether the genders of the collector and storytellers were given in the source, the representation of both male and female collectors and storytellers, and the availability of folk narratives from the cultures. All collections in the study met these criteria. Within these parameters, the tale selection was random.

This study comprises 1640 tales, 353 different storytellers - 232 male and 121 female – from 46 different tribe/locations which represent 30 of Murdock's culture groupings. There are multiple representatives from each of Murdock's six large regions: Africa: 92 tales, Circum Mediterranean: 303 tales, East Asia: 146 tales, Insular Pacific: 336 tales, North America: 540 tales, South America: 203 tales. (See below 133-136.) The specificity of this study comprises the six large regions but the goal of future studies is to include each of Murdock's smaller cultural groupings as well as a test of statistical significance.

This study examines the relationship between the storyteller and the tale in the context of gender. There are four categories: Male collector Male storyteller (MM), Male collector Female storyteller (MF), Female collector Male storyteller (FM) and Female collector Female storyteller (FF). The collector is held constant in order to analyze the relationship between the gender of the storyteller and the gender of the tale. Thus MM tales are compared to MF tales to see what fraction of male and female tales are told by male and female storytellers to a male collector. FM tales are compared to FF tales to see what fraction of male and female tales are told by male and female storytellers when told to a female collector.



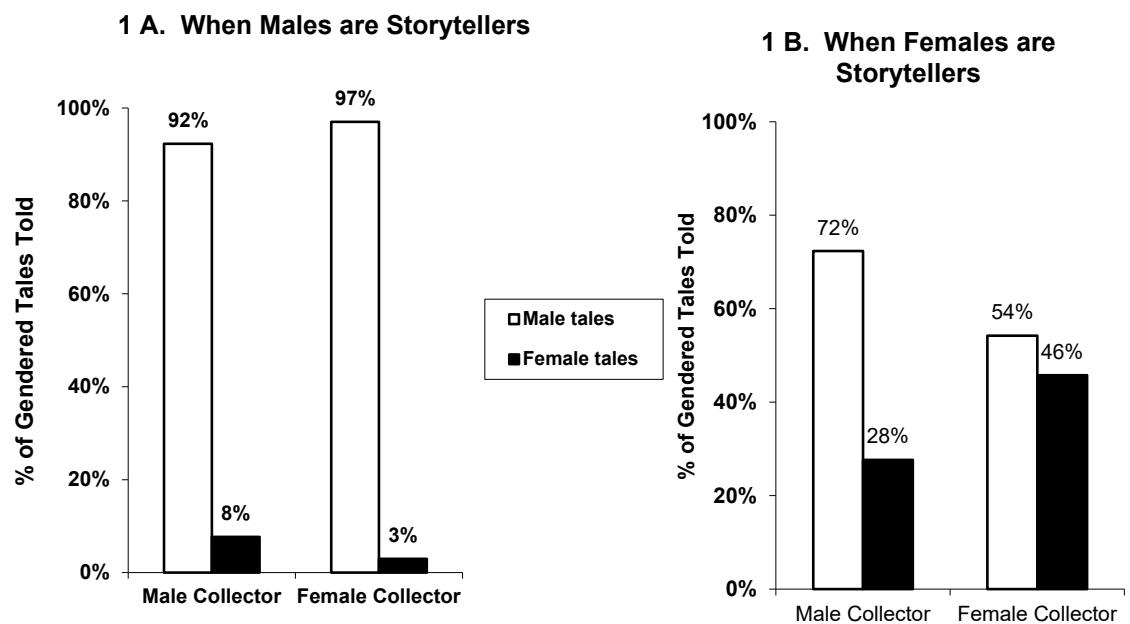
## Results

### 1. Analysis I: Tales in which one gender, male or female, exceeds two thirds of the nominative cases in a tale.

When examining tales with over 2/3 nominative case of one gender, one considers tales in which the number of male nominative case (subjects) exceeds 2/3 of all gendered subjects in the tale (M tales) and one considers tales in which the number of female nominative case (subjects) exceeds 2/3 of all gendered

**Graph 1:**

#### Tales In Which One Gender Exceeds 2/3



**Caption: Graph 1 A and B:** The percentage of gendered tales as told by male storytellers (1A) and female storytellers (1B). The gender of the collector is kept constant. Therefore, for example, the percentage of male and female stories by male storytellers as collected by male collectors is separate from but immediately next to the percentage of male and female stories by male storytellers as collected by female collectors. Likewise, the gender of the collector for the female storytellers is kept constant.

subjects in the tale (F tales).

In this category, male storytellers told 92% M tales to male collectors and 97% M tales to female collectors. Female storytellers told 72% M tales to male collectors and 54% M tales to female collectors (see Graphs 1A and 1B).

When telling tales to male collectors and to female collectors, males tell predominantly M tales: 92% and 97% M tales. Females tell a different fraction of tales. When females tell tales to female collectors, the female storytellers tell almost equal numbers of M and F tales: 54% M tales and 46% F tales.

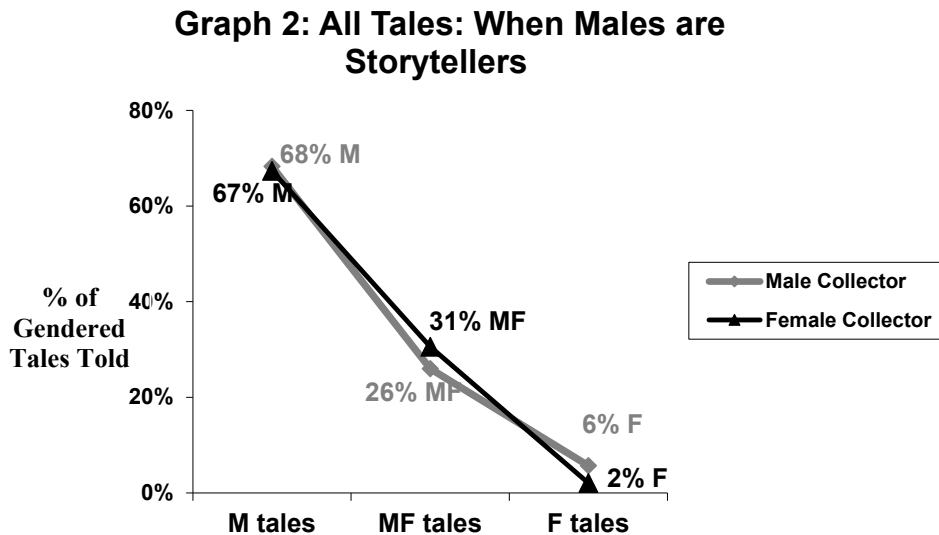
In summary, male storytellers tell predominantly M tales. Female storytellers tell a more equal fraction of M and F tales.

### **Analysis II: All tales**

When one uses a  $\frac{2}{3}$  threshold, not all tales have enough subjects of one gender to cross the  $\frac{2}{3}$  threshold and to fall into the category of an M tale or an F tale. Some tales are mixtures, MF tales. Therefore this category includes male tales (M), female tales (F) and male/female (MF) tales. When one includes MF tales in the analysis, males again tell predominantly M tales. Males tell about the same percentages to male and female collectors. When telling tales to male collectors, male storytellers tell 67% M tales, 26% MF tales and 6% F tales. When telling tales to female collectors, male storytellers tell 68% M tales, 31% MF tales and 2% F tales. (See Graph 2).

When males are the storytellers, males tell more M tales than F tales or MF tales. When males tell tales to either male or female collectors, whether one counts

the M and F categories, or the M, MF and F categories, males tell predominantly M tales.

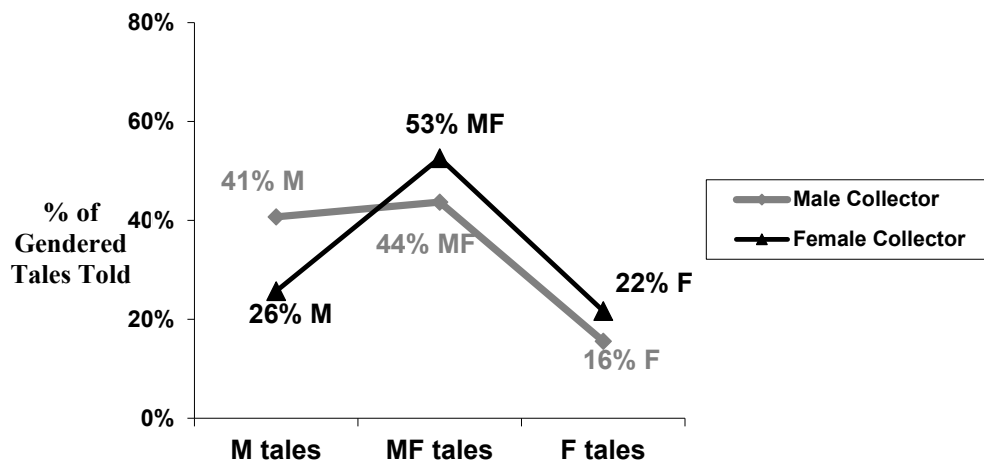


**Caption: Graph 2:** The percentages of gendered tales including male (M), male/female (MF) and female (F) tales of male storytellers. The gender of the collector is kept constant therefore there are two lines on the graph. The grey line denotes tales collected by a male collector. The black line denotes tales collected by a female collector.

Female storytellers tell a different fraction of tales. Female storytellers tell more MF tales than either M or F tales. When telling tales to a male collector, female storytellers tell about 44% MF tales, 41% M and 22% F tales. When telling tales to a female collector, female storytellers tell about 53% MF tales and an almost equal percentages of M and F tales: 26% M and 22% F tales. (See Graph 3.) The selection of tales told by Female storyteller is more gender-balanced.

In summary, males tell predominantly M tales: 67 % - 68% M tales, 26% - 31% MF tales, 6% - 2% F tales. Females tell predominantly MF tales and when females tell tales to female collectors, the females tell an almost equal fraction of male and female tales: 53% M/F tales, 26% M tales, 22% F tales.

**Graph 3: All Tales: When Females are Storytellers**



**Caption: Graph 3:** The percentages of gendered tales including M, MF and F tales of female storytellers. The gender of the collector is kept constant therefore there are two lines on each graph. The grey denotes tales collected by a male collector. The black denotes tales collected by a female collector. Notice the significantly different shapes of the graph of female storytellers compared to the graph of male storytellers.

The FF category represents female choice of tales in both the storyteller and the collector categories. It also has the same gender between the categories. In other words, the situation is inherently female oriented. The results show that female storyteller priorities are expressed in a more balanced representation of both genders. In the results in the FF category this is seen in two ways: Tales inclusive of both genders, MF tales, predominate at 53%. In addition, the percentages of tales about each gender, M tales and F tales, are also almost equal to each other: 26% M and 22% F tales. The female storytellers exhibit a balance of gender in sentence subjects.

## Discussion

When working with a methodology that reduces the analysis of human culture to such specific parameters, it is important to keep the parameters of this simplification in mind. It has already been established that in a random set of tales there is a relationship between the gender of the tale and the gender of the teller (See above 47-74.) The results of the current paper indicate that there is a quantifiable asymmetry between male and female storytellers in the context of gender. When male storytellers express their priorities, they tell predominantly Male tales; when female storytellers express their priorities, they do not tell predominantly Female tales, they tell a more gender-balanced set of tales. This result can be used to describe the folk narrative system as a cultural phenomenon. However, it is also reasonable to expect that general qualitative conclusions be drawn from the quantitative analysis (Cavali-Sforza and Feldman 70). One expects an understanding of the implications of the result as it relates to the larger picture of human culture. In order to draw general qualitative conclusions from the asymmetry quantified in this paper, the author conducted a search in the fields of folk and fairy tale research, folklore, anthropology and sociobiology to place this finding in the context of other research and to determine whether a comparable asymmetry had been detected.

### **Observations From Other Fields**

In Folklore and Folk and Fairy tale research, scholars have noted that males and females have repertoires that differ along gender lines. Benedict related the “contrast between tales told by men and by women” and focused on content. “Men tell tales which feature...stick races...gambling...and of hunting. Women tell those which detail cooking techniques...the Cinderella story...childbirth...” (XL-

XLI) For his major work, "The Interpretation of Fairy Tales," Holbek used a collection of 700 tales from one county in Denmark. Holbek's theory dealt with thematic content, but in a few paragraphs, Holbek noted that males tell 87.7% masculine tales and 12.3% feminine tales, while women tell 54.1% masculine and 45.9% feminine tales (168). For her article, "Sex Role Reversals, Sex Changes, and Transvestite Disguise in the Oral Tradition of a conservative Muslim Community in Afghanistan," Mills used a set of about 450 narratives collected in and around Herat and Kabul, Afghanistan. Mills remarked on the asymmetry in male and female storyteller repertoires. She noted that males tell 86% masculine tales, 11% feminine tales and 3% tales with both male and female main characters, while females tell 48% masculine, 49 % feminine and 3% tales with both male and female main characters (187). Neither Holbek nor Mills used a clear definition of masculine and feminine tales and each used a set of tales from a very small area. However their findings resulted in the detection of an asymmetry that closely mirrors the results of this paper's analysis of M and F tales.

A survey by anthropologist Peggy Sanday done in 1978 also showed that female priorities are expressed in a balance of male and female rather than in dominance of females (Sanday, "Female" 189-206). Sanday conducted a small scale statistical analysis exploring subsistence contributions and women's status. Sanday concluded that in societies where females' contribution to subsistence is either very high or very low, female status is low. Where there is a more equal contribution to subsistence by both males and females, the status of females is higher. Therefore, a similar asymmetry to that in folk narratives is found in that the expression of female priorities relates to a balance of gender.

In 1981 Sanday began her study of the Minangkabau in Indonesia. The Minangkabau call themselves “Minangkabau matriarchaat,” using the Dutch word for matriarchy. After 20 years Sanday was convinced that the definition of matriarchy should be challenged and that matriarchy as the opposite of patriarchy was an “imaginary, empirically empty social form” (Sanday, *Women* xi). Sanday stated, “Female power cannot be defined in terms of female domination and male subordination. Rather one finds interdependence and autonomy in both male and female domains...” (Sanday, *Women* 46). Sanday found that gender balance is important in the matriarchy she studied. “Neither the maternal nor the paternal is left out” (Sanday, *Women* 234). Sanday’s in-depth study indicated that female priorities are expressed in a balance of the genders rather than in dominance.

The evidence from the folk narrative does not prove or disprove the theory that matriarchies exist as cooperative societies rather than as female dominated societies. However, accumulating evidence in multiple fields suggests that a cooperative model for defining societies should be tested.

Whyte’s book *The Status of Women in Preindustrial Societies* used a data set which comprised 93 preindustrial cultures. Whyte’s study analyzed 52 questions regarding women’s status such as: “#3 Sex of shamans” and “#40 Wife to husband institutionalized deference” (52 and 65). The patterns of association among these 52 items were then examined to see if general cross-cultural patterns would emerge. Whyte stated, “There have never been any true matriarchies” (6). Whyte concluded: “Our findings do lead us to doubt that there are any cultures in which women are totally dominant over men” (167). The underlying assumption in Whyte’s organizing framework was a societal model of male-dominated versus

female-dominated. Many of Whyte's results were categorized on a scale from male dominance to female dominance. For example:

“Mythical Founders of the Culture:

1. All were male
2. Both sexes, but the role of men more important
3. Both sexes, and the role of both sexes pretty equal
4. Both sexes, but female role more important, or solely female
5. No such myth, or no information” (51).

However, given the asymmetry in the folk narrative and in Sanday's anthropological research, female priorities may best be perceived when looking at a model based on cooperation. This begs the question: What societal model would enable one to perceive both male and female priorities? The asymmetry in male and female priorities as shown by my analyses of folk narratives inspired me to revisit Whyte's data and rethink the organization of Whyte's work. I reorganized the data on a continuum from cooperation to dominance rather than on a continuum from male dominance to female dominance.

To track cooperation in Whyte's material required a major rethinking of the material. Not all of Whyte's data is able to be included. Sometimes the style of question elicited an answer that could not be examined for cooperation, for example: the age at first marriage (79). Other questions are not included because of the subjective nature of the question, as in number 52 which asked for the ethnologists' views (88). Question 20 about domestic work (68) is not included because it conflated three elements which were included in other questions.

Whyte analyzed 52 questions and 18 lent themselves to reorganization along a scale of cooperation: Equal Cooperation, Some Cooperation and No



Cooperation (i.e. dominance of one gender). The results of the reorganization indicate that over 50% of the examined cultures showed basically equal cooperation in 8 of the 18 categories. There are four categories in which over 50% of the examined cultures show dominance of one or the other gender. These categories indicate male dominance in warfare, family leadership and politics and female dominance in authority over infants (see Table 1).

The asymmetry of male and female priorities observed in folk narratives, plus observations from other fields of study, plus the new view of Whyte's material suggest that an effective societal model, which would capture both male and female priorities, would be a model based on a continuum from high cooperation to low cooperation / dominance of one gender.

## **Discussion**

For years anthropologists, folklorists have assiduously collected folk narratives from storytellers all over the world. For years, it has been apparent that folk narratives store information in various ways and on many levels. This paper uses a specific characteristic, gender, that operates at many levels within the folk narrative system. Because there is a relationship between the gender of the teller and the gender of the tale, the culture and the cultural artifact, the teller and the tale can be examined as parts of the same large interacting system. The folk narrative system has many parts which include but are not necessarily limited to: the storytellers, collectors, editors, translators, audiences, the time of day, the time of year and the place in which the tales are told. (e.g. Bahr, "Introduction;" Haase "De-colonizing" 22; Holbek 168; Z. Jordan xvii; Rørbye 20; Curtin 132).

**Chapter Five, Table 1: Whyte's Results as Newly Organized Through the  
Lens of Cooperation (Whyte 1978)**

| Whyte # | Title  | Equal Co-op | Some Co-op | No Co-op  |
|---------|--|-------------|------------|-----------|
| DV 6    | <i>Funeral ceremonies</i>                              | <b>87</b>   |            | 13        |
| DV 35   | <i>Ease of divorce</i>                                 | <b>77</b>   | 17         | 5         |
| DV 10   | <i>Contribute to subsistence</i>                       | <b>75</b>   | 23         | 4         |
| DV 36   | <i>Ease of marriage</i>                                | <b>75</b>   | 25         |           |
| DV 11   | <i>Time used in subsistence</i>                        | <b>61</b>   | 39         |           |
| DV 29   | <i>Voice of bride and groom</i>                        | <b>58</b>   | 38         | 5         |
| DV 39   | <i>Authority over older child</i>                      | <b>50</b>   | 33         | 16        |
| DV 1    | <i>Sex of gods</i>                                     | <b>50</b>   | 36         | 13        |
| DV 5    | Participation in collective<br>Or religious ceremonies | 38          | 56         | 6         |
| DV 3    | Sex of shamans   | 36          | 46         | 19        |
| DV 16   | Owens dwelling   | 35          | 35         | 31        |
| DV 28   | Arranges marriages                                     | 35          | 50         | 16        |
| DV 4    | Sex of witches   | 34          | 43         | 24        |
| DV 15   | Inheritance  | 31          | 44         | 25        |
| DV 2    | Mythical founders                                      | 31          | 35         | 34        |
| DV 38   | <i>Authority over infant</i>                           | 16          | 31         | <b>54</b> |
| DV 8    | <i>Family leadership</i>                               | 6           | 10         | <b>84</b> |
| DV 7    | <i>Political leaders</i>                               |             | 13         | <b>88</b> |
| DV 9    | <i>Participation warfare</i>                           |             | 12         | <b>89</b> |

Although the results of this paper are specific to the relationship of the storyteller and the tale in the context of gender, the presented methodology will enable research to further explore the storyteller-tale relationship and other relationships within the folk narrative system. For example, Benedict connects the difference in male and female storyteller repertoires to gender-related content (XLI). Holbek surmises that the different repertoires might be due to the storytelling environment because women primarily tell tales in the homestead and men tell tales in the army or taverns (168). Holbek also surmises that the audience has an effect: Women tell tales to a mixed audience and men tell tales to a predominantly male audience (168). The difference in male and female repertoires has also been attributed to the type of relationship between teller and audience (Yocum). The asymmetry may also result from the type of information exchanged between teller and audience. Males tend to tell stories in a larger, public setting, while women tell stories in small, intimate settings and often only to people they feel close to, or want to become close to. (Sanday *Women* 80-82; Watson 12). All of these ideas pertain to relationships between different parts of the folk narrative system in the context of gender and can be studied using the presented methodology.

There is a difference between the focus of my research and the type of research outlined by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman and Henrich et al. My research is not focused on tracking the diffusion of memes. My research focuses on quantifying the interactions among the many parts of the folk narrative system (Gray; Oyama). One of the reasons for this style of investigation is that it may be able to uncover information one wouldn't consciously think to look for.

“It would seem reasonable that selection favored a capacity to assess environments ...in a way that would not compete with conscious processing. This capacity should, in other words, be under automatic control most of the time, very much like the control of the breathing process...immediate and intuitive rather than conscious and deliberate” (Kaplan 585).

Because the presented methodology deals with interactions, it is like watching how the gears in a clock work. Through this approach one will be able to gain a picture of the operation and development of the folk narrative system as a whole from the storytellers, collectors and cultures, to environments, information exchange and biological constraints.

This paper presents a methodology which is grounded in details but is also able to identify universals. Using the expertise of scholars who have collected folk narratives, scholars who have studied collection, translation and transmission of folk narratives and the expertise of scholars who have grappled with the problem of assembling a representative worldwide data set, the presented methodology establishes guidelines for the assembly of a data set for worldwide studies of the folk narrative. This methodology, which treats the folk narrative as a part of a large interacting system enables cumulative studies and opens the door to the discovery of unanticipated information. The results from this initial study have established the existence of an asymmetry in the expression of male and female priorities and this led to the suggestion of a new model of human society. From even this initial study, it is apparent that the quantitative analysis of the folk narrative system can be used to gain new insight into human culture.

The folk narrative is an extensive, largely untapped data base. Since oral literature is our oldest and most widespread form of literature, this resource presents extraordinary possibilities for examining fundamental questions about the evolution of human culture. It is a vast pre-literate library waiting to be explored.

**Chapter Five, Appendix A: Books in Survey with Murdock Region, Filter and Culture Noted**

| Murdock number | Book Bibliography   | Filter             | Culture/<br>Country                       |
|----------------|---|--------------------|---|
| AFRICA<br>A 03 | Earthy, E. Dora. <i>The Social and Economic Life of the Valenge Women of Portuguese East Africa</i> . London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968.                        | F,F                | Valenge                                   |
| A 03           | Nogenile Msithathu Zenani <i>The World and the Word: Tales and Observations from the Xhosa Oral Tradition</i> . Coll. H. Scheub. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1992. | M,F                | Xhosa                                     |
| A 09           | Routledge, W. Scoresby and Katherine Routledge. <i>With a Prehistoric People: The Akikuyu of British East Africa</i> . London: Edward Arnold, 1910.               | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Kikuyu                                    |
| A 14           | Owomoyela, Oyekan. <i>Yoruba Trickster Tales</i> . Reno, NV: U of Nebraska P, 1997.   | M                  | Yoruba                                    |
| A 15           | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, M               | Liberia and Ashanti                       |
| A 18           | Jackson, Michael. <i>Allegories of the Wilderness, Ethics and Ambiguity in Kuranko narratives</i> . Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982.                                | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Kuranko,<br>Upper Guinea,<br>Sierra Leone |

|                                 |  |                       |                        |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Circum<br>Mediterranean<br>C 07 | Hejaiej, Monia. <i>Behind closed doors: women's oral narratives in Tunis</i> . New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1966.              | F, F                  | Tunisia                |
| C 08                            | El Shamy, Hasan M. <i>Folktales of Egypt</i> . Chicago & London: U of Chicago P, 1980.   | M, <sup>M</sup> /F    | Egypt                  |
| C 17                            | Danaher, Kevin. <i>Folktales of the Irish Countryside</i> . New York: D. White, 1970.  | M, <sup>M</sup> /F    | Ireland                |
| C 17                            | Edwards, Ron. <i>Yarns and Ballads of the Australian Bush</i> . Australia: Rigby Publishers, 1981.                               | M,M                   | English<br>Australian  |
| C 17                            | Keats, Norman Charles. <i>Bush yarns of yester years</i> . Self-published.   | M,M                   | English<br>Australian  |
| C 17                            | Murphy, Michael J. <i>Now you're talking: Folktales from the north of Ireland</i> . Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1975.             | M,<br><sup>M</sup> /F | Ireland                |
| C 17                            | Tongue, Ruth. <i>Forgotten Folk-Tales of the English Counties</i> . London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.                        | F, <sup>M</sup> /F    | England                |
| East<br>Asia<br>E 09            | Van Deusen, Kira. <i>The flying tiger: Women shamans and storytellers of the Amur</i> . Montreal & etc: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001. | F, <sup>M</sup> /F    | Amur River,<br>Siberia |
| E 09                            | Zong, In Sob. <i>Folktales from Korea</i> . Seoul: Hollym International, 1952.   | M, <sup>M</sup> /F    | Korea                  |

|                         |   |                    |                            |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------|----------------------------|
| E 12                    | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, M               | Tibet                      |
| E 13                    | Narayan, Kirin. and Urmila Devi Sood. <i>Mondays on the Dark Night of the Moon, Himalayan Foothill Folktales</i> . Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.                         | F, F               | Himachal Pradesh, India    |
| E 17                    | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, F               | Lao, N. Thailand           |
| Insular Pacific<br>I 03 | Kershaw, Eva Maria. <i>Dusun Folktales: A Collection of 88 Folktales in the Dusun Language of Brunei with English Translations</i> . Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1992. | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Dusun, Brunei              |
| I 07                    | Ahern, Amanda. and the Mornington Island Elders. <i>Paint-up</i> . St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2002.  | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Mornington Island, AU      |
| I 07                    | Ashton, Pamela Lofts. <i>The Kangaroo and the Porpoise</i> . Scholastic Press, 1987.  | F, F               | Belyuen tribe, AU          |
| I 07                    | Ashton, Pamela Lofts. <i>The Bat and the Crocodile</i> . Scholastic Press, 1987.  | F, M               | Warmun tribe, AU           |
| I 07                    | Clendon, Mark. <i>I was Born at Kunmunya and Other Worrorra stories</i> . Kimberley, Australia: Kimberley Language Resource Center, 2000.                           | M, F               | Worrorra, W. Kimberley, AU |



|      |   |                    |                          |
|------|---|--------------------|--------------------------|
| I 07 | Heath, Jeffrey. <i>Nunggubuyu Myths and Ethnographic Texts</i> . Canberra: Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1980.   | M,M                | Arnhem Land, AU          |
| I 07 | Robinson, Roland. <i>The Feathered Serpent</i> . Sydney: Edwards & Shaw, 1956.  | M, M               | Northern Territories, AU |
| I 08 | Counts, C. Dorothy A. <i>The Tales of Laupu</i> . New Guinea: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1976.  | F,M                | New Guinea               |
| I 13 | Feinberg, Richard. <i>Oral Traditions of Auta: A Polynesian Outlier in the Solomon Islands</i> . New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.                                    | M,M                | Solomon Islands          |
| I 13 | Kuschel, Rolf. <i>Animal Stories from Bellona (Mungiki): Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands: Vol. IV</i> . Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1975. | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Bellona Is., Solomon Is. |
| I 14 | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, M               | New Caledonia            |
| I 18 | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, M               | Hawaii                   |
| I 20 | Tobin, Jack A. <i>Stories from the Marshall Islands</i> . Honolulu, Hawaii: U of Hawaii P, 2002.  | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Marshall Is.,            |

|                          |  |                    |                             |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| North<br>America<br>N 01 | Hall, Edwin S., Jr. <i>The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Notak, Alaska</i> . Knoxville, TN: U of Tennessee P, 1975.                                     | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Noatagmiut/<br>Naupaktomiut |
| N 01                     | MacDonald, Margaret Read <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, F               | Eskimo                      |
| N 07                     | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.  | F, F               | Upper Skagit                |
| N 07                     | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.  | F, M               | Chahalís                    |
| N 08                     | Jacobs, Melville. <i>The Content and Style of an Oral Literature: Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales</i> . Chicago, London and Toronto: U of Chicago P, 1930. | M, M               | Chinook                     |
| N 12                     | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman Oklahoma: U of Oklahoma P, 1996.   | F, M               | Shoshoni                    |
| N 13                     | Aoki, Haruo (Trans.) and Deward E. Walker (Coll.) <i>Nez Percé Oral Narratives</i> . Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1988.              | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Nez Percé                   |
| N 13                     | Clark, IIs. E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1966.   | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Nez Percé                   |

|                          |   |                    |                                     |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| N 14                     | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1966.                              | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Flathead Couer<br>d'Alene, Kalispel |
| N 15                     | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1996.                              | F, M               | Blackfoot                           |
| N 21                     | Brady, Margaret K. "Some kind of power"<br><i>Navajo children's Skinwalker narratives</i> . Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1984.  | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Navajo                              |
| N 22                     | Benedict, Ruth. <i>Tales of the Cochiti Indians</i> . Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1931.                                     | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Cochiti                             |
| N 22                     | Tedlock, Dennis. <i>The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation</i> . Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1983.           | M, M               | Zuni                                |
| South<br>America<br>S 01 | Chapman, Anne. <i>Masters of Animals: Oral Traditions of the Tolupan Indians Honduras</i> . Switzerland: Gordon & Breach, 1992. | F,M                | Tolupan,<br>Honduras                |
| S 01                     | Laughlin, Robert M. <i>Of cabbages and kings: Tales from Zinacantán</i> . Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977.   | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Mayan, Mexico                       |
| S 20                     | Basso, Ellen B. <i>The Last Cannibals: A South American Oral History</i> . Austin: U of Texas P, 1995.                          | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Kalapalo, Brazil                    |

## **Chapter Six: The Impact of the Collector on Gender in a Sample of Published Folk Narratives Collected from Storytellers**

### **Worldwide**

Submitted to the *Journal of American Folklore*: Pages 135-160

Literary Darwinism is a rapidly growing field, which connects evolutionary theory and literature. This field is based on "two causal propositions: (1) the mind has evolved through an adaptive process of natural selection; and (2) the adapted mind produces literature" (Carroll xii). Under the umbrella of Literary Darwinism, scholars primarily from the fields of English, Psychology and Evolutionary Psychology are analyzing literature for universal, species-typical, behavioral and cognitive characteristics. There is a regrettable dearth of folklorists and folk and fairy tale experts and a number of papers have been written using the folktale as a basis (Gottschall "Beauty," "Patterns," "Quantitative;" Ragan "Asymmetry," "What happened;" Sugiyama, "Food," "Narrative," "On the Origins," "Reverse-Engineering").

Literary Darwinist, Gottschall has published two large scale statistical surveys using folktales (Gottschall, "Quantitative;" "Beauty"). In "Quantitative Literary Study: A Modest Manifesto and Testing the Hypotheses of Feminist Fairy Tale Studies," Gottschall's conclusion was the complete failure of the "feminist social construction hypothesis" (217). Yet Gottschall dismissed as unlikely the idea that the European fairy tale sample reflects a male editing process. (217-218). In his second major paper using folktales, "The 'Beauty Myth' is No Myth," Gottschall concluded that there is a universal emphasis on female beauty due to

evolutionary constraints. Yet in his paper, Gottschall used a data set in which over 60% of the source books were “collected, edited, translated and in some cases retold by Westerners, usually males between 1860 and 1930” (179). These sources, some of which are retold, not collected tales, supposedly provided “a more direct perspective on life in traditional societies than the heavily mediated accounts of anthropologists and ethnographers” (Gottschall, "Beauty" 177). Through the use of statistics and a scientifically-inspired approach, Gottschall's work acquires a high level of credibility and the stance of impartiality. “The advantage of quantitative study is that all reasonable doubts can be systematically addressed – all forms of bias can be exposed” (Gottschall, "Response" 442). Haase summarizes the situation thus: “The identity, import and relationships of fairy-tale texts, tellers, recipients, collectors, editors, translators and scholars are ignored...With these effectively removed from the field...the field itself is cleared for the scientific method and the search for a homogenizing universality” (Haase "De-Colonizing" 26).

Although the new field of Literary Darwinism has its difficulties, the premise of Literary Darwinism is powerful and it is likely that folk narratives act as storehouses of information related to fundamental human issues (e.g. Zipes, *Why*; Rubin; Biesele 59). Folk and fairy tale scholars, folklorists, anthropologists and ethnologists have much to offer theories of cultural evolution because these scholars have long seen the folk narrative as a pan-human, multifunctional and fundamental element of human culture. Scholars in these fields have also focused on the folk narrative as it connects to the culture from which it is collected, and the individuality of each performance, tale, teller and culture.

Ultimately, collectors will determine what one can study about the folk narrative. The aim of this paper is to better understand the collectors' role within the folk narrative system in order to better understand choices presented to the collector. This paper examines the folk narrative system with regards to the relationship between the gender of the collectors and the gender of the tales collected from male and female storytellers. Specifically, it was hypothesized that if there is gendered influence of collectors on the collected sample, then there will be a difference in the number and types of gendered tales reproduced by female vs. male collectors.

### **Methodology**

In this paper's two companion studies (See above 47-74; 111-139), the gender of the teller and the gender of the tale were compared. The gender of the narrative was defined by the number of nominative case, subjects, of each gender in the tale. If over 2/3 of the gendered nominative case, subjects, in a tale were male, the tale was classified as a "Male" tale. If over 2/3 of the gendered subjects were female, the tale was classified as a "Female" tale. If the tale had neither predominantly male nor predominantly female characters, it was classified as a "Male/Female" tale. This methodology's assumption that frequency of one gender in nominative case is an appropriate tool to measure which gender the tale is "about," is based on the standard grammatical definition of the subject of a sentence. "The subject of the sentence has a close general relation to 'what is being discussed...'" (Quirk 11). Therefore if over 2/3 of the subjects in the tale are of one gender, it is logical to say that that particular gender has a close general relation to 'what is being discussed.' Hence the designation of a "Female" or "Male" tale.

The gender of all nominative cases in every tale has been counted. On the basis of the count, each tale was assigned a gender: M (Male), F (Female) or MF (neither M nor F reaches the 2/3 majority). The gender of every tale has been recorded along with the gender of the storyteller and the gender of the collector for that tale. (See Appendix IV) Because this method uses details as its data, it is important that the details of the examined tales reflect the society of origin as accurately as possible. In the case of collected tales, the quality of the source can best be evaluated by whether the collection makes clear the "web of relationships involving narrators, collectors, editors and translators..." (Haase "De-Colonizing" 22). Given the worldwide nature of the investigation, translated tales must be used. Therefore, scholarly anthologies of collected tales are the preferred resource (Dundes, "Fairy Tales" 259-260).

*Atlas of World Cultures* (Murdock) lays out which cultural regions one should use to compose a representative sample for a statistical analysis of world cultures. The use of Murdock's cultural regions ensures a degree of equitable worldwide representation. It is important to note that this study has assembled a data set using Murdock's culture groupings, but not his specific sources. For example, in group N 01, this study used tales from different Inuit tribes than Murdock used, but all Inuit storytellers in this study come from the same latitude and longitude region and the same language group as those in Murdock's N 01. (See above 96-97; 118-120.)

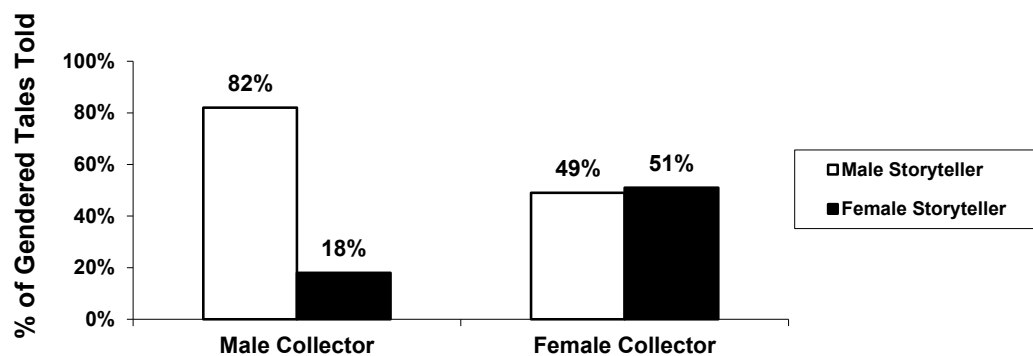
This study worked within four parameters: Murdock's culture areas; whether the genders of the collector and storytellers were given in the source; representation of both male and female collectors and storytellers; and availability. Within these parameters, the tale selection was random.

This study comprises 1152 tales, 35 collectors - 19 male and 16 female. All the collectors are from the large Circum Mediterranean culture group as designated by Murdock. These collectors have collected tales from 305 storytellers - 192 male and 113 female – from 45 different tribe/locations which represent 30 of Murdock’s culture groupings (Murdock).

## Results

The results for the relationship between the gender of the collector and the gender of the storyteller are as follows: Of the 130 informants for male collectors, 82% (106) were male and only 18% (24) were female. Of the 175 informants for female collectors, 49% (86) were male and 51% (89) were female. (See Graph 4.)

**Graph 4: Percentage of Male and Female Storytellers used by Male and Female Collectors**



**Caption: Graph 4 A and B:** Male storytellers are represented by the white bars and female storytellers by the black bars. The gender of the collector is kept constant. Therefore, for example, the percentage of male storytellers (82%) as included by male collectors is separate from but immediately next to the percentage of female storytellers as included by male collectors (18%). Likewise, the gender of the collector for the female storytellers is kept constant.



These are interesting numbers because these ratios are similar to the ratios between storytellers and their tales. When considering only male and female tales, male tellers tell over 90% male tales to male collectors. Females tell about a 50/50 ratio of male and female tales to female collectors. (See above 121.) Therefore the interesting asymmetry between male and female tellers and their tales is mirrored in the asymmetry between male and female collectors and their informants.

To study the relationship between the gender of the collector and the gender of the tales, four categories were used: Male collector, Male storyteller (MM), Female collector, Male storyteller (FM), Male collector Female storyteller (MF) and Female collector Female storyteller (FF). The Storyteller is held constant in order to analyze the relationship between the gender of the collector and the gender of the story. Thus MM are compared to FM categories to see what fractions of male and female tales are told to male and female collectors by male storytellers. MF are compared to FF categories to see what fractions of male and female tales are told to male and female collectors by female storytellers.

The male collectors collected 67% male tales, 27% male/female tales and 6% female tales from male storytellers. The female collectors collected 67% male tales, 31% male/female tales and 2% female tales from male storytellers. (See Graph 5.)

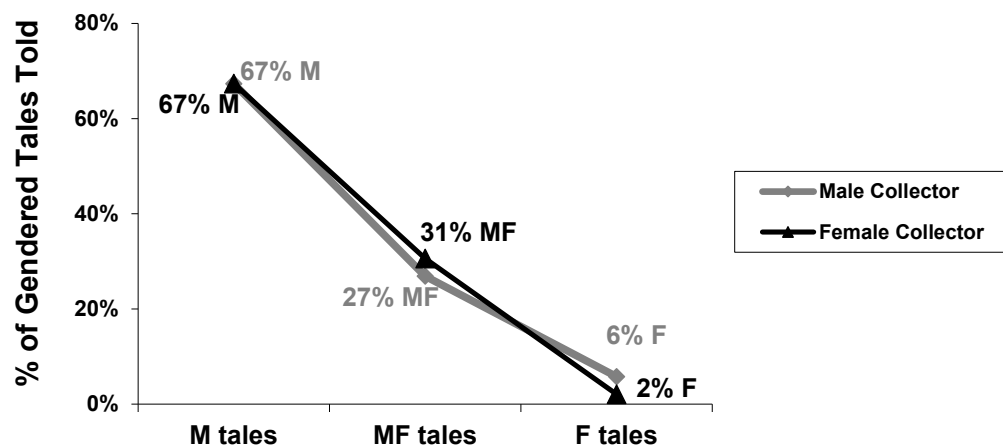
When males are the storytellers, males tell predominantly male tales, some male/female tales and almost no female tales. When males tell tales to either male or female collectors, males tell a very similar fraction of gendered tales. The gender of the collector seems to have little or no effect on the male storytellers.

From female storytellers, male collectors collect 41% male tales, 44% male/female tales and 15% female tales. Female collectors collect 25% male tales,

52% male/female tales and 23% female tales from female storytellers. (See Graph 6.)

In Graph 6, there is an observable effect of the gender of the collector on the female storyteller. Not only do female storytellers tell different percentages of

**Graph 5. When Males are Storytellers**



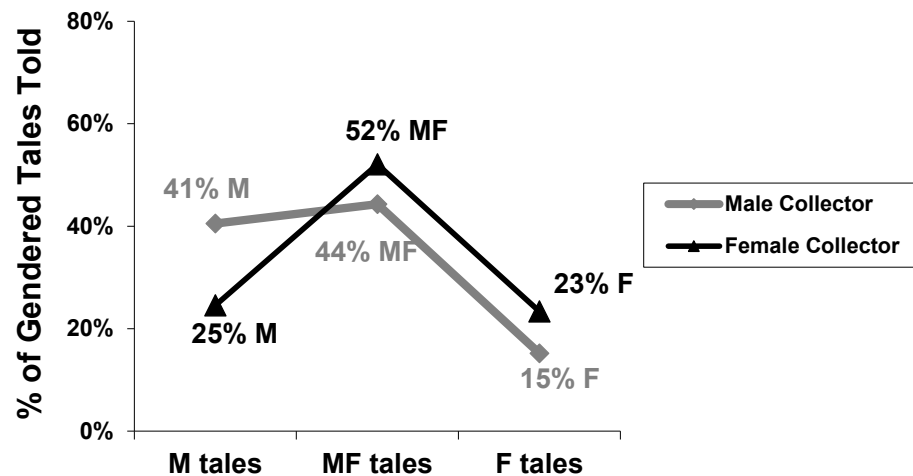
**Caption: Graph 5:** The percentages of gendered tales including Male (M), Male/Female (MF) and Female (F) tales of male storytellers. The gender of the storyteller is kept constant therefore there are two lines on the graph. The grey line denotes tales collected by a male collector. The black denotes tales collected by a female collector. The gender of the collector seems to have little or no effect on the gender of tales told by a male storyteller.

gendered tales compared to male storytellers, but female storytellers also tell different percentages of gendered tales to male versus female collectors.

When males collect from female storytellers, female storytellers tell almost equal fractions of M and MF tales, 41% and 44%; and female storytellers tell fewer F tales, 15%. When female collectors collect from female storytellers, female storytellers tell predominantly MF tales, 52%; and female storytellers tell almost

equal but lower percentages of M and F tales, 25% and 23%. A comparison of the Female collector, Female storyteller (FF) category and the Male collector, Female storyteller (MF) category shows that when females narrate to male collectors, the MF tales decrease by 8%, the F tales decrease by 8 % and the M tales increase by

**Graph 6. When Females are Storytellers**



**Caption: Graph 6:** The percentages of gendered tales including male (M), male/female (MF) and female (F) tales of female storytellers. The gender of the storyteller is kept constant therefore there are two lines on the graph. The grey line denotes tales collected by a male collector. The black line denotes tales collected by a female collector. In addition to the difference between male and female collectors on this graph, notice the significantly different shapes of the graph of female storytellers compared to the previous graph of male storytellers.

16%. This represents a summed difference of 32% in the gendered tales females tell to females and the gendered tales females tell to males. Female storytellers tell a higher ratio of male tales to male collectors. In the inherently female-oriented situation represented by the Female collector, Female storyteller (FF) category,

female priorities are clearly expressed in a more balanced representation of both genders.

The above results demonstrate that the fraction of gendered tales told by female storytellers is different from the fraction of gendered tales told by male storytellers. When telling tales to both male and female collectors, male storytellers tell mostly male tales. When telling tales to both male and female collectors, females tell more male/female (MF) tales than either male (M) or female (F) tales. This interesting asymmetry is obvious in a comparison of Graph 5 and Graph 6.

To better appreciate these results and the method presented in this paper, the results of the male and female storytellers have been grouped together then the tendencies of the gendered collectors have been analyzed. For the total fraction of gendered tales collected by male and female collectors, the percentages of gendered informants and the percentages of gendered tales told by those informants have been considered.

When male collectors collect, 82% of their storyteller informants are males and when male storytellers tell tales to male collectors, male storytellers tell 67% male tales, 27 % MF tales and 6% F tales. When male collectors collect, only 18% of their storyteller informants are females and when female storytellers tell tales to male collectors, female storytellers tell 41% M tales, 44 % MF tales and 15% F tales. Therefore, in general, when male collectors collect from both genders, male collectors collect a total of 63% M tales, 30% MF tales and 7% F tales. (See Graph 7.)

When female collectors collect, 49% of their storyteller informants are males and when male storytellers tell tales to female collectors, male storytellers tell 67% male tales, 31 % MF tales and 2% F tales. When female collectors collect,

51% of their storyteller informants are females and when female storytellers tell tales to female collectors, female storytellers tell 25% M tales, 52% MF tales and 23% F tales. Therefore, in general, when female collectors collect from both genders, female collectors collect a total of 45% M tales, 42% MF tales and 13% F

**Caption Graph 7:** This graph represents the fractions of gendered tales collected by a male collector. The calculation includes the percentage of male and female storytellers and the percentages of M, MF and F tales told by male and female storytellers. For example, the total M tales collected by male collectors is calculated thus: 82% of male storytellers at 67% M tales plus 19% female storytellers at 41% M tales equals a total of 63% M tales.

tales. (See Graph 8.) From this, one can conclude that the treasury of collected folk narratives as a whole can be expected to be lacking in female narratives.

Even more interesting is to compare Graph 5 to Graph 7 and Graph 6 to Graph 8. When comparing Graph 5 to Graph 7, two factors influence the data in such a way that the average of male and female storytellers in Graph 7 does not appreciably change the conclusions a researcher would draw from the collected material. First, male collectors tend to collect from a high percentage of male storytellers (Graph 4), and secondly, male storytellers tell mostly male tales (Graph

5). Therefore despite a small mitigating influence of the 18% female storytellers, Graph 7 reflects the male priorities.

**Caption Graph 8:** This graph represents the fractions of gendered tales collected by a female collector. The calculation includes the percentage of male and female storytellers and the percentages of M, MF and F tales told by male and female storytellers. For example, the total M tales collected by female collectors is calculated thus: 49% of male storytellers at 67% M tales plus 51% female storytellers at 25% M tales equals a total of 45% M tales.

When comparing Graph 6 and Graph 8, the impact of averaging male and female storytellers becomes apparent. In Graph 6, in the female-oriented context of the Female collector and Female storyteller (FF) category, there is a clear representation of tales of both genders. There is not only a predominance of male/female tales, 52%, but also an almost equal fraction of male tales, 25%, and female tales, 23%. (See the black line on Graph 6.) However, in Graph 8, when results from both male and female storytellers are combined, the female priorities become obscured. Even though the different percentages of male and female

informants have been included in the graph of total tales, (in other words, even though the ratio of 49% male storytellers to 51% female storytellers has been considered in the total tales,) female priorities are obscured. This is because female collectors tend to equally represent male and female storytellers (Graph 4), but male storytellers tell a high percentage of male tales (Graph 5) and female storytellers tell a more equally balanced percentage of male tales (Graph 6). A researcher who does not separately consider the gender of the storyteller as well as the gender of the collector (Graphs 7 and 8) would notice the different shapes of Graph 7 (Male Collector) and Graph 8 (Female Collector), but the logical conclusion would be that females, like males, tell predominantly male tales. The result from the female-oriented situation, which clearly represents a balance of genders in tales, is lost. (See black line on Graph 6)

When one does not include the gender of the storyteller filter, through which a tale passes on its way to the collector, the relationship between the female storyteller and the female collector is obscured. Therefore, if a researcher analyzes the impact of the collector, but does not consider the more primary filter, the storyteller filter, that researcher will no longer be able to clearly see the female priorities, and male priorities will dominate the results.

In the context of gender, these three parts of the folk narrative system, the collector, the storyteller and the tale, influence each other to a great extent. Therefore, in order to obtain a representative data set for large scale surveys of the tale, it is important to represent and separately analyze gendered data at both the storyteller and the collector level.

### **What Does This Mean for Collectors?**

Collectors have control over what kind of research can be done with the folk narrative. Collectors choose what to ask for, how to ask, the setting - natural, simulated or induced (Finnegan, *Oral* 75-81) - what to record and what to include in the final collection. "What to ask for" seems almost absurd to mention because if one is studying oral poetry or epics or children's rhymes, it seems obvious to ask for those genres, but even if the lines between genres were hard and fast, there are other considerations which pertain to this choice. For example, consider Einarsson who collected Icelandic/Canadian folklore. Einarsson asked for narratives in very general terms: "anything they cared to tell me that they felt was humourous, strange or somehow out of the ordinary..." (7). Einarsson's collection included the unusual male collector ratio of 51% (33) male informants and 49% (32) female informants. On the other hand Attagara who collected from a village in Central Thailand said of her only female informant, "She told no tales, but gave accounts of her supernatural experiences and some information on certain beliefs and games" (3). The narratives from the only female informant this collector had were summarized in the introduction and this collector had the unusual female collector ratio of 100% male informants. Thus, in this example, the definition of a tale or "what is asked for" has dramatically influenced the elimination or inclusion of female informants in the final collection.

Folklorist Bascom listed a series of related facts which should be recorded when texts are recorded (Bascom 334). The list includes: When and where the text is told, who tells the text, private or public arena, audience, dramatic devices of narrator i.e. gestures, facial expressions, pantomime, impersonation, mimicry, audience participation i.e. laughter, assent or other responses, running criticism or encouragement, singing, dancing, acting out parts of the tale, categories of folklore



recognized by the people themselves, attitudes of the people toward these categories. It is a thoughtful list which stresses the intimate, social context of folk narratives. Anthropologist Finnegan presents more extensive lists in separate categories and for example, the performance category includes ways to think of recording these subjects: performers, audiences, participants, how the performance was brought about by the collector, different media used in the performance (music, other acoustic, visual...), performance skills and conventions of the culture in which the performance takes place. Finnegan states that "one of the most important points is to be alive to the interaction or the overlap between those in performing and those in more audience-type roles..." (*Oral* 96-97). Throughout her various lists Finnegan exhibits this same respect for the interaction of the various aspects being collected.

The methodology presented in this paper and its two companion papers (above 44-74; 111-139) aims to maintain the connection of the text to the social matrix and the interconnections within the entire folk narrative system. To accomplish this task, the folk narrative is considered as part of a feedback system in which each part contributes to and alters the system. The parts of the folk narrative system include every element, from large scale elements to intimate elements such as: the culture represented by each narrative, the editor, the collector, the storyteller, the narrative, the audience, possibly the time of day and the time of year in which the tale is told, the setting, geographic environments, information exchange, social information exchange and biological constraints such as limitations of human memory capacity. There is also the recognition that many other parts of the folk narrative system have possibly not yet been identified and included.

This methodology operates in a different fashion from a method that entails directed questions to prove or disprove a theory. Studying the relationships between and among different parts of a system assumes that as one part changes, the change reverberates through the system and that the system responds through feedback mechanisms. One can respect aspects like culture, narrator, audience and collector by using them to compose a representative data set. Then one can use large surveys of countable details to try to establish cross-cultural similarities. Because all parts influence each other, any result is seen in the context of other influences.

If folklore collectors, who understand the individual cultures so well also understand the types of information and the types of contexts Literary Darwinists will use, it will help investigate the folk narrative in a way that respects the individual as well as the large scale aspects of human culture. In this method, the smallest focal point of study connects to a series of larger levels of observation. This series of papers (above 44-74; 111-139; 140-165) required collections in which the collector had included texts as close to the spoken word of the storyteller as possible, and collections that included information about the cultural affiliations of the storytellers and the collectors and the gender at the storyteller and the collector level for each tale.

Bascom suggests listing when and where the tales are told. This should not only include the name of the village, but also the tribe, area, region, country and cultural affiliation, the language in which the tale is told as well as the location and longitude and latitude of the tribe's range and the date collected. Although some of this information is already collected, the collector's familiarity with the culture can result in the inclusion of a detailed, local and intimate description but neglect the

inclusion of the medium to larger context such as cultural affiliation and language that would enable a Literary Darwinist to identify and place the collected tales in one of Murdock's regions. The intimate geographic information may give details that enable one to investigate specific issues such as the relationship between the tale and environment as Tonkinson did with wayfinding using the tales of the Mardudjara Aborigines of Western Australia (Tonkinson 89-93). However, the larger geographic information is critical to a scholar trying to compile a worldwide, representative data set.

Since the Literary Darwinists do large scale investigations, they are not intimately familiar with all the cultures they include in their study. Literary Darwinists who use folk narratives in their studies will rely heavily on the collector for information about cultural beliefs as they apply to narratives. To Literary Darwinists it is important to have information about cultural content that affects the narrative as a whole, for example: the time of day the tale is told and whether there are stated or unstated restrictions on what time of day a tale may be told, the time of year the tale is told, whether certain tales are not allowed to be told by certain segments of the society, whether the narrative is included in a ritual but told outside of the ritual for the collector, whether tales are owned, whether the narrator sees the tales as reflecting a truth about the environment or about the social environment. The key issue is for the collector to "be alive to the interaction" (Finnegan, *Oral* 96), to be alive to the "web of relationships" (Haase, "De-Colonizing" 22), to be alive to the connectivity in many directions and on many levels which characterizes the folk narrative system.

Bascom recommends recording, "who composes the audience" (334) and Finnegan stresses the type and amount of audience participation (*Oral* 97-100). In

many collections, if the audience is described at all, it is in quite general terms, however, the composition of the audience is likely to impact on what kind of tale is told as well as to impact on the style of performance and the information communicated. The results of this paper have shown that female storytellers tell different fractions of M, F and MF narratives to male collectors and female collectors. Unless we know the gendered composition of the audience for each tale told, we will not be able to determine if this asymmetry is due to the collector or the collector/audience or the audience. Scheub's work stands out in this area because he noted the number and gender and of adults and the number of children (Zenani). The difference between small and intimate audiences versus large public audiences might mean a difference in gender of storyteller, type of information exchanged and type of social grooming exchanged (Benedict, *Zuni* XL-XLI; Dunbar 174-77; Gowaty, "Introduction" 7; Sanday, *Women* 80-86; Yocum).

Another influential aspect of the audience might be age relationships, such as adult - child, adult - adult. One collector considered age and the folk narrative in a new way when she focused on tales that children told to other children (Brady). An audience of other professionals might focus on discussing the "correct" way to tell the tale.

Gender is not mentioned in Bascom's list, yet the results from gendered tales, tellers and collectors in this study have indicated the important influence that gender has on collections. If the collector notes who told the tales, one might think that the gender would be obvious. However, names of people from unfamiliar cultures do not always convey gender to a scholar unfamiliar with that particular tribe or language. For example, what gender would "Mangurug" convey to a Western scholar? If the tale must be translated, the translator's gender and tribe

and relationship to the teller should also be noted. The Hohokam Chronicles (Bahr) does an excellent job of considering the path of the tales through various filters such as the storyteller, collector, editor and includes the translator, who also plays a role in the formation of the text (Bahr, "Introduction" 14; Haase "De-Colonizing" 22; Naithani 19).

Another important and often unacknowledged choice in collection methodology is the number of informants used and the personal relationships between collector and informant. Some collectors meet with one or a few informants and get to know these informants well (e.g. Naraya;, Scheub; Hall). Others collect from multiple informants they meet, but do not form close relationships with (e.g. Finnegan; LeRoy; Tongue). When a collector forms a close relationship with the storytellers, the noted information can be influenced by this choice. For example, Watson collected from women who lived in the "City of the Dead" outside of Cairo. After experiencing the women's storytelling sessions, Watson became convinced that the women's tales "defy categorization"(v), so Watson's book includes not only the tellers tales, but also the personal histories of the storytellers related by each of the seven women who told tales.

Watson made an interesting contribution to the discussion of the personal narrative versus the tale and also brought into focus an issue related to Literary Darwinism. Personal histories are not likely to be items that have been naturally selected by audiences over generations and the folk narrative as information that has been selected is an important idea in Literary Darwinism. However, given the difference in male and female priorities as expressed in the different preferred settings and different fractions of M, F and MF tales told, personal narratives

and/or the personal narrative genre might play a part in the context of cultural evolution.

Another issue brought into focus by this collection choice can be seen by comparing Einarsson and Narayan. Einarsson collected from many informants and did not include a biography of each informant; however, he included many genres, from supernatural narratives, to tales and legends as well as personal narratives, therefore some of his informants related tales of their own experiences. On the other hand, Narayan met with one informant over an extended period of time and established a personal connection; yet Narayan summarized the informant's life story, rather than including this information in the informant's own words. Any information that is related by the storyteller and taken down in the storyteller's own words can possibly be of use to Literary Darwinists, more so than summaries. Other information can also be of possible use even if it is not in the form of a personal narrative, such as the storyteller's age, occupation, education level and importantly, from whom they heard the tale.

It has long been recognized that in many instances the collector must operate within the strictures of the society being observed. For example, it can be more difficult to collect narratives from the opposite gender (El-Shamy xlvi; Herscovits 10). The problem is not insurmountable (e.g. Benedict; El-Shamy) For many years, there has been a predominant male influence and recently, some women have compiled collections using predominantly women (Hejaiej, van Deusen, Narayan, Watson). This will help address the dearth of female tellers and tales in the folk narrative corpus. However, since females tell different fractions of tales to male and female collectors, females may also be telling different kinds of tales to male collectors and female collectors. Although males tell approximately

the same fractions of male, male/female and female tales to both male and female collectors, they, too, might tell different kinds of tales to male and female collectors. Therefore collectors must also decide whether to divide their time between males and females or to collect from more public, accessible informants – often males – or to invest the time it takes to collect from females in their intimate environment (Holbek 168; Z. Jordan xv-xvi; Sanday, *Women* 80-82; Watson 12; Yocum).

Collectors may decide to collect in gendered pairs (e.g. Berndt; Routledge), however, if this method is used, care must be taken to respect both the individual performers, performances and collectors. Given the differences in fractions of gendered tales told particularly by female storytellers to male and female collectors, the collectors should collect separately and note the particulars of each telling including the gender of the storyteller and the situation. In addition, it would be necessary for the female collector to edit/publish her collected tales and for the male collector to edit/publish his collected tales. This would enable the gender of each filter to be perceived and avoids the problem illustrated by Graph 5 in this paper. The extensive and excellent collections of Ronald and Catherine Berndt were rendered unusable for my research because their close collaboration resulted in their not differentiating their individual roles as collectors and editors.

We are long past the time when collectors and anthropologists saw themselves as having no effect on the societies they studied. However, we have still not included all the powerful ways collectors influence the materials they collect. This is not meant to be an exhaustive list. Collectors have the most experience with collecting in individual cultures and the physical experience of the performance, therefore collectors will be best able to identify the multi-faceted

connective tissue that links one part of the folk narrative system to other parts of the folk narrative system. Perceiving the folk narrative as a system which includes themselves as active and integral parts means that the range of information the collector requests and records, the relationship between collector and informants, and even the gender of the collector makes a difference to the material collected.

## CONCLUSION

The folk narrative represents an extraordinary key to our understanding of the evolution of mind. Folk narratives are not only the oldest form of narrative we can access, but also the only form of literature that has possibly been brought under selection pressures by thousands of people for thousands of years. Taking the cue from the extensive folk narrative research in the above fields, this paper and its two companion papers develop a methodology that aims to maintain the connection of the details used in the study to the social matrix. At the same time, this methodology enables folk narratives to be used in large scale, cross-cultural comparisons and in investigations of cultural evolution - changes in culture over anthropological time.

For the most part, Literary Darwinism is developing methods and using folk narratives with little contribution or critique from folklore or folk and fairy tale scholars. Without doubt, Literary Darwinists will use folk narratives to seek what will be considered human universals. It is imperative that the development of the field of Literary Darwinism occur with the input of anthropologists, folklorists and folk and fairy tale scholars who know so well the context of each culture. As scholars rethink our evolutionary history and use literature to do so, the



involvement of folk narrative scholars will help direct, enable and constrain the research of Literary Darwinists in a meaningful and powerful way.

**Chapter Six, Appendix A: Books in Survey with Murdock Region, Filter and Culture noted**

| Murdock number          | Book Bibliography   | Filter             | Culture/<br>Country                       |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| AFRICA<br>A 03          | Earthy, E. Dora. <i>The Social and Economic Life of the Valenge Women of Portuguese East Africa</i> . London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968.                          | F,F                | Valenge                                   |
| A 03                    | Nogenile Msithathu Zenani <i>The World and the Word: Tales and Observations from the Xhosa Oral Tradition</i> . H. Scheub (Coll.). Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1992. | M,F                | Xhosa                                     |
| A 09                    | Routledge, W. Scoresby and Katherine Routledge. <i>With a Prehistoric People: The Akikuyu of British East Africa</i> . London: Edward Arnold, 1910.                 | F, <sup>M</sup> /F | Kikuyu                                    |
| A 15                    | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, M               | Liberia and Ashanti                       |
| A 18                    | Jackson, Michael. <i>Allegories of the Wilderness, Ethics and Ambiguity in Kuranko narratives</i> . Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982.                                  | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Kuranko,<br>Upper Guinea,<br>Sierra Leone |
| Circum<br>Mediterranean | Hejaiej, Monia. <i>Behind closed doors: women's oral narratives in Tunis</i> . New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1996.   | F, F               | Tunisia                                   |

|                      |   |           |                        |
|----------------------|---|-----------|------------------------|
| C 07                 |   |           |                        |
| C 08                 | El Shamy, Hasan M. <i>Folktales of Egypt</i> .<br>Chicago & London: U of Chicago P, 1980.   | M,<br>M/F | Egypt                  |
| C 17                 | Danaher, Kevin. <i>Folktales of the Irish<br/>Countryside</i> . New York: D. White, 1970.   | M, M/F    | Ireland                |
| C 17                 | Edwards, Ron. <i>Yarns and Ballads of the<br/>Australian Bush</i> . Australia: Rigby Publishers,<br>1981.                               | M,M       | English<br>Australian  |
| C 17                 | Keats, Norman Charles. <i>Bush yarns of yester<br/>years</i> . Self-published.  | M,M       | English<br>Australian  |
| C 17                 | Murphy, Michael J. <i>Now you're talking:<br/>Folktales from the north of Ireland</i> . Belfast:<br>Blackstaff Press, 1975.             | M,<br>M/F | Ireland                |
| C 17                 | Tongue, Ruth. <i>Forgotten Folk-Tales of the<br/>English Counties</i> . London: Routledge & Kegan<br>Paul, 1970.                        | F, M/F    | England                |
| East<br>Asia<br>E 09 | Van Deusen, Kira. <i>The flying tiger: Women<br/>shamans and storytellers of the Amur</i> . Montreal<br>& etc: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001. | F, M/F    | Amur River,<br>Siberia |
| E 09                 | Zong, In Sob. <i>Folktales from Korea</i> . Seoul:<br>Hollym International, 1952.   | M, M/F    | Korea                  |
| E 12                 | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional<br/>Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P,<br>2006.                              | F, M      | Tibet                  |

|                         |  |                                |                            |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| E 13                    | Narayan, Kirin. and Urmila Devi Sood.<br><i>Mondays on the Dark Night of the Moon, Himalayan Foothill Folktales.</i> Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.                      | F, F                           | Himachal Pradesh, India    |
| E 17                    | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers.</i> Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, F                           | Lao, N. Thailand           |
| Insular Pacific<br>I 03 | Kershaw, Eva Maria. <i>Dusun Folktales: A Collection of 88 Folktales in the Dusun Language of Brunei with English Translations.</i> Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1992. | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Dusun, Brunei              |
| I 07                    | Ahern, Amanda. and the Mornington Island Elders. <i>Paint-up.</i> St. Lucia: U of Queensland P, 2002.  | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Mornington Island, AU      |
| I 07                    | Ashton, Pamela Lofts. <i>The Kangaroo and the Porpoise.</i> Scholastic Press, 1987.  | F, F                           | Belyuen tribe, AU          |
| I 07                    | Ashton, Pamela Lofts. <i>The Bat and the Crocodile.</i> Scholastic Press, 1987.  | F, M                           | Warmun tribe, AU           |
| I 07                    | Clendon, Mark. <i>I was Born at Kunmunya and Other Worrorra stories.</i> Kimberley, Australia: Kimberley Language Resource Center, 2000.                           | M, F                           | Worrorra, W. Kimberley, AU |
| I 07                    | Heath, Jeffrey. <i>Nunggubuyu Myths and Ethnographic Texts.</i> Canberra: Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1980.   | M,M                            | Arnhem Land, AU            |

|                          |  |                    |                             |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| I 07                     | Robinson, Roland. <i>The Feathered Serpent</i> .<br>Sydney: Edwards & Shaw, 1956.  | M, M               | Northern<br>Territories, AU |
| I 08                     | Counts, C. Dorothy A. <i>The Tales of Laupu</i> . New<br>Guinea: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies,<br>1976.   | F, M               | New Guinea                  |
| I 13                     | Feinberg, Richard. <i>Oral Traditions of Auta: A<br/>Polynesian Outlier in the Solomon Islands</i> . New<br>York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.  | M, M               | Solomon Islands             |
| I 13                     | Kuschel, Rolf. <i>Animal Stories from Bellona<br/>(Mungiki): Language and Culture of Rennell and<br/>Bellona Islands: Vol. IV</i> . Copenhagen: National<br>Museum of Denmark, 1975. | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Bellona Is.,<br>Solomon Is. |
| I 14                     | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional<br/>Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P,<br>2006.   | F, M               | New Caledonia               |
| I 18                     | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional<br/>Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P,<br>2006.   | F, M               | Hawaii                      |
| I 20                     | Tobin, Jack A. <i>Stories from the Marshall<br/>Islands</i> . Honolulu, Hawaii: U of Hawaii P, 2002.   | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Marshall Is.,               |
| North<br>America<br>N 01 | Hall, Edwin S., Jr. <i>The Eskimo Storyteller:<br/>Folktales from Notak, Alaska</i> . Knoxville, TN: U<br>of Tennessee P, 1975.  | M, <sup>M</sup> /F | Noatagmiut/<br>Naupaktomiut |

|      |  |           |                                     |
|------|--|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| N 01 | MacDonald, Margaret Read <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.   | F, F      | Eskimo                              |
| N 07 | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.  | F, F      | Upper Skagit                        |
| N 07 | MacDonald, Margaret Read. <i>Ten Traditional Tellers</i> . Urbana & Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2006.  | F, M      | Chahalís                            |
| N 08 | Jacobs, Melville. <i>The Content and Style of an Oral Literature: Clackamas Chinook Myths and Tales</i> . Chicago, London and Toronto: U of Chicago P, 1930. | M, M      | Chinook                             |
| N 12 | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman Oklahoma: U of Oklahoma P, 1996.   | F, M      | Shoshoni                            |
| N 13 | Aoki, Haruo (Trans.) and Deward E. Walker (Coll.) <i>Nez Percé Oral Narratives</i> . Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1988.              | M,<br>M/F | Nez Percé                           |
| N 13 | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1966.   | F, M/F    | Nez Percé                           |
| N 14 | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1966.   | F, M/F    | Flathead Couer<br>d'Alene, Kalispel |
| N 15 | Clark, Ella E. <i>Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies</i> . Norman OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1996.   | F, M      | Blackfoot                           |

|                          |  |                                       |                      |
|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| N 21                     | Brady, Margaret K. <i>"Some kind of power"</i><br><i>Navajo children's Skinwalker narratives</i> . Salt<br>Lake City: U of Utah P, 1984. | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>        | Navajo               |
| N 22                     | Benedict, Ruth. <i>Tales of the Cochiti Indians</i> .<br>Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1931.   | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>        | Cochiti              |
| N 22                     | Tedlock, Dennis. <i>The Spoken Word and the<br/>Work of Interpretation</i> . Philadelphia, PA: U of<br>Pennsylvania P, 1983.             | M, M                                  | Zuni                 |
| South<br>America<br>S 01 | Chapman, Anne. <i>Masters of Animals: Oral<br/>Traditions of the Tolupan Indians Honduras</i> .<br>Switzerland: Gordon & Breach, 1992.   | F, M                                  | Tolupan,<br>Honduras |
| S 01                     | Laughlin, Robert M. <i>Of cabbages and kings:<br/>Tales from Zinacantán</i> . Washington DC:<br>Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977.     | M,<br><br><sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub> | Mayan, Mexico        |
| S 20                     | Basso, Ellen B. <i>The Last Cannibals: A South<br/>American Oral History</i> . Austin: U of Texas P,<br>1995.                            | F, <sup>M</sup> / <sub>F</sub>        | Kalapalo, Brazil     |

## Chapter Seven: Future Research in the Study of the Folk

### Narrative

*General qualitative conclusions from quantitative analyses may help us perceive fundamental patterns in literature and culture.*

(Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 70)

What we call mind, our cognitive ability, can be described as the ability to recognize specifics of the environment, translate them into ideas, form a virtual model, then transmit that model back to individual and group behavior within the physical environment. Human cognitive ability is a complex, integrated, biological/cultural system and I have shown that the folk narrative is an important part of this system. I have shown that by virtue of its ability to leap across cultural boundaries and to convey information, the folk narrative is able to act as a resource for the examination of questions of a cross-cultural nature and questions that deal with questions regarding cultural evolution. (See above 10-27.)

In this thesis, I have considered different methods of analyzing the folk narrative and analyzed the types of information these different methods elicit. The major stumbling block to eliciting the desired type of information was identified as unacknowledged assumptions. (See above 36-42.) I argued that the most effective method to avoid unacknowledged assumptions was to use an externally defined and specifically defined, countable unit which translates and is able to operate cross-culturally and connects to meaning on a larger scale. (See above 44-47.) It was then argued that due to the highly interactive nature of the folk narrative, one should view the narrative as a part in a large system of co-dependent, co-constructing and co-developing parts. (See above 46-48.) This enabled the



construction of a flexible, inclusive methodological approach which left the research open to unexpected relationships and connections within the system (See above 109-112.)

My first paper tested the developing methodology on a random, multi-cultural set of published folk narratives that had been collected from storytellers. The result established a relationship between the gender of the storyteller and the gender of the narrative. (See above 49-76.) In order to expand the research beyond a large academic library's folk narrative collection, the issue of a representative but random data set had to be addressed. It was argued that collected tales should be used and that the best collections were those which made clear the many interacting relationships within the folk narrative system. (See above 99-107). This enables one to keep the strongest possible connection amongst the parts such as, in this case, the storyteller and the narrative and the culture. In addition, the problem of a representative worldwide data set was addressed through the use of *Murdock's Atlas of World Cultures*. (See above 98-99; 119-122).

The next paper further explored the relationships among the storyteller, collector and narrative in the context of gender. (See above 113-141). An asymmetry in male and female storyteller priorities was uncovered. (See above 121-125). When put into the context of other research, a similar asymmetry in male and female priorities was discovered. (See above 127-131). Based on these results, it was argued that an effective way to view human society might be to use a continuum from domination to cooperation. (See above 130-132). My third paper (See above 142-169) exploited the idea of holding one part constant to explore other relationships in the folk narrative system. Using much the same data, I held the storyteller constant to better explore the role of the collector.

In this final chapter, I sketch out ideas for my future research which will contribute to the exciting picture that is emerging as the new field of Literary Darwinism develops.

### **Proto-Language and Types of Information**

Language is a key element in the human cognitive system because humans intensively manipulate information. (See Shepard; Silverman and Eals; Kaplan) We don't know when language emerged, but "the origin of languages might even trace back to the origin of modern humans" (Jones 399). This time scale is associated with the development of the vocal tract, which was probably completed by the time modern humans emerged, around 1.5 million years ago. In addition, language is associated with Broca's area, a brain center associated with the motor control of speech, and Broca's area is visible in cranial endocasts of two million year old fossil hominids (Pinker, *Language* 363). Language is also associated with the neocortex, the part of the brain where conscious thought takes place. Across primate species, the larger the social group, the larger the size of the neocortex relative to total brain volume; and humans have the largest neocortex ratio of all primates (Dunbar 62-63). Because of the match between neocortex ratio and group size, Dunbar theorizes that grooming enables other primates to keep track of and reinforce social relationships, but that language is the tool used in larger, more complex human groups (78-79). Considering group size and grooming time, Dunbar estimates that vocalizations began to acquire meaning with the existence of *Homo Erectus* around two million years ago (115).

Primate communication is effective though limited to a holistic noise/gesture system and any given 'utterance' with a meaning takes its identity

from the whole, not the sum of meaning-laden parts. Full human language, on the other hand, is standardly portrayed as an analytic, grammar-based system in which the parts have separate meanings individually but when combined, create a new meaning (Wray 285).

In her article "Holistic Utterances in Protolanguage: The Link from Primates to Humans," Alison Wray makes the point that human language still has holistic as well as analytic elements, and that these are associated with different types of information. Wray points out that viewing a separation between protolanguage and human language ignores that much of what humans say is formulaic. Most of our everyday linguistic communication is like: "Hello." "Hi." "How are you." "Fine" (285-286). This type of exchange has more to do with formulaic social grooming than with the communication of a novel idea or complicated information exchange (299).

Wray's central idea is that as human language evolved, the continued existence of holistic language effectively covered survival communications while grammar could have arisen independently as a result of other things. Holistic language works well in the repetitive, fast-moving, survival-oriented world of warnings and social soothing. This is a world that requires rapid decoding and reaction. Consider, for example, the phrase, "Watch out!" Human formulaic communication is pre-stored in multiword units for quick retrieval, hence there is no need to apply grammar. The phrase "Watch out!" contains a concise, powerful warning. It is not grammar-based with multiple grammatical elements that one must analyze in order to comprehend the meaning. An advantage to the formulaic is that it makes it easier for the hearer to recognize and more rapidly decode the communication.

Folk and fairy tales are famous for their formulaic nature both in phrases -- "Once upon a time..." -- as well as in their structure of themes and motifs as in the Aarne-Thompson Index. (See above 31-34.) In a small, personal survey people were asked "When you think of Cinderella, what do you think of?" and people tended to respond quickly with the answer "shoe" or "slipper." When asked "When you think of Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice*, what do you think of?" people never answered with a single word. Rubin noted that a powerful construct of oral literature is the tendency to boil a message down into a concrete image (60-61). Rubin also notes that visual imagery is a powerful and widespread factor in mnemonic systems (Rubin 39-64). What kind of information might be communicated in holistic fashion by the folk narrative? Might it be a shorthand association with the overall "meaning" of the narrative? Or might the holistic communications enable one to remember the narrative?

The possible coexistence of holistic language and analytical language has powerful implications for the investigation of information transmission and memory enhancing structures in the folk narrative. Wray commented that in human language, formulaic utterances can offer relief to processing. For example, pause fillers, such as "you know," and "as I was saying," are sequences that are relatively low in semantic content and can be used when the speaker needs to consider what to say next (Wray 289). Rubin noted the sequential nature of processing in oral literature and thus the need for formulaic fillers to prevent an awkward pause in the recitation of an oral narrative (303). Wray also noted that formulaic sequences can be memory enhancers which provide access to information otherwise difficult to recall (289).

Wray viewed language as a stacking and embedding system for juxtaposing ideas in different ways. She concluded that human use of formulaic language may funnel off the delivery of common social exchanges to make it possible to produce what are relatively small amounts of novel information within a fluent and comprehensible frame.

In the folk narrative, tale variants mirror this kind of communication. There is a high stability of structure and some changes. Might the formulaic structure siphon off memory requirements, and the variations allow for the communication of environmental specifics? Folk narratives not only have formulaic phrases but also have structure which is formulaic in nature. Might the folk narrative have a formulaic structure into which specific survival information is inserted? (See above 34.)

Another perspective one can add to the discussion formulaic sequences and structures is the perspective of oral history and the variation of narratives depending on length of time they have been in existence. Vansina divides oral history into three major categories. The first category is personal accounts, which are numerous and often forgotten within a generation after the concerned person dies. The second category is group accounts, which are accounts of acts that have come to have meaning for the group. These accounts are acted upon by collective memory which fuses related personalities and relationships into one and usually stretch back 100 to 150 years. The third category is traditions of origins, which are accounts of a timeless past and tend to be relatively stable compared to the first two types (Vansina 17-32). Might the formulaic structure in the folk narrative enable successful information to become more firmly embedded through repetition?

### **Asymmetry in Gender Priorities and Cooperative Breeding**

The idea of narrative as a stacking and embedding system allows one to view every storytelling session as a unique event involving a conscious exchange among storyteller, collector, audience, and other parts of the folk narrative system as argued above (44-46). However, it also allows us to consider unconscious communications. Bettelheim's Freudian analysis of the unconscious communications in fairy tales struck such a powerful note in so many people that his book was an international bestseller. (See above 20-21.) We tend to think of a folk narrative as "having" a meaning. However, it is difficult for anyone steeped, as we all are, in one or two cultures, to conceptualize the meaning in quite a different culture. (See Ragan, *Outfoxing* 62-76). Alpers makes this point using a motif in the tale, "Tu': Tofua."

"It is obvious...that something was transmitted - over the long periods of time that separate Tonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii and New Zealand - which had some 'point' for Polynesians. But what that something was is extraordinarily difficult to describe in English. To us, in short, it 'has no point.'" (40)

This new view of the folk narrative as an inclusive, not an exclusive, communication system allows us to consider every telling as having multiple meanings on different levels of conscious and unconscious communication. The folk narrative seems able to disseminate useful information while at the same time creating a reciprocal bond between speaker and hearer. For the moment, let us focus on the idea of a reciprocal bond. In linguistics it is common to think of the different priorities of speakers and listeners much the way sociobiologists think of

the different priorities of males and females. This is often seen as a rather antagonistic dichotomy. Now reconsider the results presented in this thesis in all three papers: Library collections reflect the male priorities expressed in the preference of male storytellers, male collectors and male editors for male narratives. Male storytellers prefer to tell male tales; female storytellers prefer to tell a set of tales with a balance of gender. Male collectors prefer to collect from male storytellers; female collectors prefer to collect from a balance of genders. The study of the folk narrative system as an interactive system gives not a simple dichotomy, but a larger picture which shows that the asymmetry in male and female preferences is upheld through all of these relationships: the interactive bonds between the teller and the collector (as audience), the teller and the collector (as collector), the teller and the tale, the tale and the collector. When considered in the context of gender, the similar asymmetry of all of these relationships means that it is likely the asymmetry is information about a fundamental difference in expression of male and female priorities. Readers may feel it is important to know what each story is "about," but that males tell narratives about males and females tell narratives about both genders, this in itself is a very basic piece of information being communicated. It is a whole world view.

Anthropologist/sociobiologist Sarah Hrdy has argued for the replacement of the idea of mother-father unit with a cooperative breeding model when considering human societies ("Evolutionary;" *Mothers*). The cooperative breeding model is a breeding system in which the mother seeks support from and is supported by a wide range of individuals called alloparents, group members who are other than the genetic parents. "If human mothers evolved as cooperative breeders, women and their infants should theoretically have been selected to seek

and elicit support from a range of individuals” (“Evolutionary” 22). According to the cooperative breeding model, it would be in the interest of females to elicit aid from any members of the group – both male and female – who would be willing to be alloparents. “The more allomaternal assistance available (especially from males), the higher the mother’s reproductive success” (“Evolutionary” 13). There is a possible relationship between the theory of cooperative breeding and the asymmetry in gender priorities detected in the folk narrative.

Male storyteller priorities are expressed in a fraction of tales which focus on the male gender. Female storyteller priorities are expressed in a fraction of tales which represent both genders. A similar asymmetry has been detected in the fraction of storytellers used by male and female collectors. A similar asymmetry has been found in anthropological studies of matriarchies as shown above (125-129). In addition, unlike male storytellers, female storytellers tend to tell narratives in personal settings as noted above (152-154) and the motivations attributed to women’s storytelling include communicating advice, consolation, or opening the pathway to relationships (Sanday, *Women* 80-82; Watson 12; Yocum). Female storytellers may also tend to tell personal narratives rather than the more conventionally defined “folktale.” (See Watson and Yocum.) If a female were attempting to elicit support from both genders, one would expect her to tell tales about both males and females and to tell tales to both males and females. One would also expect a setting personal enough for that particular storyteller to form an attachment to the particular listeners. This would maximize the females’ chances of receiving aid.

Another requirement for the cooperative breeding model is that “there has to be some prior predisposition among alloparents to respond to signs of infant



need..." ("Evolutionary" 12). Hrdy presents findings that males can be primed by experiences to caretake. The majority of Hrdy's investigation centers on hormonal changes in prolactin and testosterone. ("Evolutionary" 15). However, as part of the prior predisposition to caretake, Hrdy also cites neurological studies in which people are asked to imagine another's emotional situation. In these studies it has been shown that the parts of the brain that would be responsible for the actions in the situation are activated in the brains of the persons imagining the situation (*Mothers* 47-48). Therefore there is a physical connection between our imagining a situation and our actually experiencing the situation.

When humans learn from actual experience, we lay down neural pathways that make the learned lessons able to be more quickly retrieved and applied the next time we encounter that situation, and now we find that humans can possibly lay down the same neural pathways through second hand information or through imagining a scenario.

It has been argued that plots in narratives simulate experience and can serve as models for behavior, like game plans, and these plans simulate experiences so well that humans can successfully evaluate possible solutions in a wide range of virtual experiences as if they were real (Cosmides and Tooby, *Emotions* 111). Is it possible that humans are not only applying information consciously to our environments but also triggering synapses of the preferred solution? Female storytellers may be telling tales not only to elicit empathy, but also to stimulate neural pathways that make caretaking the more well-worn and therefore the preferred neural pathway, and facilitate caretaking as the ultimate choice.

### **Theory of Mind and the Folk Narrative**

Theory of mind or the understanding of another's belief system is critical. Children with autism lack theory of mind and do not engage in pretend play (Astington 1987); and this suggests a connection between storytelling and the theory of mind. A complementary analysis of cooperation in societies is represented by the idea of Theory of Mind as a way to detect those who cheat on the social contract. (See Cosmides and Tooby, "Cognitive.") If the folk narratives that males tell to males and the folk narratives that females tell to females - the MM and FF categories - that have to do with cheaters are compared, a difference in number and in type of narrative might be found. One might also compare the tales about cheaters that males tell to females and the tales that females tell to males - MF and FM - to see how they differ. There is a widespread type of story about men and women cheating on their wives and husbands, but it is a tale in which neither males nor females cross the 2/3 threshold. Therefore, it would probably be best to compare male, female and male/female tales in the study.

### **The Investigation of Causation through the Folk Narrative**

This thesis has focused on gender as the context, however there are other powerful and fundamental ideas inherent in our communications. Most scholars who study literature use a method of interpreting the content for meaning on a literary level. The methodology presented in this thesis enables one to investigate the narrative for meaning on a different level, thus enabling us to elicit different kinds of information. This thesis has used the countable, grammatical unit of nominative case. A way to extend this method may be by using verbs. The verb is another place where grammar meets meaning.

"...Verbs obligatorily assign arguments (one to three) the number of which is predictable from the verb itself. What this means is that if you know the semantics of a verb, you know how many arguments will be obligatorily represented (for 'sleep' one, for 'break' two, for 'give' three and so on). This is true for whatever language you choose: there is no language in which the verb that means 'sleep' takes two obligatory arguments, the verb that means 'break' takes three, but the verb that means 'give' takes only one." (Bickerton 269-70)

In other words, the verb 'sleep' is accompanied by a subject - I sleep; the verb 'break' is accompanied by a subject and a direct object - I broke the glass; the verb 'give' is accompanied by a subject, direct object and indirect object - I gave her a book.

One could map narratives using lines to indicate connections, and add an arrow to indicate the idea: subject acts upon object:

Subject → Direct Object

Subject → Indirect Object

The direction might indicate causation. A tale which is anchored in causation is *The Old Woman and her Pig* (J. Jacobs, English 16-19) This tale ends: "As soon as the cat had lapped up the milk, the cat began to kill the rat; the rat began to gnaw the rope; the rope began to hang the butcher; the butcher began to kill the ox; the ox began to drink the water; the water began to quench the fire; the fire began to burn the stick; the stick began to beat the dog; the dog began to bite the pig; the little pig in a fright jumped over the stile; and so the old woman got home that night." When mapped out using the verbs and their arguments, the tale

"The Old Woman and her Pig" clearly illustrates the path of causation. (See Figure C.) However, many tales do not follow this path and instead when these tales are mapped out, they look like the relationship between or among two to five people who interact with each other and who act upon a range of objects. The example tale I have mapped is Narayan's "Under the Berry Bush" (79-82). (See Figure D.)

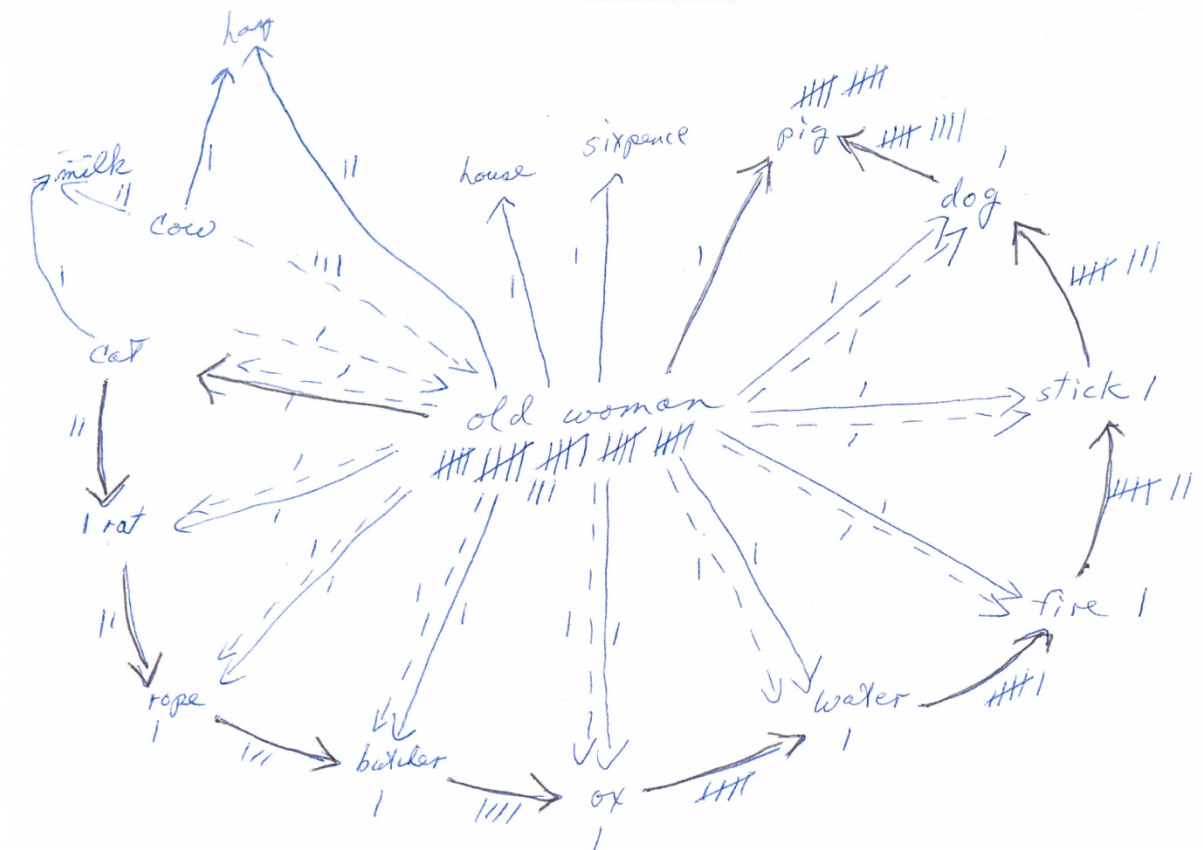
Research on this idea, using the above observation, would entail mapping out many tales. Then one could compare of the shapes of tales and the number and direction of the interactions between Subject and Direct and Indirect Objects as seen in the context of storytellers and collectors (MM, FF, MF and FM) and M, F and MF tales. Through this analysis, one might elicit information regarding such questions: Might the gender of the teller have something to do with the difference in underlying structure? Might tales that come through the male filter (MM) deal more with causation and tales that come through a female filter (FF) deal more with relationships? Is there a difference between the number of causation tales in hunter-gatherer tales versus tales from agricultural or industrial societies?

Humans place great weight on causation from our origin stories to the science which makes our cars run. Yet these two examples are ostensibly different ways of defining with causation. One might say the first example is faith-based, the second example is information-based, then again, one might not say this. Understanding more about how our vision of causation came about and developed would be important in understanding cultural evolution.

In addition, two way interactions as well as one way interactions could be quantified to define the major relationships focused on in each narrative and the

### Caption for Figure C "The Old Woman and her Pig"

The solid lines connect subjects and direct objects and the arrow indicates the direction from the subject (actor) to the direct object (acted upon). The dotted lines connect subjects and indirect objects and the arrow indicates the direction from the subject to the indirect object. The tallies along the lines represent the number of times each connection took place. The tallies directly under each word represent each time that word occurred as a subject in a sentence without a direct or indirect object.





dominant path of the relationship - actor or acted upon. This would address questions like: Do tales told by males express not only a predominance of male subjects, but a high number of direct objects, thus accenting male dominance and/or the exchange of information relating to male occupations? Do tales told by females have a higher number of reciprocal interactions with males or potential alloparents, thus accenting reciprocal relationships? Do tales told by females also reflect a concern with communication of information pertinent to their work?

Individual Subjects, Direct Objects and Indirect Objects might be counted to give a more general idea of what objects the narrative is about. This could tie into uncovering exchanges of useful information.

### **The Hunter-Gatherer / Agricultural Divide and the Folk Narrative**

Early in my investigation, when I first began to count, I noticed that some tales had groups as subjects in some sentences. The more different cultures whose tales I counted, the more I began to suspect a pattern. It seems that tales from hunter-gatherer cultures have more groups rather than individuals in the nominative case. An investigation of the frequency of groups as subjects might help us better evaluate the idea that “the intensely social nature of human thought, especially in preliterate times when the equivalent of a library was a group of people willing to talk to you, has bound human groups into corporate units throughout our evolutionary history” (D.S. Wilson 33).

In many modern industrial cultures, humans focus on the individual. There are some situations like warfare or the plague in Europe, when the group as subject seems logical, but there still seems to be a predominance of groups in more tales in non-industrial societies. Might there have been a time in the human past when the

concept of the group was stronger than the concept of the individual? Was there a time when the idea of the individual was not as powerful or as central as it is today? Are individuals more prominent in some cultures and not others? Is the concept of the individual gender-related? Are groups as subjects primarily included in tales from societies which have migrated, like the societies in Polynesia? Are groups as the subjects primarily in origin tales?

In order to address these questions, I have to compile a representative data set large enough to compare hunter-gatherers with agriculturalists/pastoralists. This is a large task, but once compiled, the data set could also be used to address other questions about the difference between hunter-gatherer societies and agricultural societies. This is an interesting time in the evolution of humans and questions easily come to mind about this time period that could be addressed using the presented methodology. For example, hunter-gatherer societies are represented in the literature as more egalitarian than agricultural societies. I have also begun to suspect that there is an increase in males telling female tales in pre-agricultural societies. With a large data set that represents both hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists, I could see if there were a difference in the fractions of M, MF and F narratives that male and female hunter-gatherer storytellers tell and the M, MF and F tales male and female agriculturalists tell?

### **The Transmission of Learned Material**

A critical function of language is the exploitation of second-hand information and the transmission of learned material. "Language enables a rapid dissemination of useful information while creating a reciprocal bond between speaker and hearer" (Nettle 65). Anthropological research has shown that



individuals in foraging cultures acquire the majority of their information from others in the group (Sugiyama, "Reverse" 190). Acquiring useful information is critical, as can be seen by the ways humans evaluate the reliability of information. For example, in modern industrial society the number of citations in a thesis is a way we assess the reliability of the information in the thesis. Hunter-gatherer societies also have a means to evaluate reliability of information. Bushmen use the categories: seen with own eyes, inferred from tracks seen with own eyes, heard from many/few/one who saw it with own eyes, not seen with own eyes and not acquired from one who saw it with own eyes (Kaplan 583). Human reliance on the exchange and sharing of information has favored the ability to convey relevant information in a memorable way (Pinker and Bloom 482). That stories are the currency for this information transfer is supported by their memorability. In addition, the folk narrative communicates many types of information on many levels as demonstrated above (17-25). The idea has also been put forth, that plots in narratives experience and can serve as models for behavior, and these plans simulate experiences so well humans can successfully base behavior on them as noted below (179).

Using narrative, humans can try out in advance different solutions to problems posed by the environment (Sugiyama, "Food" 221). Narrative allows humans to experiment and test game plans in a risk-free environment and without physical exertion. For example, it is more advantageous to learn how to escape a jaguar from another who has survived the experience than to undergo the experience oneself. Narrative also requires less time investment and offers a flexible time for information acquisition. Thus learning how to escape a jaguar can be done safely while lounging around a campfire for a few minutes in the evening

when the demands of the day have lessened. Narrative also collapses the time necessary to experience multiple problems and solutions thus, by sharing experiences, individuals can prepare and explore many more solutions than if each individual spent the time and effort to individually attempt to solve each problem. In addition, the information can be passed on to people living at the same time and/or descendants. Information stored across generations has the potential to deal with problems that recur over evolutionary time, and to be applied to survival when environmental fluctuations that are larger than a human life-span occur.

At the same time, communal storytelling enables humans to place possible solutions under a form of natural selection as others contribute their related experiences and either confirm or undermine the proffered solution and as participants choose to retell certain tales over others. Cross-culturally folk narratives demand reciprocity. In an Irish tale we are told, “If you told me that story before, all your trouble’d be spared to you” (Ragan, *Outfoxing* 11-14). A Georgian tale says, “To listen to stories without ever telling one is harvesting grain without sowing seeds; it is picking fruit without pruning the tree” (Papshivily 3-5). Cooperative storytelling, and information sharing, has also been documented as noted above (37). In the folk narrative, there is evidence of information acquisition, transmission and exchange, where many participate to the benefit of all.

These above examples of the broad range of possible information transfer that the folk narrative could facilitate lead to a number of questions which could be investigated using the presented method. Do humans use folk narratives to extend memory and to communicate information across generations? For example, if the climate cycle included a very severe drought that only occurred every 100 years,

one would expect to find information about special food preparation for times of drought. One might also expect to find recipes and other food details and food preparation details to extend knowledge about food acquisition and preparation beyond the normal area traversed by the tribe, like Australian narratives do with geography as noted above (19). This might change as humans became more sedentary. However, it is an interesting coincidence that cooking books are one of the best selling types of books.

Between hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists, one would expect significantly different information relating to food and occupations. This might make it easier to identify how this type of information is included in the narrative and how likely that information is to be passed on. Is it included in the details as Benedict noted: that “Men tell tales which feature...stick races...gambling...and of hunting. Women tell those which detail cooking techniques...the Cinderella story...childbirth...” (Zuni XL-XLI) (For a possible application of the Cinderella tale cycle, see Dickmann.)

## **Wayfinding**

Wayfinding would have been important throughout human evolution. Early humans “[b]eing a far-ranging yet home-based organism placed considerable priority on way-finding...knowledge about the location of critical resources such as water or edible plant material...a faster and more appropriate response in an emergency...[ability] to return to home base...” (Kaplan 584). Tonkinson noted that Australian folk narratives were like verbal maps that expanded the knowledge of geography beyond the normal area traversed by the tribe (Tonkinson 92-93). Some Australian tales can be described as walkabout tales, tales which have a particular

structure that involves landmarks, caves, waterholes and sinks. When asked to do so, one of the narrators drew a map of the area covered in the myth he had just narrated. Tonkinson states, "Since there are literally hundreds of myths known to the Mardudjara, it is impossible to convey here the diversity of content that coexists with their striking uniformity of structure" (94).

Polynesian tales also have to do with wayfinding such as "How Pulap Acquired the Art of Navigation" (Lessa 39-40), but this involves reading the waves and currents as one travels between the islands. The wayfinding across desert and the wayfinding across ocean are similar in the extreme nature of the environment and a landscape bare of details. Therefore, the conveyed information such as waterholes or islands might be more clear to us, making the information more easy to identify. Wayfinding tales might have a particular framework within which they convey this specific information. Both Australia and the islands of Oceania have many tales from tribes more recently introduced to modern industrial life and therefore the narratives might still retain the components of structure that aid in memory as well as the navigation information.

### **Testing the idea of the traditional culture**

In her article "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution," Leacock notes "...the economic autonomy of women vis-a-vis men was undercut by handouts to men defined as heads of families and by the sporadic opportunities for wage labor open to men. To assume that recent ritual data reflect aboriginal Australian symbolic structures as if unchanged is to be guilty of freezing these people in some timeless "traditional culture" that does not change or develop, but only becomes lost..." (250). Is there a significant difference

in the folk narrative 100 years after first contact by Westerners, 200 years after first contact? To investigate this idea, one would need to have sufficient narratives at different centuries after a society's first contact with European colonialists.

### **The Folk Narrative as a Speculation Machine**

Biological evolution has been compared to what could be termed cultural evolution, where evolution is the “differential survival of replicating entities” (Dawkins 2006). We often think of a trait as a physical aspect passed on through our biological replicators, the genes. Genes code for proteins which construct our bodies down to the cones on our retinas which give humans color vision. However, recently we have begun to realize that genes are a type of replicator and that there may be other types of replicators as well. Just as the biological trait of color vision evolved in humans, so too do culture and aspects of culture evolve.

A standard example of cultural evolution is the evolution of language. One can gain an appreciation for how English has evolved over the past six or seven centuries if one compares the first lines of various works of English literature from different epochs. The opening line of *Beowulf*, written down in Old English in 600 - 1000 AD reads: "Hwæt, wē gār-dena in gēardagum, þēodcýninga þrym gefrūnon..." (*Beowulf*). The opening lines of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* written in the 1300's read: "Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote / The droghte of Marche hath perced to the roote..." The opening sentence of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* published in 1818 reads: "It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a large fortune, must be in want of a wife." The opening sentence of Isak Dinesen's *Out of Africa* published in 1937 reads: "I had a farm in Africa, at the foot of the Ngong Hills." The lines from *Beowulf* are

unintelligible except to scholars of Old English, Chaucer's opening line is understandable if not easy to read, Austen seems a bit formal and Dinesen's first line is in familiar, if poetic, modern English.

In his book *The Selfish Gene*, Richard Dawkins coined the word “meme” to represent the replicator used by culture. A meme can be as mundane as a catchy tune or as profound as the idea of life after death and like the gene, the meme is envisioned as an independent replicator. Memes replicate by communication or as Dawkins would say, by imitation (203-215). The idea of the meme, a self-replicating cultural unit, enables a researcher to apply biological style theories to culture.

The idea of the folk narrative as a meme is an exciting idea. (See Zipes *Why*.) Folk narratives exist in every known culture and even individual narratives survive for centuries and overleap cultural boundaries, therefore it is easy to believe that the folk narrative has conveyed evolutionary advantages. For example, in his book *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, Jack Zipes makes a powerful connection between literary fairy tales of the recent past and their social and historical connections and uses the idea of memes to drive the discussion. In the chapter analyzing Cinderella, Zipes lists about 125 Cinderella versions in picture books, textbooks, films and websites as examples of the large data set of versions of Cinderella available during the last decade of the 20th Century. Zipes then proceeds to discuss the "question that the Cinderella discourse opens up...child abuse or infanticide" (112).

However the idea of the folk narrative as a cultural mechanism which extends our psychological mechanisms might be a better way of thinking about the folk narrative. In their book *The Adapted Mind*, Cosmides, Tooby and Barkow

investigate the mind as the connection between the realities of the physical environment and humans' internal virtual view of that physical environment - "The evolved information-processing mechanisms that allow humans to absorb, generate, modify and transmit culture – the psychological mechanisms that take cultural information as input and generate behavior as output" ("Introduction" 6). The human cultures studied by folklorists are seen as part of a long continuum, connected at one end with physical reality and at the other end to the biological operations in the brain, much like B. Boyd drew a connection between the 2.5 second present in human hearing and the length of line in Dr. Seuss's book as noted above (20).

"Culture is not causeless and disembodied. It is generated in rich and intricate ways by information-processing mechanisms situated in human minds. These mechanisms are, in turn, the elaborately sculpted product of the evolutionary process. Therefore, to understand the relationship between biology and culture one must first understand the architecture of our evolved psychology.

(Cosmides, Tooby and Barkow, "Introduction" 3)

This continuum extends the operational biological system to include the idea of adaptations associated with culture. Adaptations are defined as a system of inherited and reliably developing properties that have been included in the standard design of a species. At the time these properties were incorporated into the organism, they were coordinated with recurrent properties of their environment, either internal organism environment or external environment. The combination of the adaptation and its wider environment favored the organism's ability to survive long enough to produce offspring that survived (Tooby and Cosmides,

"Foundations" 61). According to the idea of the adaptive mind, the eye is seen as a psychological adaptation as well as a physical adaptation, because it has the ability to create a virtual model of the world that can translate physical realities, such as sunlight and movement, into information upon which a human can base behavior so effectively for survival that all humans have eyes. It might be possible to consider the folk narrative as a similar extension; however, a more applicable analogy might be the camera.

The camera is a machine designed by engineers to reflect certain ways the eye interacts with the physical realities of light wavelengths. Engineers designed the camera like this because the camera is designed to exploit the same physical realities of light and wavelength that the eye uses. The camera is a machine that extends certain capabilities of the human eye and expands a certain range of functions. For example, through a camera we can see a specific part of what the eye saw for a moment, but that moment of vision is frozen in a picture that can then be shared with others. In a similar fashion, one could possibly view the folk narrative as a machine designed to act in the way of our mind absorbs and retains information. There seem to be parts of the folk narrative that operate to enhance memory, and parts that operate to communicate information. In a similar fashion to the camera, the folk narrative condenses multiple pieces of information into a verbal snapshot that can then be shared with others. A very interesting aspect is the way the folk narrative can also be put under a cultural form of natural selection. So, the folk narrative not only mimics the way the brain operates but also the system of natural selection that the evolution of the brain operates within, because variation in folk narratives reflects the way changes in the genetic code operate in biological evolution.



The folk narrative is a marvel of a stacking and embedding system and this same penchant for variation within a structure operates much like our mind when our mind deals with contrafactuals. Our minds act like speculation machines that love to ponder "what if" scenarios. Our minds explore scenarios we have experienced or anticipate experiencing or just imagine. We explore options and alternatives. "What if I hadn't looked that way just then..." "What if I were to go to Paris..." or "What if cows could fly..." (See Ragan *Outfoxing* 150-152.) The folk narrative is known for the substitution of actors, attributes and implements as demonstrated above (34). The folk narrative is also known for its ability to rearrange themes and to associate them with different actors with different implements. This penchant of the folk narrative is the basis for the compendium that is the Aarne-Thompson Index. (See above 31-33.)

In a similar way, the folk narrative is a cultural machine that reconstructs this aspect of our minds, but outside our minds. Theoretically, the better a folk narrative solves a recurrent problem, the more that narrative will be repeated. There are some randomly generated modifications and there is change over long periods of time. However, folk narratives also mimic human engineering, in that stories can be changed to fit the design decided upon by the individual. Like the mind, the folk narrative is functionally organized around relationships among information and behavior and the transmission units. For example, as the sight of a predator increases the organism's heart rate in preparation for flight, the sight of a predator may also call to mind a tale by someone about an escape from that or a similar predator. In addition, the sight of a predator might trigger the memory neurons along an already planned pathway. The folk narrative might thus stretch all the way from physical reality to the brain, but the analogy of the external

machine is also useful. Using the above example about the sight of a predator calling to mind a tale, one would expect the analysis of the tale to include mention of the predator and the escape action, but one might also expect a vividly memorable, single scenario or word synthesis of the tale to capture a powerful warning like the immediately comprehensible, proto-language simian warning or, oddly enough, like Cinderella's slipper.

## **Conclusion**

Once upon a time..., Once there was and there was not..., Long ago, long ago... For as long as we know, humans have listened to tales, marveled at tales and passed on tales. Folk narratives have been with us for so long, it simply begs the question - why? Why do we love them so much? Why do we listen even though we already know the ending? Why do we just have to hear that particular tale again? It is a phenomena so powerful and pervasive, you might even say it was magic. Or we could take an alternative approach and say that the folk narrative is a largely untapped resource with the potential to address fundamental questions about human culture and cultural changes on anthropological timescales. Actually, that sounds a bit magical, too.

This thesis outlines a quantitative methodology based on the idea of the folk narrative as part of a large interacting system. The first studies using this method have already given tantalizing results with far-reaching implications. As each of the relationships is studied, we will gradually acquire a detailed picture of the complex workings of the folk narrative system. As in any fairy tale, there will be many convoluted paths and meetings with all kinds of conundrums, trolls, and fairies. Undoubtedly I will learn more about the folk narrative system. Probably, I

will learn more about how the folk narrative relates to cultural evolution.

Ultimately, I hope that knowing more about the relationships among the different parts of the folk narrative system will contribute to the development of a theory of cultural evolution. From this first step, it seems like an unendurably long road, but as a comfort, I know that there will be many tales to enjoy along the way.

## Appendix I

### Readings Prior to Thesis: Folk and Fairy Tales

#### Appendix I / 1

This appendix lists some of the folk and fairy tale, legend and myth collections I read before beginning my thesis.

- Abrahams, Roger D. *African Folktales*. New York: Pantheon, 1983. Print.
- Afanas'ev, Aleksandr. *Russian Fairy Tales*. Trans. Norbert Guterman. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Pantheon, 1973. Print.
- Alpers, Anthony. *Legends of the South Seas: The World of the Polynesians seen through their Myths and Legends, Poetry and Art*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970. Print.
- Asbjørnsen, Peter C. & Jorgen I. Moe. *Popular Tales from the Norse*. 1859. Trans. Sir George Webbe Dasent. London, Sydney, Toronto: The Bodley Head, 1969. Print.
- Balai Pustaka. *Indonesian Folk Tales*. Jakarta: Pn Balai Pustaka State Publishing, 1981. Print.
- Bauer, John, illus. *Great Swedish Fairy Tales*. Trans. Holger Lundbergh. Ed. Elsa Olenius. USA: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1973. Print.
- Bechstein, Ludwig. *Deutsche Märchen: Band I mit Märchen von den Brüdern Grimm und Ludwig Bechstein*. München: Winler Verlag, 1979. Print.
- Beck, Brenda E. F., Peter J. Claus, Praphulladatta Goswami and Jawaharlal Handoo. *Folktales of India*. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1987. Print.
- Benedict, Ruth. *Tales of the Cochiti Indians*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1981. Print.
- Berndt, Ronald M. and Catherine H. Berndt. *The Speaking Land*. Australia: Penguin, 1989. Print.
- Booss, Claire, ed. *Scandinavian Folk and Fairy Tales: Tales from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland*. New York: Avenel, 1984. Print.
- Bowman, James Cloyd and Margery Bianco. *Tales from a Finnish Tupa*. Trans. Aili Kolehmainen. Illus. Laura Bannon. New York: The Junior Literary Guild and Albert Whitman, 1936. Print.
- Brachert, Helmut. *Das Nibelungenlied. 1. Teil, 2. Teil. Mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974. Print.
- Briggs, Katherine. *British Folk Tales*. New York: Pantheon, 1977. Print.
- Bruchac, Joseph. *Iroquois Stories: Heroes and Heroines, Monsters and Magic*. New York: The Crossing Press, 1985. Print.
- Burton, Richard F. *Tales from the Arabian Nights*. 1859. Ed. Davin Shumaker. New York: Avenel, Reprint 1978. Print.
- Calvino, Italo. *Italian Folktales*. Trans. George Martin. San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1956. Print.

- Campbell, J. F. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. 3 vols. London: Alexander Gardner, 1890. Print.
- Carter, Angela, ed. *The Virago Book of Fairy Tales*. Illus. Corinna Sargood. London: The Virago Press, 1990. Print.
- , *Strange Things Sometimes Still Happen: Fairy Tales from Around the World*. Illus. Corinna Sargood. Boston & London: Faber & Faber, 1992. Print.
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## Appendix I / 2

Some Literary Folk and Fairy Tales I read before beginning my thesis:

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## Appendix II

### Readings Prior to Thesis: Folk and Fairy Tale Analyses

This appendix lists some folktale, fairy tale and myth analysis I read before beginning my thesis.

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- Kramer, Samuel Noah, ed. *Mythologies of the Ancient World*. New York: Anchor, Doubleday, 1961. Print.
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- . *Breaking the Magic Spell, Radical Theories of Folk & Fairy Tales*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.
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## Appendix III

### Readings Prior to Thesis: Research for Anthologies

This appendix lists folk and fairy tale collections used for the compilation of my two collections of folktales: *Fearless Girls, Wise Women and Beloved Sisters: Heroines in Folktales from Around the World* and *Outfoxing Fear: Folktales from Around the World*.

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## Appendix IV

### An Example of the Counting of All Nominative Case in a Tale

Gendered nominative case were counted in simple and compound sentences, main and subordinate clauses, in active and passive voices. A subordinate clause is also sometimes called a dependent clause and it begins with either a relative pronoun, like "who" or "that," and a subordinate clause cannot stand by itself.

Compound subjects, where the gender was noted were counted individually and counted throughout the tale even when grouped together, if able to be distinguished. For example: "John and Mary talked and they laughed." counted as 2 male (M) and 2 female (F). Counting plural pronouns individually was only used up to three subjects and only where the subjects could be clearly distinguished. Thus a tale with two brothers and one sister in a boat resulted in a 2 M to 1 F count throughout whenever the pronoun "they" was used, but in a tale with 12 protagonists in varying situations a result was unable to be determined unless the 12 were all one gender, then the group was counted as 1 M or 1 F every time it was in nominative case. Every person of the 12 whose gender was identifiable and who was individually named in a sentence was counted for that sentence. The exclusion of second person nominative separates actions from potential actions.

Where the percentage of female nominative cases in a tale exceeded 2/3 of the total of gendered subjects, the tale was denoted a Female tale. Where the percentage of male nominative cases exceeded 2/3 of the total of gendered subjects, the tale was denoted a Male tale. Neuter nominative case was not counted.

N.B. For the paper "What Happened to the Heroines in Folktales; An Analysis by Gender of a Multi-Cultural Sample of Published Folktales Collected from Storytellers" (above pp 47-74), it was noted that not all tales were necessarily counted throughout. However, many of these tales were eliminated from the final tally for that paper due to other reasons. From the second paper, "Asymmetry in Male and Femal Storyteller Priorities: An Analysis by Gender of a Sample of Published Folk Narratives Collected from Storytellers Worldwide," (above pp 111-139), all tales were counted all the way through.

Below, I have typed in the complete first tale I counted in the first book I counted: "Kiñnuk" in *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Notak, Alaska* told by Ednua Hunnicutt to the collector Edwin S. Hall, Jr. The tale is typed here in italics, each subject is in bold and after each subject there is an explanation of the grammatical nature of the subject and how it was counted or why it was not counted.

#### EH1. Kiñnuk

*Way up the Noatak River there was a **man*** [ "Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 1, Female 0, Group 0.] *with his kayak.*

*His name was Kiñnuk* (crazy). ["Name" is the subject of this sentence and is neuter, therefore there is no count.]

*As **he*** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 2, Female 0, Group 0.] *came down the river with his kayak the water was swift, so **he*** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 3, Female 0, Group 0.] *traveled fast.*

As **he** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 4, Female 0, Group 0.] *traveled*, **he** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 5, Female 0, Group 0.] *heard something in the trees making noise.* *It was a voice saying, "My friend, there is a hair on your shoulder that I can see. Kivilik."* ["Voice" is neuter and described by the neuter pronoun "it," therefore it is not counted.]

**He** ["He" is the subject of sentence therefore the count is Male 6, Female 0, Group 0.] *went to the shore and went* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "went" as a result, it is counted again. The count is now Male 7, Female 0, Group 0.] *up into the trees.*

*There were some old houses there and he* ["He" is the subject of the verb of the second clause in the compound sentence therefore the count is Male 8, Female 0, Group 0.] *went inside thinking that he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause therefore the count is Male 9, Female 0, Group 0.] *would see somebody.*

*When he* ["He" is the subject of subordinate clause therefore the count is Male 10, Female 0, Group 0.] *didn't he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 11, Female 0, Group 0.] *went back to his kayak. Just when he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 12, Female 0, Group 0.] *was going to go he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 13, Female 0, Group 0.] *heard the same voice say the same thing.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 14, Female 0, Group 0.] *went up the bank again and went* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "went," therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 15.] *into the houses.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 16, Female 0, Group 0.] *started hitting the broken bones, old posts, and everthing else that was lying there to see if they* ["They" refers to the neuter objects in the previous clause, therefore it does not count.] *would make noise. They* [refers to the neuter objects in the previous sentence, therefore "they" does not count.] *didn't, so he* ["He" is the subject of subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 17, Female 0, Group 0.] *went back to his kayak.*

*As he* ["He" is the subject of subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 18, Female 0, Group 0.] *got there he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 19, Female 0, Group 0.] *heard the same voice again.*

*As he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 20, Female 0, Group 0.] *went back up he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 21, Female 0, Group 0.] *saw a mousehole on the trail.*

*While he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 22, Female 0, Group 0.] *watched a mouse came out, closed its eyes, and started saying what he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 23, Female 0, Group 0.] *had heard.*

*Just when the mouse got to "kivilik," Kiñnuk* ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 24, Female 0, Group 0.] *got ahold of him.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 25, Female 0, Group 0.] *built a fire and started* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb, "started," therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 26, Female 0, Group 0.] *burning the mouse's nose and lips. When they* ["They" refers to 'lips' which are neuter therefore this subject doesn't count.] *were brown he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 27, Female 0, Group 0.] *let go of him, and*

*the mouse* ["Mouse" is the subject of the second clause of the compound sentence. The mouse's gender is identified by the "him" in the previous clause of this same sentence. Later in the story, the mouse is also identified as the "old man" whose lips and nose were burnt. Therefore, the count is now Male 28, Female 0, Group 0.] *went back in its hole.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 29, Female 0, Group 0.] *didn't hear the mouse again.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 30, Female 0, Group 0.] *went farther down the river.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 31, Female 0, Group 0.] *caught some fish and put* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "put" therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 32, Female 0, Group 0.] *one fish on the point of the kayak and one in the middle.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 33, Female 0, Group 0.] *got as far as Agashashok when he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 34, Female 0, Group 0.] *saw smoke coming from the ground. Just then an eagle* ["Eagle" is later given a gender. It is later described as "the man in the sheep skin parka" therefore, the count is Male 35, Female 0, Group 0.] *came, took one of his fishes away.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 36, Female 0, Group 0.] *got to the beach and went* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "went" therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 37, Female 0, Group 0.] *up to the smoke.*

When **he** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 38, Female 0, Group 0.] *got close* **he** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 39, Female 0, Group 0.] *saw a hole.*

While **he** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 40, Female 0, Group 0.] *was standing there* **he** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 41, Female 0, Group 0.] *saw a white fox's nose come out.*

The white fox [the gender was not noted for any of the foxes therefore they did not count.] *said, "Come in. They want you to come in."*

**Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk " is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 42, Female 0, Group 0.] *said, "How can I* ["I" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 43, Female 0, Group 0.] *come in? The hole is too small." The white fox went back in. Fox after fox came out and told him to go in, but* **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 44, Female 0, Group 0.] *kept saying "Too small.*

**I** ["I" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 45, Female 0, Group 0.] *can't go in." Finally another fox came out and told him to go in.*

When **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 46, Female 0, Group 0.] *said "Too small," the fox said, "Put your legs in fist, then close your eyes and you'll come in."*

**Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 47, Female 0, Group 0.] *tried, even though the hole was too small, and* **he** ["He" is the subject of the second clause of the compound sentence, therefore the count is Male 48, Female 0, Group 0.] *slid into the stormshed.*



**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 49, Female 0, Group 0.] *opened his eyes and saw* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "saw," therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 50, Female 0, Group 0.] *all kinds of animal skins hanging on the stormshed wall.*

**He** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 51, Female 0, Group 0.] *went into the house and saw* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "saw" therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 52, Female 0, Group 0.] *an old man sitting on the other side. Someone* [The "him" at the end of the sentence refers to this "someone," therefore "someone" refers to a male. The count is now Male 53, Female 0, Group 0.] *with a sheep-skin parka told him to sit down, so Kiñnuk* ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 54, Female 0, Group 0.] *sat close by him.*

*The old man* ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 55, Female 0, Group 0.] *got up and asked, "How come we* ["We" refers to the people in the man's group, but one cannot determine whether the gender of the group is male, female or both, therefore this group was not counted as a gender, but only to figure into the complete tally, therefore the count is Male 55, Female 0, Group 1.] *never try to feed the stranger? Get food for him."*

*The man* ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 56, Female 0, Group 1.] *in the sheep-skin parka nudged Kiñnuk in the side when they* ["They" refers to the people in the group, therefore the count is Male 56, Female 0, Group 2.] *put food down for him, to tell him not to eat.*

**Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 57, Female 0, Group 2.] *played that he* ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 58, Female 0, Group 2.] *eat them, putting the food*

*inside his parka, and when the plate was finished the old **man** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 59, Female 0, Group 2.] said, "Put some more food in front of Kiñnuk."*

***Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 60, Female 0, Group 2.] saw a lot of people inside the house where **he** ["He" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 61, Female 0, Group 2.] was eating.*

*The old **man** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 62, Female 0, Group 2.] knew that **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count it Male 63, Female 0, Group 2.] was not really eating the food but pretending,*

*and so the old **man** ["Man" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count it Male 64, Female 0, Group 2.] sang a song about something dropping from a wall and **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count it Male 65, Female 0, Group 2.] would want to look up, but the **man** ["Man" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 66, Female 0, Group 2.] in the sheep-skin parka nudged him in the side to tell him not to look up.*

*The old **man** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 67, Female 0, Group 2.] kept singing and **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 68, Female 0, Group 2.] wanted to look up,*

*but the **man** ["Man" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 69, Female 0, Group 2.] in the sheep-skin parka was still nudging him, so the old **man** ["Man" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is*

Male 70, Female 0, Group 2.] *said, "I* ["I" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 71, Female 0, Group 2.] *remember when you burned my lips. After you burned my lips you* [You is the subject of this subordinate clause but second person nominative case is not counted.] *don't want to look anywhere." The old man's lips and nose were real wrinkled.*

*The people in the house kept going out until* **Kiñnuk** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 72, Female 0, Group 2.] *and the man* ["man" is the second part of the compound subject of this sentence, therefore the count is Male 73, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka were left alone. The man* ["Man" is the subject of the sentence therefore the count is Male 74, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka said, We're* ["We're" refers to the man and Kiñnuk and the group is less than three and the gender of each is known, therefore it counts as two males instead of a Male Group. The count is now Male 76, Female 0, Group 2.] *not going to stay in here alone. Let's try to go out too."* *When they* ["They" refers to the man and Kiñnuk and the group is less than three and the gender of each is known, therefore it counts as two males, therefore the count is Male 78, Female 0, Group 2.] *went out the man* ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 79, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka said to Kiñnuk,*

*"When you* [second person nominative case is not counted] *came down the river I'm* ["I" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 80, Female 0, Group 2.] *the one who* ["Who" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 81, Female 0, Group 2.] *took your fish off your kayak."* [This is the point when the gender of the eagle, who took Kiñnuk's fish off of his kayak, is identified.]

*Then the **man*** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 82, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka said, "You can do down the river and **I'll*** ["I" is the subject of the second clause of the compound sentence, therefore the count is Male 83, Female 0, Group 2.] *fly."*

*So the **man*** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 84, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka became a nauyak (seagull) and flew* [The previous "he" is also subject of this verb "flew" therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 85, Female 0, Group 2.]

*The **man*** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 86, Female 0, Group 2.] *in the sheep-skin parka told Kiñnuk before **he*** ["He" is the subject of the dependent clause therefore the count is Male 87, Female 0, Group 2.] *went, "I'm* ["I" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 88, Female 0, Group 2.] *the one **who*** ["Who" is the subject of the relative clause, therefore the count is Male 89, Female 0, Group 2.] *saved you.*

*That old **man*** ["Man" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 90, Female 0, Group 2.] *gave you food with worms and **I*** ["I" is the subject of the second clause of the compound sentence, therefore the count is Male 91, Female 0, Group 2.] *didn't want you to eat them so **I*** ["I" is the subject of the subordinate clause, therefore the count is Male 92, Female 0, Group 2.] *saved you."*

***Kiñnuk*** ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 93, Female 0, Group 2.] *went down to the mouth of the Noatak River and **began*** [The previous "Kiñnuk" is also subject of this verb "began," therefore it is counted again. The count is now Male 94, Female 0, Group 2.] *seeing people.*

***He*** ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 95, Female 0, Group 2.] *thought the trees became people.*

*We* [the "we" refers to humans therefore the count is Male 95, Female 0, Group 3.] *always think nauyak go home [meaning south] for the winter, but they go into holes.*

*After Kiñnuk* ["Kiñnuk" is the subject of the subordinate clause therefore the count is Male 96, Female 0, Group 3.] *went close to those people he* ["He" is the subject of the sentence, therefore the count is Male 97, Female 0, Group 3.] *found out they were the trees. THE END*

*I* ["I" is the subject of the sentence and the storyteller is a female therefore the count is Male 97, Female 1, Group 3.] *heard this from Añasuk (my first husband's brother)*

In conclusion, the complete count of the tale was Male 97, Female 1, Group, 3. This was the first tale I ever counted, and at that time, I was only recording the numerical details if the tale did not have over 2/3 in one gender. Therefore, this tale was recorded as a Male tale. There are some subjects which were not included in the total count, but these were not humans, such as trees or food and were not given a gender in the tale. Technically, foxes (and some trees for that matter) have genders, but in this case, either the storyteller did not give them a gender in the tale, or the translator did not translate the gender into English. The translator is another part of the folk narrative system and at some point should be considered as well as the teller and collector, however in this tale, even the inclusion of the non-gendered subjects would not have made a difference to the final count. This also shows the advantage of a 2/3 threshold, since a one or even 10 count mis-count for whatever reason, would not have shifted the tale from the male to female or male/female category.

## Appendix V

### Four Examples of Pages from Data Collection Books

After each tale was counted, the result was entered into a data book. In all, at the conclusion of my thesis, there are four data books, three complete and one half filled. I have counted nominative case in approximately 8,500 narratives.

Below I have represented the first 17 entries of the first page of four different books in my first through third data books. Although some of the noted items remains the same throughout, some of the column titles changed. Sometimes it was a simple issue like the best way to keep track of the number of tales I was counting. Other times the issues became more serious like deciding to record the fractions for all tales not just the tales that did not exceed a  $2/3$  dominance.

As I counted more and more tales, I began to see patterns emerging. Some things I had thought to be important at the beginning seemed to diminish in importance, like the length of the tale. Other things proved very important. For example, my first data book comprised twenty-one books and 2118 narratives. I had begun the project with the idea of using the idea of three filters, when I started collating my first data book I mistakenly thought I could isolate all three filters independently of each other, but realized at the end of the data book, that since the tale passed through the filters sequentially, the information for the filters had to be included from the primary filter. In other words, to analyze the editor filter, I had to have the collector and the storyteller genders. In the end, I was only able to use all the data from only five of the twenty-one books and a bit of the data from three more books.

One of the columns on each page was entitled simply "Notes." For a long time, I kept trying to summarize tales, thinking that eventually I would figure out how the content of tales was important to the type of questions I wanted to answer. However, the more interesting notes were serendipitous observations like the following.

"This is amazing - the ratio of F storyteller/ gender of story changes remarkably depending on the collector's definition of what can be told... 'My approach to collecting stories was, for the most part open-ended...I told prospective informants that I'd like to hear and record anything they cared to tell me that they felt was humorous, strange or somehow out of the ordinary.' (Einarsson 7)"

The data from this book was used in my first survey. (See above pp. 46-73). However it was not included in the worldwide data set primarily because Murdock's system does not allow for hybrid cultures and this was a collection of tales from Icelandic-Canadians. However, the idea was included in my third paper. (See above pp. 136-161.)

## Appendix V / 1

An Example of Data Collection of a book with a male collector and female and male storytellers. In my data book, the information is spread horizontally across a double page therefore it takes three pages to transfer it into this format.

Book: *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Noatak, Alaska* by Edwin S. Hall, Jr. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1998.

| Story Number | Problem / Souolution   | Book Number | Editor Gender  | Collector Gender | Storyteller Gender |
|--------------|--|-------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1            | Unable to be easily summarized                                     | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 2            | Cautionary tale, hunting information                               | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 3            | Killer/ hero kills killer  | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 4            | Soul suffering / man kills it                                      | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 5            | Woman displeased / mother rescues her                              | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 6            | Origin of day and night  | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 7            | Killer / hero kills him  | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 8            | Male abuse / female suicides with child                            | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 9            | Killer / kills killer  | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 10           | Old man hungry / split up group that doesn't share / selfish group | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 11           | Unable to be easily summarized                                     | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 12           | Boy in poverty / magic and marriage                                | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 13           | Stranger / war   | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 14           | Cheating husband / woman leaves, boy revenges                      | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 15           | Male competition   | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 16           | Man killed strangers / two brothers kill him                       | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |
| 17           | Jealous husband / man who is successful hunter wins girl           | 1           | Not applicable | Male             | Female             |



### Appendix V / 1 (cont.)

This is the first book I collected information from and the headings of the columns are somewhat different from the headings for other books. In addition to counting, I was trying to summarize the meaning of each tale and whether or not the main

|    | Tale Dominant Gender      | Number of Males / Females   | Year collected | Tribe / Location   | Main Character Positive / Negative / Neutral | Notes       |
|----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------|--|-------------|
| 1  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      | Group < 10% |
| 2  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      | Group < 20% |
| 3  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     | Group < 20% |
| 4  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     | Group < 20% |
| 5  | Female                    | 19/90                       | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      | Group < 20% |
| 6  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      | Group < 20% |
| 7  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     | Group < 20% |
| 8  | Female / Male/Femal Group | Male =6, Female=16 Group=8  | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      |             |
| 9  | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     | Group < 20% |
| 10 | Group                     | Group=32, Male=11, Female=5 | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Group Negative                               |             |
| 11 | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | One negative one positive                    | Group < 20% |
| 12 | Male / Female             | 29/36                       | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      | Group < 20% |
| 13 | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     |             |
| 14 | Male/ Female              | 70/45                       | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | One negative one positive male neutral woman |             |
| 15 | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Neutral                                      |             |
| 16 | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | Positive                                     |             |
| 17 | Male                      | Over 2/3 male               | 1975           | Noatagmiut, Alaska | One negative one positive                    |             |

**Appendix V / 1 (cont.)**

characters were positive or negative. As I collected more information, the arbitrary nature of the style of content analysis focusing on meaning became more apparent and the information garnered from counting also became more apparent. At that point, I stopped trying to summarize the tale or judge the characters. Other notes in this first section of the first book I counted included those below.

| Story Number | Notes   |
|--------------|---|
| 1            | Male/Female/Group 91/1/6  |
| 2            |   |
| 3            |   |
| 4            |   |
| 5            | Woman turns other woman into caterpillar. Mother rescues daughter M = husband |
| 6            |   |
| 7            |   |
| 8            | Group unaware of female until she's about to step off cliff.                  |
| 9            |   |
| 10           | Group doesn't share, group is punished, can't catch whales, has to split up   |
| 12           | 1 Males 3 Females: grandmother and two girls, grandson                        |
| 14           | Eagle man "makes" woman leave and is nice to her                              |
| 15           |   |
| 16           |   |
| 17           |   |

## Appendix V / 2

An Example of Data Collection of a book with a male editor, male collector and female and male storytellers. Below are the first seventeen entries from the eighteenth book of folk narratives I counted. In the beginning, I kept a running count of all tales, all storytellers and all books counted. The number of tales counted became unmanageable.

Book: *Tales Alive in Turkey* by Warren S. Walker and Ahmet E. Uysal,  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1966

| Story Number | Table of Contents Story Number | Long/ Short | Story Teller Number | Book Number |
|--------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1562         | I - 1                          | Long        | 83                  | 18          |
| 1563         | I - 2                          | Long        | 84                  | 18          |
| 1564         | I - 3                          | Long        | 85                  | 18          |
| 1565         | I - 4                          | Long        | 86                  | 18          |
| 1566         | I - 5                          | Long        | 87                  | 18          |
| 1567         | I - 6                          | Long        | 88                  | 18          |
| 1568         | I - 7                          | Long        | 87                  | 18          |
| 1569         | I - 8                          | Long        | 89                  | 18          |
| 1570         | I - 9                          | Long        | 90                  | 18          |
| 1571         | I - 10                         | Long        | 91                  | 18          |
| 1572         | I - 11                         | Long        | 83                  | 18          |
| 1573         | II - 1                         | Short       | 92                  | 18          |
| 1574         | II - 2                         | Long        | 93                  | 18          |
| 1575         | II - 3                         | Long        | 94                  | 18          |
| 1576         | II - 4                         | Long        | 95                  | 18          |
| 1577         | II - 5                         | Long        | 96                  | 18          |
| 1578         | II - 6                         | Long        | 97                  | 18          |

### Appendix V / 2 (cont.)

It became apparent that not all the tales would be able to be used. At first, I counted tales for which the gender of the editor but for which the storyteller and/or collector were not given. These tales were ultimately unable to be used because the selection process begins with the first filter, the storyteller and passes through the collector before coming to the editor filter. Without considering the first two

| Story Number | Editor Gender | Collector Gender | Storyteller Gender | Tale Dominant Gender |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1562         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1563         | Male          | Male             | Male?              | Male                 |
| 1564         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1565         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1566         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male/<br>Female      |
| 1567         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1568         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1569         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1570         | Male          | Male             | Male?              | Male/<br>Female      |
| 1571         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male/<br>Female      |
| 1572         | Male          | Male             | Male?              | Male/<br>Female      |
| 1573         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1574         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1575         | Male          | Male             | Female             | Male                 |
| 15 76        | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1577         | Male          | Male             | Male               | Male                 |
| 1578         | Male          | Male             | Female             | Male/<br>Female      |

### Appendix V / 2 (cont.)

filters, the result for the editor is compromised. The gender for some storytellers was able to be easily established and for others considerable research was required. In this case, I wrote down all the names of the storytellers and researched their genders later, hence the question marks and the list of names in the "Notes" section.

| Story Number | Number of Male/<br>Female | Year Collected | Tribe Location | Notes                                      |
|--------------|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| 1562         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Sukru Dariji - Male or Female - narrator ? |
| 1563         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Bulduk Ozel farmer ?                       |
| 1564         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Mehmet Anli Male                           |
| 1565         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Shakismail Teckchan farmer                 |
| 1566         | ~ 60/35                   | 1964           | Turkey         | Muharrem Choban day-laborer ?              |
| 1567         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Mevlut Umal shopkeeper ?                   |
| 1568         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Muharrem Choban day-laborer                |
| 1569         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Habibullah Simey                           |
| 1570         | 86/53                     | 1964           | Turkey         | Osman Tan 10 year old ?                    |
| 1571         | Over 2/3 male             | 1964           | Turkey         | Tahir Ruygar prison Male                   |
| 1572         | 4/3 (Ratio)               | 1964           | Turkey         | Sukru Dariji - Male or Female - narrator   |
| 1573         | Over 2/3 male             | 1962           | Turkey         | Ekrem Gench ?                              |
| 1574         | Over 2/3 male             | 1962           | Turkey         | Abdurraham Boyaji ?                        |
| 1575         | Over 2/3 male             | 1962           | Turkey         | Sozan Koralük                              |
| 1576         | Over 2/3 male             | 1962           | Turkey         | Nuri Konuralp ? Name = Female + Male       |
| 1577         | Over 2/3 male             | 1962           | Turkey         | Kalayji Mehmet Male name                   |
| 1578         | 59/70                     | 1962           | Turkey         | Gülsüm Yuchel Female name                  |

### Appendix V / 3

An Example of Data Collection of a book with a female editor, male and female collectors and male and female storytellers. Below are the first seventeen entries from the twenty-first book of folk narratives I counted. In this case, the story name was abbreviated for identification purposes. Sometimes if there was any confusion, I would go back and reconfirm the count.

Book: A Sampler of British Folk-Tales by Katherine M. Briggs. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977

| Story Number | Table of Contents Story Number | Long/ Short                               | Story Teller Number | Book Number |
|--------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------|
| 1928         |                                | Short                                     |                     | 18          |
| 1929         |                                |   | 114                 | 18          |
| 1930         |                                | Short                                     |                     | 18          |
| 1931         |                                |   |                     | 18          |
| 1932         |                                | Short                                     |                     | 18          |
| 1933         | Ashley Pelt                    |   | 114                 | 18          |
| 1934         | Dead Moon                      |   |                     | 18          |
| 1935         |                                |   | 115                 | 18          |
| 1936         | Gobbon Seer                    | Collector = Male<br>1 Jacobs              | 116                 | 18          |
| 1937         | TGB                            |   |                     | 18          |
| 1938         | J + Th G                       |   |                     | 18          |
| 1939         | Th Koft BA                     | Collector = Male<br>2 Hamish<br>Henderson | 117                 | 18          |
| 1940         |                                |   |                     | 18          |
| 1941         | Th M W W G O A N               | C = Female 1<br>Tongue                    | 118                 | 18          |
| 1942         |                                |   |                     | 18          |
| 1943         | TTT page 47                    |   |                     | 18          |
| 1944         | (IGW)                          |   | 119                 | 18          |

**Appendix V / 3 (cont.)**

In this case, the editor sometimes included the names and genders of the collectors and sometimes of the storytellers and sometimes of both. Only the narratives which included genders for all three of the filters were able to be used.

| Story Number | Editor Gender | Collector Gender | Storyteller Gender | Dominant Gender  |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1928         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male/<br>Group   |
| 1929         | Female        | Male             | Female             | Male/<br>Female  |
| 1930         | Female        | Female           | Not Given          | Male             |
| 1931         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male             |
| 1932         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male/<br>Female  |
| 1933         | Female        | Not Given        | Female             | Female           |
| 1934         | Female        | Female           | Not Given          | Female/<br>Group |
| 1935         | Female        | Female           | Female             | Male             |
| 1936         | Female        | Male             | Female             | Male             |
| 1937         | Female        | Male             | Not Given          | Male/<br>Female  |
| 1938         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male             |
| 1939         | Female        | Male             | Male               | Male             |
| 1940         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male             |
| 1941         | Female        | Female           | Female             | Male/<br>Female  |
| 1942         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Female           |
| 1943         | Female        | Not Given        | Not Given          | Male/<br>Female  |
| 1944         | Female        | Not Given        | Female             | Female           |

**Appendix V / 3 (cont.)**

| Story Number | Number of Male/<br>Female | Year Collected | Tribe<br>Location | Notes |
|--------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------|
| 1928         | 8/5                       | 1977           | Britain           | none  |
| 1929         | 9/18                      |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1930         | Over 2/3 male             |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1931         | Over 2/3 male             |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1932         | 4/6                       |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1933         | Over 2/3 female           | 1977           | Britain           | none  |
| 1934         | 34/47                     | 18??           | Britain           | none  |
| 1935         | Over 2/3 male             | 1917           | Britain           | none  |
| 1936         | Over 2/3 male             | 18??           | Britain           | none  |
| 1937         | 52/36                     | 18??           | Britain           | none  |
| 1938         | Over 2/3 male             |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1939         | Over 2/3 male             |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1940         | Over 2/3 male             |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1941         | 23/20                     |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1942         | Over 2/3 female           |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1943         | none - couldn't use tale  |                | Britain           | none  |
| 1944         | Over 2/3 male             | 1897           | Britain           | none  |



## Appendix V / 4

An Example of Data Collection of a book with a female collector and male and female storytellers. Below are the first nineteen entries from the twenty-seventh book of folk narratives I counted. It was necessary to identify the tale by both the initials and the page number. To keep track of the number of storyteller, I kept track of the names and gave each person a number and kept track of the number of

Book: Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies by Ella E. Clarke, Norman Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966

| Story Number | Table of Contents Number | Tellers Name         | Teller Number | Book Number |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1            | C+ThMo+C 38              | Otis Halfmoon        | 1             | 27          |
| 2            | TGF1 p51                 | Otis Halfmoon        | 1             | 27          |
| 3            | TGF4 p52                 | Lucy Armstrong Isacc | 2             | 27          |
| 4            | Pf+NP p54                | Lucy Armstrong Isacc | 2             | 27          |
| 5            | TWMinWL p57              | Lucy Armstrong Isacc | 2             | 27          |
| 6            | LofJM p 58               | Otis Halfmoon        | 1             | 27          |
| 7            | TSI p62                  | Lucy Armstrong Isacc | 2             | 27          |
| 8            | TH.TS 63                 | Otis Halfmoon        | 1             | 27          |
| 9            | PotCpt WM p66            | Lucy Armstrong Isacc | 2             | 27          |
| 10           | L+C+TNP p69              | Lizzie Lowery        | 3             | 27          |
| 12           | TPRAIL 163               | William Gingrass     | 4             | 27          |
| 13           | W+IHNMT 169              | William Gingrass     | 4             | 27          |
| 14           | TAC 176                  | William Gingrass     | 4             | 27          |
| 15           | O ofNS+YR 190            | Ralph Dixey          | 5             | 27          |
| 16           | WTFB-i-LL 199            | Ralph Dixey          | 5             | 27          |
| 18           | TMC+CM 270               | Percy Creighton      | 6             | 27          |
| 19           | Coyote a Th S 45         | Sam Slickpoo         | 7             | 27          |

### Appendix V / 4 (cont.)

storytellers beginning with one in each book. The book numbers now started at one at the beginning of each data book. The editor was defined as a person who compiled a book using the work of one or more collectors, but who did not collect the tales themselves. In this book, the person who collected the narratives also put the book together. Therefore this book is counted as having no editor, but having a collector and storytellers.

| Story Number | Editor Gender  | Collector Gender | Storyteller Gender | Dominant Gender                               |
|--------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1            | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male  |
| 2            | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Group   |
| 3            | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Group   |
| 4            | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Male/ Group                                   |
| 5            | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Male/ Female/ Group                           |
| 6            | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Group   |
| 7            | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Male/ Female/ Group                           |
| 8            | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male/ Female/ Male Group/ Group/ Female Group |
| 9            | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Male/ Female/ Group/ Male Group               |
| 10           | Not applicable | Female           | Female             | Male/ Female/ Group/ Male Group               |
| 12           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male/ Group                                   |
| 13           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male  |
| 14           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male/ Female/ Male Group/ Group               |
| 15           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male  |
| 16           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male  |
| 18           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male/ Male Group/ Female/ Female Group/ Group |
| 19           | Not applicable | Female           | Male               | Male  |

### Appendix V / 4 (cont.)

By this time I had begun tracking the numbers in all narratives as well as the groups, since I now believed that the frequency of groups in nominative case would change under certain circumstances. Although I haven't yet determined those circumstances, keeping track of the data means that I can investigate that issue in the future.

| Story Number | # Male/ # Female  | Date      | Tribe Location        | Notes       |
|--------------|---|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1            | 121/20 (Male/ Group)  | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 2            | 6 (Group)   | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  | Group > 50% |
| 3            | 4/1 (Group/ Female)   | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  | Group > 50% |
| 4            | 42/25 (Male/ Group)   | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 5            | 18/ 9/ 6 (Male/ Female/ Group)                                    |           | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 6            | 6/ 15/ 4 (Male/ Group/ Male Group)                                | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  | Group > 50% |
| 7            | 31/ 2/ 32 (Male/ Female/ Group)                                   | 1950-1955 | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 8            | 2/ 61/ 7/ 25/ 2 (Male/ Female/ Male Group/ Group/ Female Group)   |           | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 9            | 8/ 1/ 8/ 1 (Male/ Female/ Group/ Male Group)                      |           | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 10           | 7/ 18/ 13/ 1 (Male/ Female/ Group/ Male Group)                    |           | Nez Percé (Sahaptin)  |             |
| 12           | 28/ 36 (Male/ Group)  | 1950-1955 | Kutenai               |             |
| 13           | 200/ 2/ 17 (Male/ Female/ Group)                                  |           | Kutenai               |             |
| 14           | 43/ 3/ 2/ 25 (Male/ Female/ Male Group/ Group)                    |           | Kutenai               |             |
| 15           | 52/ 7/ 4 (Male/ Female/ Group)                                    | 1953      | Shoshoni              |             |
| 16           | 47/ 55/ 9 (Male/ Male Group/ Group)                               |           | Shoshoni              |             |
| 18           | 37/ 20/ 12/ 4/ 28 (Male/ Male Group/ Female/ Female Group/ Group) |           | Blackfoot             |             |
| 19           | 122/ 9/ 2/ 1 (Male/ Male Group/ Group)                            |           | Nez Percé (Saheption) |             |

## Appendix VI

### Example Pages from Data Books with Worldwide Categorization

Having counted the gender of all the nominative case in a narrative and having entered that information into my data book, there was still another major step in information processing. To compose a representative worldwide data set, I decided to use Murdock's *Atlas of World Cultures*. I chose to use this book rather than Murdock and White's Standard Cross-Cultural Sample because the Atlas of World Cultures gave me the freedom to represent a geographic area/language/culture group without using the specific tribes Murdock listed. In order to do this, I had to go through each of Murdock's sample tribes in an area, for example N 14, and figure out the maximum and minimum latitude and longitude as well as the language groups. I did this for all 150 Murdock sub-groups and then drew the area on a map of one of Murdock's six major regions. For example N 14 comprises the Interior Salish. This grouping includes the Kutenai (a linguistically independent group), the Sanpoil, the Salish of the Western Plateaus, Naspelem, Shuswap, Flathead (Montana), the Sinkaietk, the Souther Okanagon, the Lower Kutenai, the Kootenay, the Cour d'Aléne from 46° to 51° North and from 113° to 120° West. There are other tribes, the names of which were not included, but which belong to the same longitude and latitude and language groupings. In addition, there are often multiple spellings of the same name in the literature as for example the "Kutenai" and the "Kootenay" above.

After having analyzed and laid out Murdock, I had to determine exactly where the tribe in each book I was using belonged in Murdock's groupings. Many times, the collector is so familiar with the tribe from which s/he is collecting, that

they give very specific information without connecting it to the larger picture. It is like someone giving the village name without the county name or a city close by or a zip code or a state. In the notes section of one data book, I wrote the following note because I anticipated having difficulty placing the tribes and therefore the tales in the correct Murdock group.

"Northern Territories -- Tribes: Kuppapoingo, Jumbapoingo, Birrikilli, Miarr-Miarr and Leagulawulmirrle at Miligimbio, Mrinbata and Djamunjun of Port Kents, Djuan and Ngalarkan at Roper River Arrunda, Luritja and Pitjontjara of the Centre.

Below I have typed in the entries for one of the six large Murdock groups, the I group, the Insular Pacific group which basically includes Micronesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia and Australia.

## Appendix VI / 1

| Murdock Number | Name of Some Tribes   | Longitude and Latitude      |
|----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| I 01           | <u>Sea Gypsies or Boat People</u><br>(Megui Archipelago in Southern Thailand, South Vietnam and Shores of Melaya Borneo to Southern Philippines) Sea Nomads/ Selung/ Badjau/ (Malayon Language) | 5 - 12° N<br>98 - 120° E    |
| I 02           | <u>Sumatra</u><br>(Malayo - Polynesian) Batak/ Kubu/ Ridan/ Mentaweians/ Mentaweirs/ Minanghabau  | 2°N - 3° S<br>99 - 103° E   |
| I 03           | <u>Java and the Lesser Sundas</u><br>(Malayo - Polynesian) Japanese/ Balinese/ Sumbawanese/ Ili-Mandiri (Lebola) (Ata Kiwan)  | 4 - 10° S<br>112 - 123° E   |
| I 04           | <u>Borneo and Celebs</u><br>(Malayo - Polynesian) Iban/ Sea Dayak/ Ulu Ai/ Sea Dyako/ Toragja/ Bare Sub-groups/ Macassarese/ Dusun/ Sensuron  | 6°N - 5° S<br>112 - 121° E  |
| I 05           | <u>Eastern Indonesia</u><br>(Malayo - Polynesian) Alorese/ Abui/ Tanimbarese/ Bely/ (Dutch Timor/ Ambonese/ Allong  | 4 - 9° S<br>125 - 131° E    |
| I 06           | <u>Central and Western Australia</u><br>Aranda (Alice Springs)/ Loritja/ Arunta/ Walbiri/ Dieri/ Kariera  | 21 - 28° S<br>118 - 138° E  |
| I 07           | <u>Northern and Eastern Australia</u><br>Nurgin/ Wulamba/ Tiwi/ Wikmunkan/ cape York/ Archer River/ Gidjingali/ Groote Eylandt  | 11 - 14° S<br>131 - 142° E  |
| I 08           | <u>Southeastern Papuano</u><br>(Papua New Guinea) Enga/ Mae/ Purari/ Siane/ Orokaiva/ Koita (British New Guinea) Rossel Islanders   | 6 - 9° S<br>144 - 154° E    |
| I 09           | <u>Western Papuans</u><br>(Papua New Guinea) Kapauku/ Botukebo/ Kimam/ Bamol/ Keraki (Trans-Fly)/ Marindanim (coastal)/ Toblorese/ Galela   | 9° S - 2° N<br>128 - 142° E |
| I 10           | <u>Northeaster Papuans</u><br>Kwona/ Arapesh/ Wantoat/ Abelam/ Sivai (Solomon Island) (Papua New Guinea Language)   | 4 - 7° S<br>143 - 155° E    |
| I 11           | <u>Massim Melanesians</u><br>(Malayo - Polynesian) Trobrianders (Kiriwina)/ Motu/ Hanuabada/ Dobuans/ Dobu/ Wogeo/ Wonevaro/ Dahuni (British New Guinea)  | 3 - 10° S<br>147 - 151° E   |
| I 12           | <u>Western Melanesian Peoples</u><br>(Bismarck Archipelago) (Malayo - Polynesian) Manus/ Peri/ Admiralty Island/ Lesu (New Ireland)/ Lakalai/ Waropen   | 2 - 5° S<br>137 - 153° E    |
| I 13           | <u>Central Melanesian Peoples</u>   | 5 - 10° S<br>145 - 161° E   |

|      |   |                             |
|------|---|-----------------------------|
|      | (Solomon Islands) (Malayo - Polynesian) Buka/<br>Kurtatchi/ Vlawans/ Kaoka/ Longyu/ Choiseulese/<br>Varisi  |                             |
| I 14 | <u>Southern Melanesia</u><br>(Santa Cruz → New Caledonia) (Malayo- Polynesia)<br>Mota/ Ajie/ Huailu/ Neje/ Seniang/ Lifu/ Loyalty<br>Island                                       | 14 - 21° S<br>163 - 168° E  |
| I 15 | <u>Eastern Melanesian Peoples</u><br>(Fiji and Rotuma) (Malayo - Polynesian) Lay-<br>Fijians/ Lau Island/ Vanua Levu/ Nakaroka/<br>Rotumans                                       | 13 - 18° S<br>177 - 179° E  |
| I 16 | <u>Western Polynesian Peoples</u><br>(Polynesian branch, Malayo - Polynesian) Samoans/<br>Manua/ Pukapukans/ Danger Island/ Tongans/<br>Pongai/ Ellice Islanders/ Vaitupu/ Uveans | 8 - 20° S<br>166 - 178° E   |
| I 17 | <u>Eastern Polynesian Peoples</u><br>Marquesans/ Nuku Hiva/ Tahitians/ Mangarevans/<br>Raroians/ Easter Island  | 9 - 27° S<br>105 - 152° E   |
| I 18 | <u>Southern and Northern Polynesia</u><br>Maori/ Nga Puhi/ Hawaiians (New Zealand and<br>Hawaii)  |                             |
| I 19 | <u>Polynesian Outliers</u><br>Tikopia/ Ontong - Javanese/ Kapingamarongi  | 12°S - 1°N<br>155 - 169° E  |
| I 20 | <u>Eastern Micronesian</u><br>(Gilbert and Marshall Islands) (Malayo - Polynesian)<br>Makin/ Naurans/ Majuro  | 1° S - 7° N<br>135 - 172° E |
| I 21 | <u>Central Micronesia</u><br>(Eastern Caroline Islands) Trukese/ Ramorum/<br>Ponapeans/ Woleaians/ Ifaluk/ Kusaians/ Kusae/<br>Lamotrek   | 5 - 7° N<br>146 - 163° E    |
| I 22 | <u>Western Micronesian</u><br>Western Caroline Islands and Mariana Islands) Yap/<br>Yapese/ Palauans/ Ulimang/ Pelew Islands/<br>Chwmorro/ Saipon                                 | 9 - 15° N<br>136 - 138° E   |
| I 23 | <u>Southern Philippines</u><br>Hanunoo/ Subanun/ Mindanao/ Sugbuhanon/<br>Cebuano- Visayan/ Bisayan/ Tagbanua/ Palawan<br>Island  | 8 - 13° N<br>119 - 124° E   |
| I 24 | <u>Northern Philippines</u><br>Ifuago/ Upper Ibulaw River/ Igugaos/ Kalinga/<br>Northern Luzon/ Saga da Igorot  | 17 - 18° N<br>121° E        |
| I 25 | <u>Aboriginal People of Taiwan</u><br>Atayal/ Paiwan/ Su- Paiwan/ Yami/ Ami   | 22 - 24° N<br>121 - 122° E  |

## Appendix VI / 2

The results for each book of tales I had counted were then added together and the tabulated results for each of the books were then recorded in the appropriate Murdock section. The Total # of Tales category is written in the order of Male tales (MaleFemale tales) Female tales. In conclusion, the 43 narratives in book #33 boiled down to the second line in the I 07 category under the Male Collector heading.

### I 07 Male Collector

| Book # | Teller Gender | # of tellers | Tribe             | Total # of Tales (M Tellers) | Total # of Tales (F Tellers) |
|--------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 28     | M             | 4            | SE Arnhem AU      | 13 (12) 3                    |                              |
| 33     | M             | 1            | N. Territories AU | 31 (10) 2                    |                              |
| 37     | F             | 1            | W. Kimberley AU   |                              | 1 (6) 0                      |

### I 07 Female Collector

| Book # | Teller Gender | # of tellers | Tribe                     | Total # of Tales (M Tellers) | Total # of Tales (F Tellers) |
|--------|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 29     | M             | 8            | SE Gulf of Carpentaria AU | 13 (1) 0                     |                              |
|        | F             | 1            | SE Gulf of Carpentaria AU |                              | 1 (2) 0                      |
| 38     | F             | 1            | E. Kimberley AU           |                              | 0 (0) 1                      |
| 39     | M             | 1            | E. Kimberley AU           | 1 (0) 0                      |                              |



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