INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.
PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ☑.

1. Glossy photographs or pages
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print
3. Photographs with dark background
4. Illustrations are poor copy
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages
8. Print exceeds margin requirements
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print
11. Page(s) 40 & 176 lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) ______ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received
16. Other

University Microfilms International
A GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSIS OF
THE PLOTS OF LIMBA (WEST AFRICA) DILEMMA TALES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Gary Michael Gugelchuk, B.A., M.A.

****

The Ohio State University
1985

Reading Committee: Approved By
E. Ojo Arewa, Sr., Ph. D. E. Ojo Arewa, Sr, Ph. D.
John C. Messenger, Jr., Ph. D. Department of Anthropology
Daniel R. Barnes, Ph. D.
Copyright by
Gary Michael Gugelchuk
1985
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the Oxford University Press for their kind permission to allow me to reprint the Limba tales analyzed in this dissertation.

In addition, I wish to thank the members of my reading committee for their helpful critiques of this work, though as always, the author retain responsibility for whatever folly remains in the manuscript.

Finally, a special acknowledgement is due to Ojo Arewa, Sr., who as adviser and more importantly as a close friend, has contributed greatly to my intellectual development. His strong and faithful support through these many years causes even this black and white expression to pale into in-sign-ificance.
VITA

May 25, 1953 ............... Born

1975 .................... B.A., The Ohio State
University, Columbus, Ohio

1975-1976 ............. Teaching Associate, Department
of Mathematics, The Ohio
State University, Columbus, Ohio

1976 .................... M.A., The Ohio State
University, Columbus, Ohio

1977-1978 ............ Teaching Associate, Department
of Anthropology, The Ohio
State University, Columbus, Ohio

1979-1984 ............ Research Associate, Department
of Medicine Administration,
The Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

PUBLICATIONS

Sciulli, P., J. Williams, and G. Gugelchuk
1977 Canine Size: An Aid in Sexing Prehistoric
Amerindians. Journal of Dental Research 56:
1424.

Gugelchuk, G., E. Chedekel, J. Richards, et al.
1979 The Ohio Regional Medical Audiovisual Consor-
tium: A Documentation. Final Report to the
National Medical Audiovisual Center and the
National Library of Medicine, U.S. Department
of Health, Education and Welfare, Contract NO
1-IM-6-4715.

iii
FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Anthropology


Studies in Linguistic Anthropology, Semiotic Anthropology and Anthropological Folkloristics. Professors E. Ojo Arewa, Sr. and Catherine A. Callaghan

Studies in Mathematical Applications in Anthropological Research. Professor Paul W. Sciulli
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE LIMBA OF SIERRA LEONE</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter 2</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSES OF SELECTED LIMBA TALES</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Generative-Transformational Model for the Folktale</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba Dilemma Tales</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Structure of the Dilemma Tale</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter 3</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tree Diagram</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Distribution of the Peoples of Sierra Leone</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;Sira and the Monster&quot;</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;The Boy Who Got a Wife from a Bird&quot;</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;The Woman with Four Lovers&quot;</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;Three Twins and an Elephant&quot;</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;A Dilemma About Three Smokers&quot;</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Structural Description for &quot;A Dilemma About Three Smokers&quot; After Two Applications of IM-Subordinating Transformation</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Surface Macro-Structural Description for &quot;A Dilemma About Three Smokers&quot; After Redundant Lack-Lack Liquidated Deletion</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;The Hunter and the Three Twins&quot;</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Deep Macro-Structural Description for &quot;Three Twins Woo One Girl&quot;</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURE</td>
<td>Deep Macro-Structural Description for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>&quot;Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisahosaho&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>&quot;Four Wives&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>&quot;Kubasi&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>&quot;Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>&quot;The Three Rascal Boys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>&quot;Two Twins&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>&quot;Two Friends&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

If for no other reason than that language is the raw material out of which the narrated folktale is produced, folktale scholars have frequently looked to linguistic scholarship as a source of insight and inspiration. One need only call to mind the works of Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm in both of these fields of endeavor, the similarities in methodology between the Finnish Historical-Geographic School and comparative linguistics, or Levi-Strauss' adaptation to structural linguistics in his analysis of myths. More recently, the more or less simultaneous appearance of sociolinguistics, the ethnography of speaking/communication, and the "contextual" approach to folklore further evidences a degree of mutual communication and influence among the fields of linguistics, anthropology and folklore.

In the following study I wish to take up another strand of research which lies at the intersection of the three previously mentioned fields: the area of text or narrative grammars. By this I am referring to the idea of extending sentence grammars, as developed in
linguistics following (and sometimes in opposition to) Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957), to units of speech or writing longer than a sentence. Even this, however, constitutes a wide-ranging body of scholarship appearing under such diverse names as structuralist poetics, narratology, discourse analysis, and text linguistics. I therefore further restrict my remarks to studies which have followed and built upon Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928).

The genius of Propp's work was his realization that a number of apparently different-looking Russian wonder-tales seem actually composed out of a single string of events which he called "functions." In all, Propp isolated 31 functions (32 if we count his functions VIIa and VIIIb as two separate functions) sufficient to characterize the plots of all the wondertales in his collection. In addition, Propp claimed that these 31 functions are strictly ordered: one or more functions could be deleted from the full sequence in describing the plot of a particular tale, but changes in the order of the functions were not to occur, except for a few cases to be discussed below.

A function, according to Propp, "is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of action" (1968:21). The definition of a function, then, is both a semantic and a
distributional feature. A function is both a typical action performed by a typical character and a typical action which results in another typical action. In his corpus of Russian fairy tales, Propp distinguished seven basic character types: villain, donor, helper, princess (or other sought-for person), dispatcher, hero, and false hero (1968:79-80). His 31 functions were then distributed among these seven dramatis personae. For example, Propp's eighth function (D): the hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper (1968:39), involves the designated hero of the tale as patient of the action of another character (the helper). This function can be manifested in Propp's corpus of tales by such subcategories as $D^1$: the donor tests the hero, or $D^2$: a dying or deceased person requests the rendering of a service. In all, Propp delineates ten distinct subcategories of his function D. Each subcategory is then attached to an event in the tale which instanciates that function. $D^1$, for example, appears in one tale in the form of 'a witch assigns household tasks to a girl' but in another tale appears as 'the hero is to serve as ferryman for a three-year period of service.' This represents the semantic feature of function D. In terms of its distribution, function D is defined as an event which leads to the hero's acquisition of a magical agent (function F).
That function D leads to function F serves to distinguish function D from other semantically similar functions such as function B: misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched, or function M: a difficult task is proposed to the hero. All three of these functions involve the hero as patient of another's action with the demand that he do something for the agent.

...all tasks giving rise to a search must be considered in terms of B; all tasks giving rise to the receipt of a magical agent are considered as D. All other tasks are considered as M, with two varieties: tasks connected with match-making and marriage, and tasks not linked with match-making (Propp 1968: 67-68).

Such considerations as these give rise to the following methodological dictum:

Without concerning ourselves with the question of the priority of this or that particular meaning, we must nevertheless find the criterion which in all such cases would permit us to differentiate among elements without respect to similarity of actions. In these instances it is always possible to be governed by the principle of defining a function according to its consequences (Propp 1968:67).

As shall be shown, this solution causes severe problems when attempting to extend Propp's technique beyond his corpus of tales. For Propp then, the strict ordering of the complete set of functions of a wondertale is essential for successfully disambiguating semantically similar functions.

As mentioned previously, there are a few cases in which the assumption of a strict ordering of functions is
violated. A large number of these cases are resolved by
the definition of another structural unit: the move.

Morphologically, a tale (skázka) may be termed any
development proceeding from villainy (A) or a lack
(a), through intermediary functions to marriage (W*),
or to other functions employed as a dénouement. This
type of development is termed by us a 'move' (xod).
Each new act of villainy, each new lack creates a'
new move. One tale may have several moves.... One
move may directly follow another, but they may
also interweave; a development which has begun
pauses, and a new move is inserted (Propp 1968: 92).
The incorporation of a move within another move, combined
with the deletion of functions within a move, together ex-
plain many examples of the violation of Propp's well-
ordering principle in his corpus of tales.

Propp goes on to note several additional violations
of his strict ordering principle. A common variant of
his ideal sequence is to have the receipt of a magical
aide (functions D, E and F) come before the initial mis-
fortune (function A). Pursuit of the hero may precede
a fight with the villain, and transfiguration of the hero
(function T) has no clear position with respect to the
other functions. Propp explains these and other such
examples of sequence deviation as "... only fluctuations
and not a new compositional system or new axes" (1968:108).
Here, unfortunately, Propp introduces the concepts of a
"compositional system" and "axes" which he nowhere clearly
defines. The reader is left to guess just how far his
strict-ordering principle can be violated before there
arises a "new compositional system." The fact that moves
may either follow one another or be intertwined, that
some functions may be deleted but others may not (all
fairy tales in his corpus manifest either villainy or a
lack), that there are a few fairly consistent rearrange­
ments of particular functions suggest the possibility
of a more complex morphology for the tales in his corpus
than can be captured by the imposition of an idealized
ordered string of 31 functions².

The first edition of the English translation of
Propp's Morphology was soon followed by a major critique
of that work by Levi-Strauss. He opens his critique by
setting structuralism in opposition to formalism in the
following manner:

Contrary to formalism, structuralism refuses to
set the concrete against the abstract and to recog­
nize a privileged value in the latter. Form is
defined by opposition to material other than it­
self. But structure has no distinct content; it
is content itself, apprehended in a logical or­
ganization conceived as a property of the real

Although Levi-Strauss' text abounds with opaque remarks
such as this, his criticisms of Propp's results are quite
cogent.

At heart is Propp's claim for a homogeneous, well­
ordered string of functions characterizing the wondertale.
As already mentioned, Propp is forced into special plea­
ing to preserve this ideal. Levi-Strauss asks why, if one
is searching for a way to demonstrate a rigid, uniform
pattern for narrative, did Propp examine fairy tales instead of myths (Levi-Strauss 1967: 127). Levi-Strauss claims that because myths present a type of mediated resolution to two rather contradictory concepts held to be true by some group and because myths as "true" narratives are subject to communal demands of "logical coherence, religious orthodoxy, and collective pressure" (1967: 128), myths would be more amenable to Propp's idea of a uniform, homogeneous structure than the fairy tale, which allows for more free play in its organization. One can question the validity of the results obtained by testing a hypothesis on data which are knowingly chosen to favor that hypothesis, but Levi-Strauss seems to imply that Propp set out to prove that a single structure is sufficient to characterize all traditional fairy tales, rather than to allow this result arise as a conclusion from the inspection of a corpus of tales. Despite the fact that Levi-Strauss raises what seems to be an irrelevant question (why study fairy tales and not myths) and that Levi-Strauss' logic in this instance serves more to call into question just how real his universal structures of the human mind are when by his own admission myths are biased towards such a conclusion than it does to single out the sins of formalism and the virtues of structuralism, his claim that fairy tale plots cannot be so easily cast from a single mold is not unwarranted.
First, Propp does not make clear just what aspects of his methodology were assumed at the outset and what aspects are generalizations based upon his examination of Russian fairy tales. In his methodological chapter, Propp singles out four observations or "laws." The first is:

Functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale (1968:21).

A statement such as this has to be assumed before one can proceed with his analysis. It has more the status of an axiom, or working hypothesis, than a conclusion. Propp's second, third, and fourth observations - that the number of functions in a fairy tale is limited, that the sequence of functions is always identical, and that all fairy tales have only one structure - can be viewed as conclusions based upon the analysis of his corpus, or as working hypotheses because of their appearance in a chapter on methodology. In the author's forward to the work, Propp informs the reader that his text represents a pared down version of a much bulkier work (1968: xxv).

In his reply to Levi-Strauss' critique, Propp also adds:

I wrote the book when I was young; I believed that it was enough to put forward an observation or an idea for everyone to grasp and share it immediately. My style was terse; I expressed myself in theorem form and did not care for detailed proofs... (1984: 73).

Two paragraphs later he confirms the above reconstruction of what is methodological versus what is conclusion:
...my analysis originated in the observation that in the wonder tale different characters perform identical actions.... In my book I discussed the results of this analysis. The functions turned out to be few, their forms many, the sequence always the same (1984: 73).

There is, however, a second problem which is much more important. Levi-Strauss indicates it in the following manner: if similar seeming functions can only be disambiguated by examining the functions which follow, the requirement of a rigid sequence of functions seems to be elevated to the status of an axiom as well. It cannot be easily derived from Propp's corpus, for we have seen that Propp had to construct special arguments for his out-of-place functions, which are not very convincing.

By questioning the validity of Propp's identical sequence of functions, Levi-Strauss is then able to reformulate Propp's Morphology along the lines of his study of myth. To demonstrate this, Levi-Strauss first focuses on Propp's lists of sub-types of functions. Propp had attempted to organize these sub-types by noting that the choice of a sub-type for some functions could either constrain or determine the choice of a sub-type of another function. In some cases, however, no constraints are implied, and the choice of a sub-type is arbitrary (Propp 1968: 109-113). Beyond cataloging these co-occurrence restrictions, Propp alludes further study of sub-types to some kind of historical analysis. In opposition to this, Levi-Strauss suggests that sub-types need not be arbitrary
in general, but may represent manifestations of a deeper semantic unity. That is, they may be considered signifiers of some completely different signified that can be captured by examining the links provided by other, non-fairy tale aspects of a culture (ritual, myth, subsistence pattern, totems, etc.) as well as other fairy tales. Furthermore, these semantically deep signifieds may be conceptually structured so that what may appear to be arbitrary co-occurances of functional sub-types would in fact be entirely constrained. Having made this remark, Levi-Strauss applies the result to Propp's functions and dramatis personae:

Among the thirty-one functions which he distinguishes, several appear reducible, i.e., assimilable to the same function, reappearing at different moments of the narrative, but after undergoing a number of transformations. We have suggested that this could be the case with the false hero, a transformation of the villain; with the assigning of a difficult task, a transformation of the test.... There is nothing to prevent pushing this reduction even further, and analyzing each part, taken separately, in such a way that several of Propp's functions would in reality constitute the grouping of transformations of one and the same function. Thus one could treat the "violation" as the reverse of the "prohibition," the latter as a negative transformation of the "injunction"... (1976: 136-137).

Thus, the fairy tale comes to look more and more like Levi-Strauss' image of a myth: "Tales are miniature myths, where the same oppositions are transposed to a smaller scale" (1976: 130). If Propp has multiplied functions beyond necessity, Levi-Strauss has so reduced
them that narration has disappeared into a permutation group. A kind of middle path between the extremes of Propp and Levi-Strauss can be seen in the works of Alan Dundes on the structure of North Amerindian tales.

Dundes (1964) was the first attempt to extend Propp's analysis to other genres of folktales and to a different culture area. This work was preceded by an article (Dundes 1962) where he recasts Propp's concept of a function in terms of Pike's (1954) generalization of structural linguistics to behavior in general. Dundes renames Propp's "function" with the term "motifeme" and coins the term "allomotif" to refer to a particular instance of a function in a text (Dundes 1962: 101). He also points out that certain of Propp's functions are more important than others. This, he finds, is implicit in Propp's definition of a main sequence for the fairy tale: the move from villainy or lack to marriage. Propp's definition of a fairy tale as a specific structural genre consisting of a particular set of functions in a single order leaves open the question of just how distinct the fairy tale is from other genres of the folktale and how peculiar his functions are to Indo-European oral traditions. In extending the analysis to North American Indian tales, Dundes finds only a small number of Propp's functions sufficient to serve as motifemes to characterize the plots of the tales he considers: lack, lack liquidated,
difficult task or test, task accomplished, interdiction, violation, consequence, attempted escape, deceit, and deception. These ten motifemes are in turn organized into four motifemic sequences: Lack-Lack Liquidated, Task-Task Accomplished, Deceit-Deception, and Interdiction-Violation-Consequence-Attempted Escape. Except for the last sequence listed above, the sequences represent pairs of functions taken from Propp's 31 function list. The last sequence can also be reduced to a pair as Dundes notes that the attempted escape motifeme is more or less an optional addition to the sequence and the interdiction is frequently implicit in the narrative, and need not be explicitly narrated.

In his examination of North American Indian folktales (Dundes 1964: 61-96), Dundes provides structural descriptions of the tales in his corpus by assigning each segment of a tale to a motifeme and listing the set of motifemes found in that text in the order of their textual appearance. He finds that, at a minimum, North American Indian folktales must contain either a Lack-Lack Liquidated motifemic sequence or an Interdication-Violation-Consequence motifemic sequence. More complex tales are formed by adding motifemic sequences to these two basic sequences. Frequently he finds that this addition occurs between the Lack and Lack Liquidated motifemes, where any of the three remaining sequences
can occur. In comparison with the results of Propp, Dundes remarks that

it is interesting to note that one of the most striking structural differences between European and American Indian folktales concerns the number of motifemes intervening between a pair of related motifemes, such as Lack and Lack Liquidated. The number of intervening motifemes may be considered as an indication of what may be termed the "motifemic depth" of folktales. American Indian tales have far less motifemic depth than European folktales (Dundes 1965: 212).

There are a number of unresolved issues surrounding Dundes' methodology and his results. These issues center upon the relationship of Propp's function to Dundes' motifeme. Dundes begins by assuming a one-to-one correspondence between a function and a motifeme, and presumably his ten motifemes constitute the most common (but not all) the motifemes found in his corpus of North American Indian tales. However, he subsumes under the motifeme Task not one, but two of Propp's functions: the testing of the hero (function D) and the assignment to the hero of a difficult task (function M). Dundes' motifeme here takes on the appearance of a class of semantically similar functions. Although Dundes warns the folklorist against equating folklore with linguistics or demanding that units of folklore structure be defined in the same manner as analogous linguistics units (Dundes 1964: 44-50), he ignores the idea that many of Propp's functions can be viewed as positional variants.
of the same motifeme, just as allophones are defined as positional variants of a phoneme. Viewing the motifeme as a higher level of folktale structure than the function thereby addresses Propp's problem of having to distinguish between semantically similar functions by their surrounding functions. If, in fact, Dundes' motifeme represents a higher level of a folktale's structure than the function, his conclusion concerning the motifemic depth of Amerindian tales as opposed to European tales may reflect an artifact of Dundes' approach than a "true" difference between the two oral traditions. Were Amerindian tales partitioned into genres as homogeneous as the Russian fairytale, a more refined analysis in terms of Propp's idea of a function (and not necessarily the same 31 functions) could be possible, resulting in greater motifemic depth.

A second problem encountered in Dundes' analyses is that it is not quite clear all of his motifemes lie at the same level of heirarchical analysis. Why, for example, do the motifemic sequences Lack-Lack Liquidated and Interdiction-Violation-Consequence sufficiently constitute a "tale", but not Task-Task Accomplished or Deceit-Deception? Is this a result of his sampling or does it reflect some structural aspect of folktales in general? These latter two motifemic sequences appear always to be bound to the Lack-Lack Liquidated pair as alternate
narrative means of liquidating a lack. This gives rise to the possibility that motifemes may be contained within other motifemes, and that these relationships should be expressed in the structural description of a tale. Dundes' linear strings of motifemes only crudely capture these embedding relationships.

Claude Bremond, in an independent attempt to clarify some of the issues surrounding Propp's Morphology in the wake of Levi-Strauss' critique, brings to the fore the problem of describing the structural relationships between functions. In contrast to Dundes, Bremond (1980) holds that the basic unit of folktale morphology is Propp's function. However, he creates an additional unit, which he terms an "elementary sequence" (Bremond 1980: 387) by grouping functions into triads. The first, or opening, function states the intentions of a character, such as the desire to commit evil. This function may or may not be followed by a second function which manifests the carrying out of that intention. Finally, if the second function of the triad occurs, it is followed by a third which ends the elementary sequence by reporting whether the action carried out by the second function was a success or a failure. By rewriting Propp's functions in this manner, Bremond hopes to achieve a model for the description of all possible folk narratives. Instead of the fixed sequence of functions proposed by
Propp, Bremond's model presents the folk narrator as constrained by a set of choices out of which a given narrative is produced.

Bremond goes on to note that elementary sequences are combined with other elementary sequences to produce a complex tale. He then defines three ways by which two sequences may be combined: (1) they may be tied end-to-end in that the closing function of one sequence is the opening function for the next; (2) nested within a function of another elementary sequence; or (3) coupled in the sense that each function of an elementary sequence defined from the perspective of one character is matched in one-to-one correspondence with the functions of an elementary sequence defined from the point of view of a second character.

Examining all the elementary sequences derived from Propp's functions, Bremond finds that nine of them relate the movement of a character from a deprived state to a favored state while six tell of a character going from a neutral state to a deprived state. He terms these Amelioration and Degradation sequences, respectively. Amelioration sequences compare favorably with Dundes' Lack-Lack Liquidated and Task-Task Accomplished motifemic sequences, and Degradation sequences with Dundes' Deceit-Deception and Interdiction-Violation-Consequence motifemic sequences (Bremond 1973: 59-80).
For Bremond, then, analysis of the structure of a folktale consists of the specification of the elementary sequences which each character in the tale undergoes along with a notation of the way sequences combine (end-to-end, nesting, or coupling).

It is therefore possible to draw up a priori the integral network of choices offered; to name and to place in the sequence each type of event brought about by these choices; to link these sequences organically in the unity of a role; to coordinate the complementary roles which define the evolution of a situation; to link evolutions in a narration which is at one and the same time unpredictable (because of the play of available combinations) and codifiable (because of the stable-properties and the finite number of combined elements) (Bremond 1980: 406).

In contrast to both Propp’s and Dundes’ analyses of narrative, Bremond’s approach clearly brings out the fact that there is more structure to the narrative than just a linear string of functions or motifemes. His sequences can be constituents of other sequences, and a structural model must somehow take this into account. Bremond’s solution to this problem, however, is not without its faults. Instead of a single structural description of a plot, several overlapping descriptions are needed: one for each major role in the story.

The fact that it is possible and indeed necessary to change viewpoints from the perspective of one agent to that of another is capital for the remainder of our study. It implies the rejection, at our level of analysis of the notions of Hero, Villain, etc., conceived as labels and attached once and for all to the characters. Each agent is his own hero. His partners are defined from
his point of view as allies, adversaries, etc. These definitions are reversed when passing from one perspective to another (Bremond 1980: 392).

Although the specification of all possible points of view may be important in understanding the logic of all possible narratives, a distinction must be made between what is possible in narrative in general and what is possible in a particular narrative. Point-of-view is important in narration, but one of the choices a narrator faces is the establishment of a point of view. That is, the narrator selects one character as central (the protagonist) and the actions of the other characters are defined from the perspective of the protagonist. In a particular narrative perspective may change, and this usually indicates a major structural division in the narrative.

All points of view are simply not simultaneously narrated. The second problem with Bremond's model lies in the definition of his elementary sequence. As specified, the middle function may or may not be actualized in a narrative. If it is not actualized, the sequence reduces to only an opening function with neither a middle nor a closing function. Although Bremond does not explore this branch of his narrative model, it in essence claims that one possibility for a narrative could be a sequence of openings, none of which are actualized in the course of the narration. One wonders whether the term "narrative" is applicable to this case. Perhaps "pure description" would be more appropriate. This possibility may be
useful in distinguishing between narrative genres such as folktales, epics, legends, etc. (oral or written forms which tell a story) and non-narrative genres such as lyric poetry, song texts, etc. (forms which do not tell a story). The point is this possibility does not occur in the folktale, the genre with which Bremond is presumably concerned. Somehow his model must rule out those possibilities which don't occur without at the same time ruling out possibilities which do in fact occur.

A few scholars have attempted to address this last issue by means of adapting Chomsky's concept of a generative grammar for the syntax of sentences. Four formulations along the lines of a folktale grammar have been proposed and applied to a substantive body of oral traditions: Jason (1971) on a cross-cultural sample of swindler (trickster) tales; Colby (1973 a, b) on Eskimo folktales; Kilson (1976) on a corpus of Mende folktales; and Arewa and Shreve (1975) on a collection of Zande trickster tales.

Although independently derived, these four studies share the same general approach. They all assume that a folktale can be partitioned into a sequence of episodes, that each episode can be assigned to a syntactic class, and that a set of rules can be formulated which reproduces all the acceptable episode sequences in a given corpus. In order to compare these four models within their
According to Chomsky (1965: 8) a generative grammar is a rule system which assigns to each grammatical sentence in a language a structural description of that sentence. So stated, it can be immediately seen that a number of possible rule systems, each attaching its own kind of structural description to sentences, can be hypothesized for a language. The goal of a theory of syntax is to narrow down this possibly infinite set of generative grammars for a language by assessing the adequacy of the structural descriptions generated by a particular candidate grammar. Sources of information to assess the adequacy of a generative grammar include intuitions of native speakers concerning the structure of sentences of their language, child acquisition of language in general and of a particular language, adult sentence production phenomena, and so forth. One of the most innovative concepts which Chomsky formulates to constrain the number of possible generative grammars is his idea of a universal grammar.

Let us define "universal grammar" as the system of principles, conditions, and rules that are elements or properties of all human languages not merely by accident but by necessity - of course, I mean biological, not logical necessity (Chomsky 1975: 29).
Chomsky's argument for the necessity of a universal grammar stems from the observation that a child quickly acquires an adult's linguistic competency based upon a circumscribed and frequently degenerate set of example sentences. A child will acquire linguistic competency in any language spoken in the community and not necessarily that of his parents. The rapidity at which language is acquired far exceeds the rate that would be expected by mere trial and error learning. Thus, Chomsky concludes that there must be some innate capacity in humans to acquire language. This innate capacity, then, constrains the set of possible human languages, and hence the set of possible generative grammars. Specification of these innate capacities constitutes a theory of universal grammar.

In Chomsky's 1965 version, known as the standard theory of syntax, two levels of sentence structure are distinguished; a deep structure, which is the form of a sentence containing all the syntactic information needed to provide a semantic interpretation of that sentence, and a surface structure, the form of a sentence containing all the syntactic information necessary for its phonological realization. The lexicon for a language plus a set of base rules are sufficient to generate the deep structure of a sentence, and a set of transformation rules convert this deep structure into the sentence's surface structure.
As indicated by the two different names used to refer to the two sets of rules, base rules and transformational rules refer to two different classes of rule types. Formally, base rules are said to be context-free rules. They take the form \( A \rightarrow B C \) where \( A, B, \) and \( C \) are syntactic units and "\( \rightarrow \)" can be interpreted as "is rewritten as" or "is composed of." In terms of a sentence, one typical base rule is \( S \rightarrow NP \ VP \) which we could translate into English as "Sentence is composed of a Noun Phrase and a Verb Phrase, in that order." In turn, the syntactic units Noun Phrase and Verb Phrase appear on the left-hand side of the arrow to be broken down into their syntactic components, for example \( NP \rightarrow \) Det N (Noun Phrase is composed of a Determiner followed by a Noun) and \( VP \rightarrow V \ NP \) (Verb Phrase is composed of a Verb followed by a Noun Phrase). Applying base or context-free rules is much akin to the traditional pedagogic technique of parsing a sentence. This type of rule is context-free in the sense that it can be applied any time that the symbol on the left-hand side of the arrow is generated by another rule, regardless of the syntactic units around it. The three rules given above, together with the lexical insertion rules: \( \text{Det} \rightarrow 'the', \text{N} \rightarrow 'man', \text{N} \rightarrow 'dog', \text{V} \rightarrow 'bites', \) provide the deep structural description for the sentence 'the man bites the dog.' Graphically, its derivation can be displayed by a tree diagram such as
Transformational rules, on the other hand, are context sensitive. They modify the deep structure representation of a sentence only when certain conditions are met. For example, the same propositional information contained in the sentence "the man bites the dog" can be expressed in the sentence "the dog is bitten by the man." One could expand the base rule system for English in such a manner to provide a structural description for this new sentence, but this would ignore the fact that there is a general rule in English for creating the passive form of a sentence from its active version. Rather than expand the base rules, one can capture this aspect of the intuition of English-speakers with the rule NP₁-V-NP₂ NP₂→be+en-V-by-NP₁. That is, given the context of a noun phrase followed by a verb and a different noun phrase in the deep structural representation of a sentence, it can be transformed into a passive sentence by exchanging the positions of the two noun phrases, adding the word 'by' in front of the initial noun phrase in the deep structure,
change the deep structure verb into its past participial form, and insert the appropriately tensed form of the verb 'to be' before the deep structure verb. The rule is context sensitive in that it can only be used in the situation where we have a noun phrase followed by a verb followed by a second noun phrase in the deep structure. For example, it cannot be applied to the sentence 'John is tall' because tall is an adjective and not a noun phrase, nor to the sentence 'trees grow' because no noun phrase follows the verb. A transformational grammar, then, is one which utilizes context sensitive rules to modify deep structures. Non-transformational generative grammars are those which do not incorporate transformational rules in providing structural descriptions of sentences. The concepts of a lexicon which together with context free base rules generating a deep structural description of a sentence followed by the application of transformational rules to derive a surface structural description of a sentence constitute the elements of Chomsky's standard theory of universal grammar, as far as the syntactic component is concerned. Given this abbreviated discussion, we can now examine how these ideas have been used to analyze folktales.

Jason's writings (1971, 1977) are the most unformalized of the studies under consideration here. In opposition to Dundes' analogy of a motifeme as some sort
of phoneme or morpheme, Jason equates Propp's concept of a move with the linguistic concept of a sentence. A multi-move tale could then be viewed as either a compound sentence, a complex sentence, or a string of concatenated sentences. Each sentence is composed of what Jason terms "function-slots," each of which consists of an action (a verb), an actor or subject, and an object (either a person or thing) acted upon. The action in a function slot is filled with either one of Propp's functions or one of Dundes' motifemes, and the subject and object with one of Propp's role types (Jason 1971: 141-144). For multi-move swindler tales, Jason introduces a deep structure/surface structure distinction:

In the case of the concatenated string the deep-structure-move passes on to the surface structure unchanged. In the case of the embedded moves the surface structure shows another arrangement of the functions than the two underlying moves do (Jason 1971: 150).

For swindler tales Jason hypothesizes that two roles and five functions are necessary to define a move. The roles are labeled Rascal and Dupe. The functions are (1) Dupe displays his foolishness or sets himself up for a trick, (2) Rascal plans a trick, (3) Rascal plays the trick, (4) Dupe reacts as Rascal has planned, and (5) Dupe has lost and Rascal has won. The order of the functions within a move are relatively fixed. In her corpus of swindler tales Jason finds the orders 1-2-3-4-5, 1-2-4-3-5, and rarely, 2-1-3-4-5 and notes that functions
2 and 5 are sometimes missing (Jason 1971: 150).

Close inspection of her 6 analyzed examples suggests that some of the data may be forced. One of her six tales (number 2) is some type of story about the liquidation of a lack through trickery where the lack liquidated component is suppressed to make it conform to a swindler move. She derives from this multi-move tale the sequences (1-2-3-4) (1-3-4) (3-2-4) (1-2-4-3-5). The bizarre sequences, one of which she does not list as a possible combination, result from the failure to distinguish Lack-Lack Liquidated moves from Deceit-Deception moves. Jason seems to assume that swindler tales can only consist of swindler moves. Further confirmation is provided by her analysis of another set of tales as consisting of only Donor-tests-Hero moves (Jason 1977). As Dundes' analyses have demonstrated, tales need not consist of only one type of move. Her swindler move is very similar to Dundes' Deceit-Deception motifemic sequence and her Donor-tests-Hero move similar to the Test or Task-Task Accomplished sequence. We should not, however, lose track of her more positive accomplishments. She provides evidence for the usefulness of a transformational component to handle movement of functions between moves, and provides us with a general structural unit to refer to motifemic sequences: Lack moves, Interdiction-Violation moves, Task moves, and Deception moves.
Colby's work on Eskimo folktales (1973a, 1973b, 1975) is more explicitly formulated in the tradition of a generative-transformational grammar. Instead of functions or motifemes, however, Colby defines his own unit, the eidon - an image or idea found as an element in the plot of a story. Plot, however, is only one of five components constituting a folktale. The other four are a symbolic component, a dramatic component, a poetic component, and a linguistic component (1973a: 645). Ignoring the difficulty of rigorously distinguishing between some of these components, it is enough to say that narrating a tale requires a number of relatively autonomous skills and one of these is the ability to organize story events into an acceptable sequence. For Colby, these story events are eidons and the analysis of tales to discover sequences of eidons her terms eidochronic analysis.

Examining a corpus of Eskimo tales, Colby isolates 32 primary eidons, each consisting of a number of variants. Examples of his eidons include "food lacking," "betrayal," "victory," and "attainment" of some desirable social status. They bear a remarkable similarity to Propp's functions, but are specific to Eskimo culture. In addition to these 32 primary eidons he finds 10 secondary eidons which function as connectors between eidochronic sequences.
Colby then constructs a grammar to account for the sequences of eidons in Eskimo folktales. First, Colby divides a tale into a sequence of moves in Propp's sense of the term. A move is composed of a Motivation and a Response. The Response to a Motivation may be repeated any number of times. Each Response consists of an Engagement, which may also be repeated any number of times, and a Resolution. Summarizing these in terms of context free rules:

1. Move $\rightarrow$ Motivation Response$^n$
2. Response $\rightarrow$ Engagement$^k$ Resolution,

where $n$ and $k$ as exponents represent that these two structural components can be repeated any number of times. Motivation may either be a Value Motivation or an Immediate Motivation, but not both. Thus,

3. Motivation $\rightarrow$ \{Value Motivation \ Immediate Motivation\}, where the brackets denote that one and only one of the enclosed elements may appear. Engagement may be rewritten as either a Preliminary Action, a Main Action, or both:

4. Engagement $\rightarrow$ (Preliminary Action $\rightarrow$ Main Action), where the interlocking parentheses denote that either one or the other component may appear and if both appear, the Main Action will always follow the Preliminary Action. Resolution can be rewritten as an Immediate Resolution or a Value Resolution, or both:

5. Resolution $\rightarrow$ (Immediate Resolution $\rightarrow$ Value Res.)
The remaining context-free rules attach eidons to the outputs of rules (3), (4), and (5). I will only present two of these (Colby 1973a: 650-651):

\[
\begin{align*}
(6) \text{Value Motivation} &\rightarrow \{ \text{food lacking} \} \\
&\quad \{ \text{spouse lacking} \} \\
&\quad \{ \text{maturity lacking} \}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(11) \text{Value Resolution} \rightarrow \\
(\text{Group of reference} \mid \text{Settlement} \mid \text{Attainment})
\]

In addition to these context-free rules, Colby suggests five context-sensitive rules to handle some obvious co-occurrence restrictions. For example, if "betrayal" occurs as a Motivation eidon, then "murder" will occur as an Immediate Resolution eidon.

Ignoring the problem of the cultural specificity of his eidons, the form of his grammar raises some problems as a general grammar for folktales. First, the motivating eidons can be simplified for a number of reasons. Nothing would change if we collapsed the distinction between Value Motivations and Immediate Motivations. One and only one Motivation eidon can appear at the beginning of a move. In addition, all Colby's Motivation eidons share a degree of semantic similarity. The three Value Motivation eidons state that something is lacking, and one of the three Immediate Motivations, "separation," also suggests a "lack." The remaining Immediate Motivations suggest misfortune (villainy and betrayal), also some sort of lack. Finally, Colby's co-occurrence restrictions
involve both types of Motivation eidons and restrict the occurrence of Immediate Resolution eidons. They behave like a natural unit in his context sensitive rules. Along this same line of thought, Motivations don't appear to influence the occurrence of particular Value Resolutions, leading one to wonder whether (1) Value Resolutions are really distinct from Immediate Resolutions, and (2) Value Resolutions are really elements of a plot.

Secondly, it seems odd that Colby's rule system can generate a Preliminary Action not followed by a Main Action, but such a tale occurs in his corpus (Colby 1973b: 21, tale B5,2), and it is odder still that a "preliminary action" occurs as the final action of the final Response of the final Move of this tale. Something is wrong with the distinction between preliminary and main actions. Collapsing these distinctions would remove the necessity of overlapping parentheses in rules (4) and (5), and further allow us to delete both these rules and replace the word "Engagement" in rule (2) with the word "Action." Presumably, a more refined analysis of the action and resolution eidons into paradigmatic sets could simplify the overlapping parentheses convention in Colby's other eidon insertion rules. What we would be left with as a structural description is that a move consists of a Motivation followed by a number of Action-Resolution sequences. Colby's analysis takes on the form of Bremond's
elementary sequences.

Kilson (1976) provides a third example of a generative grammar for folktales. Her minimal unit of a tale is neither a function or an eidon, but a somewhat extended list of Dundes' motifemes.

For Kilson, a tale first consists of a series of episodes: (1) Tale → Episode^n. An episode, in turn, is composed of an initial phase (IP), a medial phase (MP), and a final phase (FP): (2) Episode → IP MP FP. Each phase consists of either a positive or a negative action sequence, which we can abstractly represent by the rule:

3) XP → \{positive X Action Sequence\}, where X takes on the values I (Initial), M (Medial), and F (Final). For each of the six possible outcomes of this third rule, Kilson provides an action sequence insertion rule, such as the following:

(4) Pos. Initial Act. Seq. → \{Legitimate Deception\} 
\{Interdiction\} 
\{Task\} 
\{Lack\} 

(5) Neg. Initial Act. Seq. → \{Deception\} 
\{Illicit Interdiction\} 
\{Illicit Task\} 
\{Illicit Lack\} 

(6) Pos. Medial Act. Seq. → \{Deception Revealed\} 
\{Interdiction Observed\} 
\{Legitimate Deception\} 
\{Task Accomplished\}
Kilson tries to handle the most obvious objection to her context free grammar, that only a small number of the 432 possible episodes generated by her grammar actually occur, by listing the 16 different combinations found in her corpus of 35 single-episode Mende folktales (Kilson 1976: 27). She does not state whether additional episode types are found in her multi-episode tales. By writing a rather complex set of co-occurrence restriction rules, one could presumably constrain the output of her context free grammar to conform to this smaller number of actual combinations. For example, one notes that regardless of whether the initial action sequence is positive or negative, if the middle action sequence is negative, then the final action sequence will be negative. However, a more reasonable solution would be to revise her context free component.

The approach to writing grammars for folktales taken by Arewa and Shreve (1975) contains solutions for a number of the problems noted in the previous three approaches. Following Chomsky, Arewa and Shreve make a distinction between narrative competence and narrative performance. Narrative competence, the knowledge a person needs to produce or understand a folktale, is to be accounted for by a narrative grammar:

the generative grammar of the narrative, in conjunction with logical rules of the culture, determine what is "correct" or "incorrect" in a
narrative sequence. In other words, there is a folkloristic competence in operation: people are able to determine the "well-formedness" of a folktale because they have a knowledge of the "rules," both of the grammar and of the symbolic systems of their culture (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 63).

Narrative competence, according to the authors, is an important component of narrative performance, but should not be equated with the performance of a tale in a particular setting, nor is it the task of a narrative grammar to account for all the skills brought to a performance by a performer/narrator. To account for narrative performance and the interaction of narrative competence with the situation of performance, the authors devise a phenomenological analysis (Arewa and Shreve 1975:163-190).

For their model of narrative competence, Arewa and Shreve base their grammar along the lines of a generative semanticist approach. In the standard theory of Chomsky sketched above, the syntactic component is a relatively autonomous unit in interaction with relatively autonomous semantic and phonological components. Thus, the syntactic component of a grammar is capable of producing syntactically well-formed, yet semantically odd sentences such as "colorless green ideas are sleeping furiously." It becomes the task of an independently justified semantic component to explain the semantic ill-formedness of a syntactically acceptable sentence. In the generative semantics approach, the syntactic and semantic components
are combined into a single rule system which will only generate structural descriptions for sentences which are both syntactically and semantically well-formed. The linguistic evidence used to argue a generative semantics approach to grammatical description and the counter-proposals offered to retain a modified version of Chomsky's standard theory need not concern us here. It is enough for us to note that the ultimate goal of a narrative grammar, according to Arewa and Shreve, is the generation of a syntactically well-formed string of "narrative propositions" that is also semantically well-formed. The resulting "narrative propositions" are sufficiently specified to serve as input to the sentence grammar of the language in which the tale is narrated.

Arewa and Shreve divide this overall task into two major subtasks. The first task is to generate a ordered sequence of Dundes' motifemes via context free rules, which they term "narrative structure rules" (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 66). The output of these rules constitute their narrative deep structure. Once the correct sequence of motifemes for a particular folktale are generated, it serves as the input to a set of narrative transformation rules (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 66). These rules generate increasingly shallower narrative structures, first by attaching semantically acceptable sub-categories of Propp's functions to a motifeme, and then to increasingly
specify the actors, objects, locations, and the like until a level is reached where the narrative propositions enter into the sentence grammar. As the transformational rules serve to constrain what semantic elements can and cannot co-occur, depending upon what narrative propositions come before and after a given proposition, they are of necessity context sensitive rules.

Arewa and Shreve also hypothesize a universal narrative grammar, minimally consisting of the rules for forming the deep narrative structure of folktales in general and Dundes' set of motifemes. The transformational component is held to be more culturally specific, transforming pan-human narrative deep structures into culturally acceptable folktales. This does not preclude the possibility that certain of the yet unspecified transformation rules are also contained in the universal component of narrative grammars (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 57-64). In the work under consideration, only the narrative structure rules (the context free component) for a corpus of Zande trickster tales are explicitly derived. The shape of their transformational component is merely outlined and illustrated by the consideration of a single tale.

For the trickster tales in their corpus, Arewa and Shreve's narrative structure rules can be represented by the following eight context free rules:
(1) \( N \rightarrow \text{Ma (Ma)} \)
(2) \( \text{Ma} \rightarrow \text{IP (Mm) FP} \)
(3) \( \text{IP} \rightarrow (\text{Mlh}) \text{ L} \)
(4) \( \text{FP} \rightarrow \text{LL (Mrh)} \)
(5) \( \text{Mm} \rightarrow \{\text{DCT DCPN}\} \)
(6) \( \text{Mlh} \rightarrow \text{Mlh Mlh} \)
(7) \( \text{Mlh} \rightarrow \{\text{I V C (AE)}\} \)
(8) \( \text{Mrh} \rightarrow \text{DCT DCPN} \)

The symbols L, LL, DCT, DCPN, T, TA, I, V, C, and AE are abbreviations for Dundes' motifemes. The symbol N stands for narrative, and the symbols Ma, Mm, Mlh, and Mrh stand for command motifeme, middle motifeme, left-hand motifeme, and right-hand motifeme, respectively. IP and FP are initial phase and final phase. Symbols in parentheses may or may not occur in the structural description of a particular trickster tale.

As far as the first two rules go, the Arewa-Shreve grammar is similar to that of Kilson. All that one would need to do is replace Ma with the word "Episode" and Mm with the words "Medial Phase." For Arewa and Shreve the medial phase is optional whereas for Kilson it is required. After the second rule, however, the two grammars widely diverge. The shortest motifemic string generated by the rule system above is L-LL. In fact, all narratives generated by this rule system must contain Lack and Lack Liquidated motifemes. It can also generate most of the examples of Amerindian folktales provided by Dundes, with the single exception of tales consisting only of the
sequence I V C. In fact, one of the Zande trickster tales analyzed by the authors has a motifemic sequence I-V-I-V-C-AE (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 147), which also cannot be derived from this rule system. Inspection of the synopsis of the tale as provided by Arewa and Shreve (1975: 218-218) reveals that, although the tale contains the standard Zande trickster figure "Ture," the events narrated are very non-tricksterish. This tale, then, might be construed as a production error. Regardless of the difficulties in determining whether a recorded tale is in fact an instance of a production error, the eight rules listed above provide structural descriptions for a large number of folktales, but will need to be amended to handle tales only possessing an I-V-C motifemic deep structure.

A second problem with the Arewa-Shreve grammar concerns the middle, right-hand, and left-hand motifemes. One may quibble about referring to these purely structural units as motifemes. Such a designation should best be left for use in only referring to Dundes' motifemes. More relevant is the relationship of these units to the other structural categories. For instance, examination of the tales which require the derivation of Mm suggests that this middle motifeme always narrates a tale segment relating how the material designated by the term FP is accomplished. Rule (2) suggests that Mm is equally
related, in a structural sense, to both IP and FP. This structural relationship can be captured by amending rule (2) to read $M_a \rightarrow IP \text{ FP}$ and changing rule (4) to read $FP \rightarrow (M_m) LL (M_rh)$. A similar complaint can be raised for the rule $IP \rightarrow (M_{lh}) L$, but the textual evidence is not as clear-cut. The semantic relationships between the $M_{lh}$ material and the Lack motifeme are sometimes quite close, while in other cases the $M_{lh}$ material is little more than a preface to the events which follow. If it is possible to retain a real distinction here, the narrative structure rules would need to be revised to handle these two structural possibilities.

Finally, the authors do not appear to require any movement rules to generate the correct sequence of motifemes in their trickster tales. In part this may be due to the incomplete formalization of their transformational component. The possibility that such rules may be necessary arises in their discussion of what makes a trickster tale structurally distinct from other types of folktales:

a $L\text{-DCT}-\text{DCPN}-\text{LL}$ sequence differs transformationally from a $\text{DCT}-\text{DCPN}-\text{L}-\text{LL}$ sequence, but both may be characteristic of the type of tale whose surface appearance has been categorized as a "trickster tale" (Arewa and Shreve 1975: 75-76).

However, they opt to handle both possibilities by their
narrative structure rules. A suggestion that some sort of transformational component is necessary to provide for the correct sequence of motifemes, prior to the assignment of functions to motifemes, comes from their way of handling I-V-C-(AE) motifemic sequences. In the motifemic string for the tale mentioned above we have the sequence I-V-I-V-C-AE with the consequence motifeme in the first I-V-C sequence deleted. This requires some type of an account. Additionally, in the textual analyses for tales 25, 27, and possibly tales 33 and 39, the Attempted Escape motifeme is separated from the I-V-C sequence to which it presumably belongs by either a Lack Liquidated motifeme or a Lack-Lack Liquidated motifemic sequence. Although these instances can be handled by expanding the context free component, a rule which serves to modify tree-structures generated by context free rules may also be considered.

In summary, Propp's Morphology has spawned a number of studies which provide more sophisticated approaches to the structure of a folktale text. Levi-Strauss suggested that Propp's functions are reducible to a smaller number. Dundes provided such a reduction and showed that when so done, Propp's approach can be extended beyond the fairy tale and the Indo-European culture area via the concept of a motifeme. Bremond Jason, Kilson, and Arewa and Shreve have, in their own way, tried to capture how
not rendering them unintelligible to the English reader (Finnegan 1967: 107).

As my analytic focus is upon the structure of sequential plot episodes in folktales, Dr. Finnegan's stricture relieves me of many of the methodological worries associated with using the output of a more heavy-handed translator. An additional, and by no means small, consideration is the fact that Dr. Finnegan is also the author of the only extensive ethnography of the Limba (Finnegan 1965). In several places in my analyses I have had to rely on ethnographic information, especially when considering alternate assignments of stretches of text to its motivemic descriptor. Dr. Finnegan's ethnography has been invaluable, and a summary of that work is necessary to follow the analyses.
Notes to Chapter 1

Scholes (1974), Todorov (1977), Culler (1975), and Rimmon-Kenan (1983) prefer the term structuralist poetics; for narratology see Bal (1977) and Prince (1982); on discourse analysis, Coulthard (1977) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975); and for text linguistics van Dijk (1972, 1977) and Dressler (1978).

Comparison of Propp's work with the programmatic essay by Nikiforov (1928) shows that despite their overall similarity of approach to the folktale, Nikiforov allowed for much more freedom in the sequence of functions characterizing a particular genre of tales. Propp cites a prepublication reference to this work in footnote 19 of chapter 1 (1968: 17). Nikiforov explicitly compares the composition of a folktale to the morphological study of lexical items: "... separate actions in a folktale are combined into a single movement according to categories, which are analogous to the morphological categories of word formation in a language" (1975: 157). Propp, although trained in Russian and German philology (Liberman 1984: ix), does not make this analogy. He states in his response to Levi-Strauss' critique of the Morphology that his concept of morphology derived from Goethe's writings on botany and osteology (Propp 1984b: 68). Steiner and Davydov (1977) trace the relationship between biology and the Russian Formalist movement and suggest that Goethe's view of one underlying principle uniting all organic forms is the source of Propp's requirement of a rigid linear structure.

Propp attempts such a study in his Transformations of the Wondertale (Propp 1984c), and on a more exhaustive level in his Historical Roots of the Wondertale (Propp 1946).

In an addendum to the 1980 translation of his 1966 article, Bremond withdraws the claim of an irreducible perspectivism: "The same actions can be considered in relation to a patient's role or to an agent's role. Instead of recording these roles separately, we can condense these two interdependent roles into a single formula" (1980: 411).

Her text reads 2-3-1-4-5, but an examination of her analyses shows no example of this type of ordering. Instead there are two cases of order 2-1-3-4-5.
The interested reader should consult Partee (1971) for an overview of these positions.
The first mention of the Limba in a modern European language comes from a late 1500s Portuguese navigator's map of the Guinea Coast Region, placing the Limba in the area where they still live today (d'Almada 1594): the northern region of Sierra Leone. Although a number of largely conjectural and somewhat contradictory attempts have been made to reconstruct the history of the peopling of Sierra Leone (Kup 1960; Rodney 1967; Rodney 1970; Fyfe 1968; Kup 1975; Kalous 1979; and Person 1984), they all agree that the Limba are among the earliest, if not the earliest, occupants of Sierra Leone still extant.

The Limba language is currently classified as a member of the Southern branch of the West Atlantic family of the Niger-Kordofanian macro-phylum (Sapir 1971: 48-49). According to this classificatory scheme, Limba is related to the Temne, Bullom, Kissi, Krim, and Gola languages of Sierra Leone, and more distantly to a string of languages spoken by coastal peoples to the north of Sierra Leone, including the Wolof and Serer of Senegal and Fula, spoken by isolated populations along the savannah belt from Senegal to the Central African
Republic. Although Dalby (1965) has called into question the status of West Atlantic as a valid historical grouping, Sapir tentatively considers the Limba language to be related to Dalby's 'Mel' languages (a group of languages within West Atlantic that Dalby feels sufficiently related to lead to the establishment of regular sound correspondences), and together with the Sua language, comprise his Southern branch of West Atlantic. Sapir bases this conclusion from counts of putative shared cognates between pairs of languages of West Atlantic drawn from a modified version of Swadesh's 100-word list. Sapir notes, however,

the position of Limba is tenuous and it might have to be given the status of an isolated language within West Atlantic. The Limba-Mel and Limba-Sua percentages are generally lower than those of Sua-Mel, ranging from 16 percent with Baga Koba (out of 80 words) to 10 percent with Kisi (out of 98 words) (Sapir 1971: 52).

Without the establishment of regular sound correspondences among the West Atlantic languages, little more can be said concerning the language history of the Limba except to note that Limba as well as the other West Atlantic languages show evidence of a noun class system similar to the Bantu languages. This typological feature together with the languages' geographic propinquity, have been the major evidences for the establishment of a West Atlantic language family.
Except in the southwestern reaches of Limba territory (see Figure 2) where it abuts territory occupied by the Temne, the Limbas are surrounded by groups speaking languages of the Mande family: Susu, Yalunka, Koranko, and Loko. They, along with the Mande-speaking Kono, Mende and Galina (Vai), make up the remaining tribes of Sierra Leone. It is in the accounts of the arrival of the Mande-speaking peoples that the historical sources mentioned in the first paragraph differ.

The Limba are an agricultural people who occupy a 1900 square mile savannah region in northern Sierra Leone. The cultivation of upland rice constitutes their staple food source, supplemented to a much lesser extent with swamp rice, millet, cassava, fruit, and garden vegetables (e.g. maize, peppers, yams, okra). In this regard, the Limba subsistence economy is similar to that of the other cultures which live in the coastal and savannah region of the western part of West Africa from southern Senegal to the Ivory Coast (Church 1980:97). Because of the light, compact, and acidic soils of this region and the high rainfall amounts, rice provides a higher yield and requires a smaller fallow interval than the cultivation of yams, the staple crop exploited by the peoples of the Guinea Coast Culture Area east of the Ivory Coast (Church 1980: 78; Johnny, Karimu and Richards 1981: 599). A few of the wealthier Limba (especially
chiefs) also keep cattle, which they obtain from Fula herdsmen in the region. Other animals kept by the Limba include goats, sheep, and chickens. Tobacco and peanuts are grown, largely as a source of cash. Cotton is grown to be woven into cloth by men.

Hunting, gathering, and fishing supplement the agricultural base to a small extent. As domestic animals are not generally eaten, but are kept for use in sacrifices (where they may then be eaten), hunting supplies most of the animal protein in the Limba diet. The killing of large game (e.g. bush-cows, deer, leopards) is the domain of semi-specialist hunters; smaller animals are generally trapped by children. Fishing is largely a woman's occupation, performed during the dry season. Limba males tap local oil and raffia palms for palm wine, which is generally locally consumed though some is kept for sale. While not a major dietary item the Limba fondness for palm wine is notorious among the non-Limba peoples of Sierra Leone who attribute Limba resistance to Islamization and its prohibition of the consumption of alcohol to their fondness for the drink. Palm fruits are collected for food, and kola nuts are gathered for their ritual value and as a food supplement in times of shortage. Palm and cottonwood trees are the sources of most domestic utensils, mats, ropes, and thatch; and the bark of the latter tree is used in medicines. Indigo
FIGURE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLES OF SIERRA LEONE
(adapted from Finnegan 1965: 153)
is collected by women for use as dyes.

As nearly all Limba adults are involved in rice farming, the alternation of wet and dry seasons punctuate the social calendar. The growing season begins in March. Before this time, the bush must be cleared by the adult men. Rice is planted and hoed by men and boys between March and May. The rains usually begin in May, and the rice is left to grow. Men are freed from agricultural labor from May to October, and can leave the farms to seek temporary employment elsewhere. From July to September, women are responsible for weeding the rice fields. Harvest occurs in October, which marks the end of the wet season. With the return of dry weather most of the day-to-day labor-intensive work is completed and the ceremonial season of dances, special sacrifices, memorial ceremonies, marriages, and initiation rituals begins.

Among the Limba very little occupational specialization occurs beyond the division of labor by sex. Whatever special labor exists is largely part-time, as almost everyone is engaged in rice farming. Part-time specialists include the chief and his subordinate section and village chiefs, blacksmiths, hunters, leather workers, diviners, head of the women's society, herbalists, dyers, singers, dancers, and drummers. Chiefs and blacksmiths can generally count on assistance from the other villagers
to relieve them of farming responsibilities so that they

The practice of the other specialities is limited by the

The labor demands of rice farming, at critical

tasks is but one manifestation of the rights and respon­sibilities that tie Limbas together. Such ties, extending

at both time and space, constitute the basis for several

The rigid separation of farming tasks by sex requires that

a man be married before he can become an independent rice

Marriage, in turn, requires the payment of bride-

price, consisting of a combination of material goods,

labor on the potential parents-in-law's farm, and the

display of socially respectable behavior in their pre­
sence. Traditionally, the material goods demanded for

bride-price payment were far in excess of what an unmar­
ried man could individually acquire. Thus, payment

involved not only the suitor, but also his kinsmen, in

amassing such wealth. "A rope the Limba say, binds

people and things together, and in this way 'bride-price

is like a rope"" (Finnegan 1965: 64).
The Limba are divided into eight or nine exogamous clans (sini). An individual inherits clan membership from his father. In general, two members of the same clan are unable to trace the exact genealogic relationships between them. Except for the prohibition on marriage between clan members and a taboo on knowingly eating the wild, totemic species special to one's clan, and the fact that each of the seven Limba chiefdoms is said to be "owned" by a particular clan, clan membership has little impact on the day-to-day life of its members. The Limba have, however, correlated their clan names with those of the tribes surrounding them. Clanship thus has an extra-tribal element, linking groups of people who do not share the same language.

Of greater importance to the individual is patrilineage membership: those people to which one is related by known genealogical links through males. The patrilineage is the primary residential, economic, and ritual unit among the Limba. As noted in the case of the ownership of a chiefdom, each Limba village or town is said to be owned by a particular patrilineage. Other patrilineages living in the village are referred to as cousins (sesaing), i.e., those related to one through women. The owning patrilineage supplies the village its headman.

The village, in turn, is divided into compounds, a group of huts forming a loose circle surrounding a central
space. Compounds consist of more closely related members of a patrilineage, but may contain one or two huts housing recent, non-lineally related settlers. The smallest unit is the household: those descended from the same father or grandfather and who occupy the same hut (except in cases where the family has grown too large to be accommodated by one hut with its several side-rooms). Members of the same household jointly make a farm, pay bride-price for their sons and initiation fees for all its children, sacrifice to their ancestors, have access to most of its property, and support each other in legal proceedings. In extreme situations, a household can count on assistance from other households in the compound, especially if it is considered the dominant household in the compound.

Ownership of the house and farmland (both planted fields and fallow) is invested with the oldest male member of the household. The other members of the household essentially work at his direction, while he is responsible for carrying out all sacrifices connected with the household. Younger married male members of the household are allowed to farm land adjacent to the jointly farmed field for their own families by permission of the elder. The produce of these individual plots is personally owned and is not considered part of the household's joint produce. Ownership of these individual plots can be passed on to
one’s sons. Jointly held farmland is usually not divided until after the original owner and all his sons have died, leaving only the grandsons of the original owner (and by this time the household has grown large enough to occupy several huts, though is still considered to be one household). The distribution of all jointly held property is overseen by the chief who administers the territory containing the household. Personally owned property (movable goods) are passed on to the children of the deceased directly.

Similar in manner to the relationship between individual plots and joint farms, smaller outlying villages, either temporary farm villages or permanently occupied splinter villages, are politically and ritually linked to a larger, central village which is said to "own" these smaller villages. It is this central village that owns the sacred bush where initiations into men's and women's societies take place and which has the village headmanship. In time, while these villages may become full-scale villages in their own rights, they remain diffusely connected with the original village from which they sprang.

Marriage among the Limba is largely polygynous. The older, richer males in the village have up to four to six wives while the younger, poorer men have few, if any, wives. More wives means more farm labor (from both the wife and her offspring) which results in more land farmed
and greater wealth, which can be used in acquiring more wives.

A girl is ideally betrothed soon after her birth, signaled by the girl's mother's acceptance of a small gift from the prospective husband or his family. The prospective husband continues to give gifts to the girl's family while she grows up, frequently paying the girl's initiation expenses into the women's society. About two years after her initiation, the man can claim his wife by payment of the major portion of the bride-price. The woman signals her willingness to enter the marriage by cooking rice for those who have come with the bride-price payment, or by accepting from them the split half of a kola nut. Upon agreement on the bride-price, a date is set for the woman to go to her husband.

The bride-price payment consists of goods such as cloth, salt, iron pots, cattle, goats, rice, ornaments, and palm wine; labor on the in-law's farms; and in deferential behavior shown by the husband to his in-laws. In addition to what the man himself contributes, his father, mother, brothers, father's brothers, and even close friends are expected to help with the payment. The bulk of the payment goes to the girl's father, with substantially smaller amounts given to her mother and brothers. It is a matter of honor to pay as much as possible, and should the woman leave her husband, the bride-price is
returnable. The larger the payment, the greater the difficulty her parents would have in repaying it, and the more pressure they would exert on their daughter to stay with her husband. Payments continue in the form of gifts and work on the in-law's farms throughout the duration of the marriage, and even beyond the death of a particularly good wife.

With the payment of the bulk of the bride-price, the husband has exclusive sexual rights to his wife, and all children born to her belong to his patrilineage. Should the marriage dissolve, the husband has the option of getting the full bride-price returned, upon which the children become members of the wife's patrilineage, or a partial return which deducts a set amount for each child born of the marriage. The first option is rarely taken, as children supply needed labor on the farm, daughters will bring in future bride-price, and they will honor their father as an ancestor after his death through sacrifices and an elaborate "wailing" ceremony held five to seven years after his death. Extramarital affairs between a married wife and a younger, unmarried man are not uncommon. Co-wives will even cover-up for the absence of a wife who is meeting with her lover. If the husband discovers the adultery, the wife's lover is obliged to pay "woman damage," the amount of which is decided upon by intermediaries. Once decided the settlement is made
public. Should the wife become pregnant by her lover, rights in the child remain with the one who paid the bride-price.

In addition to her sexual rights and duties, a wife is expected to sweep and clean the house and compound, cook for her husband and family, and do the weeding on the rice farm. Although weeding is her main responsibility on the farm, she must be present before her husband can harvest the crop. Should she be away, the husband must fetch her back before the harvest can begin.

Great store is set on a woman's ability to cook. When a visitor arrives, she is expected to cook a meal for the visitor as promptly as possible after the arrival in order to show hospitality. She is also expected to cook for all the workers who help her husband on the rice farm. In polygynous households, domestic duties are divided among the co-wives as determined by the senior wife, the first woman the man married. Each wife is expected to cook for herself and her children. When it is her turn to sleep with her husband (based on a rotational system where each wife sleeps with her husband three nights in succession), she is also to cook his meals that day and sweep his room the next morning.

Quarrels between husband and wife frequently end with the wife running off to her parent's village. The husband must then go and seek her return. If the woman's parents
or guardians feel she is in the wrong, the husband need merely offer then a kola nut or some other small gift and ask for her return. If they think he is in the wrong, they can refuse, and the husband must then use all forms of persuasion to change their opinion. Should the woman's parents feel her husband has good reason to ask for a divorce (especially if she has been found guilty of witchcraft or has run away with a lover) he may reclaim his bride-price either directly from the woman's parents or indirectly from the woman's lover's bride-price payment to her parents. If, on the other hand, the woman's parents feel that her husband has seriously mistreated his wife, he can forfeit the return of the bride-price. In recent times and with the increased opportunities for a wife to earn money through trade, a wife can pay her husband back his bride-price and thereby dissolve the marriage.

Upon the death of the husband, several options are available to the wife. If she is very old, she may stay in the homestead with her children, especially with her son(s); or she may choose to return to her home village and live with a brother. If she is still young, she may either have the bride-price repaid to her husband's family or choose to marry a close relative of her husband (a brother or brother's son). If the wife dies soon after marriage and the husband has maintained close ties with his in-laws, they may provide a sister of the woman as a
new wife with only a token gift for the bride-price.

Marriage, then, links together various Limba patri-lineages, and as seen in the deferential behavior a husband pays his in-laws, the lineage which provides a wife has a kind of "upper-hand" in the relationship. A similar set of hierarchically differentiated ties bind together villages and clusters of villages by means of governmental linkages from village headship through section chiefs to the paramount chief. These ties extend downward into the village through the relations between the village headman and the compound and household heads. Communities of Limbas living outside their homeland appoint a chief to represent them before the chiefs who are native to the region.

The Limba are divided into several paramount chiefdoms. Below the paramount chief are a number of sub-chiefs who usually are members of the paramount chief's patrilineage and have farms in the villages around the chief's village. Below them are the village headmen, who as previously mentioned, are derived from the owning lineage of the village.

In contrast to the semi-divine status accorded the chiefship in many African societies, very few behavioral differences separate chief from commoner among the Limba. The chief is wealthier and generally has more wives than even the richest commoner. However, his expenses are also
greater. For example, he is expected to provide a cow for many major sacrifices, to entertain visitors to the chiefdom, and to help out those in trouble. In return, he can expect help on his farms from men in his chiefdom, a portion of the meat from the kill of any large game, and gifts from all his people who visit him.

In addition to this economic function, the chief performs a variety of supervisory, religious, and judicial functions. Ideally, the chief should know about every important event happening in his chiefdom. His people are supposed to notify him of all deaths, of accidents and catastrophes, special events, the arrival of strangers, departures of any of his people from his chiefdom, and of all large-game kills. As a result, there is a continual stream of people to and from the chief's town, bearing gifts along with tidings and taking with them the chief's contributions to his people's ceremonies. In contrast to this supervisory role, his religious functions are markedly minimal. His permission is required before a village can initiate children into the men's and women's societies, and the chief or one of his appointed representatives is obliged to be present at any major rite held within his chiefdom. Of extreme importance, however, is the chief's judicial function.
As can be expected in any human relationship, disputes arise. A co-wife can become jealous over what she perceives to be preferential treatment of another wife by her husband, brother's can argue over the division of the household they inherit, or a wealthy man's cattle can trample into the ground a poor farmer's rice crop. These disruptions of normal social relationships provoke anger and require some sort of intervention to restore the normal order. In the idiom of the Limba, a "cool heart" must be restored. The condition of maintaining a "cool heart" is what the Limba frequently pray to the ancestors and the god Kanu Masala for. It is a sign of calm and un-stressful relationships with all consociates. The goal of the Limba legal system is to restore the social relationships, to "cool the hearts" of all those involved in a dispute. When all other forms of mediation fail, this becomes the chief's responsibility.

Ideally, disputes should be settled at the most local level, initially between the involved parties themselves. Should this fail, a third party is brought in. Decisions can be appealed up the line to the paramount chief, who is the final arbiter. To bring a case before the chief, one of the parties comes to him with a gift and states his case. The chief then sets a date for the case to be "spoken" and calls together all parties involved.
On the day the case is "spoken," the parties and their witnesses come before the chief and those who will assist him in deciding the case: the older men of the chiefdom. Both parties state their sides of the dispute. The elders present then speak in turn, giving their analyses of who seems to be in the wrong and trying to reconcile the disputants. Finally the chief speaks his decision, using all the rhetorical skills at his command to persuade the participants of the rightness of his decision. If he is successful, the party in the wrong will "beg" pardon or offer a token present to the wronged party as an admission that he accepts the decision and is willing to quit the argument. If unsuccessful, one of the parties will go away angry, and the case is considered still unresolved.

Should the chief offer a decision generally held to be wrong or otherwise behaves in a fashion contrary to cultural expectations, there are culturally institutionalized checks upon possible abuses of his power. Open, public criticism of a chief is prohibited. However, two people can straightforwardly criticize the chief in private, and the chief is obliged to consider their advise: the chief's sesa and basaraka. Sesa is the Limba kinship term for cross-cousin or someone related to a person by descent from a woman kinsman. It can generally be used to refer to anyone outside one's own clan. In this context,
the chief's *sesa* is a non-patrilineally related kinsman to whom the chief have developed a close personal attachment. As he is not in the same patrilineage as the chief, he cannot be in competition for the chiefship. Having no vested interest in the chiefship, he becomes the chief’s major supporter and adviser. The *sesa* also plays a major role in the "wailing" ceremony following a chief's death so that a chief would be very reluctant to offend his *sesa*. This configuration of kinship, ritual, and personal relationships allows the chief's *sesa* freedom to speak before him in private and to admonish him for his errors without fear of reprisal. The *basaraka* was, in a sense, the female counterpart to the *sesa*. Although the position had become extinct by 1960, it is said that every chief had his *basaraka* attached to his entourage. The *basaraka* was a virgin or an unmarried female (though she could also be a wife of the chief) who fulfilled the role of the chief's personal female attendant on trips or when performing sacrifices. Because of this role, she was generally exempted from working on the chief's farms. Held to have the chief's best interests foremost in her mind, her criticisms signaled to the chief a major problem in his behavior. Should he take offense with what she tells him or persist in his unchiefly behavior, the *basaraka* could leave him and bring to a halt his ability to function in rituals.
As the discussions of kinship, marriage, and the government of chiefdoms have illustrated, Limba social space can be abstractly viewed as a set of relatively autonomous patrilineages, which comprise the basic residential and economic units, linked together laterally through the exchange of women and bride-price and vertically through the institution of the chiefship. In the ideal model, all relationships are maintained in a state of harmony as expressed in the concept of a "cool heart." The hierarchical relationships in the system function to restore a "cool heart" whenever interactions "heat up." The paramount chief, in this cybernetic metaphor, is the ultimate governor upon whom restoration of system equilibrium devolves should all other control mechanisms fail. He, in turn, is held within limits by individuals who derive their power to interfere with a chief's decisions through laterally formed linkages (sesa and basaraka).

This domesticated landscape of farm, village, and the paths connecting them, however, is embedded in the undomesticated bush. The contrast between the order of the village and the unordered nature of the bush is frequently encountered in the symbol systems of many sub-Saharan African cultures, and is also active among the Limba.
Limba religious thought recognizes a single god, Kanu Masala, who lives above the earth, created all things, instituted the Limba way of life, and is ultimately responsible for all events. Kanu, though ultimately responsible for all things in the world, is far away and not subject to human manipulation. More important are the dead ancestors. Although the dead may sometimes become angry, the dead are generally held to be concerned for the well-being of their descendents, and by means of prayer, sacrifice, and invocation, the ancestors can be reached and their help obtained in human endeavors. In contrast to both Kanu and the ancestors are the spirits of the bush.

Some bush spirits are said to live in certain locales, in particular streams, under prominent rocks, or in cottonwood trees. Others can be encountered at random while one is traveling through the bush. Some spirits are said to be good, others evil. Individuals can enter into contracts with these spirits. All specialists are said to have a spirit helper (blacksmiths, hunters, and diviners, especially). In addition, anyone who excels in any particular activity may be said to have a spirit helper, thereby accounting for his success. The institutionalized craft specialists openly acknowledge the help of spirits, while other people deny or know nothing about their personal contract with a spirit. Both the men's
and women's societies have a spirit attached to them. Sometimes it is said that a village or even an entire chiefdom has a spirit attached to them, which accounts for their particular success.

Some people are born with the ability to see spirits. This ability, the Limba say, is up to Kanu. Those who can see spirits are said to be "four-eyed." Twins are four-eyed, as is the child born after a set of twins. In addition, witches are four-eyed as are the children of witches. Four-eyed individuals can also detect witches. The four-eyed people are the ones who can enter into contracts with spirits. Relations with a good spirit can be easily maintained by making periodic offerings to the spirit. A bad spirit, however, will eventually demand a human being as an offering. The person must then designate someone for the spirit to "eat" or the spirit may turn upon the person it has helped and kill him.

Spirits, then, are individual relationships, and account for differences in the abilities of people. In contrast, the ancestors are communal, concerned for the good of all their descendents.

Witches seem also to be associated with the bush. First, they are four-eyed, just as those who can see spirits. However, witches are humans who live in the village, yet have supernatural abilities to cause harm to their enemies. Second, they go about at night, spiritually,
and many times take the form of wild animals. When a witch has been detected through divination or some other means, he is tried before the chief after undergoing an ordeal to establish his guilt or innocence should he not confess. If found guilty, the witch must pay compensation to his victims. If found innocent, the accusers must pay compensation to the suspected witch. There is no indication that the Limba's killed witches. Repeat offenders, however, would eventually be ostracized from the chiefdom.

In contrast to the witch, who can be said to be an embodiment of the bush in the community, secret societies can be viewed as the embodiment of the community in the bush. All adult Limbas are members of their respective sex's secret society: the Gbangbani society for men and the Bondo society for women. Initiation into these societies occurs around the time of puberty during secret ceremonies held in the bush. During the period of seclusion following circumcision of the male initiates and removal of the clitoris of the female initiates, initiates are taught the respective traditions of their societies, its ceremonies, and its dances. Females are excluded from all of the male initiatory rites, but such is not the case for the women's rites which are open to the public except at those times when the spirit of the Bondo society is said to be about. During such times men should stay away
or keep to their huts.

Societies hold other ceremonies in addition to initiations, referred to as dances. Dances occur during the dry season or when one of a society's members dies. Membership in a society allows a person to attend that society's dance anywhere throughout Limba country. At no time does the women's society dance take place in the village. The men's society, however, does hold dances in the village, during which the women must stay in their huts with all its openings shuttered, for the spirit of the men's society is about. 3

The bush, then, appears to be associated with uniqueness, individuality, or distinctiveness among the Limba and lies in opposition to the village with its ordered groups of communally organized households. In the case of witches and the secret societies, bush and community interpenetrate, giving rise to a dialectical image of Limba social space much in the way that Fernandez (1982) analyzes the Fang of Zaire.

Having provided this skeletal outline of Limba culture as provided by Finnegan (1965), a few remarks are necessary to relate this ethnographic information to Limba tales and story-telling. The information contained in the following paragraphs is derived from Finnegan (1967).
The Limba use but one term to refer to most forms of narration, mbor. The semantic focus of the term is what folklorists call the folktale. However, it can also mean a proverb, a parable, a wise or imaginative saying, an elaborate metaphor, a riddle, or an analogy; the plural form, thabor, also sometimes refers to an historical narrative (Finnegan 1967: 27).

Folktales are generally told at night as a means of entertainment while sitting around the fire after a day of work. There is no prohibition against telling tales during the day; they are sometimes told in court cases to illustrate a point.

Every Limba will at one time or another tell folktales, but most commonly men lead the evening storytelling sessions. Sessions arise spontaneously. Someone in one of the compounds begins telling a story, and especially if the person is known for his narrative skill, word spreads around the community and people gather to listen or take turns telling tales. Skill in performing narratives varies, and particularly good narrators are known throughout the neighboring villages. Should one of these noted narrators enter the village, everyone can expect an evening of storytelling.

The audience is no passive observer of a narrative performance. A narrator will sometimes single out an individual to "reply" to his narrative. That is, to interject appropriate signals that he is following the narration,
to underscore key parts of the narrative, fill in the explanation of subtle points, and sometimes clear up potential confusions. In addition to this, many elaborate tales will contain a song, and the audience is expected to join in to sing the chorus.

The active role of the story-teller's audience illustrates that the folktale is a social production and not just the rote repetition of orally transmitted traditions. There are other manifestations of this concept of folktales as social productions. First, a folktale as related by a good narrator is as much acting as it is narrating; that is, it is a performance. Recent discussions which approach verbal art as performance (e.g., Baumann 1975) have greatly served to compensate for biases in previous folklore research which left the impression that the folktale was a more or less fixed form.

Second, the folktale as a social production raises the issue of the relation of culture to the content of the tale. Although Benedict (1935) has cautioned scholars about viewing folktales as non-distorting mirrors of culture, such relations are never entirely lacking. Discovering the ways in which culture is encoded in a tale demands a culturally informed type of reading. For example, in one Limba tale the reader encounters an episode in which a girl is visited by a suitor who is a bush spirit in disguise. Upon his arrival, the girl immediately
announces that he will be her husband and begins to cook a meal of rice. Without the knowledge that an offering of cooked rice by a girl to a suitor signifies her acceptance of him as a husband, the episode would seem a rather superfluous detail, and, because superfluous, would make the narration of the spirit's reply to this offering, "Since you love me so much, well, let us go", seem unconnected to the preceding narration. In this case the interpretative lacuna is easily filled in with the relevant cultural information, and the tale therefore reflects culture. There is, however, another oddity with this episode: the girl's announcement and choice of a husband "at first glance." Considering the Limba emphasis on arranging marriages, the girl's action is a defiance of cultural rules. Earlier in the tale the reader has been prepared for this in that the girl's defiance, her stubbornness, is narrated as a characteristic of her personality. Without the knowledge that marriages are arranged, however, one would not necessarily be lead to view her announcement as another instance of her disobedience. Significantly, there is no mention of the payment of bride-price. Her marriage is not strictly a marriage, but can be construed as a contract between a human and a spirit. Here, too, cultural knowledge is required, but this time to unravel a sequence of violations of cultural norms. The same stretch of text contains
elements which reflect cultural norms and elements which stand in opposition to those norms.

Finally, the folktale as a social production reflects itself in terms of the structure of narrative. The storyteller has a degree of freedom to modify or revise his telling of a tale.

The storyteller can choose one stock character rather than another, or introduce one with an otherwise unknown name; he can include many or few episodes; he can embellish the basic structure with songs, with special details that attract him, or with some episode that another teller might have avoided; he can choose to bring out one or another aspect of the narrative as a whole by his free choice of the kind of conclusion, whether a moral, an explanation, a comment, or a question, and by the exact forms in which he decides to express these. ...the material has a degree of fluidity, and the story is not a fixed product which should be described as 'The Limba Folktale,' but the individual creation of a particular narrator on a particular occasion (Finnegan 1967: 93-94).

Comparing the last line of this quotation with the observation that the 'replier' to a narrator must sometimes serve to clarify or correct certain narrative versions suggest a type of narrative creativity akin to Chomsky's vision of sentence production as rule-governed creativity (Chomsky 1966: 29) and a kind of narrative competence related to, but different from, narrative performance. It is this rule-governed creativity that folktale grammars attempt to specify.
Notes to Chapter 2

1 According to Porteres (1970), Oryza glaberrima, one of the two major species of rice grown in this region, was probably domesticated in the inland delta region of the Niger approximately 3500 years ago. Knowledge of its growth spread from there to the Senegambia and Guinea Highlands. The other form of cultivated rice, Asian O. sativa, was introduced at a later date to peoples already proficient in rice agriculture.

2 The owning clan is generally more numerous than the other clans in that chiefdom, and it is thought that the owning clan was the first to move into the territory. However, some clans have become owners through conquest. The safest generalization is that the owning clan owns the chiefship in the sense that one of that clan's patrilineages supplies the candidate for paramount chief.

3 Two other secret societies, Nabo and Kofo, exist among the Limba, but little information is provided about them. Finnegan (1965: 79) claims they are of little importance as not all men are members of them, nor is the Nabo society found in all Limba chiefdoms. The Kofo society is said to have been among the Limba for a long time and has for its members the leading men of the community and members of the chief's family. In light of the political/juridical nature of secret societies in other West African cultures, the extreme secretiveness of the Kofo society causes one to suspect more importance than Finnegan attributes to it.
GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSES
OF SELECTED LIMBA TALES

In this chapter my purposes are three in number. First, I wish to provide a set of detailed analyses of a restricted number of Limba folktales in order to lay bare the kinds of considerations necessary and the general methodological approach used to posit and defend generative structural descriptions for folktales. For those unfamiliar with the procedures and formalisms of generative grammars, published attempts to write grammars for folktales as discussed in the first chapter can appear rather Byzantine, if not entirely mystifying. As the following analyses hope to show, not one but several sources of information must be used to justify a particular structural description of a particular folktale within a generative model. To handle just a few tales is such an explicit manner easily exceeds the length of an average journal article, and to justify the analysis of an entire corpus of quite diverse folktales is a multi-volume proposition.
As a by-product of this attempt to clarify and formalize in a rigorous manner the generative approach to folktale structure, I will characterize a modified version of the approach taken by Arewa and Shreve (1975), which will take care of the deficiencies noted in the first chapter by incorporating some of the results of other attempts to handle folktale structures within a generative account. Besides differing in what the various models take to be the terminal elements of their context free rule system (functions, eidons, or motifemes), each posits its own set of structural units in a hierarchy of units falling between the level of the narrative as a whole and their terminal elements. With only the most minimal of attempts to justify the validity of the non-terminal structural units proposed. It is in examination of these non-terminal elements that one argues the adequacy of one structural description versus another. In addition to modifying Arewa and Shreve's context free rule system, I also propose examples of some context-sensitive rules to further specify the transformational component of their general grammatical model, thereby adducing further evidence that an adequate generative grammar of the folktale must incorporate a transformational component.
My third purpose is to apply the generative-transformational approach developed here to an area of more central concern to the larger community of folklorists: what is the relationship between the concern for a structural approach to the folktale and the classification of tales into tale types. To this end I focus in on the dilemma tale, a commonly encountered sub-genre of the folktale in the oral traditions of Sub-Saharan Africa. The number of such tales in my corpus of Limba tales is small enough to permit detailed consideration of each example without extending the length of this dissertation beyond human endurance, and yet are variable enough to indicate the issues as to whether dilemma tales are best considered a form of formula tale (Arewa 1971) or constitute a more widely ranging body of tale types scattered throughout the Aarne-Thompson index (Bascom 1975).

A GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL MODEL FOR THE FOLKTALE

As a prelude to my first set of analyses, a few general remarks will be necessary to avoid some needless confusion. I will be using a number of terms in a strict theoretical sense that will differ in some ways from the term's use in everyday conversation.

In his review of the use of linguistic models for the study of literary texts, Culler concludes his evaluation of their promise by stating that their greatest advantage
lies in the explicit formulation of an approach to a general theory of semiotics (1975: 257). That is, by studying the way linguists proceed to analyze the system of linguistic signs of a language one can gain insights into how to go about studying other cultural sign systems. As far as the system of literary signs and texts go, Culler proposes that

the role of linguistics is to emphasize that one must construct a model to explain how sequences have form and meaning for experienced readers, that one must start by isolating a set of facts to be explained, and that hypotheses must be tested by their ability to account for these effects (1975: 258).

It is an open question as to how useful particular theories of linguistic signs are as theories of signs in general. The graphic and plastic arts, for example, seem rather resistant to analysis as sign systems, especially for semiotic perspectives based heavily on the concept of a linguistic grammar. Verbal and literary art forms appear more amenable to this type of analysis as they constitute specialized uses of a more generalized linguistic ability. Though both the verbal and the literary text are based in their particular linguistic stratum, they possess rules of composition in addition to their composition as sentences in a particular human language. One goal of a grammar for oral narrative is that it must somehow specify these rules of narrative composition.
The term 'narrative' is somewhat ambiguous. It can refer to a single text, a single type of text, a part of a text wherein a character relates a story, the process of telling a particular story, or the process of telling a story in general. As these senses indicate, we should at least distinguish between the process of telling a story and the product of that process; and a distinction needs be made between competence and performance.

I shall define a narration to be a particular instance of someone telling a story. A record of such a narration (e.g., written transcripts or audio/video tape recordings) I will term a text. Both narration and text are elements of narrative performance.

Among the numerous factors which influence narration is narrative competence, and I restrict the meaning of narrative competence to refer to the general ability of individuals to produce and interpret stories (Chatman 1978: 22-26). The distinction between a story and a text is similar to that of an utterance as a unit of speech versus a sentence as a unit of language. In the context of this presentation, a story is equivalent to a folktale.

In addition to narrative competence as I have narrowly defined it, we can briefly indicate other competencies which influence narrative performance: linguistic competency, communicative competency, and stylistic competency all have some role to play. In addition, we might
wish to isolate something called artistic competency to include such skills as bodily gesture, control over vocal intonation, etc., and the ability to coordinate these and the previously mentioned competencies to create an aurally and visually elaborate spectacle (that is, performance in the theatric sense). Whether it is possible or desirable to integrate all these competencies into a unified theory of narrative structure is a matter for future study.

To return to the main point, though, of the many factors which go in to making up a folktale's narration or text, the story is one such feature. For my purposes, I take the tale or story to consist of a well-ordered sequence of motifemes. As I perceive the concept of a structural description of narrative, its major task is to generate the string of motifemes in the order in which they appear in the story. Once this task is accomplished, a second component assigns to each motifeme a culturally acceptable manifestation of that motifeme, followed by a third component which insures culturally acceptable standards of consistency among the items assigned to each motifeme. As far as the folktale is concerned, it remains to be seen whether this third component is in anywise distinct from any other form of extended discourse. The first and second components seem unique to the folktale. The second component I see as
analogous to characterizing the lexicon of a language.
A satisfactory characterization of this component of
an overall folktale grammar is yet to be accomplished,
though Bremond (1982) provides some initial considerations.
For my purposes it will be sufficient to claim the abil­
ity to assign a stretch of the text of a folktale to its
proper motifemic class. The following analyses shall only
be concerned with the first component of a folktale gram­
mar. Following van Dijk (1977: 130-163), we can refer to
this component as the level of narrative macro-structure.

Exposition of a generative grammar for narrative
macro-structure is best handled within the context of
the analysis of a tale, and to this end I have selected
"Sira and the Monster" (Finnegan 1967: 117-124), a synop­
sis of which immediately follows.

Sira and the Monster
While still in the womb, Sira calls out to her mother
saying she will choose for herself a husband who is with­
out blemish. Sira is afterwards born, and later, her
younger brother, Sara is born.
Sira grows up, is wooed by many men, but rejects them
all because she only wants a husband without blemishes. A
monster (spirit) hears about Sira and decides to woo her.
He dresses in the skins borrowed from various snakes and
reptiles to appear unblemished. When Sira sees him coming,
she announces to her mother that the one she will marry has
come. The disguised monster is given a room in the com­
pound, and Sira prepares and gives to him a meal of rice,
the traditional token that she wishes to become his wife.
The monster accepts this meal, and Sira goes out. The
monster is unable to eat rice, so he buries a small por­
tion of the meal and returns the rest to Sira when she
comes back. Sira tells the monster that if he has come to
make her his wife, he may have her and that her mother is
not interested in any bride-price payment. The monster
agrees to take her as his wife, and the couple set off
the next day.
On the way to the monster's abode, he returns the skins he has borrowed, and Sira discovers that he is a monster covered with bumps. They arrive at his home and Sira is held captive by a magic mirror which reports to the monster everything Sira does.

Sara, Sira's younger brother, wonders what has happened to Sira and decides to go visit her, taking along his three dogs. Sara finds Sira, who is beginning to acquire bumps herself. Sira confesses her mistake to Sara and warns him not to enter the homestead as the monster will discover him there and kill him. The monster detects a human scent and comes in search. As he approaches Sira's dogs begin to growl, scaring the monster. Sira tries to lie to the monster about the identity of Sara, but Sara tells him that he came in search of his sister. The monster invites Sara to stay, and during the night, makes several attempts to kill Sara, but is averted by the growlings of Sara's dogs.

The next morning the monster invites Sara to go with him to pick kola nuts. Sara agrees to go, but is asked to leave his dogs tied up in the compound. When they arrive at the kola tree, the monster produces a gun. He orders Sara to climb the tree and tells Sara that he intends to kill him. Sara requests permission to state a formal prayer of farewell to the god Kanu and to his dogs. The dogs hear Sara call out their names in his prayer, break loose from their bindings, find the monster, and kill him. Sara returns for Sira, and they both return home. Sira is remarried, this time to a spouse whom the family has selected. The tale concludes with an explanation of Sara's error; that she, as a woman, should subordinate her wishes to those of her male kindred, even if they are younger than she is.

Given a tale such as this, how should one proceed to devise its structural description? One possibility is to start at the beginning of the tale, identifying motifemes as appear in the reading, and then try to connect them together so show the syntactico-semantic relations among them: a type of bottom-up analysis. A second general strategy is to begin with the narrative as a whole and break it down into sequentially smaller units until we reach the level of motifemes: a top-down analysis. As this
second strategy proceeds in the same direction as the
generative rule system I wish to construct, I will begin
with this approach. As the argument progresses, however,
a combination of both top-down and bottom-up approaches
is necessary - generative structural analysis of a tale
is hermeneutic in nature.

From the initial reading, "Sira and the Monster"
breaks down into two major parts: from the beginning of
the narrative up to the point where Sira is imprisoned in
the monster's compound, and from Sara's decision to go in
search of Sira to the end of the narrative. A purely
syntactic approach could be taken here to divided the
tale into an initial phase and a final phase. This accords
with the perception that the first phase is clearly Sira's
story; and the second, Sara's. This is to say, Sira is
the central figure in the first component, but her role
is greatly reduced in the second component and Sara's
actions become prominent. To see where the trouble arises
with this approach, we must direct our attention to the
next lower partitioning of the text.

The initial phase derived above appears to break down
into three major segments: Sira's extraordinary announce-
ment in her mother's womb, the segment from rejecting suit-
ors to her marriage with the monster, and the segment re-
lating the journey to the monster's home and Sira's im-
prisonment. The three units seem to reflect Dundes' I-V-C
motifemic sequence. Examining the second phase, there is Sira's lack of his sister, his finding her, his struggle with the monster, the monster's death, and his sister's release from captivity and return to be married to an acceptable man. Although this is a complex series of events, there is an undeniable element of Sira's escape from captivity by the actions of Sara. In the structural description of the final phase, an escape motifeme must be generated at some point. This escape, however, is related to the I-V-C sequence in the initial phase.

Several considerations are available at this point. First, the requirement that elements which more or less go together (Dundes' motifeme sequences) ought to be generated together can be dropped. As a general strategy this entails that clear specification of the semantic relationships among motifemes need not be kept in a very strict manner. As a second strategy, the escape motifeme can be generated in the first phase in macro-narrative deep structure and be subsequently moved to the final phase in macro-narrative surface structure by a transformation rule. Although I will subsequently argue for the need for such transformational rules, a generally preferable strategy at this point in the development is to try to make the context-free component handle as much as it possibly can, sparing the need to carefully isolate those contexts where the transformation can be employed.
At this point, all possibilities of treating the problem with a context-free rule system have not been exhausted. The next logical alternative is to do away with the division of the text into an initial phase and a final phase. Instead, the text can be divided into four segments, manifesting the motifemes I, V, C, and E in that order. The I-V-C is contained in what was previously called the initial phase, and the escape phase is manifested as the former final phase. We lose, however, the initial impression of two major divisions. This somehow will need to be structurally explained.

As an aid to formalize the discussion, let us establish a few concepts and a notational strategy. Let us restrict the use of the term 'motifeme' to refer to a narrative segment that is irreducible to a collection of additional motifemes (i.e., the motifeme is a minimal folktale unit). I will reserve the symbols L (lack), LL (lack liquidated), I (interdiction), V (violation), C (consequence), E (escape), T (task), TA (task accomplished), D (deceit), and DN (deception) for representing motifemes. Segments of a text which are composed of more than one motifeme need some type of designation to distinguish them from motifemes. I hypothesize two such structural units. The first is a move. A move consists of one of Dundes' motifemic sequences. Therefore we can have a lack move (LM) consisting of the sequence L LL, a violation move
consisting of the sequence I V C (E) and designated by the symbol VM (the escape motifeme is optional in a violation move), a task move (TM) consisting of T TA, and a deceit move (DM) consisting of the motifemes D and DN. The order of appearance of motifemes in their respective moves must be preserved as given above. The second structural unit is the phase. At this point, at least, for each different motifeme there exists a corresponding motifemic phase. By defining the notion of a phase I am trying to capture the following syntactico-semantic relationship: within a narrative there exist stretches of sentences manifesting several motifemes but are all related to a single, key motifeme which serves to define the phase. For example, in the preceding analysis of "Sira and the Monster" the long, motifemically complex second half of the story wherein Sara effects Sira's escape will be termed an escape phase (EP). Minimally, a phase will consist of its key motifeme. In addition, it may also contain one or more moves. Finally, I will extend the concept of a move to include both the motifemic sequences mentioned above and a sequence of motifemic phases if the key motifemes of the phases and the phases themselves appear in the same order as the motifemic sequences. Up to the point where we left off, the analysis of "Sira and the Monster" has posited the following two context free rules: N →VM; and VM →IP VP CP EP.
Recalling the textual material corresponding to the phases on the right-hand side of the arrow in rule (2) - Sira's announcement from the womb as the Interdiction Phase, the stretch from the rejection of suitors to the marriage with the monster as the Violation Phase, Sira's discovery that she has married a monster and her capture as the Consequence Phase, and the segment from Sara's departure to the return home as the Escape Phase - these four phrase units capture much of what one would call the high-points of the narrative. Examination of the moral which ends the story suggests that matters do not quite square with this analysis. Were the moral something in the vein of never judging a book by its cover, a case could be made for the correctness of the analysis. However, the moral for this tale is about obeying ones male kindred, and if the moral is to be motivated by the tale, it is this moral precept which should serve as a violated interdiction. If we consider the concluding moral to be an implied initial interdiction, then Sira's announcement from the womb and the textual material up to and including her marriage to the monster can be seen as a violation of that interdiction. The remaining portion of the text is divided as before. Rule (2) appears to have been correct, but the previous division of the text was in error. Under this new assignment of textual segments, the IP is implicit (I will return to this facet below). The CP is a complex
narrative segment to which further analysis must be applied.

The violation phase divides between the announcement from the womb and Sira's rejection of suitors if we admit the temporal displacement as evidence. Sira's announcement from the womb would be viewed as an instance of a violation motifeme. The remaining segment consists of her rejection of normal suitors because they are blemished, the monster's acquisition of a disguise, Sira's announcement that the one she will marry has come, the cooking and acceptance of a meal signifying Sira's wish for the monster to become her husband, and their marriage. Sira's announcement that she has chosen the one to be her husband is another violation of the implicit interdiction, suggesting that this narrative segment represents another violation move. Recalling the derivation to this point, we have:

(1) \( N \rightarrow VM \)
(2) \( VM \rightarrow IP \ VP \ CP \ EP \)
(3) \( VP \rightarrow V \ VM \).

Examining the elements of this VM segment, Sira's rejection of normal suitors represents a restatement of Sira's announcement that she will only have a husband without blemish; an IP. The segment from the disguising of the monster to Sira's announcement that her choice of husband has come is a motifemically complex violation phase; and the scene
with the meal and the marriage agreement is a complex consequence phase:

(4) \( \text{VM} \rightarrow \text{IP VP CP} \).

Turning our attention to the VP in rule (4), it consists of the disguising of the monster (a deception move) and Sira's announcement (a violation motifeme). The CP consists of the rice-eating deception (another deception move) and a consequence move (the marriage). Hence,

(5) \( \text{IP} \rightarrow \text{I} \)

(6) \( \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{DM V} \)

(7) \( \text{CP} \rightarrow \text{DM C} \).

All that remains to complete the analysis of the VP segment generated in rule (2) is

(8) \( \text{DM} \rightarrow \text{D DN} \).

Returning to the CP generated in rule (2), we have the monster's return of the skins he borrowed, Sira's discovery that instead of an unblemished human husband she has married a blemished, non-human spirit, and her being held captive by the monster. This last narrative element is a consequence motifeme, but no motifeme or move identified so far seems to capture the return of the garments and Sira's discovery she's been tricked. However, if we follow the lead given by Kilson (1976: 26) and define a Deception Revealed (DR) motifeme, this segment could be captured as a Deception-Deception Revealed move. Now, though, we have two moves involving an element of deceit.
We could leave matters like this, but we would ignore a rather simple semantic relationship between the two deception moves: Dundes' Deceit-Deception sequence is equivalent to a Deception-Deception Not Revealed sequence. If we allow the grammar to generate a negation marker \((\text{neg})\) along with a deception move, Dundes' Deceit-Deception sequence becomes a Deception-Deception Revealed-negative sequence. By defining the matter this way, another problem is solved. All other motifemic sequences as defined by Dundes appear to represent the actions of the same character with the exception of the Deceit-Deception pair. In this sequence, the character doing the deceiving is different from the character who is deceived. The terms Deception and Deception Revealed do not connote such a change in perspective between agent and patient; it's the deception and the deception's revelation that matter. Therefore, I amend rule (8) to read

\[(8a) \quad \text{DM} \rightarrow \text{D DR neg}\]

in order to handle the two previous occurrences of DM. To handle the narrative components of Sira's discovery of her marriage to a monster and her imprisonment we can employ rule (7), \(\text{CP} \rightarrow \text{DM C}\), followed by rule (8a) without the generation of the neg marker. Using the parenthesis convention for an optional element, we can express both (8a) and the new rule as

\[(8b) \quad \text{DM} \rightarrow \text{D DR (neg)}.\]
To complete the structural description of "Sira and the Monster," all that remains is the Escape Phase. Previous considerations suggested a major break in the narrative deep structure between this segment and the preceding three segments. To notationally capture this intuition, I propose to consider this a new narrative followed by an escape motifeme:

(9) \text{EP} \rightarrow \text{NM}.

Although this decision requires further justification, this will follow the completion of the analysis of the escape phase.

The embedded narrative breaks into two major components: Sara's search for and encounter with his sister, and the events leading up to and including the death of the monster. The first component consists of a lack (Sara misses his sister Sira) and a lack liquidated (Sara finds his sister and listens to her woeful plight) motifeme. The second component is a complex task move, representing the events following Sara's decision to rescue his sister.

(10) \text{N} \rightarrow \text{LM} \rightarrow \text{TM}
(11) \text{LM} \rightarrow \text{LL}
(12) \text{TM} \rightarrow \text{TP} \rightarrow \text{TAP}
(13) \text{TP} \rightarrow \text{T}

The task accomplished phase is itself motifemically complex. It ends with the destruction of the monster by Sara's dogs, the Task Accomplished motifeme. Preceding
this segment of the narrative is Sara's call to his dogs disguised as a farewell formal prayer; a deception-deception revealed-negative sequence. Before this are three narrated attempts by the monster to kill Sara, each time foiled by the dogs' actions. Each of these attempts can be viewed as unsuccessful difficult task moves for the monster. In an intuitive sense, Sara's deceptive prayer seems as equally related to the monster's final attempt on Sara's life and the destruction of the monster. In the absence of any clear clustering of this episode with the preceding or succeeding episodes, we can consider this Task Accomplished phase as composed of a Task Move (the monster's attempts on Sara's life), a Deception Move (Sara's disguised prayer), and a Task Accomplished motifeme (the death of the monster):

(14) TAP $\rightarrow$ TM DM TA.

Via rule (8b), the Deception Move can be broken down into a Deception motifeme, a Deception Revealed motifeme, and the Negative Marker in that the monster falls for Sara's trick. The complex task move can be considered as three repetitions of the same structure.

The final attempt on Sara's life consists of a Task Phase and a Task Accomplished Phase, and here again the negative marker must be employed to show the unsuccessful outcome of this task. The task accomplished phase can be considered to be composed of a Deception Move (the
monster hides his intention to kill Sara), the revelation of the monster's intention, and its unsuccessful conclusion. Thus we have the rules:

\( (15) \quad \text{TM} \rightarrow \text{TP TAP}, \)
\( (16) \quad \text{TP} \rightarrow \text{T}, \)
\( (17) \quad \text{TAP} \rightarrow \text{DM TA neg}, \) and
\( (8b) \quad \text{DM} \rightarrow \text{D DR}. \)

In order to incorporate the previous two unsuccessful attempts on Sara's life, we need merely amend rule (15) to allow for an optional occurrence of another TM on the right-hand side of the arrow:

\( (15a) \quad \text{TM} \rightarrow (\text{TM}) \text{ TP TAP}. \)

In the narrative section under consideration, rule (15a) has been employed three times, the first two times generating the optional TM along with the TP and TAP and the final time generating only the TP and TAP components. Except for clearing up a few details, the context free analysis of "Sira and the Monster" is complete, and the results are summarized in Figure 3.

First, the matter of the embedded narrative in the Escape Phase must be considered. The internal evidence for its occurrence is the abrupt transition from actions considered from Sira's point-of-view to actions from Sara's. By this evidence alone, the Task Move dominating the three unsuccessful attempts on Sara's life represents such a change in point-of-view from Sara to the monster, and
FIGURE 3: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR SIRA AND THE MONSTER
FIGURE 3 (CONTINUED): DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR SIRA AND THE MONSTER
might be considered another narrative. Intertextual evidence, however, allows for a stronger argument for Sara's rescue attempt. Finnegan records a variant of "Sira and the Monster" under the title "The Girl and the Spirit" (1967: 125-127). I will forego a complete analysis of this tale and only indicate its relevance to understanding the structure of "Sira and the Monster."

First, the "Girl and the Spirit" lacks a concluding moral. Thus, there is no motivation to write a separate level of segmentation to incorporate the moral. The announcement from the womb episode is not present in this variant. Instead, it begins with the statement of the interdiction to be violated: the girl's personality is characterized as refusing to listen to her parents. The result is that this tale's structural analysis corresponds to the first attempt to treat "Sira and the Monster" before the reassignment of textual segmentation to incorporate the moral. Second, the Lack Move corresponding to Sara's search for Sira is not present in "The Girl and the Spirit." The girl's younger brother immediately recognizes that his sister's chosen husband is a spirit in human form and stubbornly insists in going with the couple to the spirit's home. In its place is a more expanded revelation episode of how the girl come to realize she's married a spirit. Upon this realization, the girl decides to run away and is assisted in this escape by her younger brother.
The girl is guarded by a giant chicken which will squawk should she try to escape, alerting the spirit. Her small, young brother miraculously carries several hundred-pound bags of grain and sets them before the chicken. The chicken begins eating the grain, thereby delaying its alarm until both the girl and her brother are far away. In this case, both show rather remarkable abilities in that they can both run across the ocean to England. At this point the narrator attempts to incorporate a tale concerning the origin of gold: the girl decides to bathe in the ocean and tells her brother to go on home. The chicken finally lets out its alarm, and the spirit sees that she is far away and beyond recapture. In response, the spirit picks up a gold piece, flings it toward the girl, but it gets caught in a lobster's tail. This then constitutes the origin of gold. The tale ends with the girl's contrite return home. Clearly, this variant does not manifest the same structural break in the escape phase as does "Sira and the Monster."

The second source of extra-textual evidence is yet another tale, "The Hunter with Three Dogs" (Finnegan 1967: 143-146), wherein it is the hunter who falls in love with a girl spirit. She invites him to her home underground, persuades the hunter to climb a kola nut tree, whereupon she reveals her intention to kill the hunter. He is rescued by his dogs, using the same subterfuge of a farewell
prayer to call his dogs which have been left tied up at the spirit's home. These evidences suggest that the narrator of "Sira and the Monster" has effected a combination of a tale of the type "The Girl and the Spirit" with a tale of the type "The Hunter with Three Dogs." 

Three other features of the phrase structure rules for "Sira and the Monster" need to be dealt with. First, there is the relationship between the implicit initial interdiction and the concluding moral: the moral has yet to be incorporated into the description. Second, the connection between the episode of the Monster's borrowing of skins and their return has not been made apparent in the context-free derivation. Reading the text, there is scarcely any mention of a narrational component corresponding to the Deception Revealed - negative component of the Deception Move for the monster's borrowing of skins. Its occurrence is implicit in Sira's following action of declaring that her future husband is coming. In comparison to these two cases where the text underrepresents a motifeme, there is a rather elaborate paragraph prior to the monster's invitation to Sara to stay in the compound where the monster's felonious intentions are clearly brought forth; a kind of prelude to the three unsuccessful attempts to kill Sara. All three of these cases, I suggest, represent the results of the application of transformation rules, modifying the deep narrative
macro-structure to a surface narrative macro-structure more closely corresponding the the nature of the narration as it is eventually to be expressed in sentences.

To deal with the missing initial interdiction, comparison of "Sira and the Monster" with "The Girl and the Spirit" suggest that if the interdiction is present in initial position, the moral conclusion is absent; and vice versa. The deep structure representation for this context would be #-IP-VP-CP-X-#, where the symbols '#' represent the narrative boundary and 'X' stands for any type of textual material between the Consequence Phase and the end of the narrative (i.e., EP in the text under consideration). The resulting structure takes the form #-VP-CP-X-Moral-#. The transformation rule, which I shall term the Moral Conclusion Transformation, deletes the narrative initial IP and inserts a Moral in narrative final position. The Moral Conclusion Transformation (MCT) is then


I make this rule an optional transformation as its occurrence or non-occurrence appears to result in a well-formed narrative.

The key to handling the deleted Deception Revealed-Negative sequence is to consider this logically necessary element as a delaying tactic. That is, if there is a distinct episode in which a deception is to be revealed,
and that episode in which the deception is related is separated from its revelation by any other textual material (another motifeme), then the narrator of a well-formed tale must present the character as having fallen for the deception until it is revealed. If the same deception is present in two Deceit Moves and if the second deceit move does not have a negative marker, then the first deception revealed motifeme and its negative marker is deleted in surface structure. Although a comparative analysis of a number of tales evincing this type of deletion are needed, intuitively the rule seems to work best when the failure to reveal the deception results in the violation of some interdiction by the deceived character. At this stage in the development of transformational analyses of folktale plots, I define this Deception Revelation Delaying rule (DRDT):

\[ T2: \text{VP} \left[ D_1 - \text{DR}_1 - \text{neg} \right] \text{VP-X-D}_2 - \text{DR}_2 \Rightarrow \text{VP} \left[ D_1 \text{VP-X-D}_2 - \text{DR}_2 \right], \text{if and only if } D_1 \text{ is equal to } D_2. \]

That is, a Deception-Deception Revealed-Negative sequence contained within a violation phase loses its Deception Revealed and negative motifemes if it occurs before a Deception-Deception Revealed motifeme sequence without the negative marker and the two deceptions are the same. Whether this rule is optional or obligatory is left for future research.
The third consideration, the expanded statement of the monster's intentions concerning Sara, may not be necessary to account for in a grammar of narrative macrostructure. I include it, however, because of the messy narrative situation surrounding it. Bound within this same narrative stretch is Sira's attempt to lie to the monster by denying that she knows her brother Sara. In the text, it has already been narrated that the monster recognizes Sara as Sira's brother. Sira's lie is totally unmotivated by the narrative. It reads as if she was not present when the monster recognizes Sara, yet Sira is narrated as being present in this episode. Upon request by the monster, Sara reveals his relationship to Sira. This segment appears to be a production error, and may be involved with the attempt to provide a preface to the monster's subsequent actions.

Obviously, a theory which declares something to be a production error for that which it is unable to consistently explain can all too easily insulate itself from all attempts to test its validity, the relative incoherence of the events in this section of the text of "Sira and the Monster" would be apparent to any serious reader. Something is wrong here. However, it is not unreasonable to entertain the hypothesis that a narrator will expand an introduction to a structurally complex sequence of events as an aid to the listener. If so, it would seem to
involve the multiple repetitions of the same motifemic structural units. If, as in this case of Sira and the Monster, it is desirable to account for the added statement of the difficult task presented to the monster, a transformational rule would have to be written to place this expanded task motifeme in front of the first Task Move of the repetitious sequence and nowhere else, regardless of the number of repetitions. For such a rule to work, the description of its context of application would have to utilize some sort of concept of an initial position, but the initial position of a structural unit which is labeled differently at its highest node than the repeated structural units. In the case of "Sira and the Monster" this would refer to the TAP unit superordinate to the series of repeated TMs. In fact, the way this context free rule system has been constructed, the superordinate node can only be either a Phase or a Narrative. A sequence of nested, structurally equivalent Phases of the same type is impossible as a Phase is composed of either a single motifeme or a combination of a move and a motifeme. A phase cannot consist of another phase without some intervening level of structure. If we let the symbol 'G' stand for either a motifemic phase or a narrative, we can write for this case the following Task Prefacing Transformation:

\[ T_3: G[\#-T_1-X-T_2-Y-\#]_G \Rightarrow G[\#-T-T_1-X-T_2-Y-\#]_G \text{ if and only if } T_1 \text{ is equal to } T_2. \]
be simplified further if this segment of motifemes narrated from the monster's point-of-view was considered to be another N as suggested earlier. Then the symbol 'G' could be replaced by the symbol 'N' in T3. At this point, however, in the development of a grammar for folktales, additional research to isolate the distinction between a "structural narrative" and a "traditional narrative" is needed.

"Sira and the Monster" was chosen for detailed analysis because of its structural complexity. By considering this tale alone, the kinds of arguments needed to devise a context-free analysis of a folktale and evidence for the usefulness of a transformational component in a grammar for the macro-structure of tales have been illustrated. With the establishment of this foundation, let us now turn our attention to the dilemma tale.

LIMBA DILEMMA TALES

As characterized by Bascom (1975: 1), dilemma tales are prose narratives that leave the listener with a choice among alternatives, such as which of several characters has done the best, deserves a reward, or should win an argument or a case in court. The choices are difficult ones and usually involve discrimination on ethical, moral, or legal grounds. Other dilemma tales, which border on tall tales, ask the listener to judge the relative skills of characters who have performed incredible feats. The narrator ends his story with the dilemma, often explicitly stated in the form of a question, to be debated by his listeners.

They quite commonly occur in the oral traditions of peoples
throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Arewa (1971) considers dilemma tales to represent a form of formula tale, with two major subdivisions of mathematical (logical) and philosophical (moral) dilemma tales (Arewa 1971: 229). Bascom (1975: 10) considers the relegation of all instances of dilemma tales to the formula tale section of the Aarne-Thompson index to be too restrictive. Some of the more elaborate dilemma tales can easily be narrated without the presence of the dilemma question and the narrative so produced may more closely correlate with tales not considered to be formula tales. Shorter, less elaborate dilemma tales appear to require the presence of the question for without it the tale appears rather pointless. In light of the previous structural considerations, the question arises as to what gives a particular narration its dilemma-ness.

In her collection of Limba tales, Finnegan (1967) provides eight examples of tales which are clearly dilemma tales, marked by the appearance of a question at the end of the tale. Four other tales seem also to be related to the dilemma tale. Two of these, Finnegan suggests, have an implicit dilemma question though the question is not manifested in the narration. The other two tales have a rather reduced dilemma-type question embedded within them.
Before discussing the structures of these twelve tales, an analysis of the structure of a formula tale is necessary to provide a baseline for comparison with the dilemma tales. For this purpose, I have selected "The Boy Who Gets a Wife from a Bird" (Finnegan 1967: 168-169). Thematically, this tale most closely resembles AT 2034C, and shows some, but not all, the features of a cumulative formula tale.

**THE BOY WHO GOT A WIFE FROM A BIRD**

A woman, gathering cane grass, catches a wild bird. She takes it as a gift to her young son. Upon being given the bird, the boy declares he will get a wife with this bird.

The boy sets off and encounters a smith. The smith is supposed to regularly sacrifice a bird to his implements. The boy offers the smith his bird for this purpose, provided that the smith only kill half the bird. The smith, of course kills the entire bird. The boy complains of the loss of his mother's gift, and the blacksmith gives the boy a knife in compensation.

Next the boy encounters some people splitting raffia leaf spines. The boy lends them his knife subject to the proviso that they leave him half the spines unsplit. The people, however, split them all and in the process break the knife. They give the boy the raffia spines.

The boy next encounters people weaving baskets out of cane grass. The boy gives them half his raffia spines to split, but they split them all and give the boy a basket in return. With the basket he encounters a group of people hauling a rice harvest from the fields. The boy allows them to carry half the whole harvest in his basket and leave him the other half. They carry off the whole harvest in the boy's basket, however, which they forfeit to the boy.

The boy next encounters people sacrificing. He offers them half his rice for this purpose, but the people sacrifice all the rice, giving the boy a hen in compensation. The hen is exchanged for a goat in compensation for killing the whole hen when they were only to kill half of it in the boy's next encounter. Similarly, the goat is exchanged for an ox, and the ox is exchanged for a women. The boy returns home to announce to his mother his success.
Thompson (1977: 229) characterizes formula tales in the following manner.

Formula tales contain a minimum of actual narrative. The simple central situation serves as a basis for the working out of a narrative pattern. But the pattern so developed is interesting, not on account of what happens in the story, but on account of the exact form in which the story is narrated. Sometimes this formalism consists in a sort of framework which encloses the story and sometimes in that peculiar piling up of words which makes the cumulative tale. In any case, the effect of a formulistic story is always essentially playful, and the proper narrating of one of these tales takes on all the aspects of a game.

In 'The boy who got a wife from a bird' the framework, as Thompson calls it, is a Task Move consisting of a Task Phase (with the bird, acquire a wife) and a Task Accomplishment Phase. The TAP consists of the "formulistic" story of the series of encounters until he finally acquires a wife. Upon examination of any one of these encounters, it can be seen as a Lack Move consisting of a Lack Phase in which the boy loses the object gained in the preceding episode and a Lack Liquidation Phase in which the boy is given an object of greater value in compensation for his loss. The Lack Phase is a complex unit consisting of two moves: a Lack Move in which the boy encounters a group of people who have need of the object the boy has in his possession, and a Violation move wherein the people violate the condition the boy placed on the use of his possession. As a consequence, they supply the boy with the object he will lose in the next encounter (see
FIGURE 4: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE BOY WHO GOT A WIFE FROM A BIRD"
In devising a structural description for this tale, I gave each of the boy's Lack Move encounters with a group of people or a person a numerical index. Thus $\text{LM}_1$, which is immediately dominated by the node LLP represents the encounter where the boy loses his ox and is given a wife, and so forth, ending with $\text{LM}_6$ where the boy loses the bird his mother gave him and gained a knife. The imbalance between the object lost and the object provided in compensation is denoted by the differing numerical subscripts given to the LP and LLP immediately dominated by the LM. I have used the symbol "N" to represent the combination of the Lack Move and the Violation Move describing the actions of the individuals the boy encounters. Thus, this series of exchanges leading to the acquisition of a wife appears as a sequence of embedded Lack Moves, each lack move being structurally identical. This, then, is the structural formula of this instance of a formula tale.

The final task of the context-free component of the tale's description is to incorporate the series of Lack Moves into the Task Accomplished Phase of the "framework." This has been accomplished by embedding the series into the Lack Liquidated Phase of another Lack Move. The Lack motifeme for this Lack Move is the wife, and her acquisition is the corresponding Lack Liquidated motifeme. This
restores a structural balance to the series of imbalanced exchanges and is embedded into the Task Accomplished Phase of the framing narrative. In the process, however, the grammar generates an extra Lack Liquidated motifeme representing the acquisition of a wife. A transformational rule must be constructed to delete one of these occurrences. That is, a rule is needed to delete equal motifemes such as the two copies of $LL_0$ in Figure 4, without at the same time permitting the deletion of the two copies of $LL_1$. Looking at the terminal string of symbols, one possibility is to utilize the fact that the two $LL_0$s lie side-by-side whereas the two $LL_1$s have an intervening $L_1$. Examples of similar transformation rules yet to be discussed reveal that this approach will not work. The relationship known as c-command, however, will work. A structural unit (i.e., node) c-commands another structural unit if you can follow the line connecting it upward to the first node which has two or more lines descending from it (a branching node), and that branching node dominates the second structural unit. In the example under consideration, the second $LL_0$ c-commands the first $LL_0$ as the first branching node above it (LLP) dominates the first $LL_0$ (i.e., is connected to the first $LL_0$ by a downward path only). Neither of the two $LL_1$s c-commands the other: the first branching node for the first $LL_1$, $LL^2$, does not dominate the second $LL_1$ (an upward path intervenes), and the
first branching node for the second $LL_1$, $LM_1$, only dominates $L_1$. Given these considerations, the first $LL_0$ can be deleted by the following Redundant Lack-Liquidation Liquidation Rule:

$$T4: LL_1 - X - LL_j \Rightarrow X - LL_j$$, if and only if $LL_1$ equals $LL_j$ and $LL_j$ c-commands $LL_1$. Application of this transformation to the structural description in Figure 4 results in the surface macro-structural description of the tale.

THE WOMAN WITH FOUR LOVERS
(Finnegan 1967: 166-167)

A woman has four lovers. She prepares four different, large meals, one for each lover, in the same small cooking pot, and is able to remove each meal in succession from the mixed-up contents of the pot.

In a single night this same woman is able to make love with each of her lovers.

After this night of love-making, the woman's four lovers depart. They came to a big river. One of the smokes, and the four are able to cross the river by means of that smoke. Which is the greater, the men or the woman?

This dilemma tale has a relatively simple structure.

It consists of three difficult or impossible tasks and their accomplishments (see Figure 5). The first two Task Moves are performed by the woman, and I have grouped them together under a single TM node. The third TM is performed by the four men. The remaining narrative element is the question. Its "motifemic" presence is marked with the symbol '?' generated by the occurrence of the dilemma marker 'Q'. No transformations are required.
FIGURE 5: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE WOMAN WITH FOUR LOVERS"
THREE TWINS AND AN ELEPHANT
(Finnegan 1967: 221-222)

Triplets decide to go hunt an elephant. The first declares he will shoot the elephant with only having seen the elephant's tracks. The second declares that he and he alone will be able to skin and butcher the elephant. The third declares he will find something to carry the meat home in.

The three set out. The first sees the elephant's tracks, fires his gun, and kills the elephant. They follow the bullet's path and find the dead elephant five days later. The second skins and butchers the elephant with his thumbnail. The third catches a small fly, splits it open, and carries all the meat home in the fly's skin.

Which of the three is the most cunning?

This dilemma tale, too, has a relatively simple structure, consisting of three embedded task moves, one for each of the triplets. Successful completion of the first impossible task sets the stage for the second impossible task, which sets the stage for the third. This component of the tale is structurally similar to the three unsuccessful attempts on Sara's life by the monster in "Sira and the Monster." The same prefacing phenomenon is also encountered, suggesting a transformation occurs here. In the derivation of the transformational rule in "Sira and the Monster" I used the concept of semantically similar tasks and a boundary to specify the context of its application. Here the three tasks are different and so each is mentioned in the preface. In Figure 6 I have marked its position in deep structure with a triangle. The transformational task here is to bring a copy of each Task motifeme to the front of the triangle in the same order as the tasks are carried out in the tale. The
FIGURE 6: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THREE TWINS AND AN ELEPHANT"
difficulty here is, adopting the convention that a transformation is first applied to the lower-most structure available for its operation before moving to a higher structure, a rule which copies a task motifeme and place the copy in "initial" position would produce the order 
T₃-T₂-T₁ instead of the desired T₁-T₂-T₃ order. To get the correct order the copy would have to be placed before "initial position." Hence the motivation for the textually "empty" triangle. The prefacing transformation rule is then:

$$T5: \Delta_{\text{TM}} [\text{Y-T-Z}]_{\text{TM}} \Rightarrow T - \Delta_{\text{TM}} [\text{Y-T-Z}]_{\text{TM}}.$$  

This rule can then be used in place of the previously defined T2, along with a generalized version of T4 which would delete redundant T's if the prefaced tasks are semantically equivalent.

A DILEMMA ABOUT THREE SMOKERS  
(Finnegan 1967: 230)

The first of three men has a pipe, but lacks tobacco. The second has tobacco, but lacks a match. A third man has a match. The first man takes tobacco from the second and a match from the third, and they each share the smoke. When the first man knocked the ashes out of the pipe, a beautiful girl emerged. Which of the three should have the girl?

For such a surprisingly simple tale, a relatively more complex deep structure must be postulated (Figure 7). Semantically there are three lacks distributed among three actors in such a way that each character has two lacks and no two characters have the same pair of lacks. Each object
FIGURE 7: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "A DILEMMA ABOUT THREE SMOKERS"
lacked and its respective liquidation is denoted by the same subscript. For the tale's deep structural description, I hypothesize three co-ordinate Lack Moves followed by the Dilemma Marker. Each Lack Move consists of a doubled Lack Phase and Lack Liquidation Phase corresponding to the two out of three objects each character lacks. However, the interrelated nature of these three lacks allow a narrator to delete much of the redundant information so that this tale's transformational derivation is quite complex.

The first transformation I hypothesize is a Lack Move Subordinating transformation. The purpose of this transformation is to put the three lack moves into a nested series of lack moves. The rule starts with the first Lack Move and examines the structure of the Lack Move immediately to the right of the first. If the two moves share the same lack, the rule places the second lack move within the first by replacing the shared Lack Phase in the first move with the entire second Lack Move. Once this move has been subordinated, the rule applies to the structure of the subordinated Lack Move as it is lowermost in the tree structure and examines the non-subordinated Lack Move to its right. If this Move shares a Lack Phase the rule subordinates it to the already subordinated Lack Move. The result of applying this transformation twice to the tale is given in Figure 8. The rule can be formally
FIGURE 8: STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "A DILEMMA ABOUT THREE SMOKERS" AFTER TWO APPLICATIONS OF LM-SUBORDINATING TRANSFORMATION
stated as:
\[ T6: IM[X_1-L_1-X_2]_{LM} - X_3_{LM} [X_4-L_j-X_5]_{LM} \]
\[ \Rightarrow IM[X_1-L_1]_{LM} [X_4-L_j-X_5]_{LM} \text{, if and only if } L_1 \text{ equals } L_j. \]

Once this has been accomplished, redundant Lack and Lack Liquidated motifemes can be deleted. Having introduced the concept of c-command, the rules are easy to state. If a Lack or Lack Liquidated motifeme c-commands another motifemic occurrence of itself, the c-commanded copy is deleted. The results of this are given in Figure 9.

The c-commanded redundant 'lack deletion rule can be stated as
\[ T7: X-L_1-Y-L_j-Z \Rightarrow X-L_1-Y-Z \text{ if and only if } L_1 \text{ equals } L_j \text{ and } L_1 \text{ c-commands } L_j. \]

The c-commanded redundant lack-liquidated deletion rule can then be stated as
\[ T8: X-LL_1-Y-LL_j-Z \Rightarrow X-Y-LL_j-Z \text{ if and only if } LL_1 \text{ equals } LL_j \text{ and } LL_j \text{ c-commands } LL_1. \]

The previously stated T4 is a specialized instance of T8.

The final transformation employed in this tale I term a redundant Lack-Lack Liquidated Deletion rule. In the tale under consideration, the third character's status with respect to objects lacking is completely determined by knowledge of what the other two characters lack. The narrator need not mention the third character's lack states. The structural description in Figure 9 still contains an \( L_3 \) for the third character and an \( LL_3 \) for the second character. The object referred to here is the pipe which we know to be
FIGURE 9: STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "A DILEMMA ABOUT THREE SMOKERS" AFTER ONE APPLICATION OF C-COMMANDED REDUNDANT LACK DELETION AND THREE APPLICATIONS OF C-COMMANDED REDUNDANT LACK LIQUIDATED DELETION
FIGURE 10: SURFACE MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "A DILEMMA ABOUT THREE SMOKERS" AFTER REDUNDANT LACK-LACK LIQUIDATED DELETION
by virtue of the announcement of the first character.
Both $L_3$ and $LL_3$ are redundant and may be deleted. The result is given in Figure 10, which represents the surface structure of this dilemma tale. The formal statement of the deletion rule is

$$T9: \ X-L_1-\ Y-LL_1-Z \Rightarrow X-Y-Z, \ if \ and \ only \ if \ L_1 \ equals \ (L_1^{-1} \cup L_1^{-2} \ 'U \ L_1)'$$

The set notation used in the statement of the rule's condition for operation means that $L_1$ is the only lack remaining to complete the full set of lacks occurring in the tale.

THE HUNTER AND THE THREE TWINS
(Finnegan 1967: 214-217)

A recently married husband leaves his pregnant wife to go hunting. As the result of an accident, the hunter and his equipment fall into the river and the hunter drowns.

The woman gives birth to triplets. As they grow up, the mother tells them about their missing father. The children decide to go in search of him.

The first child miraculously discovers his father's tracks and leads them to the pool wherein he drowned. The second child is able to breathe for himself and for the other two as they descend into the water. The third child, while underwater, kills and splits open several animals, recovering his father's remains and his equipment.

Bringing the dead father's remains back to dry ground, each child helps to put their father back together and revive him. The children and their father return home.

The mother, seeing the four returning miraculously cooks a different meal for each of them from the same, tiny pot.

Of the mother and the three children, which is the most amazing?
FIGURE 11: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE HUNTER AND THE THREE TWINS"
As shown in Figure 11, the structural description for the narration as a who breaks it down into a Lack Move, a Task Move, and the Dilemma Marker. The Task Move in this instance represents the mother's amazing cooking abilities, a narrative theme already encountered in "The Woman with Four Lovers." The Lack Liquidated Phase of the Lack Move consists of two task moves and the Lack Liquidation (revival and return of the father). Each Task Move contains three Task and Task-Accomplished motifemes, one for each child. $T_M^1$ is the narrative segment consisting of the triplets amazing abilities to recover their father's remains, and $T_M^2$ their actions taken to revive their father. No transformational rules need apply to this structure.

THREE TWINS WOO ONE GIRL
(Finnegan 1967: 218-219)

Each of three triplets declare their desire for the same woman. In turn, each of the children go to their father for money to buy a suitable present to give to the girl to open a formal courtship phase. The first buys a glass, the second buys an animal's tail, and the third an animal's skin. The three children meet simultaneously at a crossroads on their way home.

The first child shows the second child the glass he bought, telling him that by looking into it he could see all that is happening at home. Looking through the glass, the second child sees that the woman they all three love has died. The second child says if there were some way they could get home quickly he could revive the woman. The third child looks through the glass, sees that it is the same woman that he is in love with, opens up his skin and the three are magically transported home. The second child uses the animal's tail to revive the girl. Who should have the revived woman?
FIGURE 12: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR THREE TWINS WOO ONE GIRL
The deep structure description for Three Twins Woo
One Girl is fairly straightforward. It is most interesting
in that for the first time the Dilemma Marker is not gener­
ated from the node N, but is embedded as the final com­
ponent of the LLP, representing the semantic relationship
that the considerations needed to decide the question is
contained within this structural unit and not the tale as
a whole. The narrative as a whole consists of a Lack Move.
The Lack Phase of that move consists of the children's
declaration of love for the same girl, and the Lack Liquid­
dation Phase comprises the remainder of the narrative.
The Lack Liquidated Phase consists of a set of three
coordinate Lack Moves for each of the three gift purchas­
ing episodes, a complex Task Move containing two embedded
Task Moves, a Lack Liquidated motifeme for the revival of
the girl, and the Dilemma Marker. The unit labeled $TM_1$
represents the discovery of the girl's death, the follow­
ing $T$ motifeme is the second child's declaration that he
can revive the girl, the unit labeled $TM_2$ represents the
magical transportation home, and the TA motifeme is the
episode where the second child revives the girl.

TUNGKANGBEI, PALONGBEI, AND YISAHOASAHO
(Finnegan 1967: 229-230)

Three children, known terrors of neighborhood, obtain
a cow from a chief, claiming they are very hungry. The
first child decides to kill the cow. He crawls under it,
kills the cow, and is himself killed when the cow falls on
him. The second child goes for water, and throws himself
in. He drowns. A deer passes by the dead cow and steps on it, catching some of the meat on its hoof. The remaining child goes after the deer and is killed trying to lick the meat off the deer's hoof.

A pregnant woman, looking for yams, follows the smoke of the fire the three children had made, and finds the now abandoned meat. She manages to eat a whole cow and in the process unknowingly gives birth. Having finished, she gathers the remaining bones into a basket, also putting the newly born child in with them. She puts the basket on top her head and returns home. On the return journey, the child manages to eat all the bones. Which is more amazing, the mother or the child?

For the structural description of this narrative, I have written it as consisting of two distinct narratives (see Figure 13). The first narrative has all the characteristics of a numbskull story, whereas the second narrative is the dilemma tale. The numbskull story consists of a Lack Move, wherein the three terrors acquire a cow, and an unsuccessful Task Move (all three fail to consume the cow). Each child dies because each rather blatantly violates commonsense aspects of physical causality in the "real" world. The true dilemma tale consists of two miraculous task moves: the woman eating an entire cow and a newborn infant consuming all the bones.

FOUR WIVES
(Finnegan 1967: 152-155)

A chief has married a woman, but they have been unable to have children. They go to a moriman, who magically restores fertility to the woman. The child is subject to the constraint that only the chief and the child's mother may see the child, as may one other person who will cook for the child. The child is born and is kept in an attic. Staring out from above he sees and falls in love with a young woman. Knowing the interdiction placed upon him, he is unable to help himself, and the girl visits
FIGURE 13: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "TUNGKANGBEI, PALONGBEI, AND YISAHOSAHO"
the boy that night. In the morning the boy dies, and the parents discover the girl in the room with their dead son.

The parents send for the moriman. He has the chief instruct his men to gather firewood and kerosene. The moriman builds a huge fire. The moriman tells the chief that if he will allow himself to be consumed by the fire, he can have his son back. The chief refuses. The moriman makes the same offer to the boy's mother, and she refuses. The girl volunteers. She is burnt up. The moriman collects the ashes, and a month later returns with both the boy and girl. The chief pays the moriman. The boy takes the girl as his wife and departs the chiefdom.

On their journey, the young man becomes very hungry. They are met by another woman bearing food for the workers in her fields. The woman falls in love with the man, and agrees to feed him if he would take her for his wife. The man does so.

The trio come to a large river and meet a third woman on its banks. The third woman says she will find a way for them to cross the river if the man will have her for his wife, as she, too, has fallen in love with him. The third woman takes her child and throws him to the crocodiles. The four of them cross the river in a boat, unmolested.

They come to a village where they learn that strangers entering the village must guess the whereabouts of the chief's buried afterbirth. If they fail to locate it, they will be killed. The daughter of the village chief, however, falls in love with the man and promises to tell him where the afterbirth is located if he will take her as his wife. He agrees. The next morning she deceptively points out where the afterbirth lies. The old chief of the village eventually dies, and the man with the four wives succeeds him.

The man has a child by each wife. He eventually dies. Which of the wives' children should succeed him?

This tale, and the close variant of this tale which immediately follows, are clearly the most structurally complex dilemma tales so far considered. Most of this complexity stems from what I consider to be two full narratives which have been embedded in a relatively simple overarching structure of three coordinate Task Moves and a Lack Move, followed by a Dilemma Marker. The first
FIGURE 14: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "FOUR WIVES"
embedded narrative is headed by the node labeled $N_2$, relating the birth, death, and revival of the boy. The second embedded narrative is headed by the node $N_3$, relating the man's successful test of locating the chief's afterbirth. Of structural interest in both embedded narratives is the reduplicated occurrence of Task-Task Accomplished motifemes: one pair in the embedded narrative denoting the task's structural function in that narrative, and one pair in the overarching narrative. These are labeled $T_1$, $TA_1$, $T_2$, and $TA_2$ in the structural description in Figure 14. It should also be noted that the occurrence of these motifemes in the overarching narrative c-command their occurrence in the embedded narrative. In contrast to the way the rule was defined for Lack and Lack-Liquidated motifemes, here it is the c-commanding tasks and tasks accomplished which must be deleted:

T10: $X-T_i-Y-T_j-Z \Rightarrow X-Y-T_j-Z$, if and only if $T_i$ equals $T_j$ and $T_i$ c-commands $T_j$.

Tll: $X-TA_i-Y-TA_j-Z \Rightarrow X-TA_i-Y-Z$, if and only if $TA_i$ equals $TA_j$ and $TA_j$ c-commands $TA_i$.

THE STORY OF KUBASI
(Finnegan 1967: 148-152)

The two most beloved wives of a chief have been unable to have children. Both go to a moriman and are magically restored to fertility. One wife bears a boy and the other a girl. The two children must not be seen.
One day the chief sends the boy, Kubasi, to buy a white cloth for a sacrifice. He meets the girl Hukongko in the compound. The is the girl who must not be seen. They fall in love with each other. Kubasi returns with the white cloth. Three days later he dies.

The chief calls the moriman. The moriman prepares a big fire. Both the chief and the boy's mother balk at entering the fire. The girl agrees to. The girl enters the fire, and miraculously both the boy and girl are alive.

Kubasi sets off to acquire his own chiefship. On the way with his wife Hukongko, they meet another woman and her younger brother who are carrying a meal to workers in the field. The woman Bongaio falls in love with Kubasi, and she and her younger brother set off with them.

They come to a large river. Bongaio sacrifices her younger brother to insure their safe passage.

They come to a village. Kubasi must take a sword and point it to the place where the chiefship lies or he will be killed. The chief's hasaraka falls in love with Kubasi and deceptively arranges to show him where to point the sword if he will take her for his wife. He agrees, and successfully points out where the chiefship lies. Kubasi becomes chief and has a male child by each of his three wives. Kubasi dies. Which child owns the chiefship?

The deep macro-structural description for this tale is given in Figure 15. Its similarity to "Four Wives" is such that the same transformational remarks apply in this case. It differs in that the first girl is subject to the same interdiction as the boy, and her sacrifice appears to relate to the simultaneous violation of the interdiction on both her and Kubasi's lives. As such, a transformation is required to equate the two Interdictions and Violations:

T12: X-I₁-Y-V₁-Z \( \Rightarrow \) X-I₁-I₂-V₁⁺V₂-Y-Z if and only if I₁ equals I₂ and V₁ equals V₂. The "plus sign" indicates simultaneity. In a footnote to this tale,
FIGURE 15: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "KUBASI"
Finnegan remarks that most of her Limba listeners agree on a solution: the first wife's child should have the chiefship, as her role in Kubasi's actions were deemed most important. The greater structural complexity of her narrative may relate to this impression.

The sequence of tales just analyzed complete the set of examples of clear dilemma tales. The next four tales are in some sense incomplete. The first two tales to be considered are close variants of each other. It is noted that a question appears in these two tales near the end, suggesting that they might be dilemma tales. It is toward their structural characterization as dilemma tales that my attention is turned.

**TUNGKANGBEI, PALONGBEI, AND YISINUA**

* (Finnegan 1967: 222-226)

The god Kanu has three children, triplets. They grow up and travel about the country. They come to a chief's house. They spend the night in the chief's compound with three girls of the village. Tungkangbei wakes up during the night, gets his brothers up, and suggests they should kill the girls. The brothers try to dissuade Tungkangbei. Tungkangbei counters with the fact that their father had told them not to refuse any of each other's requests. The two dissenting brothers go back to sleep, and Tungkangbei kills the three girls.

The three get up early the next morning and hide in the top of a huge cottonwood tree in the village. The villagers discover the murdered girls, and the chief sends his men off in search of the miscreants. Tungkangbei, seeing the chief below them under the tree, suggests the three should urinate on the chief's head. The two try to dissuade Tungkangbei, unsuccessfully, and Tungkangbei proceeds to urinate on the chief. The chief, seeing that it is not raining, looks up and discovers the triplets. He calls for his men to chop down the tree. Just as the tree is about to fall, a lizard sees their predicament and
miraculously causes the tree to heal up. The chief's men again begin to chop down the tree, and the lizard once more prevents its fall. Tungkangbei suggests the three brothers kill the lizard. Yisinua tells Tungkangbei that their father told them not to go about killing things, but before he has finished, Tungkangbei kills the lizard. Just as the tree is about to fall, an eagle swoops down and rescues the brothers.

As the eagle is flying them aloft, Tungkangbei complains to his brothers about the foul smell coming from the eagle's anus. Tungkangbei decides he wants to prick the eagle's anus. The brothers tell him he is foolish to try to harm the creature sent to their rescue. Tungkangbei goes ahead and pricks the eagle's anus with a nail. The eagle drops the three onto a rock, and they are killed.

A tortoise has been sent out by Kanu with medicine to raise the dead. The tortoise discovers the three dead brothers, first resurrecting Yisinua and Palongbei. The two warn the turtle not to heal their brother Tungkangbei. The tortoise will not heed their warning, and heals Tungkangbei. He wakes up, mentioning that he has dreamed of eating a tortoise, sees the tortoise that had cured him, and smashes it on a rock. Tungkangbei leaves the tortoise with his brothers as he goes to get fire. The tortoise has not died, however, and the two brothers tell the tortoise to run away. The tortoise takes the same path as Tungkangbei, who meets the tortoise on his return, captures, and eats it. He yells to his two brothers that they may go ahead and eat the tortoise they have because he has found another one. The brothers then decide to go their separate ways.

Tungkangbei chances upon the place where the chief of a large chiefdom goes to bathe. When the chief comes to bathe, Tungkangbei kills him, takes the chief's things, and enters the dead chief's village. The villagers think their chief has changed his skin. Realizing their delusion, Tungkangbei says that in the process of changing his skin he has forgotten everyone. All the people of the chiefdom reintroduce themselves to their chief. Tungkangbei orders the men to plant a large cassava field.

In succession, both Palongbei and Yisinua, very hungry, find the cassava field and decide to steal some of the crop. Each is discovered and brought to the chief, Tungkangbei. Tungkangbei tells them how he came to be chief, in private. He gives each brother ten wives and asks them which of the three of them is the best child of their father. Tungkangbei explains that he is because he has always obeyed his father's order to not refuse his brothers anything. He then gives each brother villages to rule, and men to plant their gardens. The story ends with a moral that the less successful of brothers should always listen to the advice of the more successful brother.
FIGURE 16: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "TUNGKANGBEI, PALONGBEI, AND YISINUA"
FIGURE 16 (CONTINUED): DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "TUNGKANGBEI, PALONGBEI, AND YISINUA"
Three children are born, having different mothers, but the same father. After they had grown up, they visit a chief. The three brothers - Tungkangbali, Palongbali, and Wunekeria - are fed by the chief. Tungkangbali wants to break the bowl in which food was brought, but his brothers try to dissuade him. Tungkangbali reminds them that their father said they were not to refuse one another anything. The three break the bowl. When the girl who came to feed them returns for the bowl, she finds that it has been broken and is offended. The brothers lie to escape punishment, and the chief forgives them.

For the next meal, the chief tells the girl to provide the meal in a much sturdier pot. Tungkangbali again wants to break the bowl. The brothers unsuccessfully try to dissuade him, but Tungkangbali goes ahead and breaks the bowl. The chief is offended. He calls his people together to kill the boys. They escape to a large cottonwood tree.

Each time the people almost chop the cottonwood tree down, a lizard miraculously heals the tree. When this happens a fourth time, Tungkangbali decides he wants to kill the lizard. His brothers try to talk him out of it, but he goes ahead and kills the lizard. Just as the tree is about to fall, a hawk descends and invites the brothers to fly away on his back. They thus escape.

While in flight, Tungkangbali decides to prick the hawk's bottom because he is offended by the smell. His brothers argue that he shouldn't, but Tungkangbali won't be detered. The hawk drops them on a flat rock, and the brothers faint.

A tortoise comes by, takes pity on the three boys, and uses medicine to raise Palongbali and Wunekeria. They tell the tortoise not to raise Tungkangbali. While the tortoise is arguing with the raised boy, some of his medicine falls on Tungkangbali, and he is raised. Tungkangbali seizes the tortoise. His brothers protest, so that he not kill the tortoise, but Tungkangbali wants to eat the tortoise. He leaves it with his brothers while he goes for fire. The brothers let the turtle go. As the tortoise is escaping, Tungkangbali catches it. He tells his brothers to eat the tortoise they have, for he has found another. After this the brothers split up.

Tungkangbali kills an adder, and offers it to a smith if the smith will take him on as an apprentice. The smith agrees. One day, as Tungkangbali works at the bellows, he pulls a nail out of the fire and stabs the smith in his scrotum. Tungkangbali runs away, but is captured and beaten. He is sent out with the children to chase birds from the fields. Tungkangbali sees a child standing over a fire,
goes up to the child, and pushes him into the fire. The child is killed and Tungkangbali runs away.

He goes to various villages, challenging the men to tell he who is the greatest rascal. Just as Tungkangbali is about to boast of all his "achievements," he is captured by the angry villagers who have lost a child. They tie him up and place him in a bag. The villagers go off to collect firewood in order to burn Tungkangbali. He manages to convince the children who had gathered around him to let him go, offering them peanuts as a reward. They release him. Tungkangbali then ties the children up in the bag and runs away. The villagers return and burn up their own children.

Hypothesized deep structure descriptions for these two highly complex variants are provided in Figures 16 and 17. In comparing the two variants, "The Three Rascal Boys" appears ill-formed. The tale drops the fates of two of the brothers to focus on the villainy of Tungkangbali. Until the point where the brothers part ways, the tales are essentially similar.

At the highest level of organization below the narrative as a whole, both tale break down into an IP-VP-CP sequence. "Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua" differs from The Three Rascal Boys in that the Moral Conclusion Transformation has been applied to this level, placing the moral as the solution to the question at the end of the concluding part of the narration. The interdiction is that brothers should always help brothers is effectively counterbalanced in the Violation Phase of both narratives, in that the one brother's desires run against the grain of other culturally valid interdictions, represented by the desires of the two other brothers. Up until the episode of
FIGURE 17: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE THREE RASCAL BOYS"
FIGURE 17 (CONTINUED): DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE THREE RASCAL BOYS"
FIGURE 17 (CONTINUED): DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "THE THREE RASCAL BOYS"
the killing of the tortoise, the two "orthodox" brothers don't actually refuse their brother, just unsuccessfully try to dissuade him. With the release of the tortoise they finally actually violate the non-refusal interdiction. The separation of the brothers appears to be the consequence of this action.

In both of these tales, I have divided the complex Violation Phase into a Lack Move and the violation mentioned in the previous paragraph. The Lack Phase of this Lack Move incorporates everything up to the death of the three brothers; the Lack Liquidation Phase consists of their resurrection by the tortoise.

The dilemma marker occurs in the Consequence Phase of this highest level of structuration in both tales. Its role is quite diminished. In "Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua" it appears as would be normally expected from the previous analyses: generated from the node "N" at the end of the narrative. In this case the narrative "N" is an embedded narrative. In "The Three Rascal Boys" it is generated as the only constituent of a narrative "N" embedded as a preface for the final escape phase.

TWO TWINS
(Finnegan 1967: 212-214)

The boy Koto is assigned the task of chasing birds away from his mother's millet patch. In the field he meets a girl. She cooks for him, and after he finishes eating, strikes Koto, challenging him to catch her in order to marry her. She runs to a pool and enters it. Koto is afraid to follow. The same thing happens the next day.
After the second day's events, Koto tells his twin brother Yemi about the girl. They both go to the field the next morning. The same events happen to Koto this day, and Yemi watches.

The next morning Yemi gets up early and goes to the field. The girl arrives and believes Yemi to be Koto. She fixes a meal and strikes Yemi. He chases her and follows into the pool. He comes to a village under the pool. There he meets a fly. The fly tells Yemi that on the next morning he must pick his girl out from a group of identical girls or he will be killed. The fly says that he will help Yemi if Yemi will allow the fly to feed on him. The fly says to watch the girls, and the one who strikes herself is his.

Yemi is given a meal in the village under the pool. As he is eating a dog comes up to him. In exchange for a bone, the dog says he will jump upon the girl that is his tomorrow. In the morning the girls all line up and the fly and dog perform as promised. The girl is given to Yemi for his wife. Upon their return to the village, Koto claims that the woman is his. Yemi says no because Koto was afraid to enter the pool.

The "Two Twins" has a fairly simple structural description. It consists of a Lack Move followed by the exchange between the two brothers concerning who owns the woman. In the tale's structural description (Figure 18), I have marked this episode with two possible descriptors: a Dilemma Marker or an unsuccessful Task-Task Accomplished Move. Either choice seems feasible. The Lack Phase consists of Koto's three encounters with the girl and the Lack Liquidated Phase consists of Yemi's successful capture of the girl. The Lack Liquidated Phase consists of a Deception Move (Yemi substitutes himself for Koto) and a complex Task Move: entering the pool, allowing the fly to feed on him, giving the dog a bone, and with their help, choosing the right girl.
FIGURE 18: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "TWO TWINS"
A spirit has attached himself to a girl so that whenever a suitor comes to pay court to the girl the spirit kills him. A man tells his friend that he is going for the girl. The friend agrees to go with him.

On the way they stop for the night under a cottonwood tree. A vulture indirectly addresses them, telling the friend to have a sword made in the village and to sleep with the sword on the veranda of the house in which the man and the girl is sleeping. When he sees the spirit stick its head through the door, the friend is to strike it. He will become blind once he does so.

The events the vulture suggested are carried out. The man is given the girl as his wife, and they and the blind friend set off back for home. They again stop for the night under the same cottonwood tree. The vulture and an elephant also come to the tree. The vulture tells them that in order to cure the friend's blindness, the man must sacrifice his firstborn child at a crossroads and smear the blood on the friend's eyes.

The man carries out this task and the friend's sight is restored. The man says his friend loves him more as he was the first to undergo suffering. The friend says that the man loves him more as he sacrificed his child to restore his sight.

Essentially, "Two Friends" consists of two Lack Moves: acquiring the woman and the restoration of the friend's sight (see Figure 19). These moves are labeled $LM_1$ and $LM_2$, respectively. Each Lack Liquidated Phase of each move contains a task move and a lack liquidated motifeme. Within each Task Accomplished Phase I have placed a Lack Move. $LM_2$ thus appears twice: as a component of TAP within $LM_1$ and as a narrative in its own right. Within the TAP of the second occurrence of $LM_2$ is an $LM_3$, representing the sacrifice of the child. On analogy with $LM_1$ I have constructed an additional $LM_3$. To bring the
FIGURE 19: DEEP MACRO-STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION FOR "TWO FRIENDS"
narrative into conformance with the text, two matters must be handled transformationally. First, the \( LL_2 \) dominated by \( IM_1 \) and the \( L_2 \) and \( LL_3 \) dominated by \( IM_2 \) must be deleted. This can be accomplished with

\[
T_{13}: L_1-X-LL_1-Y-L_j-Z-LL_j \Rightarrow L_1-X-Y-Z-LL_j, \quad \text{if and only if} \quad L_1 = L_j.
\]

Next, the remaining, narrative final \( LL_3 \) must be deleted.

\[
T_{14}: IM[LL] IM \Rightarrow e; \quad \text{that is, a Lack Move only consisting of a Lack Liquidated motifeme becomes a component "e". In the tale under consideration, the "e" represents the discussion of which friend loves the other more. I term this symbol "e" an "ending element."}
\]

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE DILEMMA TALE**

Having hypothesized deep macro-structures for these twelve dilemma tales, what inferences can be justly drawn concerning their classification? For the formula tale, I have suggested that its structural essence is that it contains a series of repeated structural units, in particular, a repeated series of moves having the same structural description. The essence to an effective dilemma tale appears to be a series of structurally identical (i.e., isomorphic) narrative units distributed among more than one character. Thus, each character's actions equally contribute to the narrative. This structural isomorphism gives the dilemma tale its structural similarity to the formula tale. The more a dilemma tale departs from this
structural condition, the more the tale is biased toward a solution until it becomes entirely un-'dilemma-like.' I have ordered the presentation of the tales here to illustrate this contention.

In "The Woman with Four Lovers" we have the extremely simple sequence of three structurally identical Task Moves. It departs from the condition slightly in that two of the moves are assigned to the woman and only one to all four men. In "Three Twins and an Elephant" and "A Dilemma about Three Smokers" the condition is strictly met. In "The Hunter and the Three-Twins" the condition is strictly met for the actions of the triplets, but the wife is assigned only one impossible task. In "Three Twins Woo One Girl" matters are a bit more difficult. The Lack Moves are identical and equally distributed, but the task moves are a bit more complexly organized. To be sure, there are three task moves; two of which are embedded in a third. They are not, however, strictly isomorphic (mathematically speaking, they are homomorphic). Instead, each task move includes the use of one of the objects the triplets purchased in the Lack Moves. In "Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisahosaho" the first major structural modification is encountered: a dilemma tale attached to the end of another tale, in this case a numbskull story. The impossible tasks of the woman and the newborn infant, however, strictly fit the dilemma structure condition. The
numbskull story could easily be made into a dilemma tale. All that would be necessary is to end it with the question: 'which of the three is most foolish?' In "Four Wives" and "The Story of Kubasi" the structural modification has gone further. If we delete from consideration the narrative elements dominated by the nodes $N_2$ and $N_3$, the remaining elements meet the dilemma tale condition for "The Story of Kubasi" and almost meet it for "Four Wives": if the narrative elements for the second woman a Task Move instead of a Lack Move, it too would meet the condition. Interesting, the generally agreed-upon solution to "The Story of Kubasi" (and presumably for the "Four Wives" variant) is the woman involved in the narratively most complex structural component. Coming to "Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua" and "The Three Rascal Boys", we have almost, if not entirely, departed the realm of the dilemma tale. The solution to the question is the character whose actions are structurally most different from that of the other central characters. For "Two Twins" the process is nearly complete, except for the rather curious phenomenon that Koto's three unsuccessful task moves are nearly balanced by Yemi's four successful ones. Were this tale encountered outside the context Finnegan placed it in, it could hardly have been considered a dilemma tale. "Two Friends" meets the conditions for a dilemma tale. If we were to replace the symbol "e" with
the dilemma marker and replaced the mutual assertion of friendship between the two men with a question about which one loved the other the most, we would have a classic dilemma tale. The structural description clearly distinguishes between "Two Twins" and "Two Friends" as to whether they both represent dilemma tales with implied dilemma questions.
1. The complete texts of the tales analyzed in this chapter are contained in the appendix.

2. See Bremond (1977) for a similar discussion and conclusion.

CONCLUSION

The generative-transformational approach to the study of the structure of folktales is still in its infancy. What contribution I have been able to make to this development appears quite crude in comparison with the streamlining of sentence grammers currently being developed (e.g., Chomsky 1984). The transformational rules set forth in the preceding chapter, in particular, seem barbaric. For them, however, my goal has been clearly very modest. I merely wished to sketch particular situations where such context-bound rules appear necessary: in places where the ordering of narrative events in the manifested text is at variance with the semantic ordering of events in terms of their relationships to one another. In many cases these arise from my restriction that all the defining components of a move must be generated simultaneously and may not be broken into parts to allow for an intervening move. Some other way of organizing the context free component of a narrative grammar may lead to the removal of transformations from narrative grammars.
At some point, however, the question of the psychological reality of various proposed narrative grammars, or of the generative approach to narrative as a whole, will have to be addressed. The major types of approaches to the "psychological reality" of folktale grammars can be sketched: (1) a structural comparative method, (2) a psycho-narrative study, and (3) acquisitional studies of folktales.

The analysis of variants of a tale is a key element in the historical-geographic approach to folklore. Such studies, however, traditionally ignore a rigorous analysis of how the folktales vary, as opposed to where they vary, in the haste to define the proto-typic form of a given tale "type" and define its place of origin. Olrik (1909) was an early advocate of the need to examine just how tale variants differ in the composition and not just in their motif content. Propp (1984c) tried a similar kind of analysis to the distinct subtypes of functions he isolated in the wondertale. Bremond (1977), however, comes closest to what a structural comparative method would look like, under the concept of examining transformations of a tale.

In his analysis of the Clandestine Ox tale from Africa, Bremond (1977) breaks the tale down into what he terms its major episodes. They generally correspond to what I have defined as moves. After examining the variants
of the Clandestine Ox tale, he looks at other tales of
different tale types which contain episodes already iso-
lated in the Clandestine Ox. By examining the variants
of the non-Clandestine Ox tales containing a Clandestine
Ox episode, he is able to suggest what motivates the
transposition of episodes from one tale type to another,
and what modifications are made to make the borrowed epi-
isode "fit." This same type of examination, combining a
strict structural approach to the thematically similar
episode can provide a great deal of evidence concerning
the validity of a particular structural description. I
sketched such an attempt in the analysis of "Sira and the
Monster." A more wide-ranging completion of the analyses
started in this dissertation could go a long way toward
justifying particular approaches to structural descriptions.

The second approach to "psychological reality" I have
termed "psycho-narrative studies," formed on analogy to
the term "psycholinguistic study." By envisioning such
a field of study, I am relying upon the idea that evidence
for a folktale's structure can be obtained by means of
close, critical observation of story-telling performances.
One component of this field is to bring to bear on folk-
tale studies the results and methods of the burgeoning
fields of cognitive science, artificial intelligence, and
discourse processing (e.g., de Beaugrande 1980; Hutchins
1980; Agar 1982). One experimental approach in this
general consortium of ideas has used folktales in the study of story comprehension and recall - Rice (1980). She produces various manipulations of the written text of Eskimo folktales in order to assess the influence of each manipulation on an American population's impression of its "storyness" and their ability to recall the text presented to them after one week. Although I have disagreements with her operationalization of her concept of "storyness" and the validity of the inferences she draws therefrom, there is an interesting correlation between the concept of "storyness" and the grammatical concept of "well-formedness" as well as between the text processing concept of a "schema" and what I have defined as a move or motifemic sequence. The similarities and differences between the processual approach taken by cognitive science and the structural approach to the folktale as presented here need to be explored to facilitate a rapprochement among the fields of anthropology, folklore, and cognitive science.

In addition to this more experimental approach to "psycho-narratology," it also fits well with the so-called "contextual" approach to folklore. For example, as mentioned in the discussion of Limba story-telling, Limba narrators frequently rehearse their narrations, the audience interjects statements at certain points, the appointed replier fills-in gaps, explains subtleties, corrects mistakes. Recording these naturally occurring
contextual aspects of a story-telling event could provide important evidence bearing on the structure of the folktale. Where do production errors tend to occur? Are they random or do they occur at major structural boundaries? How do the various rehearsed versions of a narration compare structurally? What is the relationship between the narration and the replier's intervention to correct a "mistake?" The integration of structural and contextual/performance approaches to the folktale and to folklore in general could easily serve to strengthen both.

Finally, the acquisition of narrative competence along the lines of Bauman's (1977) observation of stages in the acquisition of a "knock-knock" joke should be fostered. How does a child's narrative performance of a tale differ from that of an adult's narrative of the "same" tale? How does a polished adult's narrative performance compare with that of a less-polished adult's? By what criteria does an audience distinguish between a good and a bad narrative performance? Such investigations, though fraught with difficulties in their implementation and control over inferences, have a great potential pay-off.
I, Karanke Dema, I want to tell Yenkeni a story. Well, cousin Konia, well, you will listen to me well, won't you? I am going to tell Yenkeni a story. If it pleases her - all right; if it doesn't please her - all right. But you will reply to me, won't you? By grace of all who are sitting here.

Someone once bore a girl. Her name was Sira. But that girl, she was amazing. When she was in the belly still, her mother went to bathe. She said to her mother, 'Eh, mother' - that her mother was not to scrub her too much, 'Don't scrub me too much.' Her mother said, 'Eh! my child, will you at last come out? Child, are you my child?' 'I am your child; but there is one word I will tell you' - it was the child speaking - 'when it happens that I come out in the world, I will not be wooed in marriage by anyone. I will choose for myself the one to marry me, someone with no blemish.' She said that. Her mother remembered it.

She came and bore Sira, her first child. That Sira - Kanu did not give her suffering. She grew up very quickly. She bore a second child. His name was Sara. That Sara, he had no suffering.

Well, then people stood up, everyone got ready to woo Sira for himself. But when you go and announce your purpose, she says, 'I - the one who will marry me is to have no blemish.' When she said that, everyone went away. Oh! they were not able to marry her.

The monster heard that. Then he was told about it. He said, 'I will marry her.' He was thinking about her. He came out. He began to come, to come for Sira, saying, 'I will marry her.' He borrowed a gown, that of the green bahande snake, the small one. He put it on. He borrowed a gown from the cobra. He put it on. He borrowed the bankiboro snake's gown. He put it on. He borrowed the iguana's gown, he put it on. He borrowed the python's gown, he put it on. He borrowed the wankana snake's gown, he put it on. He borrowed the manba's gown; that was the last one he borrowed. That is the one that shines beautifully.
When he had borrowed them, he began to go. When he appeared in the distance, she Sira was pounding rice. As soon as she saw him, she threw down to beater. She ran to her mother. 'Mother, mother, mother, mother, mother! The man I was talking about, the man I was talking about, he has come. It is he will marry me. For he has come. He has come. He is the one who will marry me. I said before that the one to marry me must have no blemish. He has come, he is the one I want. He has come.'

Her mother came outside. She looked at him. 'My child, you said before, "No other man will marry me." Now since he has come for you, since you have said "This is the one I want," I will not argue.'

The rice she [Sira] had been pounding, the disi rice, she put it down there. She took the monster's bundle. She took him into a room. 'Well, here is where you can stay.' She took out the rice she had been pounding. She said, 'Mother.' 'Yes?' 'The disi rice is not what he should eat. Go and get some merike rice.' The mother got some merike rice, she came and gave it to her. She pounded it. She produced the hen she had had for long. She caught it there. 'The one who is there, whom I have come to want - he will eat it.' She caught it, she Sira. She killed it. She pounded the rice. She cooked very well for him. She brought him in into where he was to lodge.

Now he, the monster, he is very, very ugly. In the whole world, he is the ugliest thing, more than all other animals, more than all Limba people. The monster is the ugliest of all. We Limba, everyone among us - no one is near him, the monster is uglier than all, because his body is all over bumps.

She took him in - but that monster will never eat rice. When she took the rice in for him she said, 'Here is your food. All the people have been coming here for long. But I don't want them. You are the one I want. You have come today. You will marry me. Tomorrow I will be taken to you. But before you announce what you came for, if it was for that you came, before you say why you came, we will first make food for you.' She gave him the rice. Now the monster will never eat rice. She took in water. She came out, she Sira. Then he stood up. He cut a piece from the rice, he dug in the cooking place. He buried it there; for he does not eat rice. But he cut a piece from one side, so Sira would not know that he had not eaten. He covered it in the earth; so Sira would not know. He called her: 'Sira.' Sira came. 'Well, here is the food [that is left].' Sira took the rice away with her. He announced why he had come: 'I came for you.' Then Sira said, 'I.' Sira said, 'I, now that you have come
- my mother says, "I am not concerned about the bride-wealth." I too, I am not concerned about the bridewealth. But now - you and I. I will not be left behind." Behold she did not know that he had a bad disease.

When they began to go, he came to the mamba. The mamba said, 'Oh cousin, what a long time ago you came and borrowed my gown. It is my only gown. Oh, you caused me trouble. These three days the tiny flies have been eating me, the mosquitoes have been eating me. Well, you won't take it with you when you go, oh! Take it off.' The monster took it off. Then said Sira, 'Oh!' The bumps spoke, "what Sira, what Sira; what Sira, what Sira.' Sira said, 'No, it is nothing. I have forgotten my head tie. That is what I thought of.' The bumps said, 'Yes Sira, yes Sira.'

They began to go. They met the python. He greeted him 'Greetings, cousin.' The python responded, 'Yes. Cousin, welcome.' 'Yes, thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you.' 'You went and brought a wife. But you have given me trouble. The three nights you have gone and spent I stayed here, eaten by worthless creatures - the mosquitoes have been eating me, the gnats eating me, the flies eating me. The gown - you will not take it with you when you go, oh! Take it off.' He took it off.

Everywhere he had borrowed the gowns, they were taken away from him, all of them. When Sira was surprised, 'Oh!' the bumps spoke, 'What Sira, what Sira; what Sira, what Sira.' She said, 'No nothing. The bead loin cloth I wove yesterday, that's what I had forgotten. That was why I showed surprise.' The bumps answered 'Yes Sira, yes Sira.'

When they entered the house, they went and took her into the house, she was brought into a room. She was brought into another room, she went through. She was brought into another room, she went through. She was surprised 'Oh! oh!' The bumps asked 'What Sira, what Sira; what Sira, what Sira.' Then Sira said, 'No, nothing. I am only thinking about my lodging-place. That is why I showed my surprise. The bumps answered 'Yes Sira, yes Sira.'

When two months had passed, then Sara said, 'E, mother.' 'Yes?' 'Sira, whom he came for in marriage, where she went to - it has been long since I have seen her. My heart is not resting. I want to go to find her. So I may see where she is staying.' Then his mother said, 'All right. My child, what you have said, it pleases me.' Sara went out. He used to train dogs - three of them. One was Kondengmukure, one Sosongpeng, one Salialoho, the three dogs. He trained them well.
When they began to go, they went in - he Sara. He arrived, in the afternoon. He came and gave a greeting. His sister replied where she had gone, the one called Sira.

If you were to see her now, the one called Sira - her body is not well. But there was no chance for her to return to her parents. She was thin and not right. For as soon as they reached there, when she came with her husband, the bumps were all over the house! Anyone who is married there is bound to get those bumps. When she reached there and was given the kola for marriage - two bumps. She slept there two nights - four bumps. Before her brother found her - the one called Sara - she had six bumps on her body, she Sira.

Sara, when he came, he did not (?) recognize her at once (?). He asked, 'E, Sira, what is the matter with your body?' She said, 'Ah, ah, my father.' She fell at his feet, she wept, wept, wept. 'I have come within a rope. It would have been better for me not to have done it - saying I will not have a husband found for me, I will find one for myself. Well, I have got a husband. It is bringing me suffering. But brother, since you have come, sit in the courtyard; don't come inside. In here a human will not come. If a human comes here, he will kill him."

Well, Sara sat in the yard. He had his dogs with him. The monster set out from over there. He had a dream that Sara had come here. He stood up from where he was staying to hunt, he began to come. As he arrived at the bush near the town, he smelt the scent. He said, 'E? In. A human's smell, a human's smell.' He reached the compound. He called, 'Sira. Sira.' Sira answered, 'Yes?' 'A human's smell!' He looked round, he saw Sara sitting there. He said, 'Sara.' He saw him sitting. He said, 'You. What have you come for?' As he asked it, the dogs began to growl. 'Krrr, krrr; krrr, krrr' - for they had heard the name Sara. For they are dogs trained thus. He (the monster) moved back. He had been thinking that if he saw a human there he would kill him. But the dogs spoke, he was afraid. Then said Sira, 'I don't know him; since he came here I have not learnt his name. I have not yet greeted him. He did not greet me. He sat there where he is sitting. I don't know his name.'

He asked, 'What then you? Why have you come here?' Then Sara said, 'My name is called Sara.' 'What have you come for?' 'I have come to see my sister. The one you married is my sister, the one called Sira. She is my sister, that is why I have come to see her.' But he, he the monster, was thinking; his heart was delighted - to eat him. But no chance to eat him! The dogs were guarding Sara. When he made to come near, the dogs growled. He
lodged him in a room. He, the monster, on one side, Sara on the other. He took him in there.

It was a time like now (late evening). He was thinking about eating Sara as he came out from where he was lying. But the dogs were ordered by Sara. He set them at the door. The dogs themselves knew well too. When he opened the door, the monster, to come where Sara was lying, the dogs growled "Krrr, krrr; Krrr, krrr." He went and knocked at the door. 'Hey, brother-in-law, brother-in-law, brother-in-law,' calling Sara. Sara answered, He seemed like one sleeping. Behold, he was not asleep. He answered 'Mmmm?' 'Ha! Those strangers you brought with you, ha! those strangers, ha! I am beginning to be a little afraid of them. A man won't be able to go outside to spit.' Sara said, 'No. Only lie down again. If you don't knock into them, there where they are lying, they will make no trouble for a man.' He went out. He didn't pass water. He went in again. Behold, he was preparing to eat the man, Sara.

When he had gone and slept a little bit, he went out. As he went to a stone to sharpen it - as he pulled the knife once on the stone, gbaka, the dogs growled. What he was doing was pulling the sword back and forward, gbaka, gbaka, to sharpen it, for him to go and find where Sara was lying; to go and cut him up. The dogs growled 'Krrr, krrr; krrr, krrr.' He said, 'E.' There where he was standing, he was afraid to go in. He did not dare to go inside. 'Cousin, cousin. Ha! the strangers you brought today, well? The strangers are cruel. I think they have not eaten today.' Sara said, 'No, that is not why. Only come inside, and lie down. If you don't knock into them, they will cause no one any trouble.' He went in.

The whole night, he spent all the night struggling to kill Sara; but he was unable to kill him. He thought, 'Since I am not able for him at night, tomorrow morning, I will be able for him.'

In the morning he said, 'Sara.' Sara answered 'Yes?" 'I have got a kola tree, it has many kolas, but I cannot pick them. Come, come out and help me to pick them.' Sara said 'All right.' 'But don't take the strangers you have with you today.' He Sara, when he first came, his sister Sira had told him everything, that 'He, he the monster, he will not see a human without eating him.' Then Sara said, 'All right.' When he was told this that morning by the monster, he said, 'Sira.' Sira answered, 'Yes?' 'Cook well for the dogs, and let them eat. Put in the palm-oil in plenty so they may be satisfied.' When Sara said they should go, what he had told him was not to take the dogs. He said, 'All right; I will tie them up.' He told Sira to tie them. Sira went and tied them with raffia
leaves. Sara was thinking to himself 'My life - it is the dogs are to save it.' He didn't refuse; he left them behind there. When they went to pick the kola, they reached the place. The monster loaded his gun, to kill Sara. For a human may never come to his house. When they had reached there, he said, 'Here is the kola tree. You will climb it.' Sara said 'I?' 'Yes.' He was determined to kill Sara at once. For he had been unable to kill him by night. Sara climbed up. He came to a kola nut. 'Is it this one?' 'Not that one.' Sara went a bit higher. 'Here?' 'Not that one, climb further on.' Sara climbed right to the top. When he reached it, the monster said, 'Master, there where you are high up there, your time is finished. At night, I tried to get you, but I was unable. But now your time is finished. I am going to shoot you.' Sara said, 'What, me?' 'Yes.' 'All right. No matter. But before killing me, wait, let me say goodbye to Kanu.' He was thinking about his dog's names. He shouted 'Kondengmukure, Kondengmukure, Kondengmukure, Kondengmukure; Sosongpeng; Salialoho.' The dogs were: one, Kondengmukure; one, Sosongpeng; and one, Salialoho. 'Kondengmukure; Sosongpeng; Salialoho. I will say good-bye to Kanu six times before you shoot me.' The twice he called out, the dogs heard it over there. They broke all the fastenings. Kondengmukure was in front, for he was the oldest. He sang, 'You are called, you are called, jump! you are called, you are called, jump!' When they reached there, as soon as they came and stopped, Sara shouted out and told them, 'What you find there is your food!' Before he had finished saying it, the dogs had fallen on the monster. They bit him open and tore out the flesh. They bit him open and tore out the flesh. They split him all up, they scattered all the bits. When they had finished destroying him, Sara arose where he was up above. He packed all the kolas. He came down. He found the monster lying there. 'Master, you wanted my life. I am called Sara. Mine is not finished, yours is finished. The kola, I will take it away when I go.' He picked it. When he had picked it all, he wove a basket. He tied it up for Kondengmukure, he put it on his head. He wove a basket - for Sosongpeng. He put it on his head. He wove a basket - for Salialoho. He put it on his head. He began to go. He reached the village. 'Sira.' 'Yes?' 'My sister, now you understand that I am more than you. Well, let us go; I was able to free you. I was nearly killed for you. But it is all right. For you, I am senior to you. My sense is the senior's. I am called the man, and I have more sense than you. Let us go.' Sira, at what Sara spoke,
where Sira stood she trembled. She lay at his feet, she wept. 'My father, I am less than you. You told me at the beginning, but I would not listen. Now I will leave it all to you. You came and saved my life.'

They went. They went and told their mother. 'Mother.' 'Yes?' 'Here is Sira.' The bumps on Sira, the bumps were six. But he was able to go and take Sira from where she was, with the monster. His mother said, 'E, my child. Thank you. At first when you spoke about it, I did not at once allow you. But now, you were able to free your sister. I am thanking you for that.'

Now, for Sira, before she could find a husband, it was Sara that had to say, 'Here is the man you will marry.' Kanu Masala saw this. That is what he told us in farewell. Even if it is only a small boy, and you are the first born, you the woman, if he says to you, 'Here is where you will be married', you the woman - agree to what he says. Even if you are known to be the older, you the woman, you will not be able to stay in marriage by your own power. You will not be able to save your life. Stand behind what the boy says. He is able to speak for you. Since Kanu told us that, all of us Limba, now we follow that. The boy says, 'I am able to speak for you, to say where you will be in marriage. Even if you are older than me - here is where you will be in marriage.' She will agree.

The boy who got a wife from a bird

A story for you. A woman once gave birth to a child. After she bore him, she went to gather cane grass. She came on a bird there. She caught the bird, catching it for the child. When she had caught it, she met the child. She gave it to the child. When she had given it to him, the child said 'Mother, I will get a wife from this bird.' He set out to travel. He met a blacksmith. His name was Sara. The child said, 'What? You are looking after those things, but will you not make a sacrifice?' He said that he should kill the bird one half and leave one half. Well, he killed the bird - the whole of it! The child said, 'Oh! the bird that was caught for me by my mother when she was gathering cane grass!' He said, 'It will have to be a knife.'

Well, he came on people who were cutting raffia ribs, splitting them with their teeth. He gave them the knife. 'Split one half, leave one half'. Well, they split them, they broke the knife on them. Well, then he said, 'Oh! the knife, the knife that was made for me by Sara the smith; Sara the smith who ate my bird; the bird
"I was caught for me by my mother when she was gathering cane grass!" He said, 'It will have to be the raffia ribs.' He was given the raffia ribs.

He came on people who were weaving baskets — weaving from cane grass! He said, 'Split the raffia ribs one half, and leave me the other half.' 'Well, they split one half — they finished the whole lot! 'The raffia ribs that I was given by the people cutting raffia! It will have to be a basket.' They gave him the basket.

Well, he came on people who were carrying home the rice. He said, 'Take the basket and carry home half, leave me half.' They carried it all home! They were told, 'The basket I was given by those weaving baskets! It will have to be rice.' He was given the rice.

He came on people who were making a sacrifice. He said, 'Take the rice. Sacrifice with half.' They took it all! He said, 'Oh! The rice I was given by those carrying rice! It will have to be a hen.' One of them caught a hen, he gave it to him.

He came on people who were mourning, mourning with a small kuyeles bird. He said, 'Take the hen. Make a sacrifice with one half.' They killed it — all of it! He said, 'Oh! The hen that was caught for me by those sacrificing! It will have to be a goat.' They caught the goat. He went off.

He came on people who were mourning. They were mourning for a chief, with a small hen, a very little one. He said, 'Kill the goat one half.' They killed it — all of it! He said, 'Oh! The goat that was caught for me by the mourners! It will have to be an ox.' They caught the ox.

He came on more people who were mourning, mourning a great chief with a goat. He said, 'Kill the ox, one half.' They killed it — all of it! He said, 'Oh! See, it was the ox I was given by the mourners! It will have to be a wife.' He was given the wife.

He came and said, 'Mother. I found that the bird came to be a wife. That is the announcement I have for you.'

Since you said you wanted a story, that is it; it is finished.

The woman with four lovers

You see now — a girl was bound in love with four men. They got up to come and sleep. She stood up, she put on meat. She stood up, she put on leaves. She stood up, she put on beans. She stood up, she put on ochra. The time came close for her to cook. She mixed them all up in cooking. The maize and the rice and the guinea corn and
the millet - she cooked them together.

She stood up to help it out. She helped out the cooked rice, what had been cooked together! When she had helped it out, the scrapings of the rice, they came out, from a shilling pot! She stood up, she helped out the maize; in one pot, there it had all been cooked! When she had helped it out, she took, she scraped out the scrapings. She took, she helped out the guinea corn, she scraped out the scrapings. She took, she helped out the millet. She took out the scrapings.

The lovers came. She took the millet, she brought it to one. 'Here is what I have kept for you today.' She was thanked. She came and took the guinea corn. She brought it to another. 'Here is what I have kept for you today.' She was thanked. She took the maize. She brought it to another. 'Here is what I have kept for you today.' She was thanked. She said, 'I will first rest a bit now' - for she knew that she would bring food for the one she loved very much. Then she said, 'I will rest.' When she had rested, she took the rice, she brought it. 'Here is what I have kept for you today.' 'Thank you.'

The men - they had brought wine. The one who had had millet cooked for him, he came first. 'You, by your grace, I have come here to sleep today. That is the word.' They passed the word between them, saying, 'That pleases us.' They took, they drank it. The one who had had guinea corn cooked for him came. 'You, by your grace, I have come here to sleep today. That is why I have come.' They passed the word between them, saying that that pleased them. They drank. The one who had had maize cooked for him took wine. 'You, by your grace, I have come here to sleep today. That is the word.' They said, 'That pleases us.' They passed the word between them, they drank the wine. The one who had had rice cooked for him, because he knew that he was the most favoured in the love, he took wine and added a dress to it as well; for they loved each other. He came. 'You, by your grace, I have come here to sleep today. That is it. Here is a dress. Here is wine.' They passed the word between them, saying, 'We accept.' They drank.

The woman got up, she went to the one she had cooked millet for. She went and spent time there, for long. She got up from there, she went to the one she had cooked the guinea corn for. She went and spent time there, for long. She got up. She went to the one she had cooked the maize for. She went and spent time there. She got up. She came and sat down a little first. For she knew that she would go to the one she loved. After some time, she went. She went and slept there.

The sun rose. Each one of them, he set out to go. Each one of them, he went and left her something. They
began to go. They came to a river, a big river. 'How will we cross here?' The smoker, he smoked. The smoke which came out, by it they crossed the river. They went.

Now, of them and the girl, who is the greater?

Three twins and an elephant

A story again. Three twins again came out. One Koto, one Yemi, one Luseni. They were going to hunt, the three of them. They said, 'Let us go to hunt elephants.' They set out. Then Koto said, 'I, when we find the tracks, I will shoot.' Then Yemi said, 'When you shoot there, and when it dies, and when we find it, I will cut it up, I alone.' Then Luseni said, 'When you have cut it up, I will find something to carry it in.'

They set out. They found the tracks of an elephant. Koto aimed. He shot. The bullet set out, it went, it came to the elephant. It entered there, the elephant died. They set out, to follow where the bullet had gone and killed it. They went. For four days they went. They did not come to where the elephant was. On the fifth day, they arrived. They came to the elephant. Then Yemi said, 'Yes, Koto, you have finished your part. My part, that is left now.' He took his thumbnail. He pulled it out, its full length. With that he cut up the elephant: When he had finished cutting it up, he piled it up. He said, 'I have finished my part.'

Then Luseni said, 'All right. Koto, thank you. Yemi, thank you. We did not bring each other into shame. Since we came out into the wilderness, if we had not killed - shame. Since you have come and done this, that pleases me. My part is left now.' He got up, he Luseni, he pinched a small fly, he split it open. The empty skin, there he put in the whole elephant! It went in there.

When they brought it - of those three, Koto, Yemi, and Luseni, which one was the most in cunning? That is what I ask you, you Yenkeni.

A dilemma about three smokers

Three men. One had a pipe, but he had no tobacco. Another said, 'I have tobacco, but I have no match.' Another said, 'I have a match.' The one who owned the pipe said, 'Give here the tobacco.' The one who owned the tobacco gave it. The other said, 'I have a match.' He gave the match. He put the tobacco in the pipe. He lit it. They smoked, all of them, the three. They finished
smoking. The one who owned the pipe took it, he knocked out the ashes from the pipe. A girl came out from the ashes, a beautiful girl. Of those three, which is the one who owns the girl?

The hunter and the three twins

A man once wooed a wife. He married her. Her husband's name was Koto. He married the woman. The woman became pregnant. Now he was a hunter, the one who is called Koto. The woman became pregnant. He went to hunt in the middle of the water, by a big pool. He went and hung his hammock, hunting the hoppopotamus. When he was hanging there, 'I am going there to hunt', he tolk his friend (?). 'We will finish his life. When he comes to shoot, there we will go and put him down.' He did not know. He went and hung the hammock. When the time was near, when he had not yet shot the animal, the hammock broke when he was shot. The hammock broke. He fell into the water. Eh! the children now - the wife that he left behind, she had not yet borne him a child. He fell into the water, into the pool. If you go there you will not get out. He disappeared. The gun, he, the bag, all his things disappeared in the pool. They sank.

When it was like that, his wife that was left behind, her pregnancy came to end. She bore twins, Luseni, Koto, and Siema, three of them. She brought them up. Their father was not there. They came to be full grown. Then they said, 'Mother, what about our father?' Always when they were crying, saying 'Father, father', the mother would day, 'E, my children, your father went to hunt without coming back, I have never seen him again.'

When they had got sense they asked, 'What about our father?' She said, 'Your father went to hunt, without coming back.' Then they said, 'We will go and look for our father.' They asked about the road. 'Show us the road that he followed.' Their mother showed that road.

Luseni, Koto, and Siema. Then Siema said to them, 'I, I will pick out the tracks of our father, the place he went then, I know those tracks. We will go to the place where his life is.' They set out. He went in front. They went out for a long time. They arrived, they reached the pool. 'Here is the place where our father lost his life. Here is the tree he climbed. There he tied his hammock then. Here he found trouble. He fell into the water.'

Then Koto said, 'Siema, for what you have done for us, I thank you. We have reached there. I, I will go into the water, I will find where our father was lost, whether it
was an animal that ate him, I will find out.' He said
they were to take a mat.

Then Luseni said, 'We will go into the water.' Siema
said 'I found the way. When they go into the water, I
will breathe for you.' He said, 'Yes, it is all right.'
He took the mat. They went into the water. Siema was up
in the light. He started breathing, saying, 'I breathe
for Koto, I am breathing for Luseni, I am breathing for
myself. I breathe for Koto, I am breathing for Luseni, I
am breathing for myself.' That is what he did there.

Now Luseni, he entered the water, he went into the
water, he with Siema. Koto went into the water, Luseni had
a mat-bundle. Koto met a crocodile. He cut it open. He
said, 'I am not looking for you, I am looking for my
father.' Everything that he had eaten, it was brought out.
He left him there. He met a hippopotamus. He cut open its
stomach, saying, 'I am not looking for you, I am looking
for my father.' Everything he had eaten, it was brought
out. Luseni put it in the mat-bundle. Every animal in the
water - he looked at them all. He took out the gun. He
put it in the bundle. He came out. Everything that is of
a human being was there - the head was there, the foot was
there, the neck was there, the arm was there. He brought
them all out. They put them in the bundle. He brought
them out to a dry place. He came and breathed.

Then Siema said, the one who was left outside who was
breathing for them. 'Since you have brought out our father,
we will not yet say that he is a person. But it is all
right. You have come to me. I will join him together,
as a person.' He stood up. He joined him all together, he
made him as a person, as a person is.

Then Luseni said, 'It is all right. You have joined
him, you Siema. Now I, I will put breath in him, for him
to breathe!' Well, he put in breath, Koto breathed, their
father.

Then Koto said, 'They have joined him. He is breath­
ing. I will find a funnel, with which I will drop medicine
so that he may hear, open his eyes, stand up, talk, so
that he may begin to go.' He took the funnel. He dropped
medicine on him. He dropped it on his ear. He dropped it
on his nose. He dropped it on his eyes. He dropped it on
his brains. He dropped it on his mouth. He dropped it on
the sole of his foot. He dropped it on his arms.

Their father got up. They said 'Father.' 'Yes?'
'Greetings.' 'Yes.' 'When you went were we born?' 'No,
I do not know you.' 'You bore us. We asked for our
father. Our mother said, "Your father went to hunt then
without coming back." We did not see him, that is what
made us look for him. Here we are.' Their father thanked
them.
He left there. He started to come to the village. The gun was on their father's shoulder, the hammock and the bag (?). They entered their settlement.

When he was still far off, their mother came to meet them. She rejoiced, she rejoiced, she rejoiced, she rejoiced. She thanked them many times. 'Thank you my children, thank you my children, that pleases me.' Their father entered. They went and greeted each other. Then their mother said, 'It is all right, my children, this thing that you have done. I bore you. You have found your father. Well today, this day today, I will look for food for you to eat, all food for humans (?).' The children said, 'It is all right.' They stood there.

Their mother stood up. She looked for rice, she looked for millet, she looked for maize, she looked for guinea corn, she dug yams, she dug small yams, she dug red bush yams, she dug other yams - all the food of humans, she found it. The pot - a little one, a sixpenny pot, it is like for one man's food, there she put all the things! She cooked them there. Each food had its scrapings - the rice with its scrapings, the millet with its scrapings, the maize with its scrapings, the guinea corn with its scrapings, the yams with their scrapings, the small yams with their scrapings, the red yams with their scrapings, and the other yams with their scrapings - she took them out. They ate them.

So Yenkeni, as you have come and I have heard this story, when you came and said you wanted to be taught Limba, I wanted to tell you it. Of these four people, their mother and the children, which was the most amazing? I want to ask you that.

Three twins woo one girl

Three twins were once born. They were full grown. There was a girl there in the village. Koto got up. He pledged the girl to love. Yemi did not know. Yemi got up. He pledged the girl to love. Saiong got up. He pledged the girl to love. But none of them knew about each other.

Then Koto got up. 'Father, I am going to travel. But give me a thousand in money.' His father said, 'Yes.' He counted the money. He gave it. Koto went off. He went for long. He saw a glass. He asked, 'Old man, what is that hanging there? I want to buy it.' 'A thousand, that is the price I am selling it.' He counted out the money. He gave the old man the thousand. He took down the glass. He put it in his bag. He went off.
Yemi got up then, 'Father, I am going to travel. But I want you to give me one thousand.' His father counted the thousand in money. He gave him it. He set out to travel. He went for long. He came to a hut. He saw a tail hanging up. 'Old man, greetings. Who owns the tail that is hanging up?' 'I do.' 'Oh, I want to buy it.' 'Well, there it is. A thousand in money.' He counted out the money. He gave it. The tail was cut down. He was given it. He went off.

Saiong got up there also. 'Father, I am going to travel. But I want you to give me one thousand in money.' His father said, 'All right.' He counted out the money, one thousand. He gave him it. Saiong went off. He went for long. He saw a skin hanging up. 'E, who owns the skin?' The old man said, 'I own it.' 'Will you not sell it?' 'I will sell it. But it is one thousand.' Saiong counted out the money, one thousand. He gave it to the old man. The old man cut down the skin. He gave it to Saiong. Saiong travelled on. He went off.

They went for long - across the salt water, as far as London, as far as Paris. They went there. They began to come back, the three of them. They came to a road junction. Koto was coming from the road over there, he came like to here. Yemi set out like from here, he came to the junction here. Saiong came like from that road here. They came and met each other all together, gbegberise! 'E, Koto, greetings. What have you brought from your travelling?' 'A glass.'

At that time, behold the girl whom they all went to for love in secret - behold she died. It was in the far distance that the girl died, like from here as far as England.

Koto said, 'I got a glass on my travels.' Yemi said, 'Show me. Let me look.' He took it out. 'What is this for?' 'Oh, if you look here, you can see everything in our home.' Yemi put his eye to the glass. He looked at his own village. He saw the girl - she was dead. 'Oh oh! my love is dead.' 'Who?' 'Kati.' 'Oh,' said Koto, 'she is my love. What are we to do?' Then Yemi said, 'If we had something to take us there, if I could only reach there, she could be cured.'

Saiong said, 'Friend. Show me. Let me look through the glass.' He looked. 'Oh! It is my love. Come you two.' He opened the skin. In one minute they had been brought to England! They found the dead body now lying near the grave ready to be put in. They arrived.

Yemi took out the tail. 'Don't bury her, don't bury.' He opened out the white cloth, all of it. He covered the grave. He took out the tail. He struck the girl. The girl got up. She sat up.
Koto stood up there at once. 'E, she is my love. It was I who caused you to know that our love had died.' Yemi stood up there, 'E, she is my love. I raised her up.' Saiong stood up there. 'I brought you on the wind. I own her love.'

Of those three people - the glass, the skin, the tail - which is the one of those three who owns the love?

Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisahosaho

A story. Three children got up. One was Tungkangbei, one Palongbei, one Yisahosaho. They came here to our chief, to be given a cow, so that they would not kill someone. 'We are hungry - great meat eaters!' They were given a cow. They went- trembling with excitement! saying, 'I will kill it.' Palongbei said, 'I will lie underneath.' The cow was put on top. It was killed. He killed Palongbei with it! He lifted him up, he threw him to one side! He said, 'I am going for water' - trembling with excitement! When he went, he went and threw himself into the water! For those who were left behind - a deer got up from there. It came. It stepped on the meat. He said, 'E: This person - he has taken the meat.' He followed it. He went and caught its foot. He sucked the meat on it! He was kicked. He died from the deer, it had kicked the human. Well, he died.

Well, the meat was left now. No one to eat it. A pregnant woman got up there, looking for yams. She came. She saw the smoke. She said, 'Greetings to you.' No one. She got up. She went and greeted. No one. She went, she found the meat. She ate it, all of it - the pregnant woman. She ate it, all! She bore her child. She did not know that she had borne a child! The bones, she put them in the basket. She took the child, she put it in the basket where she had put the bones. When she had put the child in, she put the child on her head, there among the bones in the basket.

Before they entered the village, the child - he was only little, he was just born - he took the bones, he ate the bones! They started to enter. She was welcomed. 'Greetings, digger of yams.' 'I did not find yams. I found meat. I ate it - a little only. I put the bones in the basket. But wait, let me lower the basket now.' When she lowered it, the child had taken the bones, he had eaten them all!

But of the child, and the mother, which, Yenkeni, was the more? the one who ate the meat, the cow, or the one who ate the bones - which was more?
Four wives

A chief married a wife. He loved the wife. But they had no child. He called a moriman. 'Moriman! I love my wife, but we have no child. That is it. You are to help me, so that we may have a child, I and my wife.' The moriman said, 'Well, all right.' The moriman went into his room. He sat there for long, about a month. He came out. He said, 'You will get a child, you with your wife. But that child, no one is to see him, except you, and your wife, and the one who cooks for him - three people only.'

The wife became pregnant. She gave birth. The child was brought into a house, up above, in an attic. There the child remained for long, he grew. For long he was there. The child learned to walk on his own. He was there in the house, high up. He came to be a young man, he grew up tall. When it came, at that time, he stood up above on the house, looking at the people below. For long he used to look at the people...

One day a girl came out in the village. She stood there. The boy came out above. He stood looking. They let their eyes meet, she and the boy. They saw each other. The boy had been told that he should not be seen by any other person. They came and saw each other, he and the girl. The girl said, 'I must go and see for myself where that boy lives.' She went and searched for a ladder, she tied it - a long one. Shewent and leant it against the house.

The evening came. The girl went and climbed up. She entered. She found the boy there. The boy said, 'E! What have you come here for?' 'I love you. Since I saw you yesterday, my heart has not stood still. That is why I have come, I love you.' The boy said, 'But I should not be seen by any other person.' They lay down.

When the sun was about to rise, the boy died. She, the girl, she did not run away when the boy died. In the morning the woman who cooked for him brought water for the boy to go and wash. She found the girl sitting there. The child, the boy, he was dead! She went and called the chief and his mother. 'Come here! come here! I have seen something amazing. The boy has died. But I also found a woman there, sitting there.' The chief went with the mother. He went and saw the boy who had died, and the girl sitting there. He said, 'E! Have you killed the boy, our son?' 'Yes. It was love that caused it.' 'Well, all right.'

They called the moriman. 'Ha! the child you struggled for us to get, that child has died.' The moriman said, 'Well, all right. Let me have men now to go and cut
wood and bring it to the village.' The men went to cut wood. They brought it to the village. They came and put it down. The moriman said, 'Have you here a can of kerosene?' 'Yes.' 'Well, fetch it.' It was fetched. He came and put kerosene on all the wood. He struck fire and put it on the wood. The fire caught.

'Aha. Chief, do you love your son?' 'Yes.' 'Well then, go into the fire.' The chief went up, but the fire was hot. He went back. He went again. 'Ah ah, the fire is hot indeed.' He went and sat down. He wept. He said, 'Ah! chief. You do not love your son.'

He called his mother. 'Do you love your son?' 'Yes.' 'Well, go into the fire, so that you may be burnt with your son.' His mother went up too - it was hot. She went back. She came near again. The fire was hot indeed. She said, 'All right, I will not be burnt too. I will leave it as it is.' 'Well, all right.'

The girl was called, the one who went and found the boy and caused him to die. 'Girl, do you love the man?' 'Yes.' 'Well then, go into the fire, so you may both be burnt.' The girl leaped into the fire. They were both burnt, the two of them.

The fire died down. The moriman took the ashes. He entered his room. He was there for one month. He made a woman and a man, complete. He brought them out as Limba people. He said, 'Aha, chief. The work you called me for, I have finished it. Here is the man, and the woman.' The chief said, 'Thank you, thank you, thank you.' He paid the moriman. The moriman went off. The boy came out with his wife. He said, 'Father, I will not live here. I will go up country, far away.' 'All right, my son, all right. Go, with your wife.'

They went off travelling. They spent the day travelling - the whole day. The man - hunger seized him. He was not able to travel. He was weak all over. There was a woman who had ordered out men, to have a swamp cleared for her. The men went to clear the swamp. The girl stood, she cooked rice with meat - much of it. She put the rice on her head. She set out, taking it to her workers. They came and met with the man, the two of them, he and his wife. 'E! this man is fine, isn't he! I will follow him in marriage.' The other girl said, 'No! No! No! I won't allow it.' 'E! If you agree for me to follow him in marriage, I will take this rice and give it, and he can eat it - the rice for my workers. I am not giving the rice to them.' The other girl said, 'All right.' She gave the rice. They sat down, they ate. 'All right. Let us go.'

They set out to go. They went and met a woman at the water, a mother of a young child, washing. She said, 'E! that man is fine! I will follow him in marriage.' The
other girl said, 'I will not allow it. No! No! No! I took my rice, the rice for my workers, I have it to the man, he ate the rice, my workers were left like that, I did not give them the rice. Now you come to say just like that you love the man. I won't allow it.' The girl said, 'If you allow me to follow him, and for him to marry me - you see this water here, this big river? Here are many crocodiles. No one can cross here without giving a person and throwing him in the water, so that the crocodiles may take him to eat. All right. If you are going to cross over quickly in the boat, well the crocodiles will not catch you, I will take my child and throw him to the crocodiles. Well, let us cross.' Then the other said, 'All right. Throw in your child.' The mother took and threw her child into the water. They got into the boat quickly, they crossed quickly. The crocodiles did not catch them. They started going.

Well, in the village to which they went, the chief there was by now old. But a stranger could not enter there unless he could show where the chief's afterbirth was buried. When they reached the village, the chief's daughter, his first-born, she said, 'E! ha! I love the man who is come to our village. I will go there to marry him.' Then said the other 'No! No! I won't agree. I took my child whom I bore, I threw him to the crocodiles in the river, we got into the boat, we found a chance to cross. Now we have reached here, this village here, you come to say you are coming to our husband to marry him. I won't allow it.' The chief's daughter said, 'Oh? If you allow me to come in marriage to your husband, I will show you the secret of the village. So that your husband may not be killed. Whenever a stranger comes here, to this village here, he has to show where the afterbirth of this chief is buried. Well, if you agree for me to come to your husband in marriage, I will show him tomorrow.' 'All right.' 'Tomorrow morning when he gets up in the morning and he stands on the veranda, and he stands and looks, and I will be sweeping the compound - where I beat out the broom, that is the place. I will do that as much as six times, let him look there.'

Well, when he was asked by the old people of the village, 'Stranger, well, a stranger cannot come to the village here unless he can show where the afterbirth of the chief is buried. If you do not know the place, we will kill you' - the man said, 'Oh, well, all right. Everything there is, is as Kanu wills.' He went and showed the place 'Is it not here?' 'It is there.'
The old chief of the village died. The stranger who had shown where his afterbirth was, when the chief died, he was taken as chief. He remained for long in this chiefship, he bore children by all of his wives. He lived long.

The chief came out then, he died. His wives were left with the children, those whom the chief had borne. Then they got up. The one who had gone into the fire with the man said, 'My child owns the inheritance.' Then another said, 'It is not you child who owns in inheritance; my child owns the inheritance - because I took my rice, for the workers I had called and had cooked for them. I gave that to the man, for he could not go because of the hunger that oppressed him. My rice saved him. I left my workers.' Another said, 'No. That is not so. My child, I took him, I threw him to the crocodiles in the big river. We got a chance to cross in the boat. If I had not done that, we would not ever have crossed the river. The crocodiles would have eaten you.' Then said another, 'E! What about me? I came and showed my father's afterbirth, so that the stranger would not be killed. He saw where the afterbirth was buried. My father died. Now, since you come and say it is your child who owns the inheritance - it is my child who owns the inheritance.'

Well, of all these women, the wives, whose is the one child who owns the inheritance?

The story of Kubasi

The story. A chief once came out in the world. He had wives, many of them. He said that he had not got a child. For the child - of the two wives he loved, one wife went to a moriman. She called the moriman. He came, the moriman. He said to her, 'Yes.' He agreed. He said, 'If you have children, wherever you give birth, whatever name is easy, give them that name.' Well, she stayed in marriage with her husband; there was one other child born in the family; the name of one was Hugboka; of the other Hukongo.

When they were born, that is the name she gave them. Well, the moriman had also said when someone gives birth, no one is to see them. If they see them and the time has not yet come for them to be seen, they are likely to die.

Well, he was there. He said that he was going to make a sacrifice, with a white cloth. For the white cloth he called Kubasi - 'Kubasi.' 'Yes?' 'I want you to go for me and buy me the white cloth.'

Kubasi went. As he went, he went and saw Hukongo. They did not know that has: they were of one father. For whoever is born does not know of his companion's birth.
Well, they went and met together there. Kubasi said, 'Ha! I love you.' Hukongko said, 'I am not to be seen. I am not to be seen by anyone.' 'Well, we have come and met together here. I too, I am not to be seen by anyone. Well, I have been sent by my father, to go and buy white cloth. It is for the white cloth that I went.'

When he returned, he came and told his father of it. His father said, 'It is all right.' As they stayed there, two nights passed. On the third, Kubasi went out, he died. When he had died, the chief did not rest. His heart did not rest. He called the moriman. 'Ha! the despair you have made for me! When I got those children, you did not say that that boy, Kubasi, would go out. He has died. I do not know what I am to do, for I have no child. The child you were thinking of, she is still in my compound. But he has gone out, he has died. Ha! That, that breaks a man's heart!'

The moriman said, 'All right. Well, tell people to cut long sticks. When they have cut long sticks they are to get petrol - one drum - and come and put it down, and come and set it on fire.' He sat down. He made manasi water. He put it in a big tin. 'Well, set fire to the sticks.' They set fire to the sticks.

When they had set fire to the sticks, he said, 'Well, of you two people, well, let one of you go out now, and go into the fire.' The moriman took his book. He put it down near the fire. 'When someone goes into the fire, Kubasi will raise his head again.' He spoke. The mother came out. She fixed her dress, she trembled at going into the fire. She could not. She fixed her dress. She said that his father should go. He went. His father took off his trousers; he took off his robe, all of it; his cap - he put it on one side. He trembled at going into the fire. He could not. Then Hukongko said, 'I - so sweet is love, right from here as far as the place of death. Kubasi, I love you here right to the place of death. Well, Kanu has come today to take you. The moriman said that if someone goes into the fire, you will raise your head again. So that time has come now. I love you beginning from the world here as far as the place of death. So let us go together, I and you.' As she fixed her dress she went into the fire.

No person could know what happened to the fire. He raised his head again. Ah! Kubasi spoke! 'It is good. I will not stay here. My father did not love me. He worked for me indeed, but he did not love me. I am going. Let me go and search for where chiefship begins and where chiefship ends.'
we will kill you.'

He pointed to one side. What had helped there was that the basaraka had come to love him. The basaraka had said, 'Wherever tomorrow you see me shade out the broom, well there is the chiefship. There is the chiefship.' Kubasi had said, 'Yes.' He had remembered carefully: when the sun rose, the basaraka would go out to go and sweep; she would go to sweep, and go and point the broom at the chiefship.

The sun rose. There Kubasi went and pointed the sword. As he pointed the sword, all' they lifted their hands up. 'He has finished among the people - he has spent long putting an end to people's lives.' Then, at last, they caught hold of him. They tied him, tightly, den! They went and tied him to the cow-post where he had often tied his companions. There they tied him.

They said Kubasi was to be taken behind the house. When he was taken right behind the house, he was taken and bathed. Big gowns were now taken, the old chief's things, they put them on him. As soon as they had put them on him, they heard it being said that they would kill the old chief there now. Kubasi said, 'No! Do not kill him now. Wait. Wait for me to come. When I come, well, I know what plan I will tell him. For he is accustomed to kill people. But I will not kill him. If someone is accustomed to doing bad to people, if you say you will return the bad, you are acting the same. Don't do that.' He took him, he said, 'It is good that he should go and stay in the farm. But I will not kill him.' He took him. He took him to the farm, right to the farm. There he now stayed.

Kubasi came now, and took those three wives for long. Hukongko bore a child, a boy. Bongaio bore a child - a boy. The basaraka that he found in the village with the chief there, she bore a boy.

Kubasi went out, he died. When Kubasi died, those three all rose to claim the chiefship. Bongaio's child said he owned the chiefship. The basaraka's child said, 'I own the chiefship.' Hukongko's child sat there. He said, 'Well, is it false? is it not false? All of you, you speak truly, but if my mother had not gone into the fire for our father, he would not have reached here. We would not have been born. If you say that you own the chiefship - that is false. I own the chiefship.'

They sat down then there to decide that case.

Well, of those three people, of those three people, I want to ask you, who owns the chiefship? Who owns the chiefship of those three? Well, since Yenkeni said that I am to tell her a story, I am asking her that question.
Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua

Kanu once bore children. They grew up, twins. One was Tungkangbei, one Palongbei, one Bantantiande.

When they stood up, they began to travel round. They came to a chief. These men, all of them, they were well known. Everyone who saw one of them was afraid of the men. When they went to the chief, they went and found there beautiful girls, very, very, very beautiful. Tungkangbei, Palongbei, and Yisinua, they all found loves there. When they were cooked for, for each one they brought a basin of rice to their room where they had lodged them. They ate the rice. When they had eaten the rice, they sat down. When sleeping came, they said, 'It is good that every woman that we have come and given a gift to, that we should have them to sleep here, to converse with.' They did not refuse. They went and lay there.

When it came to the middle of the night, Tungkangbei got up. 'It is good, palongbei and Yisinua, that we should kill the girls.' That is what Tungkangbei said, 'Let us kill the girls.' Then Yisinua got up. 'E! You say - the ones who came and gave us the rice, those ones we are to kill? We will not do it.' When Palongbei heard that, Palongbei said, 'We were told that we were not to do anything bad.' Then Tungkangbei said, 'You!' Father told us that we were not to refuse each other. That is what I tell you.' Tungkangbei said, 'Let us lie down.' As soon as they slept, he took a knife - they were now sleeping - he took the girls, he killed them.

When it was morning now at the first light of sun - there was a cotton tree there, like the tree growing here - that cotton tree, there was where the chief always washed in the morning. The cotton tree was a hundred fathoms, very big. Early in the morning, they climbed up the cotton tree. They went and perched right up on the top twigs where the cotton tree ended.

When the light came now, they went. One woman got up. 'E, the young men and the girls, will they not wake?' When they opened the door, the blood was now on the floor. Then the girl put her hands up on her head, she wept. 'The young men who lodged here, chief, they have come and killed our children, much mourning.' 'Oh, them!' - the chief wept. 'It is good for us to search where they went.'

The chief went and sat to wash. All his messengers now, they had been sent all round on the roads, to find them, to come and kill them. Kanu now would have saved them. Tungkangbei got up; he said, 'It is good for us to urinate on the chief.' Then Palongbei said, 'E! You - here is where we are sitting? So much now, Yisinua.' Yisinua said, 'E! Tungkangbei, do not do that!' Palongbei had not yet finished saying this, when he undid the cord of
his trousers, he pointed at the chief's head, he urinated on him! The chief saw now that it was the dry season, that rain was falling that dry season! He turned his eyes. He said them. 'E! Here they are up above, the men.'

The chief was going to cut down the cotton tree. They came and stood, a hundred men, to cut down the cotton tree. Just as they had chopped one side, as they were coming to approach the tree to fell it, a lizard got up from there. 'E, they, children of my father, very, very fine children, they are going to die today.' He came and went right round it once. The cotton tree filled up there. It did not fall. They chopped again. The cotton tree would have fallen - the lizard came again, he went round again, the cotton tree filled up again.

Then Tungkangbei said, 'E! You. That man, let us strike him. He is bringing us suffering.' Then Palongbei said, 'E! You, cease! The one who has saved us, will you come and kill him? Don't do that! Ah! don't do that!' Yisinua said, 'You, cease! Thus we were told by our father, that destroying things is not good.' Yisinua had not yet finished speaking, he struck the lizard. The lizard fell.

As the cotton tree was beginning to fall, there was an eagle there. When the cotton tree began to fall, then the eagle got up there - all three of them, the eagle caught hold of them. He embraced them with his wings.

They went off, for far.

Tungkangbei said, 'E! men, have you found a good place to sit? I, here where I am sitting, there is a smell, its anus. I am going to prick it.' Then Palongbei said, 'E! You, you are a wicked man. Here where we are being flown, pricking the anus of our parents' man: Will we not fall?' Then Yisinua said, 'Hey! For that you are an accursed man!' Before they had finished that - he had a nail, just as they reached to a rock, to the middle of it, he pricked the bird's anus. The bird let them go. They were crashed on to the rock. They lay there. They died.

When they had died, they spent there two days, they lay there, they were dead. Kanu now, he had sent a tortoise out; wherever it found someone dead, it went and sprinkled him with mafoi medicine, he became well. When the tortoise found them, he said, 'E! The children - they are fine. Ha! It is a wonderful thing to me. I - it was for this I was sent by Kanu, wherever I find someone dead I am to sprinkle him with medicine.' He squeezed the medicine. He sprinkled Yisinua. He sprinkled Palongbei. Palongbei said, and he, Yisinua, 'Don't sprinkle the one lying there. If you sprinkle him, you will be his food today. It was he that caused us to be lying here. He has an obstinate heart.' 'E! what, the fine one here? I will sprinkle him with medicine.' He sprinkled him.
Tundkangbei got up. He sneezed, thisio! He said, 'I had a dream that I was just smashing a tortoise.' Palongbei said 'Well, friend! What I told you about has begun now!' He seized the tortoise, he broke him on the rock. 'Men, hold the tortoise here for me, I am going for fire, so that I may eat him.' He would have died, but Kanu did not allow it - the healer, he was the one he was going to kill! He went off to fetch the fire.

Palongbei and Yisinua let the tortoise go, saying 'Run!' Behold the direction that Tungkangbei went in, that was where the tortoise went:

'Men, let go the one there now oh! I have caught another one here.' He went and smashed it. He ate it. 'Men, let us separate in this journey.' Tungkangbei went off to one side. Yisinua went up. Palongbei went down.

When Tungkangbei got up, he went to a great chiefship. The chief had a place where he bathed, a great pool. When Tungkangbei arrived there, he went and sat. The chief undressed. He went in to bathe. As soon as he had entered the water, Tungkangbei got up, he went and struck the chief in the water. He killed him there.

When he came out, he came and put on the chief's things himself. He put on his shoes, he began to come to the village here. He was welcomed. He came and sat on the chair. He was not known. They thought that the chief had gone and changed his skin, that he had come out as a young man.

He began to ask many questions. 'Since I went and changed my skin I do not know my cousins now.' The cousins came out. 'E, father. Here we are.' 'Sit down. But I don't know how many wives I have.' The wives came out, they were lined up, more than fifty. 'Sit down. But I don't know how many children I have.' The children all gathered. They came and lined up, more than sixty. 'Sit down. But I have forgotten now where my court is.' He was lifted up by the cousins, he was carried to his house. But I don't know how many sub-chiefs I have.' The sub-chiefs came and gathered, more than thirty. They sat down. 'But I don't know how many cattle I have, and goats.' They were loosed. He came and counted them, three hundred. 'Tie them up there.'

The chief had had cassava planted for him, it had grown very, very much. He went and was shown it.

Palongbei got up there, he was hungry, they were travelling around. He came to steal the cassava. He was caught. 'We are taking you to the chief.' Behold, that chief now - he was of one mother with him. When he came, 'Thief, sit on the chair.' He knew that it was his brother. When the sun rose, Yisinua came and was caught too at the cassava. He was caught there. 'Let no one come
out!' They came and sat. When they came and sat, conversing, Tungkangbsi, he, when they came, he had gone and killed the chief. He was left with the chiefship there. He was left the staff now. He finished telling them all that. He took ten wives, he gave them to Palongbei. He took ten wives, he gave them to Yisinua. They sat down. 'See, men, who is the most of those born together, of us here, the twins? But I surpassed you. You would not have come to our home. But for me - I own this country now.' He took and said, 'For our father told us "Do not refuse each other"; but you were making me turn out useless.' He took two villages, he gave them to Palongbei. 'Here are people to hoe for you.' He gave Yisinua three villages. 'Here are people to hoe for you.'

You see now, of one mother, when one speaks or if one finds something, the one with strength - if he speaks, agree with him there. Perhaps the power that he has found, perhaps it will come over to you. That is why that is not allowed - if someone begins to find power, agree there. Perhaps if you bear a child there, perhaps that child will come out a chief, perhaps a great sub-chief.

Since I heard that, and you have come to be taught stories, that is it. It is ended.

The three rascal boys

The story of three rascal boys. One day, three children were born. They had one father, but their mothers were different.

When they grew up, they said they would go to greet the chief. When they went, they were given a lodging. They were given food. The chief spoke well with them. When they had finished eating, Tungkangbali said that they should break the bowl. Palongbali and Wunekeria begged him, saying that they should not do that. But Tungkangbali said that they should break the bowl. Palongbali and Wunekeria begged him, saying that they should not do that. But Tungkangbali said, 'Our father told us that we were not to refuse each other.' When they agreed to that, they broke the bowl, wesa wesa! Not long after, the girl who had cooked for them came for the things. When she saw that they had broken the bowl, that offended her. They begged. They told lies, so they would be released. The chief released them. The chief told the girl to prepare food for them in a thick bowl so that they would not be able to break it. When they had eaten Tungkangbali said that they should break the bowl. The two boys who were afraid of trouble begged him not to do it. 'If we do that, the chief will kill us.' Tungkangbali said, 'What did our
father say?' They broke the bowl. The chief - that offended him. He called his people for the boys to be killed.

When the boys were just about to be caught, they climbed up a cotton tree. The people began to cut down the tree. When they had been cutting it for long, the cotton tree was just about to fall, a lizard knocked on the tree, gbo gbo! The cotton tree became as it was before, completely! This happened up to three times. When it came to the fourth, Tungkangbali said, 'I will tell them what is preventing them, why they are not able to cut down the cotton tree.' His brothers said to him, 'If you do that we will fall with the cotton tree, and we will die.' Then he asked them, 'What did our father say?' They said, 'That we were not to refuse each other.' The lizard was killed.

The cotton tree began to fall. When it began to fall, a hawk saw them with pity. He said, 'Get up on to my back. Let me carry you to another chiefdom.' When they had gone for far, Tungkangbali said, 'The hawk's bottom - a smell is coming out.' He said they should prick it. His brother said to him, 'If we do that, we will be let go and fall to the ground.' Tungkangbali said, 'What did our father say?' They pricked the hawk's bottom. Just as they reached a flat rock the hawk felt the pain. He let them go - gban! They all fainted.

A tortoise came. When the tortoise came, he saw them with pity. He said, 'I will sprinkle them with manasi medicine so that they may be cured.' When the two who feared trouble were cured, they told the tortoise not to wake Tungkangbali. But the tortoise said, 'What! When I have wakened you, you do not want me to waken your companion?' Behold, a little of the medicine fell on him while they were arguing. Tungkangbali awoke. As he woke, he said, 'I see a tortoise.' His brothers begged him not to kill it. But he took no notice of them. He gave the tortoise to one brother to keep for him, so that he could go for fire to a farm hut. As he went, they let go the tortoise. He and the tortoise that had been let go met! He seized it. He said, 'Eat that tortoise there, I have got a tortoise here for myself now.'

Then they decided to separate, for his brothers were afraid of trouble. Tungkangbali went one way. His brothers went another way.

When he was going, he saw an adder. He killed this adder. He carried it on his head. When he had gone for far, he came to a smith. He said, 'Here is what I have brought you. I have come here to learn.' That pleased the smith very much. He said to the other apprentices, 'You are not good. Look at this man here who has come just now, he has brought something with him when he comes.'
Tungkangbali stayed there to blow the bellows. Behold, he was looking at the nails in the fire, seeing that they were red. Now the smith had a huge scrotum. Tungkangbali took a nail, he pierced the scrotum - poo! When he had pierced it, he ran away.

He began to be chased. When he was caught, he was beaten for long. He was sent with the children to chase the birds. When they were there chasing, he pushed a child that was blowing the fire into the fire. The child was burnt completely - mururu! He ran away.

People began to look for him. Wherever Tungkangbali went, he called together all the young men and asked them which was the greatest rascal there. Some said, 'I defecate in the chief's court', or 'I abuse the chief.' But Tungkangbali asked if any had the daring to pierce a smith's scrotum! As he was making that boast, there he was caught. He was tied in a basket. He was put into a bag. When he was put down, they went to look for wood. Children came to look at him. He took out groundnuts, he threw them on the ground. When they were thrown, the children took them. He said, 'If you free me, I will give you very many groundnuts.' The children freed him. He tied up the children in the bag. When the people came back, they took up the bag. The children cried. But they took no notice of them. They threw the children into the fire. By that time, Tungkangbali had run away.

Two twins

Millet was once hoed by the mother of twins. She told Koto to chase the birds from the millet. There Koto went to chase. There was a pool there, to one side of the millet. In that pool there were then many girls. There was no man there. When Koto was left, when he went to sling stones in the morning, a girl came out from the pool. She greeted him, 'Greetings Koto.' Koto answered. He said, 'Where do you come from?' 'Not from anywhere.' 'Well, say good-bye to me with food, cook for me.' When the girl had dried the millet, she pounded it, she began to pick leaves for sauce. She boiled the sauce. She stood, she cooked the millet. She helped it out. They sat down. They ate. When they had finished eating, the girl struck him. She began to run. 'Well, Koto, catch me, so that you can marry me.' They ran against each other like that. She went and entered the pool. When Koto reached there, he came to the pool. He did not dare to enter it. He went back. He came home to the village.

When the sun rose again, he was left to chase. He had just slung a stone, when the girl came out from the
pool. She greeted him, 'Greetings Koto.' 'Yes. Come and pound millet for me.' She stood, she dried the millet. She again, she pounded it, she picked leaves for sauce, she boiled them. She cooked the millet. She helped it out. They sat down. They ate. The girl got up again, she struck Koto and said, 'If you are only able to catch me, well, I am your wife.' She ran. She went and entered the pool. When Koto reached there, he went and looked at the pool, he did not dare to enter it. He went home to the village. He came and told Yemi, 'A girl is going to (?) drive me (?) away in the millet where I am chasing; when she has finished cooking for me, and we have eaten, she strikes me, saying "If you are only able to catch me, well, I am your wife." When we run, she reaches and enters the pool. I am not able to enter it.' Yemi said, 'All right. Tomorrow we will go early, so that I can go and see.'

They went early in the morning, Koto and Yemi. They went to chase. Yemi went and sat in the farm hut. Koto stood to sling. After a long time, the girl came out. 'Koto, greetings oh! I have come today again.' 'Well, the millet is much there, dry it for me and cook.' The girl stood. She dried it. She pounded it. She picked leaves for sauce. She boiled the sauce. She cooked the millet. She helped it out. They ate it - the three of them now. The girl got up. She struck Koto. 'If you are only able to catch me, I am your wife.' They ran against each other. When the girl reached there, she threw herself into the pool. Koto reached there, he did not dare. He went back. Yemi came and said, 'Yes. I have seen her. Well, tomorrow I will be early.' They went to the village, Koto and Yemi.

In the morning, Yemi was early. He brought millet with him. He arrived. He slung. The girl came out. She thought that it was Koto. 'Koto, greetings oh!' 'Yes.' 'Well, I have come today again.' 'Well, the millet is much there. Dry it and pound it.' The girl stood. She dried the millet. She pounded it. She picked leaves for sauce, she boiled them. She took off the sauce. She cooked the millet. She helped it out. They ate. She got up, she the girl. She thought that it was Koto. Now Yemi, he was more clear-eyed than Koto. He struck him. 'Well, if you are only able to catch me, well, I am your wife.' They ran. She arrived, she threw herself into the pool. Yemi reached there too. He threw himself into the pool.

He came and arrived at a village below in the pool. Yemi arrived there. They went and saw Yemi - a man! They were surprised. 'E! A man cannot come to our village here! What have you come for?' 'I am following a girl.' Do you know her?' 'Yes.'
He met a fly there. The fly said, 'Do you not know? Tomorrow the girl you are coming for here - if you do not know her tomorrow, you will be killed. But if you agree for me to eat and be filled, well, I will show you the woman tomorrow.' Yemi agreed, 'All right. Eat as much as you are able.' The fly fastened on him. It ate. It was filled. 'Well, tomorrow when the women are all lined up tomorrow, well, they are many, they are about two hundred, well, whichever one you see is like herself tomorrow, well, she is the one.' 'Thank you, thank you.'

He had rice cooked for him. It was brought. He sat down to eat - rice and meat. A dog came. 'If you give me the bone and I eat it, well, I will show you tomorrow the girl you have come for. If you do not know her, you will be killed. That is it.' - the dog speaking. He gave him the meat; all the bones - he gave him. He ate. The dog said, 'Well, tomorrow when the women are lined up, whichever one I jump on, in the middle, well, she is the one.' Yemi said, 'Thank you.'

He slept. In the morning, the girls were all early going to bathe. They came and stood. They rubbed oil all over them. The girls - whichever one you looked at, they were all the same, their faces were the same. They were called. 'Girls, well, come and line up; so that Yemi may show the one he has followed here.' They were lined up. Yemi was called. 'Well, come and show the one you followed here.' Yemi stood. He began to walk along, going to look. Just as he reached there exactly - yo! - the fly bit the girl, the dog came too, he jumped on the girl. Yemi came there to the girl. He said 'It is she.' 'Aha, yes.' The girl was told that it was her. 'Well, here is your wife, take her.'

They went out. They came to the village here. Well, Koto came and said, 'I own the wife.' Yemi said, 'It is not you who own the wife. I own her. You - you did not dare to enter the pool. It was only I who went and entered. When I have brought the wife, you come and say that you own her - it is not you who own her. I own her.'

Two friends

A girl was once born. Whenever any man went to woo her, Tintilongo killed him. Many people had been killed there. A man arose with his friend saying, 'Come with me; I am going to woo a woman, the one up country.' His friend said, 'All right.' He agreed to go with him.

They went on their journey. They spent the day travelling - all day. They came to a big cotton tree. There an elephant and a vulture always spent the night.
There they went to spend the night, those who were going on their journey.

Then the vulture said, 'Greetings to you. If anyone is there who wants to sleep, when you go on your journey, when you come to a village tomorrow, you should have a sword made there. Well, that sword — when you go to that place where you are going to woo a wife, well there lie down on the veranda. The sword which you are holding, as soon as people are sleeping, come out with it stealthily, go round to the back to the cooking place, go and stand behind the door, you will see a thing that has come for your friend, where he is lying there with the woman. At that moment, just as he puts his neck over the door, strike him. When you have struck him, your eyes will be blind. All right.'

They went on. What the vulture had said came to happen. When they arrived, they were given a lodging-place. They explained why they had come. They, the parents, answered, 'Our daughter will not have bridewealth put for her; you are to go and sleep in the small hut, you and the woman. Well, that is the custom when a daughter of ours is wooed.'

When they went to spend the night, his friend spread his mat on the veranda. He saw the animal, Tintilongo, about to come. He killed him. When he had killed him, his eyes were blind.

In the morning, when he got up, he took them water to wash their faces. He went and woke them. They got up, both of them, the husband and the wife. That caused amazement. 'What! This man alone — he was not eaten by the animal because of the woman.' They took and gave the woman.

They were given the woman, they went and spent the day again travelling — all day. They went and spent the night again by the cotton tree in the wilderness. The vulture came. He perched up above on the cotton tree. The elephant came, he stood there. The three people were also there by the cotton tree.

The vulture said, 'Elephant, greetings.' The elephant replied, 'Yes.' He also greeted the three, 'You who come travelling, greetings to you.' They were afraid. The vulture said, 'If someone is there to sleep, well if his friend's eyes are blind — for the sake of his friend who went to woo a wife, and many people went there to woo the woman but they did not return, they were eated by Tintilongo; but you who went for her, since no bad thing caught you, well, when the wife becomes pregnant and bears a child, take that child from its mother, call your friend, and go to where the roads meet. Take the child and kill it. When you smear the blood on his eyes, he will see. For it was for you that he went and became blind before.'
They went on. After long, the wife became pregnant. The wife gave birth. He took the young child from its mother, he carried it to the roads, with his friend whose eyes were blind. He went and killed the child. He took the blood, he smeared it on his friend. His friend saw, brightly, wa ke!

They greeted each other - tipa! clapping. 'Ah! comrade, you love me!' His friend said, 'You loved me more. You were the first to suffer for me.' He said, 'No. The wife whom you have just married, when she bore a child, the first child of all - you took that child, you dilled it truly, for me. You loved me most.'
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aarne, Antti and Stith Thompson

Agar, Michael

Arewa, E. Ojo

Arewa, Ojo and G. M. Shreve

Bal, Mieke

Bascom, William R.

Bauman, Richard

Benedict, Ruth
Berwick, R. C. and A. Weinberg

Bremond, Claude

Chatman, Seymour

Chomsky, Noam

Church, R. J. H.

Colby, Benjamin N.

Coulthard, M.
Culler, Jonathan

Dalby, David

d'Almada
1594 Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guiné. Lisboa.

de Beaugrande, Robert

Dressler, W. V. (ed.)

Dundes, Alan


Frenandez, James W.

Finnegan, Ruth


Fyfe, Christopher
Hutchins, Edwin

Jason, Heda

Johnny, M., J. Karimu and P. Richards

Kalous, Milan

Kilson, Marion

Kup, A. P.
1960 An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone. Man (o.s.) 60: 116-119.

Levi-Strauss, Claude

Liberman, A.

Nikiforov, A. I.


Rice, G. Elizabeth

Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith

Rodney, Walter

Sapir, J. David

Scholes, Robert

Sinclair, J. and M. Coulthard

Steiner, Peter and Sergej Davydov
1977 The Biological Metaphor in Russian Formalism. Sub-Stance, no. 16: 149-158.

Thompson, Stith

Todorov, Tzvetan

van Dijk, T. A.